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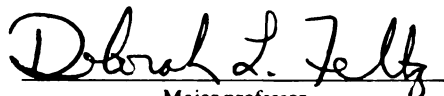
Female and Male Athletes' Accounts and
Meanings of Sexual Harassment in
Canadian Interuniversity Athletics

presented by

Margery Jean Holman

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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**FEMALE AND MALE ATHLETES' ACCOUNTS AND MEANINGS OF SEXUAL
HARASSMENT IN CANADIAN INTERUNIVERSITY ATHLETICS**

By

Margery Jean Holman

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

FEMALE AND MALE ATHLETES' ACCOUNTS AND MEANINGS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN CANADIAN INTERUNIVERSITY ATHLETICS

By

Margery Jean Holman

The overall purpose of this exploratory, descriptive and analytical research was to document the female and male athletes' accounts of sexual harassment within Canadian university athletics and the meanings that they give to the behaviours that they have identified as sexual harassment.

Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to complete the study. A sample of 1,024 female and male Canadian university student-athletes were sent a survey to investigate both their experiences with sexual harassment within university athletics and their perceptions about the relationship of specific statements to sexual harassment. These data were analyzed quantitatively using SPSS. Twenty-four subjects, 12 female and 12 male, were interviewed. These data were analyzed qualitatively using hermeneutics and theory-based analysis.

Overall, 57.0% of the respondents expressed that they had experienced sexually harassing behaviours as defined by the researcher. The majority of the reported incidences of sexual harassment occurred in the category of gender harassment in the form of sexist jokes or comments. However, respondents do report that they have experienced sexual harassment involving seductive

behaviour, coercion or physical intrusion/assault. The majority of these cases were reported by female athletes. In the cases reported by both females and males, the perpetrator is most frequently a peer athlete of the opposite sex. There was some same sex harassment reported and some sexual harassment from coaches and assistant coaches reported.

The perceptions of student-athletes showed general consensus that the statements, as presented, represented sexual harassment. Female athletes were consistently in stronger agreement with the statements than male athletes, particularly for those behaviours that were more ambiguous. There was less difference between the perceptions of females and males when the behaviours were clearly intrusive.

The meanings that student-athletes ascribed to sexual harassment related to male use of athletics as a declaration of masculinity. Generally, the interview respondents believed that males are threatened by the presence of females in athletics. Male athletes and coaches use sexual harassment as a means of reinforcing female inferiority and of discouraging females from aspiring to athletic success. Resolution is best sought through equalization of programs and their administration.

The limitations, implications and recommendations for future study are also outlined in this research project. These focus on issues of potential controversy surrounding a political social issue and one viewed typically as a women's issue as well as the limitations posed by the characteristics of the population studied.

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MARGERY JEAN HOLMAN

1995

Dedicated
to my mother

THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Robert Frost

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This research has been influenced by numerous professional and personal experiences. Twenty-four years of coaching and eighteen years of administration in Canadian university athletics have familiarized me with the culture that I eventually chose to study. A three year secondment to serve the university community at large gave me experience with the issue of sexual harassment on campus that led to the topic of study. I am grateful for the informal education, professional associations and opportunities that evolved as a result of this employment. However, whenever embarking upon a major project such as a dissertation, it is impossible to reach completion without the assistance, support and stimulation of many of those around you.

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Most of all, I would like to credit the support of my family for what I have achieved today. The memories of my parents taking me, with my sister, brother and friends, on adventures like swimming at Rondeau Park in the summers, for walks in the woods in the fall, tobogganing at the Klondike or skating on Rondeau Bay in the winter, and playing catch in the spring are etched in my mind forever. These adventures instilled a love for activity and an appreciation for healthy living. They were the beginning of my chosen career. I am indebted to my mother who places great value on knowledge and education. Her experience as a Business graduate in the late 1930's from the University of Western Ontario, where she was only allowed

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Sincere appreciation to all

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The question of sexual harassment as a social practice in university athletics has received little attention over the years. This research was designed to provide some insight into the issue by examining the experiences with and perceptions of sexual harassment of student-athletes in Canadian university athletic programs. Further, it attempts to establish an understanding of the meanings that student-athletes assign to sexually harassing behaviours exhibited by members of their athletic community.

While sexual harassment, as a behaviour, has been in existence for decades, perhaps forever, it has only recently been granted official nomenclature. As a result, study investigating the various dynamics of sexual harassment has also been recent. With the revelations that have surfaced from research works and courtroom drama, sexual harassment has become a critical social topic with the ability to generate heated debate, criticism and controversy. The issue of sexual harassment has been scantily researched in an effort to provide current data on the prevalence of sexual harassment and an understanding that will aid in its elimination from the workforce and other social and professional environments, including universities. This has been a complex process. Disparity in legal versus social motivations to pursue answers and invoke action combine with variations in personal understandings and individual tolerance levels to contribute to the failure of creating a

unified interpretation of sexual harassment. This impedes the eradication of sexual harassment, fueling the ongoing debate. To generate knowledge and facts without seeking a deeper understanding will produce incomplete answers. While most agree that sexual harassment is a social issue of concern, consensus on the degree to which it exists, its parameters, meanings and therefore, resolution, continue to elude us.

Historically, the term 'sexual harassment' was invoked in the mid-seventies and took on a workplace definition that reflected a hierarchy of male power expressed through male aggression towards women (Wise & Stanley, 1987). Original definitions often identified sexually harassing behaviours to include "staring at, commenting on or touching a woman's body, requests for acquiescence in sexual behaviour, propositions for dates, and rape" (Wise & Stanley, 1987, p. 49). The advisory committee of Yale University's Yale College adopted a conceptually styled definition by stating that "sexual harassment is any attempt to coerce an unwilling person into a sexual relationship or to subject a person to unwanted sexual attention, or to punish a refusal to comply" (Brandenburg, 1982, p. 322). In contrast, a more blunt approach suggests that "we define sexual harassment as the treatment of women workers as sexual objects" (Silverman, 1976, p. 15).

Another approach to defining the issue was to provide descriptive lists of behaviours, such as that generated by the Association of American College's Project on the Status and Education of Women (1978), which included "verbal harassment or abuse, subtle pressure for sexual activity, sexist remarks about a

woman's clothing, body, or sexual activities, unnecessary touching, patting, or pinching, leering or ogling at a woman's body, constant brushing against a woman's body, demanding sexual favours accompanied by implied or overt threats concerning one's job, grades, letters of recommendation and so forth, physical assault" (p. 2). Collier and Holmes (1989) identified "mannerisms that might be considered sexual harassment (to) include sexual comments, pinching, back rubs, sexual jokes, sexual pictures posted in the workplace, highly personal questions, unwanted requests for dates, touching" (p. 28).

Immediately the variation in definition makes it indisputably clear that the dynamics of sexual harassment require flexibility in determining the definition according to the circumstances involved and to accommodate changes in society as a result of previous experiences and new knowledge and understanding. For example, Dziech and Weiner (1984) recognized gender harassment, those sexualized behaviours that do not contain any direct request with an accompanying reward or threat but are offensive and oppressive, as a specific type of sexual harassment previously not identified.

As a result of experience in dealing with sexual harassment, certain behaviours that did not fit the existing definition could be classified as sexual harassment according to intent. They quoted from a report presented in 1981 to the Modern Language Association of America stating "Gender harassment is considerably less dramatic in its manifestations than sexual harassment, but because it is more widespread, it seems more pernicious. It consists of discriminatory behavior directed against individuals who belong to a

gender group that the aggressor considers inferior The forms are often verbal - statements and jokes that reveal stereotypical discriminatory attitudes" (p.22). Harassment based upon either gender alone or abuse of power has provided two components of sexual harassment that have received greater attention as the definition evolved. This distinction allows those interested in eliminating sexual harassment from the lives of individuals not only an opportunity to understand what sexual harassment is but to provide insight into where and when it is most likely to occur and why.

The significance of sexual harassment first became evident in the workplace setting. In recent years sexual harassment in the workplace has begun to move from being an invisible, private issue to being a more visible, public issue. It is no longer solely an issue for individual women but an issue for women as a group. With the increase of women in the work force and the strengthened voice of women in society, employers have found it necessary, both morally and legally, to acknowledge the need to develop strategies that ensure employees a work environment free from sexual harassment. This has resulted in a number of organizations and institutions adopting policies and procedures to educate, guide and respond when issues of sexual harassment arise.

At the same time, sexual harassment in educational environments was essentially ignored. However, the eventual recognition that "sexual harassment is a pervasive problem throughout higher education" (Rubin & Borgers, 1992, p. 25) has more recently resulted in sexual harassment on university campuses also

becoming a more public issue. "Since the mid-1970's, sexual harassment has become a more prevalent (issue) on university campuses" (Betts & Newman, 1982, p. 49). Initially, an examination of the workforce commanded the attention of researchers and administrators. Examination of the experiences of students, particularly female students at the undergraduate and graduate levels, followed. The experiences of students at a significant micro-organizational level within programs such as athletics continue to be ignored in the research.

Colleges and universities exist in a unique environment, a community within a community. Although a part of mainstream society as major employers in their respective communities, they also exist as a society on their own with relationships and regulating bodies that may differ, or function independently, from the community at large. This does not, however, diminish their moral or legal obligation to provide an environment free from sexual harassment for faculty, staff and students, nor does it deny their students and employees the right to access community resources to resolve issues of sexual harassment. Yet concerns surrounding sexual harassment have generally remained within the boundaries of campus jurisdictions, slowing the advancement of the issue from the private to the public arena and effectively silencing any controversy. To speak out critically is a violation of an unspoken rule that demands loyalty and protection of a flawless image. Although this has impeded progress, sexual harassment is beginning to command attention that should generate positive change.

Background and Need for the Study

Social research, especially amongst feminists, now reflects the problems and questions arising from the changing complexion of the workforce and the roles of women in public life. The nature of many of these works addresses the relations of women and men and how the influx of women has affected the workplace, especially those traditionally male-dominated careers. Athletics, as both a vocation and an avocation, is traditionally a male-dominated setting. But women are today participating in all levels of athletics at a higher rate than ever before. As a result, there is need to examine the relationships of females and males in athletics with a view to understanding how structures and the day to day interactions contribute to the maintenance of a relationship of dominance and control (Dewar, 1993) and how sexual harassment factors in to this structure. There is a need to study this on a number of different levels. However, for the purposes of this study, the experience and perceptions of student-athletes will be identified as a starting point. They were identified as a particularly vulnerable group and as the group who had the highest representation of females. To extend the research at this time would broaden the study to an unmanageable scope.

Sexual harassment has been viewed as a power relationship by many (Backhouse & Cohen, 1978; Dziech & Weiner, 1984; Lenskyj, 1992; MacKinnon, 1987). "The question of sexual harassment in university and college environments is further complicated by the peculiar dynamics of higher learning and the student-faculty relationships that are fostered" (Betts & Newman, 1982, p. 50).

Similarly, this occurs in athletics where the dynamics between a coach and an athlete can be very intense, very committed, and extended over a lengthy period of time. In the quest for achieving goals, particularly winning, coaches are given leeway to manage their teams with little to no interference from outsiders, including athletic administration. This "hands off approach," combined with the sensitivity of the contentious topic of sexual harassment and a "not-in-my-backyard attitude," has contributed to the scant literature available. Research does not exist that reveals the experiences and feelings of females as athletes with regards to sexual harassment or whether male athletes have experienced sexual harassment and how they feel about the issue.

Lenskyj (1986, 1992) has written about the experiences of female athletes who are sexually vulnerable in an athletic environment. Her approach is theoretical, providing a link between athletics and an environment tolerant of sexual harassment. The outcome is a chilly climate which serves as a means of discriminating against females and limiting their full participation in the sport experience. She contends that women have been expected to fit the existing sport model with no change in sport to accommodate the interests of women. The basis for her analysis is male power and dominance.

Lackey (1990) has reported data on the incidence of sexual harassment in athletics. As one of the first surveys to ask the athletes about their experience, this study reported that 22 percent of the female respondents cited 'intrusive physical contacts' by a male coach; 21 percent noted the use of 'demeaning language

implying female inferiority to males'; 2 percent reported 'verbal intrusion'; 0.8 percent reported 'sexual intercourse without consent'; and, 0.4 percent reported 'fondling' by a male coach.

Acker (1993), DeFord (1993) and Hornack and Hornack (1993) have written articles from a moral perspective of player-coach relationships relative to sexual behaviours. Acker reviews a definition of sexual harassment and reminds the reader of the potential abuse of power by virtue of its hierarchical structure. DeFord (1993) notes that player-coach relationships are often abusive because of the vulnerability of young athletes aspiring to successful, and lucrative, careers. He briefly refers to the homophobic fears that have served to condone heterosexual exploitations. Hornack and Hornack (1993) address the exploitative dangers inherent in the dual relationship of a coach with an athlete as a social friend, as a counsellor or as an intimate other. These works represent the specific aspect of the coach-athlete relationship and valuable information concerning sexual harassment in the athletic world.

There is a need to examine further how sport is used to reinforce cultural stereotypes about women, stereotypes that deny them full and equal participation in the world of athletics. The extent to which study has been dedicated to sexual harassment specifically in athletics is limited. On the one hand, this is not surprising since the concentration of literature available on sexual harassment has been generated in recent years and has maintained a focus upon two identifiable environments - sexual harassment in the workplace and sexual harassment on college campuses. These two

environments, while having many common traits, also have some unique and independent characteristics. The works on college campuses tend to generalize either to the student population or to the campus workforce. The former have examined undergraduate and graduate levels of study without isolating special populations or communities within the campus at large, while the latter has assumed an emphasis on clerical workers and female faculty members. On the other hand, one might wonder why, in the twenty plus years since issues of sexual harassment have become public, athletics has remained virtually unexamined.

Within the past several months, stimulated by a 1993 national broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) *The 5th Estate*, "Crossing the Line," addressing sexual harassment of female athletes by male coaches, policy makers in Canadian sport government and educational athletic programs have been furiously working to put policy and procedures in place to deal with issues of sexual harassment. This program interviewed athletes and coaches and exposed examples of sexual exploitation of female athletes by male coaches in rowing, swimming and volleyball. Following the program, a coalition, comprised of amateur, educational and professional representatives from the national sport community, evolved to discuss the issue, a process which resulted in the development of *Harassment in Sport: Policies and Procedures Resource Guide* (1994). At the time of this writing, the Ontario sport community is engaged in a similar procedure, using the national coalition as a model.

Concerned, shocked and fearful from what they learned in this program of the abuse and sexual exploitation of some of the athletes by their coaches, administrators scrambled to develop policies for their own protection and presumably for the protection of the athletes. While this serves as a positive step which is long overdue, this response to an inappropriate mode of behaviour on the part of coaches has been taken without any accurate, in depth knowledge about the experiences of athletes or without assessing how meaningful change can be accomplished. The chain of events which transpired between notification of existing abuse and the production of a policy, without any attempt to understand the issue, reveals a need for data and detailed information about what is actually happening in athletics, and why, with respect to issues of sexual harassment.

It is important to note, at this time, that the majority of the research that has been completed to date has focused upon the experiences and accounts of events of women while identifying males as the harassers. Little has been done to include the experiences or accounts of males in spite of making reference to the aggressor role of males in the complete sexual harassment experience. There is, therefore, a need to study the relational aspect of females and males to understand what sexual harassment means to males as well as females and what conditions conduce sexual harassment. "Women and men were defined in terms of one another and no understanding of either could be achieved by entirely separate study" (Scott, 1986, p. 1054). Understanding the experiences and actions of males can assist in the understanding of

the female experience with sexual harassment and with the search for resolutions.

A recent pilot study (Holman, 1994) uncovered some issues that suggest sexual harassment is present in the lives of both female and male athletes with little understanding of its dynamics or coping mechanisms. Some of the findings revealed that: subjects' definitions of sexual harassment varied widely, with males expressing greater tolerance for 'the less serious' categories of sexual harassment than females; both female and male athletes have experienced sexually harassing behaviours, with females (85%) experiencing some form of sexual harassment more frequently than males (72%); the most frequent source of sexual harassment for these subjects is peers; and, athletes who are coached by males define sexual harassment more liberally, placing less significance on sexually harassing behaviours, than athletes who are coached by females. The results of this study emphasize a need for further investigation to acquire a greater understanding of sexual harassment in athletics - the experiences of females in athletics, the changing world of males in athletics and the social significance of sexual harassment in the athletic environment. Hopefully, understanding may provide meaningful solutions.

Statement of the Problem

The present study was designed to investigate the dynamics of sexual harassment within Canadian university athletic programs from the standpoint of athletes in their relationship with others in athletics, particularly the relationships of coach-athlete and

athlete-athlete. Specifically, it will examine: a) the rate of incidence of sexual harassment of athletes in Canadian university athletic programs; b) perceptions that the athletes in Canadian university athletic programs hold regarding behaviours that represent the legal definitions of sexual harassment as found in the literature; c) the meanings that athletes in Canadian university athletic programs give to behaviours identified as sexual harassment; d) the differences between female and male Canadian university athletes in the frequency of their experience with sexual harassment in their university athletic program; e) the differences between female and male Canadian university athletes in their perceptions regarding behaviours that represent the legal definitions of sexual harassment as found in the literature; and, f) the differences between female and male Canadian university athletes in the meanings they give to behaviours identified as sexual harassment.

Research Questions

The intent of this study was to examine the following research questions.

1. What is the frequency of athletes experiencing sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics?
2. Are there gender differences in the frequency of athletes experiencing sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics?

3. Are there differences in the experiences with sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes based upon their status in the athletic program?
4. How does the experience with sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes compare to other populations as noted in the research findings of previous studies?
5. What are the perceptions that Canadian university athletes hold regarding sexual harassment?
6. Are there gender differences in the perceptions that Canadian university athletes hold regarding sexual harassment?
7. Are there differences in the perceptions of sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes based upon their status in the athletic program?
8. What are the meanings that Canadian university athletes assign to sexual harassment?

Both quantitative and qualitative data were employed in the quest for answers to these research questions.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses were developed to test the quantifiable survey data related to the research questions. The null hypotheses are presented and serve as the basis for testing.

Sexual harassment based upon gender

Null

HO1 There will be no difference in the percentages of female and male athletes who have experienced sexual harassment in the university athletic environment.

Null

HO2 There will be no difference in the female and male athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility

Null

HO3 There will be no difference in the athletes' experience with behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility.

Null

HO4 There will be no difference in the athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility.

Sexual harassment based upon sex of the athlete and sex of the coach

Null

HO5 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' experience with sexual harassment from a coach based upon the sex of the coach.

Null

HO6 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' experience with sexual harassment from peers based upon the sex of the coach.

Null

HO7 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon sex of the coach.

Sexual harassment based upon team role

Null

HO8 There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon their role as a starter/top half of the team versus a substitute/bottom half of the team.

Null

HO9 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon their role as a starter/top half of the team versus a substitute/bottom half of the team.

Sexual harassment based upon characteristics of the sport

Null

HO10 There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon the type of sport in which they compete.

Null

HO11 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon the type of sport in which they compete.

Sexual harassment based upon sexuality

Null

HO12 There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon their sexuality.

Null

HO13 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon their sexuality.

By testing these hypotheses, this study will enhance our knowledge and understanding of the pervasion of sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics as well as the conditions which may facilitate or discourage the presence of sexual harassment. Figure 1 shows a summary of the variables to be tested for difference with each hypothesis.

There are research questions that cannot be quantified and tested with hypotheses. These will be discussed in the content analysis of the interviews and with the application of the existing literature to provide understanding and meaning.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions will represent terms defined in the context for which they will be used in this study. While they may contain similarities to those used by other experts, they may also reflect a variation.

Assistant Coach: An individual who is affiliated with a university athletic team for the purpose of aiding the head coach, in tasks delegated by the head coach, with fulfilling responsibilities to the team and to individual athletes.

Athlete/Student-athlete: Individuals who are full time students in the university community participating on a university athletic team

Experience	Perceptions	Status
HO1	HO2	Sex of the athlete
HO3	HO4	Eligibility
HO5, HO6	HO7	Sex of athlete & sex of coach
HO8	HO9	Team role
HO10	HO11	Type of sport
HO12	HO13	Sexuality

Figure 1. Summary chart of hypotheses and the variables tested for difference.

and meeting the eligibility requirements as established by the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union.

Athletic environment: A physical location and/or social medium where participation in training, competition and social exchanges occur that are a direct or indirect function of team membership.

Athletics: An elite Canadian university sport program where competitive excellence is measured against an opponent in similar programs.

Atlantic Universities Athletic Association (AUAA): A region of the CIAU representing eleven universities in the Atlantic Provinces.

Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU): The national governing body of Canadian university athletic competition for women and men, comprised of six regions and forty-five institutions.

Coach: An individual who is responsible for assisting athletes to achieve athletic excellence through training and competition. For the purposes of this study, any use of the terms coach or coaches is a reference to head coach only.

Canada West University Athletic Association (CWUAA): A region in the CIAU representing six universities from British Columbia and Alberta, plus the University of Saskatchewan.

Experience: A personal account of an event that is legally recognized as sexual harassment.

Feminist: Individuals who advocate the equal treatment of women, opposing patriarchy and the systematic and structural oppression of women.

First year athlete: Individuals who are competing in their first year of university athletics regardless of their academic year.

Gender: A socially constructed categorization of females and males that allocates divergent social roles according to sex, highlighting and exaggerating the differences.

Gender harassment: A form of sexual harassment, expressed through sexualized verbal, visual or physical gestures, that is demeaning or hostile to one sex or sexuality, as a group and, directed towards an individual or group based upon their membership in that group.

Great Plains Athletic Conference (GPAC): A region of the CIAU representing four universities from Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Hostile environment: This refers to the conditions that create an offensive, sexualized climate within which individuals function, behaviours which often interfere with the productivity of individuals and their ability to achieve their goals.

Incidence: The frequency of occurrence of sexually harassing behaviours as reported by the research participants.

Meanings: The understanding of the significance of verbal or physical expressions that may go deeper than the actual behaviour. A combination of the action and what the action symbolizes.

Ontario Universities Athletic Association (OUAA): A region of the CIAU representing male athletes in seventeen universities in the Province of Ontario.

Ontario Women's Interuniversity Athletic Association (OWIAA): A region of the CIAU representing female athletes in seventeen universities in the Province of Ontario.

Peer: An athlete, female or male, competing within the same university athletic program.

Peer harassment: The term used to describe the sexual harassment of women by their male colleagues such as student to student, coach to coach, faculty to faculty (Paludi & Barickman, 1991:12). For the purposes of this study, it includes the sexual harassment of female athletes by either male or female athletes and of male athletes by either female or male athletes.

Perceptions: The definition or identification of behaviours as sexual harassment according to the personal understanding of research participants.

Quebec Student Sports Federation (QSSF): A region of the CIAU representing seven universities in the Province of Quebec.

Quid pro quo: The use of this term, meaning the provision of something in return, is used to paraphrase the use of an offer of reward in exchange for compliance or tolerance of sexual harassment and/or a threat of punishment or some form of retaliation for refusal of compliance or tolerance of sexual harassment.

Regions: The division of the CIAU into six competitive associations based upon geographical alignment where regional representation is generally determined for CIAU championships (see Appendix A).

Role: For this study, the role assumed by a student athlete is based upon their status as a starter/top half of the team or substitute/bottom half of the team.

Senior athlete: Since CIAU eligibility allows for five years of competition but most undergraduate academic programs can be

completed in three or four years, the fewest number of athletes are in their fifth year. For the purposes of this study, senior athletes will be comprised of the combination of fourth and fifth year student athletes.

Sex: Sex is central to human biology and reproductive roles, establishing characteristics that normally distinguish individuals as members of a group, designated according to the dichotomy of female or male.

Sex discrimination: The differential treatment of the sexes in a way that has a harmful effect or harmful effects. For the purposes of this research, discrimination refers to a distinction made between females and males that results in actions which adversely affect females.

Sexual harassment: For the purposes of this study, sexual harassment is a form of discrimination based upon sex (Supreme Court of Canada, 1983), manifested as any verbal or physical acts of a sexual nature that contribute to unequal treatment based upon socially constructed gender differences and that detrimentally affect the athletic environment, having adverse consequences for the victims of the harassment.

Sexuality: The sexual characteristics that determine sexual orientation for heterosexuality, homosexuality or bisexuality.

Starter/substitute: Athletes in team sports (basketball, field hockey, football, ice hockey, soccer, volleyball) who are distinguished by whether or not they are in the lineup at the beginning of the majority of competition events.

Status: The status of an athlete in this study is determined by the combination of the variables that characterize them by year of eligibility, sex of the coach, role within the team, type of sport in which they compete and sexuality.

Tolerance: A willingness to endure; an expression of indifference, resignation, insensitivity or a lack of awareness toward behaviours that could be labelled as sexual harassment, thus allowing them to continue unchallenged.

Top half of the team/bottom half of the team: Athletes in individual sports (athletics, swimming) who consider themselves more or less skilled than half of their team.

Type of sport: A category developed for this study that designates each CIAU sport according to the amount of social interaction that occurs between female and male athletes during training and competition, resulting in the categories entitled coeducational, separate and simultaneous.

University athletics: Programs within degree granting institutions that offer competition in a minimum of four sports amongst universities across the country with like programs.

Year of eligibility: The year of eligibility is determined by the number of years that an athlete has competed in CIAU competition. A maximum of five years is allowed by the CIAU regulations.

Theoretical significance

This study is intended to contribute to the literature of sexual harassment within the context of feminist theory and theories of gender and power. It has particular theoretical significance for the

gender relationships in athletics and how sport, as a social institution, is influenced by and contributes to other forms of domination in society.

Practical significance

The practical contribution of this research is threefold. First, it is an opportunity to hear what is going on from athletes involved in the Canadian university sport world. While we can make a prediction by extrapolating the research findings from other studies, the best source of information comes from those who are willing to share their every day experiences. It has been recognized that individuals interpret experiences differently based upon their position or the situation in which they exist (Greendorfer, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Further, Patton (1993) refers to the richness of information obtained from the firsthand knowledge of individuals who have experience related to the research question. As a resource, personal experience provides insights that give breadth and depth to the response otherwise not available in pen and pencil methods.

Second, it is anticipated that the information generated from this study will be of benefit to the organizing body of university athletics in their attempts to make the athletic experience for students a more positive and humanistic experience. Yiannikas and Greendorfer (1992) advocate the need to bridge the gap between the researcher and the practitioner. The process of achieving this includes the application of research findings to problem solving,

policy development and advocacy, making the sport experience more meaningful and developmentally sound.

Third, it is anticipated that an indirect benefit will be the educative potential of participating in this study and the empowerment of those who have been silenced from fear and/or suppression of their feelings about certain experiences. Researching a controversial issue through the point of view of those with related experience provides visibility to the issue and credibility to the respondent which is liberating for them (Lather, 1991; Olesen, 1994; Schwandt, 1994).

Parameters

a. Delimitations

The parameters of this study, using university athletes as subjects, incorporate a particular population of athletes. They are individuals who are young adults, many of whom have left home and are living on their own or with peers. The assumption of consent to sexual intimacy thus becomes a compounding factor in determining the appropriateness of a behaviour or relationship that displays some aspects of sexual harassment. In comparison, a similar study done with younger athletes who have not yet reached the age of consent may be examined differently since there are legal restrictions that make the determination of appropriate behaviours very clear. For example, sexual intimacy between a coach and an older athlete would be viewed differently than sexual intimacy between a coach and a younger athlete. The former might be considered consenting while the latter might be considered

exploitive. Therefore, these are parameters which restrict the generalizing of findings from this study to all age groups.

The data provided with the interviews is influenced by the fact that subjects were volunteers. Further, the only differentiation amongst volunteers that could be made from the volunteer form was by sex (with occasional ambiguity from unisex names). No information was provided that facilitated selection of interviewees based upon sport or status. Representation of all sports, accounting for various characteristics based upon status, was, therefore, not possible in the interview.

It is also recognized that sexual harassment can occur within other relationships in an athletic structure. This study will examine only those relationships of athlete-coach, predominantly head coach, and athlete-athlete. Assistant coaches were included but the study did not extensively examine the relationship of athlete-assistant coach. It cannot be generalized that the findings are applicable to other relationships.

The population targeted for this study is a predominantly white, middle-class Canadian culture. The findings are, therefore, unlikely to reflect experiences from the standpoint of minority females and males and may not reflect the views of those in other countries.

While the rate of return for this study is comparable to other studies reviewed, it cannot be known for certain how representative these respondents are in their experience and perceptions of sexual harassment.

b. Limitations

Research investigating sexual harassment can be controversial with polarized opinions concerning the degree to which it exists or indeed, its mere existence. Individual experiences with sexual harassment may serve as a motivator or deterrent for some to respond to the survey and may influence the way in which individuals respond. As well, others who have had no experience with sexual harassment may not feel that they have any information of value, and thus decline participation. Any of these scenarios will have an effect on the response rate and the accuracy of the data.

The use of the term sexual harassment is political and controversial. Since this study used the term openly, clearly communicating the purpose of the study, the potential for influencing a subject's decision to respond and their type of response is present. This was partially neutralized by using behavioural statements without the term sexual harassment when inquiring about experience. However, this would have a small effect on diverting their focus from the issue under study and related emotions.

Different perceptions that individuals inherently hold will affect the results of the experience that they report. Their perceptions may vary according to their knowledge, understanding and experience with sexual harassment. Further, with perceptions serving as a component of this study, it is possible that the survey section on perceptions could influence reporting of experience. Although the experience section was presented first in the survey, the influence of perceptions on responses could not be controlled.

The issue of sexual harassment is often viewed as a women's issue, a problem that does not affect males, particularly those who do not believe that they engage in the sexual harassment of others. The effect of this perception may be that the number of responses to the survey from males and to the appeal for male interview volunteers may have been reduced. A result may be a greater number of responses, proportionally, from females than from males, creating a possible distortion of the data generated.

Although sexual harassment has been identified as a women's issue, it is a flaw to assume that women understand because they are women. Results that indicate women do not perceive themselves or others to have been sexually harassed because they do not label a behaviour as such, does not always mean that sexual harassment did not take place.

A further limitation of the study to be noted is the method that was used to recruit subjects for interviews. Since this involved the principle of volunteerism, it is possible that those who volunteered were those who hold a strong opinion about the issue. A personal experience, knowledge of someone who either has experienced sexual harassment or has been accused of engaging in sexually harassing behaviour, and particular social or educational experiences that contribute to a strong commitment to preconceived opinions are all examples of ways in which the interview sample may be biased. Random selection of interview participants from those who volunteered may have reduced this bias but could not eliminate it entirely.

In addition to any reluctance some of the sample may have, there may be some who were simply too busy to complete the survey or volunteer for an interview. Those who compete in winter sports, a season that begins early in October and continues until the end of February or early March, were submerged in their league competition upon receipt of the survey and interview request.

Those who compete in fall sports, a season that begins in September and ends in November, may have been temporally too far removed from their competitive season to take an interest in the survey. For those who did respond, they may have had to rely heavily on memory. Information may have been forgotten or misrepresented as a result.

It is also possible that the subjects of this study may not recognize the significance of this research and, therefore, undervalue the input that they could contribute.

Recognizing that there will not be a 100 percent response rate, there is no way of knowing what information non-respondents might have shared as a contribution to this study. This is particularly critical in this research because of the reasons that subjects might decline to respond.

The results of this study are limited by the validity and reliability of the data collection instruments. This includes both the survey instrument and interview schedule. Further, the results and the interpretation of the results rely heavily on individual experiences and perceptions which may or may not represent the experiences and perceptions of the population under study.

Summary

Chapter I has introduced the topic of sexual harassment and the need to study sexual harassment within athletics, specifically university athletics. In addition, the statement of the problem, the research questions and the hypotheses are delineated. The operational definitions that will be employed throughout the study are contained within this chapter. The chapter concludes with the theoretical and practical significance of the research, the limitations and delimitations of the research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature has taken a number of different directions as knowledge and understanding of sexual harassment has evolved. Early literature took an exploratory approach, documenting rates of incidence, identifying perceptions that assisted in defining the parameters of sexual harassment and, to a lesser degree, delineating impact and resolution techniques. More recent trends in the literature have called for a critical analysis of the social and organizational meanings that produce a theoretically derived response to relationships based on gender and power and how the two interact to contribute to the oppression of women. Five categories in the review of literature will be presented: definition of sexual harassment, incidence of sexual harassment, perceptions of sexual harassment, theoretical models for sexual harassment including power relationships in both leadership hierarchies and socially constructed gender relationships, and a review of related athletics literature.

Defining sexual harassment

Researchers have conducted a number of studies in an attempt to establish greater clarity of definition. A review of the literature on definitions of sexual harassment has revealed that a great deal of individual difference exists in determining what constitutes sexual harassment. Researchers themselves have had difficulty reaching a

consensus on a definition and have, in their works, isolated some of the variables that account for these incongruities.

Yet, it is safe to say that entitlement to function in an environment free from sexual harassment is the right of every member of society, be it the work environment, the learning environment or the social environment. This statement would generally meet with little resistance from anyone. The debate, however, surfaces when efforts are made to define sexual harassment in an attempt to achieve the panacea described in the opening sentence of this paragraph. While various definitions incorporate a wide range of behaviours, from verbal innuendo representing the least physically intrusive offense to physical assault at the most extreme end of a continuum, not everyone accepts all of the scenarios that can arise from this range as true descriptions of sexual harassment. A further issue of contention is the complainant-respondent relationship. While the classic case of sexual harassment reflects a dichotomy of power in which a subordinate is sexually exploited by someone in a position of power or authority, there are also cases where individuals are harassed by peers/colleagues who possess no formal power or authority other than that bestowed upon them in a patriarchal society by virtue of their gender. "Since the concept of harassment includes both objective/behavioral and subjective/interpretive aspects, it is important to know what defining features can be generally agreed upon as constituting sexual harassment and what factors lead to disagreement or ambiguity of definition" (Reilly, Carpenter, Dull & Bartlett, 1982, p. 101).

The most commonly cited definition is based upon the developments by Till (1980, p. 7). His research is one of the original and most detailed efforts to classify sexual harassment and to determine the nature of the experience. The definition used, and still summoned as a model, identifies five categories of sexual harassment with a range of behaviours incorporated in each category.

Gender Harassment: Generalized sexist remarks and behavior; not designed to elicit sexual cooperation, but that express hostile, insulting, or degrading attitudes about women.

Seductive Behavior: Inappropriate and offensive, but essentially sanction-free behavior; that is, there is no penalty attached to noncompliance.

Sexual Bribery: Solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior by promise of rewards.

Sexual Coercion: Coercion of sexual activity by threat of punishment.

Sexual Imposition or Assault: Gross sexual imposition, i.e. touching, fondling, grabbing or assault. (Till as cited in Fitzgerald, 1992b, Appendix A)

These five categories have been elaborated upon by other researchers to meet their particular needs and as the understanding of sexual harassment has evolved.

While there is little consistency amongst definitions of sexual harassment, establishing a definition is a critical starting point in

addressing a sensitive social issue. "A sound definition not only sets policy, it also informs and educates the community" (Dziech & Weiner, 1984, p. 21), promoting "discussion and conscientious evaluation of these experiences. They (definitions) are also crucial to the process of helping those who have been harassed because most individuals do not identify what has happened to them as sexual harassment" (Paludi and Barickman, 1991, p. 2).

Organizations have been motivated to develop definitions and ensuing policies as both a moral and a legal obligation to itself (management) and its members. This has been the case with Canadian athletic organizations, including university athletics. At the same time, many of the behaviours identified as sexual harassment in most definitions are justified as male bonding for the purpose of strengthening team loyalty and mutual commitment to team goals.

The justice system has provided a resource from which many definitions have evolved. American action has contributed to Canadian analysis and legislation. In 1976, the United States legal system ruled that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination, punishable by law (Faley, 1982). The significance of such a decision is that behaviours less serious than the most aggressive previously prosecuted under the law, such as sexual assault, are now recognized as debilitating to women and as precluding their equal treatment in the workforce. Collier and Holmes (1989) note that sexual harassment, as a derivative of discrimination, "is discriminatory when it makes submitting to sexual favors a condition of employment or advancement or when it

creates an offensive working environment" (p. 28). This is viewed as a logical extension to anti-discrimination law since it would be superfluous to facilitate women's entry into the workforce while condoning an environment that neutralized their ability to perform because of sexual hostility (Kors, 1992).

Definitions in the United States have been based upon that of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, adapted for an academic setting to include both employees and students (Neale & Paige, 1989), which states:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when:

1. Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment or admission to an academic program.
2. Submission to or rejection of such conduct is used as the basis for decisions affecting an individual's employment status or academic standing or
3. Such conduct has the purpose or effect of substantially interfering with an individual's performance on the job or in the classroom, or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work or study environment (p. 4).

Sexual harassment is one of many forms of harassment that can interfere with equal treatment of individuals based upon difference, differences legally identified as race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, disability, or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted (MacKillop, 1993). The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provides protection from discrimination based on sex as do Provincial jurisdictions. Sexual harassment is deemed a violation under this legislation. Of significance is the clause related to equality which states that:

a. Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

and,

b. Subsection (a) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. (Government of Canada, 1982).

Recourse for acts of sexual harassment through the courts is sought by alleging discrimination. The purpose of the legislation is to stress an individual's right to equality of opportunity (MacKillop, 1993).

The Canada Labour Code, which applies only to federally-regulated employers, mirrors efforts to address sexual harassment more specifically. It defines harassment as:

any conduct, comment, gesture or contact of a sexual nature

(a) that is likely to cause offence or humiliation to any employee; or

(b) that might, on reasonable grounds, be perceived by that employee as placing a condition of a sexual nature on employment or on any opportunity of training or promotion.

Further, Provincial jurisdictions may offer legislation more stringent than that reflected in the Canadian code. For example, Ontario's code defines harassment as "engaging in a course of vexatious comment or conduct that is known or ought reasonably to be known to be unwelcome" (MacKillop, 1993). The Ontario Code also sets out three offences relating specifically to sexual harassment:

7(2) Every person who is an employee has a right to freedom from harassment in the workplace because

of sex by his or her employer or agent of the employer or by another employee.

- (3) Every person has a right to be free from,
 - (a) a sexual solicitation or advance made by a person in a position to confer, grant or deny a benefit or advancement to the person where the person making the solicitation or advance knows or ought reasonably to know that it is unwelcome, or
 - (b) a reprisal or threat of reprisal for the rejection of a sexual solicitation or advance where the reprisal is made or threatened by a person in a position to confer, grant or deny a benefit or advancement to the person. (MacKillop, 1993)

The legislation cited can be applied to sport, not only in employment situations, but also in many volunteer situations where relationships involving athletes are now accorded stronger protections. The case of 50 year old George William Smith entered the courts in November, 1993. An Edmonton running team coach and former junior high school teacher was charged with three counts of sexual assault and two counts of indecent assault between 1982 and 1987 perpetrated against four teenage team members. The coach was found guilty of the charges and sentenced to 2 and 1/2 years for the behaviours (Jimenez, 1993).

Many suggest that this case is a break through. The Smith charges and decision are unusual, a rare example of athletic abuses

that reached the courts. Similar cases are waiting in the wings. One example of this is the current outstanding charges against the National Cycling Coach (Jimenez, 1993).

Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools (1992) became a landmark case in the United States because it was the first Title IX case where compensatory damages were awarded, providing a tangible remedy to sexual harassment. This case held that gender-based discrimination occurred as a result of sexual harassment and abuse by a high school teacher-coach (Miguel, 1994).

Although an option, a legal complaint is expensive financially and personally and it is difficult to know if a complaint of sexual harassment will be adjudicated within the legislation prohibiting discrimination (Backhouse & Cohen, 1978). However, legislation has proved worthwhile as a guide for the development of organizational sexual harassment policy and procedures. Catharine MacKinnon (1979, 1987) has been a leader in promoting the interpretation of sexual harassment as a form of discrimination based upon sex. As a result, the judicial system identifies two components of a legal definition of sexual harassment. These are identified as a) the legally phrased 'quid pro quo' segment which involves those cases clearly defined through the exchange of a reward or threat of reprisal in return for sexual favour and b) hostile work environment which recognizes job interference on the premise that inappropriate behaviours and attitudes obstruct achievement of organizational goals and the ability to perform to potential. This approach, supported by others (Blanchette, 1989; MacKillop, 1993), addresses both the direct harassment between the harasser and the harassed

and the indirect harassment that creates the offensive, sexist environment detrimental to comfort and productivity.

Two approaches have been taken to establish a definition of sexual harassment. One has been the use of legal guidelines which determine those actions which are culpable in the laws of a court. Sexual harassment is a violation of the law, an illegal manifestation of sex discrimination. The other is to explore the determinations of individuals for specific situations and attempt to establish a consensus that can be developed into a definition (Fitzgerald, 1990). The latter is the approach frequently used by researchers in higher education.

Reilly et al. (1982) used a factorial survey to assist in determining consensus for defining sexual harassment. Responses from students and faculty at the University of California - Santa Barbara revealed that consensus existed amongst both female and male students and faculty when cases were clearly at both ends of a sexual harassment continuum - extreme cases of clear sexual harassment and cases that clearly did not represent sexual harassment. However, they also found that identification of sexually harassing behaviours diminished when a prior relationship existed between faculty and student or when the student exhibited provocative behaviours.

Powell (1983) studied employed women to develop a definition of sexual harassment. The results of the study revealed that there was a high degree of variation in the definitions of sexual harassment and that those who had experienced sexual harassment deemed the problem of sexual harassment to be more serious.

Kenig and Ryan (1986) surveyed faculty, staff and students in a large American university and found agreement amongst subjects that, of the behaviours presented, representing a range from unwanted verbal interactions of a sexual nature to sexual assault, all but sex-stereotyped jokes did constitute sexual harassment, especially when from someone in a position of authority. However, females included each behaviour as a component of the definition significantly more frequently than males, again, especially when from someone in a position of authority. This suggests that the males restricted their definition to the relationship with a power differential more often than females, whereas females viewed the behaviours as sexual harassment regardless of the source of the behaviour and the perpetrator's role.

Padgitt and Padgitt (1986) examined the cognitive structure of sexual harassment amongst university students. This particular study identified eight components to define sexual harassment, ranging from least serious/sexist comments to most serious/sexual proposition and sexual bribery. Sexual assault was excluded as a behaviour representing sexual harassment. The concept of a continuum was supported, with the female subjects more consistent than the male subjects in their interpretation of harassing behaviours as offensive and, therefore, more viable for inclusion in a definition.

Powell (1986) studied both full time business students and part-time MBA students for the effects of sex role identity and sex on definitions of sexual harassment. He found that females identified more behaviours as sexual harassment than males.

Further, he found that "subjects high in femininity saw more sexual harassment than those low in femininity" (p.17); however, the effect of sex role identity had a small effect on definitions as compared to the effect of sex.

Although definitions of sexual harassment may vary, they express a common theme amongst them. Generally, most definitions recognize sexual harassment as any unwanted, non-reciprocal attention of a sexual nature by someone who knows or ought reasonably to know that such attention is unwanted, sexual requests that are accompanied with a promise of reward or threat of reprisal if denied, and/or sexually oriented remarks that result in an offensive or hostile environment and a form of gender based discrimination (Fain & Anderton, 1987; Paludi, 1990; University of Manitoba, 1988; University of Windsor, 1988; York University, 1982). "Sexual harassment has become increasingly understood as any deliberate or repeated sexual behavior that is unwelcome to its recipient, as well as other sex-related behaviors that are hostile, offensive, or degrading" (Fitzgerald, 1993, p. 1070). Others agree with these concepts as a start but dare to suggest that sexual harassment is much more complex than a simple definition can explain (Backhouse, 1978; Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Fain & Anderton, 1987; Farley, 1978; MacKinnon, 1979; Wise & Stanley, 1987). Based upon the fact that sexual harassment is primarily a women's issue with women as victims and men as harassers in most cases, these authors identify unequal power as a component within their definitions. Silverman (1976) bluntly defines "sexual harassment as the treatment of women workers as sexual objects" (p.15). Farley

(1978) states that "sexual harassment is best described as unsolicited, non reciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as worker" (p. 14). She further suggests that sexual harassment is a major force in the control of women's participation in the labour force. "...it (sexual harassment) is usually defined and viewed as an abuse of power made possible by the typical power inequalities between women and men" (Fain & Anderton, 1987, p. 292). Dagg and Thompson (1988) support this theory, viewing sexual harassment, an element of sexual discrimination, as a mechanism imposed by males in control to create a barrier to prevent women from achieving their career goals and to maintain the power imbalance in their favour. According to MacKinnon (1978), "sexual harassment, most broadly defined, refers to the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power" (p.1). Recent statistics indicate that the number of women in the workforce is now over fifty percent while employers and supervisory personnel continue to be predominantly male. Similarly, women now occupy a greater percentage of the university athlete population than ever before with the majority of administrative positions, and approximately half of the coaching positions, held by males. This organizational power imbalance, combined with socialized gender role differences, is an element of power that remains a critical predictor for potential cases of sexual harassment.

Most authors agree that significant change is unlikely unless measures are taken to educate, further develop policy and enforce current legislation. Feminist analysis proposes that significant

change can only be achieved through major structural changes that redistribute power in this society. No single definition can capture all of the experiences of women because they face such a wide variety of sexually harassing behaviours (Guberman & Wolfe, 1985). The evolution of a definition has undergone constant revision and must continue to be re-evaluated and reformulated to reflect the experiences and needs of women in particular since the majority of harassment comes from men and is directed towards women. Their individual experiences cannot be trivialized simply because they do not 'fit' existing definitions. A viable definition with general consensus is critical. It can set the tone for an organization's response to sexual harassment by educating employers, employees, and clients/faculty, staff and students, by serving notice to the community that sexual harassment will not be tolerated and by lifting the issue from a shroud of silence to allow critical debate.

Overall, the universal elements of a definition behaviourally incorporate unwelcomed and inappropriate behaviours of a hostile, quid pro quo or assaultive nature. These behaviours translate into a system of interactions that are non-task related and that interfere with equal treatment based upon sexual membership of a group. Contained within the network of interactions is an element of power, a constant that is defined according to the characteristics of each situation.

Incidence of sexual harassment

Sexual harassment in the workplace has become a public issue, readily apparent with the publicity generated in, as examples, the

Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings and the U. S Navy Tailhook scandal. While studies vary in their account of the degree to which sexual harassment exists, one reported as high as "92% of the women feeling that sexual harassment is a problem with nearly 9 out of 10 of the women reporting some form of sexual harassment from male bosses or colleagues" (Meyer, Berchtold, Oestreich & Collins, 1981, p. 6), while another reported 59% of respondents having experienced one or more incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace. In a survey conducted by the Canadian Human Rights Commission (1983) it was found that 49% of the women and 33% of the men surveyed had experienced unwanted sexual attention. A frequently referenced survey conducted by Redbook Magazine (Safran, 1976) reported that 9 out of 10 of the 9,000 respondents had experienced sexual harassment.

A national survey of sexual harassment amongst federal employees, conducted by the U. S. Merit Systems Protection Board in 1981 and updated in 1988, found that approximately 42% of the females and 15% of the males had experienced some form of sexual harassment (Wall, 1992).

The initial studies were conducted in the workplace. Sexual harassment on campuses has more recently begun to capture the attention of the public, including researchers. Having been silenced on campus in the past to protect public image, advocates for an environment free from sexual harassment have become more vocal, have recorded their experiences and have begun to bring the issue into public view. Several studies, particularly those involving students, suggest that 15-61% of college females experience sexual

harassment (Dagg & Thompson, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; MacKenzie & Lussier, 1988).

A number of explanations for the variation in reported experiences have been offered. The nature and source of the samples used have ranged in size, age, sex and composition according to social status and role, i.e., undergraduate student, graduate student, employees and the various subgroups of each. The survey instruments have demonstrated a great deal of variability. For example, some have offered a prescribed definition as a guideline while others have offered no definitional framework. Some have used behavioural terms for subject response without using the term 'sexual harassment' while others have openly acknowledged that the purpose of the study was to investigate sexual harassment. The frequency of sexual harassment reported also varies greatly depending upon how broadly the researcher or the respondent defines sexual harassment. "When definitions of sexual harassment include sexist remarks and other forms of 'gender harassment', the incidence rate in undergraduate populations nears 70%" (Paludi & Barickman, 1991, p. 145). The method of designing and reporting research about sexual harassment reveals a lack of consensus on the theoretical frameworks, and again makes it more difficult to compare results from one study to the next.

A study conducted by the University of Manitoba (1988), which provided a prescribed definition, found that 27% of the women and 20% of the men knew one or more persons who had experienced sexual harassment while 16% of the women overall indicated that they had been sexually harassed. Of female students, 15% overall

and 19% of the female graduate students stated that they had experienced sexual harassment. "By contrast approximately 4% of all men reported being harassed" (p. 6). Further, this study documented a high percentage of faculty members as offenders, supporting the theory that the power of faculty members and the subordination and vulnerability of students is an issue. Cammaert (1985) surveyed women on a Canadian university campus, 264 undergraduates and 86 graduates, reporting that 30% of the undergraduates and 23% of the graduates experienced sexually inappropriate behaviour. However, the specific nature of the harassing behaviour was unexplored.

Riger (1990) cited a study done by Lott, Reilly and Howard, 1982, at the University of Rhode Island which found that "of the female respondents, 40% reported being sexually insulted occasionally or often while on campus, compared with 17% of the men" (p. 497). Dziech and Weiner (1984) cite a number of studies on university campuses and concluded that "20 to 30 percent of women students report they have been sexually harassed by male faculty during their college years" (p. 15). McCormack (1985) reported that one out of every three or four female undergraduate and graduate students experience some form of sexual harassment. In a broad perspective survey at the University of Prince Edward Island, Mazer and Percival (1989) found that 89% of the women and 85% of the men who responded (215) reported at least one incident of sexual harassment. They also offer one of the few studies to address same-sex harassment by reporting that "women reported more incidents of opposite-sex harassment than did men and men reported

more same-sex harassment than did women" (p. 13). Theodore (1986) presents a number of qualitative accounts of experiences where women students and faculty were subjected to sexually harassing behaviours by male professors. Therefore, from literature results, men appear to be the predominant harassers of both women and men.

Benson and Thomson (1982), including a broad definition of sexual harassment, surveyed 400 female seniors at the University of California - Berkeley. Results indicated that sexual harassment is a problem, occurring more than on a rare or isolated occasion. Between 20-30% of the respondents in this study had experienced sexual harassment by at least one male instructor, most in the form of verbal advances and invitations.

In a study designed to produce a standardized instrument that could be used nationally to establish consistency in results and thus, comparable frequencies, Fitzgerald, Shullman, Bailey, Richards, Swecker, Gold, Ormerod, & Weitzman (1988) reported results from a sample of 2599 from two universities by sex and by undergraduate/graduate status. Overall, "slightly over 31% of the women students ... reported some form of gender harassment, while about 15% of the students ... had experienced seductive sexual approaches from their professors ..." (p.170), yet "large numbers of women who have experienced relatively blatant instances of such behavior fail to recognize and label their experiences as such (sexual harassment)" (p.171).

In a 1992 study of 9-19 year olds, sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund and

Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, researchers found that the most common form of sexual harassment is sexual comments, gestures or looks (89%); that other people are present at over two thirds of the incidents reported, suggesting that harassment is a public event; that girls are most often harassed by fellow students, but 4% of the girls reported being harassed by teachers, administrators and other school staff; and, most harassers are males. The relationship between the first and second points is significant since others (MacKinnon, 1979; Paludi, 1992) have pointed to the secrecy that allows the harasser to remain unnoticed. A distinction in the nature and seriousness of the harassment may be necessary as a qualifier to this point.

A pilot study (Holman, 1994) done with female and male athletes training and competing in a university athletic program revealed that 85% of the females and 72% of the males had been targets of sexual harassment at some point in their university experience. The females reported an equal amount of unwanted sexual attention from both male coaches and male peers, the males reported a slightly higher amount of unwanted sexual attention from female peers than female coaches and the female accounts of sexual attention from both coaches and peers were higher than those reported by the males.

The examination of incidence of sexual harassment suggests that individuals differ more on the label and the significance assigned sexually harassing behaviours than on the acknowledgment of its existence. Athletes may have similar variance in the label that they assign their experiences with others in athletics and the

significance of those experiences. Despite discrepancies in the definition of the problem and the research methods used, the review of literature leaves little doubt that sexual harassment does exist to the degree that it is problematic in both educational, including university athletics, and working environments, particularly for women.

Perceptions of sexual harassment and their gender differences

Perceptions and definitions of sexual harassment are somewhat interrelated, each affecting the parameters of the other. Much of the study of perceptions has been done in pursuit of a definition. Perceptions will also influence the level of incidence reported. When defining sexual harassment on the continuum principle, ranging from mild harassment to severe harassment, ambiguity in perceptions is most likely to occur at the mild end of the scale. In fact, reporting of sexual harassment by female students occurs more frequently in cases of severe harassment than in cases of mild harassment (Wall, 1992). There may be a number of explanations for this pattern. A more severe profile of sexual harassment may be more difficult to manage without outside counsel, may be viewed as more offensive, demanding more influential sanction, may extend beyond the realm of what individuals feel that they must put up with in daily exchanges with others, or may be more obvious and believable in the perceptions of the victim. Some support is found for this latter explanation by Adams et al. (1983), who found that 90% of both female and male students perceived explicit sexual propositions, physical advances

and sexual bribery to be sexual harassment. They further note that the respondents of their study were uncertain whether or not to classify sexist comments and undue attention (7% to 24%) as sexual harassment. Applying these findings to athletics, athletes would be more likely to classify the exploitive, personally directed behaviours of a sexual nature from coaches, peers and others in athletics as sexual harassment than the daily practices that are more generic in nature and less threatening physically.

Baker et al. (1990) also found that individuals' perceptions of sexually harassing behaviours were influenced by the severity of the incident. They, like others (Marks & Nelson, 1993; Popovich, Gehlauf, Jolton, Somers, & Godinho, 1992), also found that gender was a factor in response to sexual harassment, with females exhibiting a stronger reaction to sexual harassment than males. Interestingly, they also found that females were more willing to ignore less threatening forms of harassment as compared to those forms considered more serious.

Mazer and Percival (1989) investigated the relationship of perceptions and the degree to which individuals report having experienced sexual harassment. Their findings revealed that those who experienced sexual harassment perceived there to be a higher level of sexual harassment than those who had not experienced sexual harassment, yet they did not have a behaviourally more inclusive definition of sexual harassment or consider sexual harassment behaviours more seriously than others with less experience; that women identify more behaviours as sexual harassment than men; and, that those individuals who display more

sexist and discriminatory attitudes are more tolerant of sexually harassing behaviours and those who view sexual harassment as serious are less tolerant of sexist attitudes.

Pryor (1985) studied the attributes of the situation by which individuals make judgments about whether or not sexual harassment is present. He concluded that sexual harassment is more likely to be found under conditions in which a male perpetrator demonstrates negative characteristics towards the target. He determined that male sexual overtures were considered sexual harassment when they were made consistently over time, when they were made simultaneously to more than one target, and when the behaviour was an anomaly as compared to the behaviours of other men around him. Further, the results indicated that inappropriate behaviours of professors directed toward students were deemed to be more harassing than the same behaviours, exhibited by a student, directed toward a student.

Fitzgerald and Shullman (1993), citing the 1983 research of Gutek, Morasch, and Cohen, state that "their work was among the first to demonstrate what has since emerged as probably the most stable finding in the harassment literature, i.e., that women are far more likely than men to view such behavior as offensive" (p. 12). They also note that "although the gap persists for virtually all categories of behavior, it is particularly large with respect to less explicit situations and those involving gender harassment" (p.12), contrary to the finding noted above of Baker et al. (1990) and of Marks and Nelson (1993), who concluded that "subtle forms of harassment were not interpreted by female students, when compared

to male students, as more inappropriate" (p. 214). MacKenzie and Lussier (1988), in a gender comparison of their results, found that women are more likely to identify behaviours as sexual harassment. For example, they note that 41% of the women and 23% of the men consider 'sexist comments' to be sexual harassment; 48% of the women and 22% of the men found 'verbal sexual advances' offensive; 39% of the women found 'invitations' offensive compared to 20% of the men; and, 84% of the women found 'explicit sexual propositions' offensive compared to 54% of the men.

Kenig and Ryan (1986) examined gender difference in perceptions and found that there was greater disparity between females and males when the situation presented was more ambiguous. One of the outcomes of their study not yet noted in other studies is that females identified more sexual harassment than males in behaviours that involved peers than in behaviours that were imposed by persons in a position of authority. They also found that women were more likely than men to view romantic relationships with an imbalance of authority as inappropriate, even if there is no direct authority present. The pilot study by Holman (1994), exploring the experiences of university athletes, supported some of these findings. These results showed gender differences in which female athletes perceived more behaviours as an expression of sexual harassment than male athletes, and female athletes identified more peer behaviours as sexual harassment than did male athletes.

In one of the more recent studies, Hartnett, Robinson & Singh (1989), found that both the female and male subjects perceived

sexual harassment as inappropriate. It was suggested in this study that changing attitudes, homogeneity of subjects, and/or the nature of the vignettes used in the study may account for these results. However, a further finding that placed blame on the victim would tend to discredit the first explanation of changed attitudes for the overall findings. This, in fact, is supported by a 1991 study, conducted by Fitzgerald and Ormerod. Their results supported MacKinnon's (1979) division of sexual harassment based upon *quid pro quo* harassment versus conditions of work harassment, meaning that those forms of sexual harassment that involve threat or bribery and are seen as more serious, yet less frequent, are consistently acknowledged by both females and males. However, those forms of sexual harassment that are more ambiguous but deemed less serious, although occurring more frequently, are acknowledged by females more often than by males. These researchers concluded that "the most salient factors in judgments of whether a particular incident constitutes harassment appear to be the *severity* or explicitness of the incident and the *gender* of the perceiver" (p. 292).

Even amongst women, who, in the research, are overwhelmingly the recipients of sexual harassment and appear most often to be victims of sexual harassment because of the negative consequences both personally and professionally, there is a disparity in perceptions. Guberman and Wolfe (1985) citing the Canadian Human Rights Commission survey, noted that "57 percent of the women who said that they had experienced unwanted sexual attention did not think it was sexual harassment" (p. 113). Similarly, Jaschik and Fretz (1991) examined the perceptions of

ninety female undergraduates to determine their perceptions of behaviours in videos containing no harassment, subtle harassment or explicit harassment. While they may have acknowledged the behaviour as inappropriate or offensive, they were not likely to use the label of sexual harassment. This disassociation of acknowledgment of a behaviour from labelling it accordingly can be problematic in the resolution of a social enigma because it lends itself to confusion about the issue. Consensus in definition is necessary to establish both consistency in perception and for reporting of research that is comparable and meaningful.

Collins and Blodgett (1981) surveyed Harvard Business Review subscribers with the purpose of measuring opinions on the issue of sexual harassment. Their findings support other authors in the notion that sexual harassment is an issue of power, with the seriousness of the behaviour contingent upon the status of the harasser. They differed from Konrad and Gutek's (1986) theories slightly with the finding that women and men generally agree in the definition of sexual harassment but suggest "in most instances substantial differences appear in men's and women's perceptions of how frequently sexual harassment occurs" (p. 51). Recognizing the behaviour objectively but failing to acknowledge the behaviour subjectively becomes another method of denying or trivializing women's experience and silencing complainants. This becomes an extension of the power issue contained within sexual harassment, to be discussed later in this chapter.

Collins and Blodgett (1981) also found that one of the most pervasive and debilitating forms of sexual harassment is the

innuendo, jokes and taunting of women, yet it is also one of the most difficult to prove. Pettifer and Torge (1987) support this and point out, although it is usually viewed as the most insignificant and tolerable form of sexual harassment and results in behaviours that remain virtually unchallenged, those "whistles, propositions and sexual remarks serve to remind women of their vulnerability to more extreme forms of coercion like sexual assault" (p. 45).

The degree of perceived occurrence of sexual harassment fluctuates according to a number of variables. Konrad and Gutek (1986) have advanced three theories that provide some insight into the difference in attitude towards sexual harassment and when behaviours are labelled as such. First, there is the basic fact that differences in males and females and their attitudes toward sexual behaviour do exist which influence perceptions about sexual harassment. Males have traditionally been the aggressor in sexual relationships while women are not only encouraged to be passive but discouraged from initiating relationships with males. Athletes often adopt similar roles, expressed in the nature of their sport experience. Celebrated male sports are aggressive and domineering while accepted female sports are expressions of beauty and grace. In this theory, Konrad and Gutek state that "since sexual overtures from men are not uncommon, women may not be particularly flattered when men make sexual overtures" (p. 423). However, another response elicited might be one of indifference as women become desensitized to behaviour that is viewed as the norm and that they have thus come to expect.

Second is the fact that women have had more negative experiences as victims of sexual harassment, which will influence the perceptions of women in a different way than those of men. The majority of sexual harassment complaints are lodged by women, both formally and informally. At the same time, "women who file complaints of sexual harassment have been found to experience retaliation from organizational members" (p. 424). It is proposed by Konrad and Gutek (1986) that these experiences, defined as negative sexual experiences, will increase the probability that sexual behaviours at work will be perceived as sexual harassment.

Konrad and Gutek's third theory is known as 'gender spill-over' which refers to the inability to distinguish between gender role and work role, particularly in jobs that are predominantly segregated by sex. Jobs performed by both genders are viewed as sex-appropriate for either males or females. However, jobs that are stereotypically female or male will be viewed as sex-inappropriate for the opposite sex and will take on gender role expectations accordingly. They thus proposed that, because women in female dominated jobs assume certain feminine behaviours, they will label fewer behaviours as sexual harassment than women in gender-integrated or male-dominated jobs; because men in female-dominated jobs and men in male-dominated jobs may exhibit sexual behaviours themselves, they will label fewer sexual behaviours sexual harassment than men in gender-integrated jobs; because women in male-dominated jobs may be subjected to a greater number of sexual behaviours, they will label more behaviours as sexual harassment than women in gender-integrated or female-

dominated jobs; and, women and men in sex-integrated jobs will be less tolerant of sexual harassment behaviours.

Fain and Anderton (1987) have explained a tolerance for sexual harassment similarly, stating that "women in male predominant groups, ethnic minority groups, and women in general, all of whom are subjected to a dominant culture either inside or outside the organization, frequently had the opinion that sexual harassment should not cause offense" (p. 309).

Murrell and Dietz-Uhler (1993) replicated and extended the 1986 work of Konrad and Gutek (1986). Their study involved 107 students, 52 females and 55 males, in a university classroom. In the analysis of the data, they found that there were overall differences in attitudes towards sexual harassment between females and males, and therefore completed the analyses separately for females and males. While they found that direct experience with sexual harassment influences attitudes towards sexual harassment as in other studies (Marks & Nelson, 1993; Mazer & Percival, 1989), they found it to be so only for the males in their study. Further, they found that it influenced their attitudes in the opposite direction to that in other studies, resulting in more tolerance towards sexual harassment. As a result of this finding, the authors suggest that the males may have been desensitized, rather than sensitized, to the issue of sexual harassment as a result of their experience. This conclusion, although perhaps for different reasons, is corroborated by Fitzgerald (1993) who states that "the research on gender differences in perceptions has been particularly active, confirming that men generally have much narrower definitions of sexual

harassment and are less likely to evaluate any particular situation as being harassing" (p. 1071).

As the review of literature has thus far suggested, most researchers structure their research or present their findings on the principle that sexual harassment is a problem affecting women because of the actions of men. Critics (e.g., Vaux, 1993; Wall, 1992) are quick to point out that males, too, can be sexually harassed. More research is beginning to emerge that looks at the experiences of males but until this has been achieved, Vaux notes that the generalizations that have been made to date may be misleading. While many of the studies cited in this review do make reference to the experience of males from incidences and perceptions, there has been little interpretation of their experience. MacKillop (1993) suggests two reasons to explain that the issue of sexual harassment is not considered as serious an issue for males as it is for females. He does not believe that a female perpetrator holds the inherent power that males do in our society, which reduces the physical fear often associated with sexual harassment, and he does not believe that men as a group are used to being objectified the way that women have historically been objectified based upon heterosexuality, which allows them to view harassment as flattery or comical rather than offensive. Riger (1991), in citing Lott, Reilly and Howard (1982), noted that in their findings, "Of the female respondents, 40% reported being sexually insulted occasionally or often while on campus, compared with 17% of the men. Both men and women reported that women are rarely the source of such insults" (p. 497).

Hoffmann (1986) concurs with MacKillop's assessment and takes the argument further. In her theory, she incorporates a structural power component that suggests that women are unlikely to be in a position from which they can demand sexual favours from men. However, in the event that they are, she classifies this as a private issue rather than a public issue that impacts on men as a group. Women have systematically been sexually harassed as a means of social control. Socially constructed definitions of male and female sexuality, gender stratification, and workplace institutions characterized by hierarchical lines of power and authority provide the conditions under which this has been achieved. This has had a grievous effect on women as a class which moves it from the realm of the individual/private distress to a public place. The fact that men's experience with sexual harassment is on an individual level, rather than a systematic affront to all males, precludes its acknowledgment as a critical social issue for men.

A 1993 study by Marks and Nelson explored the question of women as perpetrators by examining the effects of gender of professors on perceptions of sexually harassing behaviours. This study could have implications for the question of females coaching males and sexual harassment. They had hypothesized that behaviours with the potential to be perceived as sexual harassment would be viewed as more appropriate when initiated by females towards a male student than when initiated by males towards a female student. The results of their study did not support this premise.

Since some of the research has found that those who have experienced sexual harassment perceive sexually harassing behaviours as more inappropriate, it might be expected that a comparison of subjects based upon college year, for example, first year students compared to seniors, would produce different results. Likewise, athletes in their first year of eligibility might be expected to hold perceptions that differ from more senior athletes. Marks and Nelson (1993) did not find this to be the case, noting that there was no difference in the perceptions of inappropriate behaviour between first year subjects and seniors.

Overall, perceptions are established by a number of variables. The literature presented suggests that the gender of the perpetrator and gender of the target, the severity and frequency of the behaviour, the judgment of complicity of the victim, the status of supervisory role, personal experience, and intentions of the perpetrator all contribute to perceptions. The configurations of these factors result in a great deal of variability in the determination of sexual harassment. Athletic experience in a male dominated structure may contribute further to the complexities of sexual harassment. However, despite this fact, there are certain behaviours that are classified as harassment by law regardless of individual perceptions, including hostile conduct, quid pro quo propositions and acts of assault.

Theoretical Models for Sexual Harassment

A number of theories have been advanced as explanations for the presence of sexual harassment in the workforce and in academe.

Like the definition of sexual harassment, no one theory seems adequate to explain the complexity of the issue. The following outlines the most common theories found in the literature that offer an explanation for the existence of sexual harassment.

Theory of gender

Feminist theory assumes that men and women have different experiences and "that the oppression of women is part of the way the structure of the world is organized " (Flax, 1993, p. 81).

Feminist analysis has identified power within the theory of patriarchy, and more recently capitalist patriarchy, to explain the presence of sexual harassment in the workforce and academia.

Patriarchy can be defined "as a system of male privilege"

(Lafontaine & Tredeau, 1986, p. 434), a system

" in which men have more power than women, and have more access to whatever society esteems. What society esteems obviously varies from culture to culture; but if you look at the spheres of power, you'll find that all who have it are male.

This is a long-term historical fact rooted in real things. It's not a question of bad attitudes; it's not a historical accident - there are real advantages to men in retaining control over women" (Flax, 1993, p. 82).

Within this structure, gender refers to the social distinctions based on sex, focusing on the relational aspects of masculinity and femininity. Generally, the "male is seen as subject and agent and the

female as object or other" (Edwards, 1987, p.16). While these aspects are socially constructed and reinforced in daily actions, they have been grounded in exaggerated biological differences that serve to naturalize the socially constructed differences. Athletics is an example where this principle has been applied to determine what is appropriate for females and males with male standards providing the norm to focus on difference and project masculinity as superior. "The basic proposition is that violence and sexuality are socially constructed in ways that serve the interests of male dominance. Non-violent forms of heterosexuality also become problematic since they help maintain patriarchal structures and ideologies" (Edwards, 1987, p. 27). It is within this context that behaviours can be analyzed to determine how they function to maintain social order or to encourage change (Scott, 1986).

Connell (1985) is more specific in his examination of social order. He refers to the use of gender order as a socially constructed pattern of power relations between men and women. Men occupy the dominant power positions based upon gender alone while women are left to assume a subordinate social power relative to men. Masculinity and femininity are social constructions that function to reinforce this gender order. Athletics is an practice used to express this concept. Masculinity, symbolizing activity and strength, is structured in a way that its characteristics satisfy male needs for the maintenance of dominance by accentuating power and control. This construction of masculinity defines what men are and, by implication, what women are (Morgan, 1987). Femininity, symbolizing passivity and weakness, is structured in a way that its

characteristics also satisfy male needs socially, sexually and economically, creating a male dependency. In this context, it can be understood how both masculinity and femininity are developed in relation to one another and how this construction results in a structured social inequality (Connell, 1985).

In spite of this apparent dichotomy, it is important to note that to place all males and all females in restrictive categorizations of masculinity and femininity produces a false universalization for each group. There are males who are marginalized based upon such criteria as sexuality, race or ethnic origin and class. However, the use of gender order, recognizing that a hierarchy exists within each gender, provides a concept that contributes to the understanding of the various circumstances that oppress women as a group.

Lorber and Farrell (1991) support the proposal of others that "the theoretical perspective is that of the social construction of gender, which informs a feminist understanding of the systemic aspects of the position of women in society and also integrates empirical research to demonstrate this reality in women's and men's lives. gender is seen as one of the foundations of every existing social order" (p.1). Gender is constructed through the social interactions that occur between individuals, an accomplishment as a result of interactional and, therefore, institutional influences (West & Fenstermaker, 1993). It would follow that "social change, then, must be pursued at the institutional and cultural levels of sex category and at the interactional level of gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1991, p.33).

Theory of power

Whether explicitly or implicitly referenced, much of the research on sexual harassment incorporates the concept of power. "It is frequently argued that sexual harassment is not about sex but about power" (Tinsley & Stockdale, 1993, p. 1). Most feminists would claim that power is always one of the elements present in sexual harassment because of the capitalist patriarchy of North American society that subordinates women both economically and socially. The following will address the influence of both organizational power and interpersonal power and how they relate to sexual harassment as possibilities for an explanation. However, because power may not satisfactorily provide a complete explanation for all forms of sexual harassment, additional explanations will be tendered.

In researching its definition, leadership was found to be a concept as difficult as sexual harassment to describe with precision and consensus. Although leadership appears to be defined according to the needs of a specific situation, "most definitions of leadership reflect the assumption that it involves an influence process whereby intentional influence is exerted by the leader over followers" (Yukl, 1989, p. 3). Given their ability to influence, leaders are concomitantly ascribed a relative degree of power. Sashkin (1988) suggests that effective leadership exhibits two personal characteristics, one in which "personality orientation is focused on obtaining power in order to empower others to carry out the vision" (p. 125), and another in which a leader "wants and uses power because it is instrumental for obtaining personal gratification" (p.

126). Bennis (1989) indirectly supports this theory by suggesting that leadership can have a dual focus. Individualism is concerned with the use of a leadership role for the personal accumulation of resources and the resultant acquisition of power as the reward. In this circumstance, acquisition of power becomes the aspiration which is the driving force behind behaviour. In the extreme, this can lead the individual, and those who hold the individual in high esteem, to believe that their leadership is infallible. Counter to this approach is leadership based upon a sense of community. Aspirations focus upon the group goals and objectives with reward claimed through collective achievement.

Yukl (1989), in a review of leadership theory and research, classified the research into four approaches - power-influence approach, behavior approach, trait approach and situational approach. The power-influence-approach "explains leadership effectiveness in terms of amount of power possessed by a leader, the types of power and how power is exercised" (p. 254). Power is essential for influence at all relational levels - subordinates, peers, superiors and those holding significance outside the organization. The behaviour approach concerns itself with what leaders actually do to be effective. The trait approach emphasizes the personal attributes for successful leadership. The situational approach views the context in which the leader functions as relevant to leadership success, looking at how the situation influences the leader.

Coaches assume a leadership role by the nature of the responsibilities indigenous to the position. With this leadership is the power to influence athletes directly in their sport environment

and often indirectly in their personal environment. The manner in which this power is used may vary according to a number of variables such as traits of the coach, traits of the athlete, interaction with the environment and goals and objectives of both individuals and the organization. Similar variables will determine the effect of this power which can have a positive or negative impact on those involved.

A review of 'power' is warranted as noted by Collier and Holmes (1989), with their statement "sexual harassment has emerged as an issue affecting both men and women, pitting the powerful against the powerless in a way that can undermine ... " (p. 28) the goals of an organization, the achievement of individuals and the dignity of all.

Power, a term with many meanings, is derived from one or a multiple of sources (Yukl, 1989). Power from the position itself, often referred to as organizational power, "includes legitimate authority, control over resources, control over information, control over punishments, and ecological control" (Yukl, 1989, p. 15). Personal power is also a source of power and is dependent upon "relative task expertise, friendship and loyalty, and a leader's charismatic qualities" (p. 15). In citing Voydanoff (1988), Cleveland and Kerst (1993) point out that one of the strategies used by men to strengthen personal power is informal, covert types of discrimination. The examples they forward are the 'stag effect,' which excludes women from the informal networking system, and the 'putdown,' which is used to ignore or diminish their contributions, accomplishments or power. A third source of power

is political power, which is described as "controlling key decisions, forming coalitions, and co-opting opponents" (p. 15). Power is generally reflected as a hierarchy in which those at the top of the hierarchy accumulate generous portions of the power while those at the lower levels of the hierarchy are often devoid of power. This statement, however, is qualified with the term generally because there is some variation in the distribution of power depending upon the situation. These sources of power, organizational, personal and political, and their distribution as typically identified in organizations are identifiable in athletic organizations. This most obviously is present within the coach-athlete relationship as well as in other hierarchical relationships, but it is also apparent in peer relationships.

Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, & Forrest (1990) note that power in an organization is a social construction that is determined both by how power is defined and how it is distributed. Lack of access to power or the resources that define it results in a worker becoming more dependent on those who have such access. Relationships then evolve with those in power creating a resource dependency among subordinates. As an analogy, labelling the athlete as the worker in the athletic organization's pursuit of their organizational goals, winning athletic contests, the athlete becomes dependent upon the coach who is their direct contact with organizational resources.

"Power, Influence Tactics, and Leader Effectiveness" is addressed as a chapter by Yukl (1989). Although leader effectiveness is outside the parameters of this review, the components of power and influence tactics have relevance for

understanding the dynamics of sexual harassment in athletics.

Coaches as leaders develop a style that uses power as a means to an end. The type of power utilized by a leader will elicit a particular response in a subordinate. Drawing on a power taxonomy developed by French and Raven in 1959, Yukl (1989) defined five types of power and the predicted response between agent-target (leader-subordinate). These are reward power, in which the target person complies in order to obtain a reward controlled by the agent; coercive power, in which the target person complies to avoid punishment controlled by the agent; legitimate power, in which the person complies because the agent has been given authority to make demands by virtue of their role within the organization; expert power, in which the target person complies out of respect for the expertise of the agent; and referent power, in which a target person complies out of respect for the agent whose approval the target person seeks. Each of these categories reflects achievement or assignment and, as such, are subject to change.

Stricker et al. (1990) have extended this list by introducing ascribed power, associated with an attribute or attributes that an individual has no control over, including sex and ethnicity. For the purpose of researching sexual harassment, these authors note that North American culture ascribes more power to men simply because they are men. They could extend this statement to incorporate ethnicity, modifying men to white men.

Yoder and Kahn (1992) refer to a dichotomy of power. They would categorize those types of power identified by Yukl as power-over as opposed to power-to, a method of leadership and

management that empowers individuals to be responsible for themselves and the outcomes of their own decisions and behaviours. Their premise forwards the idea that power-over conditions are a prelude to abuse and dependency while power-to enables autonomy and control.

By analyzing power in this way, it becomes apparent how its misuse can lead to abuses and how its proper use can avoid abuses. "A variety of power-related characteristics of the potential harasser and the target or recipient of harassment are vital in understanding sexual harassment in organizations" (Cleveland & Kerst, 1993. p. 50). The structure of organizations and the concomitant allocation of power can contribute to the behaviour of their members. These variables, as identified by Kanter (1977), include the structure of opportunity within the organization, the structure of power, and the proportional distribution of various kinds of persons. Kanter (1977) notes that the homosocial reproduction of most organizations maintains a disproportionate representation of men to women, particularly in positions of power. When this happens, women are at the mercy of a patriarchal organization which structurally creates a climate more susceptible to sexual harassment.

Kanter (1977) proposes that power differentials can exist informally amongst peers (co-workers) as well as when formal differences are absent. In addition to the informal networks that have been referenced, she suggests that differential support given females and males as well as latitude of decision-making provided by administrators (supervisors) influence an individual's perceived

power, or perception of others' power, within the organization. Cleveland and Kerst (1993) expanded on the concept of informal power by suggesting that "co-workers (peers) can exercise power by providing or withholding aid, cooperation, and support" (p.56). Their research led them to conclude that the need for some males to employ some form of available power may arise with the emergence of women as powerholders, formally or informally, in the organization. This may be viewed as personally or professionally threatening, particularly in traditionally male-dominated settings. The use of sexual harassment then becomes a mechanism to gain power or, in the case of a subordinate, to maximize an existing power differential.

Cleveland and Kerst (1993) also make reference to societal power, which reflects a hegemonic power structure typical in sport (Sage, 1990), where those in power as well as those devoid of power passively accept the existing hierarchies. In this structure, being male confers higher status, which implies greater personal power as a result of mere membership of the group holding the power. This becomes significant in the analysis of sexual harassment involving peer relationships.

Additional theory

In spite of the assumption often made that sexual harassment is an issue of power, with males asserting one form or another over females, the male subjects, as opposed to the female subjects, in a study done by Popovich et al. (1992) perceived potentially sexually harassing behaviours to be the result of attraction rather than

power. This can assist in the explanation of different perceptions about sexual harassment by females and males. However, it also reinforces the theory of personal power since it suggests that attraction justifies sexual harassment in a heterosexual social exchange. This theory could be useful or contradict relations in athletics. It is supported for those female athletes who participate in the traditional female activities that display grace and beauty and pose as no threat to traditional male activities and represent heterosexual appeal. It is contradicted for those female athletes who participate in the traditional male activities that require strength, power and stamina and closely identify with the structure of traditional male activities. For these athletes, their sexuality may be questioned because their actions challenge traditional notions of heterosexual appeal.

Tangri, Burt, and Johnson (1982) have offered three explanatory models for sexual harassment in the workplace. The value of this work has withstood the storms of time as it has recently been reprinted in its entirety in Wall (1992). Their three models are: 1) the natural or biological model, 2) the organizational model, and 3) the sociocultural model.

The natural or biological model explains sexual harassment as a natural sexual attraction between two individuals. With this explanation, the motive for the behaviour is attraction with no intent to harm or harass.

The organizational model offers explanation on the basis that the structure of the hierarchy and the relationship of lines of authority provide an opportunity for the occurrence of sexual

harassment. The dominant-subordinate alliance provides the powerful an opportunity to seek personal gratification from professional roles while the powerless are often left with few viable options but to acquiesce. The differential of power that exists in this model is characteristic of the quid pro quo harassment that has been prevalent in legal reactions and much of the research.

The sociocultural model professes that sexual harassment is a part of the larger cultural system that maintains patriarchy. Beginning with socialization where females and males are taught roles that reflect passivity and aggression respectively, the political, economic and social systems reinforce these sex-based roles. This model accommodates a power differential since the category man "also connotes strength indicative of power over others ... (with the result that) some men feel they have an inherent right to possess this power" (Morra & Smith, 1993, p.17). Connell (1985), in theorizing gender, recognizes the influence of both the idea of sex roles and the power relations between males and females in the social construction of gender and the way that women become oppressed. The outcome that females are conditioned to defer to male authority contributes to their vulnerability to sexual harassment.

Jones and Remland (1992) investigate the theory of social exchange as a variable in the proliferation of sexual harassment. This theory refers to the ability of individuals to exchange resources as a means of negotiating a desired outcome. In a normal interpersonal relationship, a balance would be established to ensure that the exchange is fair and equitable and that the cost-benefit is

satisfactory. In the case of sexual harassment, best applied to quid pro quo harassment, the balance has been disrupted as a result of the non-reciprocal response of a recipient, who then becomes a target or victim of sexual harassment. The results of their study provided some support for the use of this theory in explaining sexual harassment. They found that individuals can be expected to react to sexual harassment behaviours relative to the degree of the offense, i.e., the more severe the harassment, the more negative the response. Further, the harasser is viewed more positively when the target response to the behaviours is positive. In spite of matching criteria for sexual harassment, when there is less reaction from the target, others tend to view the situation as mutual exchange. Additional significant results revealed that subjects viewed the perpetrator more favourably when the target was male, with a possible explanation that males are expected to welcome sexual attention as an expression of their masculinity. And finally, the results of this study also supported the concept that females perceived more harassment and responded more negatively toward the perpetrator than did males.

Pryor and Day (1988) concluded from a review of literature that the divergent interpretations of sexual harassment were legitimate but needed a theoretical framework. Their research was an attempt to use attribution theory, "the interpretation of social behavior as a function of its perceived causes" (p. 416), to provide a psychosocial framework for the interpretation of specific behaviours. They propose that a mere alteration in the interpretation of the behaviour will result in a concomitant

adjustment in the perception of the seriousness of that specific behaviour. With this phenomenon, a strong relationship is established between the attributions of causality and a recognition of sexual harassment. They conclude, therefore, that "if we assume that men normally adopt a male point of view and that women adopt a female point of view in social-sexual encounters, then it is easy to see why men and women often disagree in their interpretations of sexual harassment" (p.414).

The psychosocial framework is taken a step further with the work of Pryor et al. (1993), which accounts for both situational and individual factors in the presence of sexual harassment. This framework proposes that "some individuals may be predisposed to perform sexually harassing behaviors ... (and) some social situations may be more likely to give rise to sexually harassing behaviors than others" (p.69). Examples of situational determinants are sexualization/gender integration of the work environment and tolerance of the organizational leadership. Examples of personal determinants are stereotyped sex-role attitudes and perceived personal attractiveness. It is the interaction of many factors, situation and person, that provide the opportunity and motive for sexual harassment to occur. This framework is consistent with the organizational analysis done by Kanter (1977) and Yukl (1989).

Stockdale (1993) discusses the use of 'misperception theory' as a means of understanding sexual harassment. This theory proposes that the sexual interpretation given to women's friendly behaviour may provide some explanation of sexual harassment. She notes from her review of literature that "especially when viewing

the behavior of a female actor, male observers interpret her behavior as being more sexually motivated than do female observers" (p. 85). Researchers have offered some empirical evidence to support this theory. Research by Abbey (1982) shows that males perceive more sexuality than friendliness in women's social interactions. Saal et al. (1989) replicated and extended the works of Abbey in three studies, the results of which supported Abbey's findings and a new finding that males' interpretation of the sexual nature of the interaction was higher than that of females. In applying this to sexual harassment, Popovich (1992) found that, with more ambiguous forms of sexual harassment that contribute to the hostile environment, males, as compared to females, are less likely to view this as sexual harassment or as behaviour that is particularly hostile. They have suggested that men may be more inclined to interpret behaviour as attraction to the victim and to interpret interactions with women as sexual when the women are interpreting the same interaction as being social or friendly.

Stockdale (1993) suggests that "the tendency to misperceive is associated with traditional sex-role attitudes, tolerance for sexually harassing activities, and nonacceptance of feminists' views about sexual harassment" (p. 87). In addition, she notes that the tendency to misperceive is not only related to sexist attitudes and beliefs but also to being less repulsed by a sexual harasser" (p. 88). By misperceiving a woman's friendliness, a man may think that a woman is attracted to him and/or is available to him. An issue that may further complicate such a situation is the fact that the female, wanting to maintain a friendly relationship, may disregard the

sexual attentions of the male to salvage what is important to her in the perceived friendship. Williams and Cyr (1992) identify yet another complication in their finding that males rate a behaviour as sexual harassment less often when a female target made prior commitments to a friendly relationship.

Athletics and the Review of Literature

Research on the occurrence and effects of sexual harassment in the workforce, and even in the academic life of students, has grown in recent years. One of the results that has surfaced is a better understanding of the complexity of the issue and the diversity of the experience. While little of the research has addressed the experience of athletes, much of it can be applied to the athletic environment theoretically, even though further study would be required to render validity for the confirmation of such extrapolations.

As compared to an organizational model that bases an explanation for sexual harassment on power and position within the organization rather than on gender, the misperception model provides an alternative explanation that is based upon gendered meanings or realities and sexual appeal. Expanding upon this is the feminist, woman-centred approach that directs responsibility away from the victim by addressing the homophobic fears of males in traditionally male-dominated environments such as athletics (Lanskyj, 1986, 1992; Rich, 1993). The social construction of femininity and compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1993) is incongruent with the masculine world of sport. By redefining

themselves through sport, women resist male control, symbolically assert their independence and begin to shed the characteristics of femininity that have become oppressive over the years. The response to this declaration on the part of women has led to harassment on two fronts, through the allegation of lesbianism and through unwanted sexual attention. The intent is to trivialize and minimize the experiences that women have in sport and to maintain the perception of male superiority while the outcome is that women are inclined to tolerate sexual attention and perhaps even emphasize their sexuality to achieve acceptance from the dominant group, males.

Betts and Newman (1982) point out that "the question of sexual harassment in university and college environments is further complicated by the peculiar dynamics of higher learning and the student-faculty relationships that are fostered" (p. 50). This same complication applies to athletics with, no doubt, greater intensity. Added to the student-faculty relationship, the student athlete-coach relationship involves a concentration of contact hours on a daily basis and travel on a regular basis. Further, while success may be important to the athlete, the coach may have more invested and more at stake which may translate into an increase in intensity of relationships with athletes. These factors may be significant in understanding sexual harassment in athletics.

This does not, however, explain why male coaches sexually harass female athletes if female coaches do not. Birrell (1988) identifies leadership style based on gender as a possible explanation that can be applied here. Female leaders, "uncomfortable with the

idea of power" (p.475), exhibited four characteristics that diffused power, reducing the likelihood of sexual harassment. These are "a commitment to fairness, even at the expense of self-interest; an extraordinary sense of responsibility and mission to the organization; an openness or trusting style; and a sense of shared leadership" (p.476). Yet "men tend to be authoritarian and aggressive" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 203) in their coaching leadership styles. They have power and they exert it to control the athletic, and sometimes personal, lives of their athletes (Coakley, 1990; Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1992). Leadership attributes combined with the social objectification of women result in a situation that makes women athletes vulnerable to sexual harassment.

Involvement in sport has been praised for the values that it offers its participants (Coakley, 1990; Greendorfer & Hasbrook, 1991; Yiannakis & Greendorfer, 1992). One of the positive outcomes associated with sport has been the development of self-esteem as a result of the sport experience (Edwards, 1993; Foon, 1989; Lenskyj, 1988). Malovich and Stake (1990) examined sexual harassment on campus and, in looking at individual differences in attitudes and beliefs, found that high self-esteem women as opposed to low self-esteem women, and liberal women as opposed to traditional women, were less tolerant of sexual harassment and more likely to report incidents of harassment. However, they also found that high-esteem women were less likely to provide support or understanding to those women who do experience sexual harassment. In addition, the results suggested that high self-esteem women who were traditional were the most complacent about sexual harassment,

most tolerant, least aware and unsupportive. In citing Silverman (1976), the researchers note that these women are skilled and successful but also male-identified.

Female athletes would be considered high self-esteem individuals as a result of their sport participation and successes. To earn membership on a university team, these women have achieved a high level of technical skill and knowledge. In addition, they would be considered liberal individuals, as opposed to traditional. They are participating in an activity that runs counter to the traditions of femininity. Therefore, on the basis of this application, they would be expected to show low tolerance of sexual harassment; to report incidents of sexual harassment; and, to show little support for victims of sexual harassment.

Recently, a trend for research examining males, masculinity and sport has emerged (Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992; Messner & Sabo, 1990 & 1994; Whitson, 1990), along with some works that examine gender relations relevant to sport (Birrell, 1988; Cahn, 1993; Hall, 1988, 1990). The general theme of these writings is critical of the role of sport in establishing just one masculinity that is powerful, superior to and dominating of women and other masculinities, emotionally distant and physically abusive. Part of the criticism is that in such a structure, "men resist allowing women and men to work together as equals because doing so undermines differentiation and hence male domination" (Reskin, 1991, p.147). Through the sexualization of relationships between males and females, social control over women is maintained (Edwards, 1987).

Many believe that athletics offers a breeding ground for the development of attitudes and beliefs that precipitate sexual harassment. Messner (1988) notes that "increasing female athleticism represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies, and self-definition, and as such represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination" (p. 197). Yet Reskin (1991) suggests that "physical proximity per se is not threatening as long as another form of differentiation sets women apart" (p.149).

Pryor (1987) undertook some research related to sexual harassment that focused on males and the relationship of their behaviour to females. He conducted three studies to assess the sexual harassment proclivities in men, providing a partial profile of men who are more likely to engage in sexual harassment as well as some of the circumstances within which it will most likely occur. Some of his findings reveal that men who are most likely to harass are likely to hold adversarial sexual beliefs, find it difficult to assume other's perspectives, are more likely to be high in authoritarianism, describe themselves in terms that strongly differentiate themselves from stereotypical femininity and behave in sexually exploitive ways when it can go unnoticed because of the situation in which it occurs. These concepts can be applied to sport.

Messner (1992), Messner and Sabo (1994) and Sage (1990) have noted that sport is an activity that men use to reaffirm their masculinity and their dominance over women. The use of ritual and the sexual objectification of women offer the means by which they can differentiate from femininity. At the same time, they have

learned to defer to an authoritarian sport structure, particularly male authority, that dictates domination from above. Combining their works with Pryor's (1987) findings would suggest that athletes fall within his category of men who are most likely to harass.

A study done by Valentine-French and Radke (1989) examined attributions of responsibility for sexual harassment in a university setting based upon gender and traditional vs. non-traditional attitudes. As previously noted in this review, female subjects identified behaviours as sexual harassment more often than male subjects. One additional finding revealed that subjects with more traditional attitudes were more inclined to attribute responsibility to the victim of sexual harassment while those with non-traditional attitudes were more inclined to attribute greater responsibility to the perpetrator.

It has been found that women who work in traditionally male-dominated environments are more often subjected to sexual harassment than women in traditionally female-dominated environments (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). Athletics is such an environment. Kanter (1977) notes that women are less likely than men to hold power in an organization and that they failed to acquire equal or greater status in the organization in spite of comparable credentials. Galasso and Holman (1987) found this to be the case in athletics when examining salaries related to job responsibilities and workload, academic qualifications, and experience. They determined that pay inequities existed by finding that overall qualifications of women were equal to, or superior to, male

counterparts while their salaries were less. The Fitness and Amateur Sport Women's Program with the CIAU (1990) and Acosta and Carpenter (1992) have documented gender imbalances in leadership positions within university sport in Canada and the United States respectively. The number of women holding administrative and head coaching positions does not equal the rate of athlete participation of women or parallel the employment levels held by men. These are forms of structural segregation that diminish the organizational power of women (Cleveland & Kerst, 1993). Although the scope of this study does not include the experience of female athletic administrators or coaches, this scenario provides an athletic demographic that demonstrates gender inequities that could make female athletes more vulnerable to sexual harassment.

One need only critique the volume of print and electronic media attention given to the NFL, NBA, NHL to understand the influence of athletics in North American society, and the male domination. This domination is prevalent in university athletics as well. Major decision makers and administrators are men, close to half of the coaches of women's teams are men, and still only about one third of the participants are female (Acosta & Carpenter, 1992; Fitness & Amateur Sport, 1990; Sage, 1990). While women are entering the world of athletics in greater numbers and in more roles than ever before, athletics continues to be a traditionally male-dominated environment based upon numbers, roles and attitudes. The hierarchy that emerges is not only a relationship of the ruling but a relationship among the various units (Smith, 1990) within athletics

that maintain, reinforce and exaggerate dominance. Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) explored the significance of the traditional male-dominated environment. They found support for an increase of sexual harassment for women in traditional male occupations; a decline in the incidence of sexual harassment as the severity of the offense increased; peers as the most frequent perpetrators of sexual harassment; and, a decline of harassment when organizations provided equal employment opportunities. Sexual harassment is a mechanism used to coerce females out of non-traditional 'arenas' or to discourage them from entering the non-traditional 'fields' in the first place (Lach & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1993; Ramazanoglu, 1987). "It is important to note that, like other forms of sexual victimization, harassment functions as an agent of social control" (and) women who venture into the dangerous (but challenging and lucrative) male worlds of firefighting, soldiering, mining, (athletics) and so forth are expected to accept whatever harassment they receive" (Fitzgerald, 1993, p. 1072).

If this theory is applied to sport, it may also be theorized that sexual harassment is used to ensure that those who do choose to participate do so according to traditional masculine rules - in feminine ways. This becomes an expression of stereotyping that Fiske (1993) declares is a means of discrimination and control over others based upon the category they represent. She explains that those in power stereotype to serve their own needs and to solidify their dominance while those targeted "do not want to be stereotyped because it limits their freedom and constrains their outcomes, even their lives. In short, stereotypes exert control ... through prejudice

and discrimination" (p. 621). This patriarchal, heterosexual influence of stereotyping accommodates women when they engage in sex-appropriate activities such as gymnastics, cheerleading or figure skating and when they assume supportive, care-giving roles in administration such as assistant coach, assistant athletic director or managers. The outcome of this process is one in which others, as well as the individual herself, comes to devalue her professional contribution and/or achievement and identifies her value with sexual characteristics (May & Hughes, 1992). The use of sexual harassment as a tool to maintain a sexualized environment also contributes to the perpetuation of sex segregation and adversarial gender relations.

Theberge (1981) sees sport as "a fundamentally sexist institution that is male dominated and masculine in orientation" (p.342). "The devaluation of women and the feminine in boys and men is part of the establishment of male identity and the construction of men's power and privilege over women" (Messner, 1992, p.197). By defining what masculinity is, they are also defining what femininity is and translating male physical dominance into male social dominance as well.

"Research over the past two decades has shown convincingly that sport is indeed a social institution (meaning that) the values and structure of sport have always been closely intertwined with dominant social values, power relations, and conflicts between groups and between nations" (Messner, 1992, p.9). The core values of an institution have "important, if covert, functions for the maintenance of the gender order and for the legitimation of male

power and the use of violence" (Edwards, 1987, p.20). The use of the male body and male sexuality as a tool in creating a gendered sport environment where males emerge dominant is significant in understanding sexual harassment in athletics.

Summary

The review of literature in each of the five areas of definition, incidence, perceptions, theoretical models, and athletics will serve as a basis for development and analysis of this research. Although much of the literature is not directly related to athletics, it provides the history and dimensions of sexual harassment that can be applied to analysis of sexual harassment in an athletic environment. The information presented on definitions revealed that this is an area that has received a great deal of attention and has been subjected to a great deal of debate yet continues to evade consensus. Legal definitions offer more consistency but remain abstract while social definitions offer specifics in a contextual framework which can lead to inconsistency. The literature tracing incidence is as equally open-ended as definition, with a range of findings relative to the context and methods used to conduct the research. Perceptions also reveal extensive variation. The combined variation in definitions, perceptions and, therefore, reported incidence by both females and males can be attributed to many factors - gender, nature of the behaviour, previous experience with sexual harassment, relationship with and/or behaviour of the target or the perpetrator, role of the perpetrator, and sex role identity. There may be others. The theories presented open debate about the

meanings and understanding of sexual harassment. It is the theories that will isolate the true dynamics of relationships that become problematic and serve as a guide for resolution.

Overall, experiences of sexual harassment are often subjective and almost always contextual. This makes researching the topic a challenge, generalizable only to the population sampled. It makes theory development difficult, reflected in the range of theory from which to draw. It leaves many questions unanswered and many issues unresolved. The findings in this study will be linked to the findings and theories presented in the literature for the purpose of moving toward a better understanding of sexual harassment.

This report will examine the results of this study using critical feminist theory. Discussion will be developed on the theory that athletics produces and reproduces a social order based on gender employing social interactions, including sexual harassment, to achieve a social order which is oppressive and constraining for women. As a feminist approach, it will reflect a commitment to equalizing conditions for women in athletics by critically examining those structures that have facilitated sexual harassment.

The review of literature shows that sexual harassment is a problem that exists in both the workplace environment and in higher education. While campuses have been slow to respond, they have been even slower to merely acknowledge the possibility of the pervasion of sexual harassment within university athletic programs. Further, limited research has been done to determine the extent of the problem. This research is an attempt to alleviate the void by contributing to the knowledge and understanding of sexual

harassment in an athletic environment through the voice of the athletes.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Chapter III discusses the procedures and methods that were utilized to conduct this research. It outlines the study design and sampling procedures used, makes reference to the value of the pilot study for the development of the present study's methods, describes the survey instrumentation and the interview process, describes the means of data collection, and outlines procedures for data analysis.

Permission to conduct the study was granted by the Canadian Interuniversity Athletics Union, hereafter CIAU, after review and approval by Michigan State University's University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects - Protocol #94-571 (Appendix B).

Study Design

Research addressing sexual harassment in athletics is sparse. It was, therefore, important first to explore the climate of university athletic programs to determine the extent of the presence of sexual harassment within the parameters of this study. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected by employing survey and interview techniques. The survey provided a technique for determination of the quantitative scope of the problem while the interviews were used to both investigate experiences in greater depth and to ascertain the meanings that both female and male athletes grant to the presence of sexual harassment.

An exploratory design, emphasizing both quantitative and qualitative methods, leading to both descriptive and analytical components, was used for this applied research. The study examined a cross section of subjects who are representative of the population of student-athletes in Canadian universities. The initial portion of the study explored the experiences and perceptions that subjects related concerning sexual harassment in university athletics. Analytical techniques were used to make group comparisons based upon prescribed stratifications for the purpose of describing existing differences, or similarities, in responses and characteristics of particular subgroups. Further description followed the assessment of the nature and depth of the problem through interviews in which subject and researcher contributed to interpretations of the meaning, understanding and resolution of identified differences. Although collection of data occurred at one point in time, subjects were asked to recall experiences by reporting on their past (1-4 years) in addition to current, ongoing experiences.

Population and sample identification and selection

The target population identified for this study was student-athletes from the CIAU's 45 member universities. CIAU sports are women's and men's basketball, women's and men's cross country running, women's field hockey, men's football, men's ice hockey, women's and men's soccer, women's and men's swimming, women's and men's athletics (formerly track and field), and women's and men's volleyball. Because the majority of cross country runners go

on to compete in the indoor track season, their names would appear on the eligibility sheets twice. It was, therefore, decided to eliminate the names of cross country runners from the sampling frame to eliminate the possibility of selection for the sample more than once. The total target population represents approximately 332 teams and 6,964 athletes, excluding one university program which was used in the pilot study.

Sampling incorporated a combination of purposeful sampling and stratified sampling with random selection of subjects to facilitate group comparisons. Purposeful sampling has been noted (LeCompte & Goetz, 1985; Patton, 1993) to have a special significance for qualitative methods by ensuring that the subjects have an opportunity to provide contextual data relevant to the research question. The population was divided according to like characteristics within their sport such as type of training, competition and coaching. This was done to facilitate stratified sampling, and to determine the sampling frame (Appendix C). First, classified by sport and sex of the athlete, there were three groupings that emerged based upon the potential relationship between female and male athletes:

- a. Coeducational - females and males train and compete at the same time, in the same facility with the same coaches. This included athletics (track and field) and swimming.
- b. Separate - females and males who compete in different sports with no parallel program existing for the opposite sex.

This included women's field hockey, men's football and men's ice hockey.

c. Simultaneous - females and males train and compete independently with different coaches but have, in most cases, program similarities in structure, budgets, coaching resources, schedules, travel (often travelling together for competition), equipment, practice times, and commitment. This included both women's and men's basketball, soccer and volleyball.

An additional unit included within the sampling frame was the identification of sex of the coach for the purpose of including sufficient representation of athletes accordingly. Teams in the 'simultaneous' sports were grouped on the criteria of women's teams with male head coaches, women's teams with female head coaches, men's teams with male head coaches, and men's teams with female head coaches. The distribution of athletes by sport and sex of the coach is outlined in Appendix C. Because there were only two CIAU men's teams in the 'simultaneous' group who are coached by females from a total of approximately 210 teams, purposive sampling was used to include both of these programs in the sample. In this case only, all team members, 24 combined, were invited to participate in the study. This procedure was not followed for the 'separate' and 'coeducational' sports.

A final unit characteristic taken into account was the geographic region in which the athlete competes. The CIAU is

comprised of six regions (Appendix A), divided geographically from the east coast to the west coast of Canada. The exception to this is Ontario where there is an additional division based upon sex, creating two associations, the Ontario Women's Interuniversity Athletic Association and the Ontario University Athletic Association (for men). A balance of subjects from each region was selected to ensure representation from all regions.

Selection of Subjects

Subjects within each stratification were then randomly selected from the eligibility lists submitted to the CIAU by September 30 of the current competitive year for fall sports and by November 1 of the current competitive year for winter sports. The total number of subjects selected for the survey research was one thousand and twenty four (1,024) athletes, five hundred and eighty (580) females and four hundred and forty four (444) males.

The survey sample size was determined on the basis of judgment (Zikmund, 1991). Following the process suggested by Zikmund (1991), one mechanism used to produce the number of subjects required evolves from examination of subject size in previous studies. In addition, Zikmund (1991) suggests that each subgroup should have a minimum of 100 subjects in each of the major categories. A final check to ensure an appropriate sample size was the use of conventional practice which ensures that 1/6th of the population will be represented in the survey sample (Zikmund, 1991).

The incorporation of these principles contributed to the process of determining the size of the survey sample, resulting in the survey sample of 1,024 athletes (Appendix C). 'Athlete' as opposed to 'team' was used as the basic unit for sample selection to provide a greater potential for wider representation of individual university programs. Although the sample is larger than required by following Zikmund's principle of examining sample size in previous studies, there were two reasons for employing a larger sample in this study. The first was to allow meaningful comparisons based upon the sample stratifications. With a larger sample size, there was a greater chance that a sufficient number of subjects would fall into each category when sub-divided for more detailed analysis. The second was to attain more meaningful, representative results. The study of controversial issues can generate a lower response rate which translates into a smaller number of respondents providing input. A larger initial sample will partially neutralize this condition by encouraging a greater numeric representation of respondents from the population even if the percentage of representation from the sample is less than desirable. Further, results from the study of controversial issues often reflect responses from individuals who are polarized in their views. A larger initial sample is intended to draw in more responses from those less polarized and, as a result, provide a more accurate image of the issue under study.

Subjects for interviews were selected from the sampled cross-section of the population. Twelve females and twelve males were randomly selected from a list of 207 subjects who volunteered

for the interview. Twenty-four interviews were completed. This interview sample size was determined on a reasonable estimate of the number of interviews that the researcher could complete in the designated time and with the budget available to complete data collection.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity in the completion of the survey instrument was ensured throughout the procedures of its distribution, completion and return. Subjects were sent a package directly from the CIAU office with instructions, a survey instrument, an interview request form and two stamped, addressed envelopes. The researcher did not see the names or addresses of subjects at any time. Instructions directed respondents to return the completed interview request form separately in one envelope if they were willing to volunteer for an interview. The second envelope was used for the return of the completed survey. This process ensured the respondent that the researcher had no way of identifying the completed survey with the interview volunteer form.

The survey package was addressed and mailed directly to each subject's home address where they could complete it in the privacy of their own home and on their own time. By distributing the research materials in this way, it was possible that no one, especially a coach or another athlete, would know that the individual was selected to participate in the research. Because subjects were the only individuals outside of the CIAU staff with official knowledge that the research was being conducted, the use of a home

address rather than school/athletic address guaranteed that no one would be able to identify a research subject unless they shared this information themselves.

Subjects were not asked to record their identity on the survey instrument. There was no means by which the researcher was able to associate survey responses with the respondent. However, subjects were asked to create a personally coded identification for their survey. For those subjects who volunteered and were selected for the interview, permission was sought to match survey and interview data. The personal identification code, known only by the subject, was revealed by the subject only if they wished to grant permission to the researcher to match their interview and survey data. In the end, this strategy was not incorporated in the analysis of the results. Only two interview subjects remembered the personal identification code that they used. Two subjects declined to share their personal identification code. The others could either not remember what they had recorded or had not recorded anything.

Anonymity of the survey respondents was honoured through the procedures that were followed in conducting the research. Anonymity of the interview respondents was sacrificed only when the interview volunteers returned their name and telephone number and for those who provided their full name and address to participate in a member check or to request a summary of the research results. Two volunteers interviewed did, however, share their first name only. However, the region of the country where they reside is evident from the telephone area code and the sport in which they compete unavoidably surfaced in the course of the

interview. Further identification was not possible unless the interview subject provided it. In these cases, since no actual respondents names were reported in the study, the researcher, who guarantees confidentiality, will be the only individual to see or hear the information identified with the research subjects.

The confidentiality for all research participants was ensured by the researcher throughout both the survey and interview processes as well as in the report of the findings. On occasions when subject identity was established through the interview procedure, these identities were kept confidential and reporting of research findings did not associate subject identity with any particular response or research finding. The given names used in the results and discussion of this study are pseudonyms that have no association with the research participants whatsoever. In the one exception, reporting the story of an athlete's experience would have breached confidentiality for that subject. In this case, the athlete gave permission to report the experience uncensored, as it was shared with the researcher. The names of the respondents have been changed in the reporting process to protect confidentiality and sometimes the sport or irrelevant detail have been altered for the same purpose.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted with one member institution of the CIAU, excluding them from participating in the main study. This program was typical of the average school, committed to all sports selected for the study except women's field hockey.

The pilot provided valuable information with respect to the survey instrument and the procedures for data collection. Modifications were incorporated into the survey format and content. Adjustments were made to the means of distribution and return of the survey instrument as well.

Because there were no interviews completed with the pilot study, an alternative method to test the interview was used. Following a presentation of the dissertation topic to a university class, a request for interview volunteers was made. This provided an opportunity to complete two trial interviews. An additional interview trial was completed with an athlete at the pilot university. This pilot interview sample confirmed that the questions were understandable, non-threatening and topical to the university age student. As with the survey instrument, modifications to the interview guide were made as a result of the feedback provided from these three pilot interviews.

Survey Instrumentation

The survey instrument used for this study contained, in this sequence, items to measure respondents' experience with sexual harassment in athletics at their current university, measures of perceptions and attitudes toward sexual harassment, and demographic measures. The order of presentation placed experience statements first to avoid distorting subjects' responses by first alerting them to perceived behaviours of sexual harassment. The experience statements were designed by using behavioural terms without the use of the term sexual harassment. This documented

experience without a need for the respondent to determine whether or not the behaviour represented sexual harassment. The theory base of the survey structure was designed to accomplish this. While either order may result in the first section influencing subsequent sections, it was felt that perceptions would be less influenced by experience than the reverse scenario.

A survey instrument was modified specifically for use in this research, drawing on the survey developed for the pilot study of this thesis and on generic sexual harassment/assault surveys used by Till (1980), Mackenzie and Lussier (1988), Fitzgerald (1992b), and Smith (1992). The theory inherent in Till's (1980) survey that categorizes sexual harassment into five components also served as the operational definition of sexual harassment for this study.

The instruments developed by Till (1980), by Mackenzie and Lussier (1988), and by Smith (1992) were used for descriptive purposes and qualitative evaluation of the issue and did not report reliability or validity data. The inventory developed by Fitzgerald et al. (1988), based on Till's survey instrument, yielded an internal consistency coefficient of .92, using Cronbach's alpha coefficient, a test-retest stability coefficient of .86, and a split-half reliability coefficient that averaged .75 for the five scales. Content validity was established by basing the instrument construction on the empirically derived categories developed by Till (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Questions and/or statements were measures developed to reflect the five categories of sexual harassment (Appendix D) as defined by Till (1980). The resultant instrument (Appendix E) used a

combination of forced choice response statements (Section A - Experience) and Likert scale response statements (Section B - Perceptions) to investigate an individual's experience with sexual harassment in athletics at their current university, their knowledge or perceptions identifying the parameters of sexual harassment in the coach-athlete and the athlete-athlete relationships within athletics, the incidence or their perceived incidence of sexual harassment within an athletic environment, and their familiarity with support mechanisms available for assistance in formalizing sexual harassment complaints.

The survey was identical for both females and males with the exception of the cover letter and the first page (Appendix F). The cover letter for males expressed a special interest in their participation. This was done to balance the concern that males might perceive the topic as a female issue, leading to less participation by males. An additional modification, using the same format, was the translation of the survey into French for those subjects who represented French speaking institutions.

The title used on the cover letter and on page one of the survey was also different for females and males (Appendix F). This was an attempt to personalize it somewhat, a further means of encouraging males to participate by confirming that their selection as a subject was intentional. The title was also used for coding responses by sex in place of a question in the demographics that asked sex of the subject.

Section A asked respondents to relate their personal experience by responding to specific statements. These addressed

behaviours of head and assistant coaches and male and female athletes. This allowed for the assessment of both hierarchical and peer experiences as well as different and same sex experiences.

Sixteen statements were presented which included situations that involved behaviours of a head coach, male athlete or female athlete. The first seven statements were reflective of gender harassment. These were followed by three statements on coercion, two quid pro quo statements, and four statements representing assault. Question seventeen requested that respondents report on experiences of sexual harassment involving male and female assistant coaches. Question eighteen sought similar input that summarized the respondent experience and was all inclusive of athletics, providing an opportunity for athletes to share their experience with individuals in athletics other than coaches or athletes.

Section B used a four-point Likert scale. This measure, as opposed to a three or five point scale, was chosen by assessing the results of the pilot study which used a five-point scale. Subjects in that study commonly selected '3' as a neutral response. With the elimination of the 'neutral' or 'I don't know' option in this study, subjects were forced to express an opinion of agreement or disagreement to the statements presented.

Section B was structured in a way that paralleled Section A. There were twenty statements. Five of these were gender harassment statements. There were two statements that expressed seductive behaviour. Three statements expressed quid pro quo behaviours. Three statements expressed behaviours of assault.

Three statements were presented to explore the athletes' beliefs about locus of responsibility for sexual harassment. The intent of the final three statements was to assess familiarity with support mechanisms for those who experience sexual harassment on individual campuses.

Section C provided the demographics needed to identify the necessary characteristics of the respondents for analysis of the data and discussion of the hypotheses.

Interview Instrumentation

"An interview is a purposeful conversation" (Bogdan & Biklin, 1982, p.135), conducted to gather information from a representation of the selected sample. It is a technique used "to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world" (Ibid, p. 135).

The interview used for this study (Appendix G) covered the themes incorporated in the survey instrument. There were semi-structured, open-ended opportunities for athletes to share their perspectives with the researcher without limitations imposed by the closed format of the survey or a structured interview approach. Fontana and Frey (1994) note that the structured interview "aims at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behavior within preestablished categories whereas (unstructured interviewing) is used in an attempt to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (p.366). Although

open-ended, the interview in this study was focused around general questions that allowed guidance, filled silences in the interaction, and addressed the specifics of social exchange between the athletes and others in their particular athletic program. As Patton (1990) notes, some structure reduces the effects of the interviewer and facilitates data analysis. He describes an interview guide as:

"a list of questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. An interview guide is prepared in order to make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material. The interview guide provides topics or subject areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area....." (p. 283).

Considerable latitude was used to provide the subjects with a chance to shape the interview and tell their story, in their words. The presence of an interviewer served only as a probe to ask for specifics, examples, or greater detail concerning the experiences and thoughts that were being shared. This method was used for the purpose of understanding 'what is' rather than providing a simple description (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

The questions were designed to establish a conversational style of interaction between the researcher and the interview subject. In developing the interview, presupposition questions were

used. For example, in asking why individuals would engage in sexually harassing behaviours, the presupposition is that individuals do, in fact, engage in sexually harassing behaviours. Patton (1990) states that "presuppositions are particularly useful in interviewing because the interviewer presupposes that the respondent has something to say. Such a presupposition increases the likelihood that the person being interviewed will, indeed, have something to say" (p. 303). This was an important feature for this study since the focus of the interview was on the athlete and, having volunteered for the interview, it was legitimate to assume that they had given some thought to the issue that would ensure valuable input.

The general content of the interviews asked respondents to elaborate on the relationship of females and males in athletics; who experiences sexual harassment and why; what types of behaviour they consider to be sexual harassment; how they believe that sexual harassment affects athletes; and, what they would offer as resolutions.

Data Collection

A mailed, self-administered survey was undertaken to elicit information relevant to the study of sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics. The survey instrument was used to gather quantifiable data which initially determined incidence and perceptions that subjects report.

Following endorsement from the appropriate bodies (CIAU, Michigan State University's University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects), procedures for data collection were

initiated. At their request, as an additional protection of the anonymity of subjects, the CIAU office, based upon the criteria outlined, executed the sampling process. The research packages were prepared for mailing, minus the address label of the subject, and sent in bulk to the CIAU office. Using their files for mailing addresses, the CIAU office applied the individual mailing labels to the envelopes and mailed them to the sampled subjects. Thus, the researcher did not have access to the names of the subjects.

Athletes sampled for participation in the study received a package by mail containing a cover letter, an interview request with a return envelope and a survey with an additional return envelope. The cover letter served to introduce the researcher and inform them of the purpose of the research as well as to provide further instructions. Subjects were asked to complete and separately return the interview form in a stamped, self-addressed envelope provided if they were willing to participate in an interview. They were then asked to complete the survey, and return it to the researcher in a second stamped, self-addressed envelope. A telephone number was provided for those who had questions or concerns that they wished to discuss with the researcher.

The reminder notices were handled in the same way. They were mailed from the CIAU office two weeks following the mailing of the surveys. The exception to this was the reminder addressed to those who, within the two week period, had volunteered to be interviewed. It was assumed that individuals, willing to volunteer for an interview, would have completed the survey. Sending a reminder may have given the impression that no attention had been

given to the interview volunteers, running the risk of offending a respondent.

The survey was mailed to subjects on Monday, January 23, 1995 with a follow-up two weeks later. The date for completion of survey data collection was Monday, March 13, 1995.

The next phase of data collection was the completion of interviews. Telephone interviews were used to provide greater depth in relating qualitative experiences and perceptions by sharing and elaborating on personal accounts and to investigate the meanings that they give to behaviours in the context of the athletic environment.

The interview volunteer was contacted through the number that they had provided (Appendix H). It was first confirmed with them that they had, indeed, volunteered to be interviewed and queried whether this offer was still valid. Upon confirmation of willingness to continue, they were then asked if the time was convenient. If it was not, an alternative arrangement was made and the call was terminated. If the current time was convenient, the interview proceeded.

Because the participant did not know the researcher, efforts were made to get acquainted. This was done by discussing the survey since it was common ground and represented some mutual interest. This was followed by an explanation of the purpose of the interview, the format that would be followed, encouraging them to openly discuss any issue that they felt was related, a request to audiotape the conversation and an assurance of confidentiality. With this completed, the interactive portion of the interview began.

As the interview reached its conclusion, athletes were asked if they had anything else that they wished to add, if there was anything of importance to them in the survey that they had not yet had a chance to discuss, and whether participation in the research had any effect on them. Following this, they were asked if they would be willing to review the researcher's written interpretation of their input. If they agreed, they would provide their full name and address at this time. As a final request, they were asked if they would be willing to share their code name with the researcher for the purpose of connecting the survey and interview for analysis. Confidentiality was once again confirmed by assuring respondents that their names would not be revealed in the reporting of the findings. The process provided respondents with sufficient comfort to refuse this request, signified by the fact that only two of the twenty four interviewees chose to have their interview data matched with their survey data. A final opportunity to continue the interview was then given by asking if there was anything more that they wished to share before ending the telephone call. The interview came to closure by thanking respondents for their time and input.

At the completion of each interview conducted in this study, subjects were asked if they would be willing to examine the researcher's interpretation of the interview. For those who consented, a copy was mailed to them within three days of the interview, requesting that they read it for accuracy and interpretation of intent, make any corrections and return it by mail. Each interpretation was completed before the next interview was initiated to prevent unwittingly merging interview data of subjects

and possibly contaminating the interpretation. This method was employed as a final confirmation that comments and their interpretation were an accurate representation of the subjects' experiences and perceptions.

Interviews began on Saturday, February 18, 1995 and were completed on Tuesday, March 21, 1995.

Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

Quantitative methodology is a means by which responses to a wide variety of research questions and designs can be collected and summarized in a quantifiable way that gives relevance to the issue under study. Such a method provides a standardized format that describes, compares and generalizes the research characteristics of a population of interest. The quantitative methodology is a process that facilitates an accurate description of what is occurring within a particular environment but it does little to contribute to the understanding of why it occurs in a social context. Interpretation is required to provide human meaning in social life (Erickson, 1986). Qualitative approaches provide this extension and, therefore, potentially contribute to the possibility of changing an environment to a more equitable and humanistic social order.

A qualitative approach to study the research questions was necessary to determine the meaning that athletes give to the interactions that occur between coach-athlete and athlete-athlete, particularly of a sexualized nature. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest that qualitative research exhibits certain characteristics that distinguish it from quantitative research, one of these being its

emphasis on processes and meanings as compared to the quantitative approach of measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables.

Interviews were the method used to incorporate qualitative input. They were completed and interpreted to generate indepth data on athlete-coach and athlete-athlete interactions and relationships. Interviews were conducted by telephone. Bogdan and Biklin (1982) note that personal interviews offer the most ideal situation for enhancing the quality of information generated through the interview. However, in this case, there were advantages to conducting the interviews by telephone. The use of the telephone made it possible for the researcher to conduct as many as twenty-four interviews with athletes located throughout the six geographic regions of the CIAU. This mode of communication made it feasible, economically and temporally, to include subjects from coast to coast. Also, the use of the telephone, with a controversial or sensitive issue such as the subject of this study, provided a less threatening medium of communication. The risk of the interviewer displaying facial and body support or objection is erased. Finally, the sacrifice of personal interviews rather than soliciting assistance from another individual, accommodated the researcher as the only interviewer. Thus, the resultant consistency, depth of the interaction and understanding have enhanced the quality of interpretation of the interviews. Telephone interviews, therefore, were advantageous for the research process.

Construct validity and reliability for the survey and interview were accounted for by the connections made between theory, the

literature and the research findings (Lather, 1986). The interviews enhance the trustworthiness (LeCompte & Goetz, 1985) of the research by adding to the data base and providing input from the standpoint of the researched.

Face validity was enhanced with a mechanism described as 'member checks' (Lather, 1986). This is a step in the research process whereby the researcher, having interpreted the data provided by the researched, takes this interpretation back to them, or to a sample of them. Interviewees are asked to assess whether or not the interpretation is a reflection of their lived experiences and an accurate representation of the information which they shared with the researcher.

LeCompte and Goetz (1985) provide clear and simple definitions of validity and begin the process of transposing them to relevant criteria for the evaluation of qualitative research. They suggest that "authentic representations of some reality" defines internal validity. In soliciting the responses of the researched through survey and interview techniques, they are given the opportunity to express their reality from the standpoint of their experience. In such a situation, qualitative research, as well as feminist research, proclaims that the authenticity cannot be denied. It is the responsibility of the researcher, in cooperation with other sources such as the researched, theory, or historical data, to collect and interpret the data in a manner that lends credibility to the study.

LeCompte and Goetz (1985) define external validity as "the degree to which such representations may be compared legitimately

across groups" (p. 32). Although recognizing that external validity or generalizability is a feature that can strengthen the trustworthiness of research results, when determining its significance qualitative researchers are willing to sacrifice external validity based upon three points. First, in comparison to quantitative research that often structures controlled experiments in artificial environments, a feature of the research method is not lost. In fact, qualitative researchers second point, the lack of control means that qualitative research may be more credible since generalizing to similar research environments would mean generalizing from one natural setting to another natural setting. Third, because current analysis of qualitative research is generating a relatively new and extensive interest in its methodology, many studies are being initiated for the first time with a small body of literature available for meaningful comparison. As the quantity of research is expanded with some replication, comparative groups and studies will emerge with the result of some transferability to research settings with contextual similarity, thus enhancing the opportunity for 'external validity' in qualitative research.

Firestone (1993) introduces the novel approach of analytic generalization as another alternative which allows the researcher to generalize to a theory rather than a population, with data that supports that theory. This process will be incorporated in the discussion chapter.

Triangulation of Data

Triangulation employs multiple methods when conducting research. Patton (1990) explains triangulation more intricately, outlining valuable steps for the novice researcher. Referring to Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) types of triangulation, he encourages incorporating it as a technique of data triangulation, investigation triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) emphasize that triangulation is "not a tool or a strategy of validation but an alternative to validation" (p. 2) and an essential part of the process of developing the systematized analysis that Erickson deems critical to the acceptance of qualitative research as a viable method of inquiry.

Data collection for this study involved a triangulated approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lather, 1986; Patton, 1990), accommodating the integration of both qualitative and quantitative data. Essentially, triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or multiple ways of knowing when collecting and interpreting data in response to a research question. The methods proposed for this study utilize triangulation by incorporating the survey (quantitative data), the interview (qualitative data) and expertise from related areas such as literature and theory. The quantitative methods used in this study preceded the qualitative methods. This use of triangulation is a technique for improving the trustworthiness of the research findings and cross-validating the data.

The literature, as a source of data in addition to the survey and interviews, was used to further explore meanings and to make connections for a greater understanding of the dynamics of sexual harassment in athletics. Literature was examined to identify the frequency and nature of the experiences that athletes have with sexual harassment compared to other populations studied; to compare the perceptions that athletes hold about sexual harassment compared to other populations; and, to understand the meanings of interactions and the relationships that direct interactions that assume the characteristics of sexual harassment.

Data analysis

Triangulated data collection requires multiple data analysis. This criterion was met in this study with incorporation of quantitative and qualitative methods for the analysis and interpretation of data.

a) Quantitative data analysis. The survey results were analyzed quantitatively with the assistance of the computer services and support of the University of Windsor Computer Centre consultants. Responses were coded into a standardized format that quantified the results. Coded results were marked on the 'General Purpose Ten-Choice Response Sheet' and run through the scanner for entry of data onto a micro disk. Data were checked for accuracy prior to data analysis. The information was then formatted for analysis by the Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Data analysis completed, it was then possible to use the descriptive and

explanatory conclusions achievable from this analysis to generalize to the population of CIAU athletes (Babbie, 1994).

Descriptive (frequencies, percentages and chi-square) statistics were used in the analysis of hypotheses that required the use of data from Section A - Experience. This was appropriate because this section of the survey deals with variables whose values are nominal according to the response scale used in Section A of the survey. While it provides information about association of variables, it provides no information about the strength of an association. Crosstables and percentages were reviewed in the case of an association to determine the possible nature of the association.

In the analysis of hypotheses that required the use of data from Section B - Perceptions, t-test and analysis of variance statistical methods were used to analyze the responses of the research participants and to make necessary comparisons as determined for testing the hypotheses and answering the research questions. In addition to descriptive statistics, the use of t-tests and analysis of variance were appropriate for this analysis because of the interval nature of the data.

This research used a .05 level of significance when testing hypotheses. However, although not traditional, results that showed significance at the .10 level were highlighted for potential educational significance and for the purpose of identifying value for further study. For similar reasons, non-significant results supported in the interviews were noted. In such circumstances, the

reporting of even one case can have social significance for an organization and its members.

b) Qualitative data analysis. The interviews were analyzed using qualitative techniques and their content combined with the related literature and theory for interpretation. Comparisons to other populations studied in the literature were made to search for meaning and understanding. The meanings that Canadian university athletes assign to sexual harassment were extracted by using content analysis of the interviews. These data will be incorporated in the discussion chapter.

In an attempt to 'understand' from the viewpoint of the respondent, differences amongst individual interviews were reported and discussed, adding to the multiple perspective of the analysis (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Interviews were analyzed on an individual basis. The collapsing of interview data to report consensus was avoided, instead including input and quotes directly from each interview. The application of hermeneutics provides interpretation that is "concerned with one piece of data and what it means, not with the regularities or patterns across many pieces of a similar kind" (Tesch, 1990, p. 94).

The descriptive content on the survey and the input provided through the interview data were analyzed based upon hermeneutics, or interpretation theory (Madison, 1988). This method was used with "the aim of discovering and communicating the meaning-perspectives of the people studied" (Erikson, 1986, p. 123). It was an attempt to explore the meaning of the language used, translated into human understanding. It was also an attempt to

examine the meaning of context and, again, enhance human understanding.

All "data must be interpreted and the researcher has a great deal of influence on what part of the data will be reported and how it will be reported" (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 370). Critics argue that interpretation becomes subjective and unworthy of intellectual credibility. Madison (1988) has advanced ten criteria which were used as a guide in the qualitative analysis of this study, to address the concerns of critics and to elevate the quality of the interpretation.

- 1 - Coherence: It is expected that the interpretation of a work will be coherent and non-contradictory. In the event that the data provided reflects contradictions, it is the responsibility of the interpreter to find a way to connect the contradictions so they make sense in the total context of the discussion.
- 2 - Comprehensiveness: The interpretation of the work must not be selective but must account for all the works that relate to the issue.
- 3 - Penetration: The interpretation must expose a depth of analysis that reflects an intelligent effort to resolve a critical issue.
- 4 - Thoroughness: All questions posed by the researcher, the interpreted text or its understanding must be addressed.

- 5 - Appropriateness: Questions that are addressed must reflect those contained within the text rather than the researcher's agenda.
- 6 - Contextuality: The interpretation must remain within the context of the research question.
- 7 - Agreement A: An interpretation must agree with what has been said rather than interpreting what the work intended on saying.
- 8 - Agreement B: Interpretation should connect with legitimate works of others if challenging these works to break new ground.
- 9 - Suggestiveness: The interpretation should stimulate new research and interpretation.
- 10 - Potential: "The ultimate validation of an interpretation lies in the future" (p. 30). In the case of stimulating further research, the consistency of interpretation adds to its truth. (Madison, 1988, p. 29-30)

Words, phrases or categories referred to in the interview that identify incidence, perception or meaning served as the unit of analysis for the interviews. Patterns, recurring themes or sharp contrasts were identified for interpretation of meanings. This information has been presented in a detailed descriptive format, blending personal experience, accounts and meanings with quantitative representations.

Summary

The methodology adopted for this study was selected to assess the extent to which a social problem exists within a specific environment, sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics. Of further importance, however, is the use of this methodology to understand the nature of the problem and the meaning that it has for the social environment of athletics as well as society at large. This process is supported by Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989) who state that "attempts to move beyond prevalence studies to a psychological understanding of the process and effects of harassment should probably take into account not only the severity of the behavior, but also its nature or type, as individuals appear to view these as fairly distinct dimensions" (p. 325). Incorporation of a methodology that draws the two together and gives meaning and understanding to the presence of behaviours that affect the daily lives of individuals contributes to the potential for resolution of conflict and for the applied body of research with the purpose of making sport a more fulfilling experience.

This chapter has outlined the methodology used to complete this research. The study design and method for obtaining research participants were explained. The use of the pilot study as a tool for enhancing the main study was described. Instrumentation and data collection procedures for both the survey and the interview was detailed. Further, the concept of triangulation by employing both quantitative and qualitative methods were discussed, followed by application of these concepts in data analysis process.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Chapter four contains the quantitative results of the study. Presented in this chapter are the demographics and the results of the hypotheses testing. The data for this chapter were produced from the survey instrument developed specifically for the purposes of this research. Its intent was twofold. First, it was to determine the frequency of experiences with sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics, specifically between athlete-coach and athlete-athlete. Second, it was to examine the perceptions that university athletes have about certain behaviours and whether or not they constitute sexual harassment.

Research Participation Demographics

A sample from approximately 6,964 Canadian university athletes were invited to participate in this study. The selected sample of 1,024 athletes was comprised of 580 females (57%) and 444 (43%) males. Of these, 32 female and 28 male French versions of the survey were sent to athletes in attendance at the French speaking institutions in the Province of Quebec.

Surveys originally sent to 55 of the female athletes and 57 of the male athletes were received by the researcher marked 'return to sender - address unknown' by the postal service. Since athletes are often residing at temporary addresses that may change from year to year during their tenure as students, the mailing lists in the

National office cannot be accurately maintained. As a result, these 112 surveys did not reach their destination. The survey response rate is presented in Table 1. Participation in the research included a request to complete and return a survey instrument. There were 420 surveys returned, 278 from female athletes and 142 from male athletes. Since 13 of the total 420 were returned late, 407 were used in data analysis. This represents a raw return rate of 46.0% and an overall response rate of 44.6%. It would be desirable to have a much higher response rate to strengthen the results of the study. However, compared to similar studies where response rates range from 30-35%, this study generated a higher response rate than expected.

The raw return by sex was 66.2% female and 33.8% male. A breakdown of response rate by sex (Table 2) revealed that there was a higher response rate from female athletes compared to male athletes. This is a factor that is consistent with the literature but of concern to researchers investigating the dynamics of sexual harassment.

Surveys were distributed according to type of sport (coeducational, separate or simultaneous) and sex of the coach. Tables 3 and 4 show the response rate for these criteria respectively. However, Table 4 accounts only for the overall percentage of returns in the categories 'coeducational' and 'separate' since sex of coach was not controlled for in the sampling procedures for either of these.

Respondents were asked to identify their year of eligibility. The greatest number of respondents were first year athletes with a

TABLE 1

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Response Rate

Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	1,024
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)	112
Adjusted Total Sample	912
Total Returned Surveys	420
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	13
Total Analyzed Surveys	407
Response Rate (407/912 x 100)	44.6%

Table 2

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Response Rate by Sex of Respondent

	Female	Male
Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	580 (57%)	444 (43%)
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)	55	57
Adjusted Total Sample	525	387
Total Returned Surveys	278	142
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	8	5
Total Analyzed Surveys	270	137
Response Rate (270/525 x 100 & 137/387 x 100)	51.4%	35.4%

Table 3

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Response Rate by Type of Sport

	Female	Male
A. Coeducational		
Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	120	120
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)	Unknown	Unknown
Adjusted Total Sample	120	120
Total Returned Surveys	59	39
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	1	1
Total Analyzed Surveys	58	38
Response Rate (58/120 x 100 & 38/120 x 100)	48.3%	31.6%
B. Separate		
Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	100	120
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)	Unknown	Unknown
Adjusted Total Sample	100	120
Total Returned Surveys	57	38
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	1	1
Total Analyzed Surveys	54	36
Response Rate (54/100 x 100 & 36/120 x 100)	54.0%	30.0%

Table 3 cont'd.

	Female	Male
C. Simultaneous		
Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	360	204
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)	Unknown	Unknown
Adjusted Total Sample	360	204
Total Returned Surveys	160	64
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	4	2
Total Analyzed Surveys	156	62
Response Rate (156/360 x 100 & 62/204 x 100)	43.3%	30.4%

Note. The information on some surveys was incomplete, preventing them from being coded by type of sport.

Table 4

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Response Rate by Sex of Coach

	FF	FM	MF	MM	U
Total Sample (number of surveys distributed)	180	180	24	300	340
Exclude (Surveys not delivered - athletes could not be reached)					
Total Returned Surveys	140	133	10	126	11
Exclude (Surveys not analyzed)	4	4	0	5	
Total Analyzed Surveys	136	129	10	121	11
Percent Analyzed of Total	33.5	31.6	2.5	29.7	2.7

Code. FF = female athlete with female coach
 FM = female athlete with male coach
 MF = male athlete with female coach
 MM = male athlete with male coach
 U = undesignated

Note. Total Returned Surveys Response Rate: This percentage was not calculated since there is no way to determine the number of 'coeducational' athletes who designated sex of coach as a percentage of those originally mailed.

progressive decline through to fifth year where there were the fewest number of respondents. Table 5 shows the distribution of athletes by year of eligibility.

Respondents were also asked to declare their role with the team as a starter or substitute in team sports or top half or bottom half of the team in individual sports (Table 6). The majority of the athletes (76.1%) declared themselves starters/top half of the team, 77.4 percent of the female athletes and 73.5 percent of the male athletes.

Respondents were asked to indicate their sexuality according to heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual. A large majority designated heterosexuality (96.5%) with only 2.0 percent designating homosexuality and 1.0 percent designating bisexuality. Four responses were undesignated.

The request for information on race/ethnicity indicated that a large majority (88.4%) of the respondents were White Canadian. The four remaining categories of African Canadian, Asian Canadian, Hispanic Canadian and Native Canadian represented 6.4 percent of the respondents combined. Twenty-one respondents (5.2%) selected 'Other' as the category of their choice.

The demographics on area of study revealed that subjects were drawn from nine specific fields plus those represented by 'Other'. Approximately one quarter came from each of Kinesiology-type programs (27.6%) and Science (21.8%) while the fewest came from Law (1.0%), Nursing (0.3%) and Medicine (0.8%).

Respondents were asked in the demographics to indicate

Table 5

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Year of Eligibility

	1st N=124	2nd N=111	3rd N=87	4th N=58	5th N=25
Female	21.7	17.3	14.8	9.1	3.7
Male	8.9	10.1	6.7	5.2	2.5
Overall	30.6	27.4	21.5	14.3	6.2

Table 6

Sexual Harassment Athlete Survey Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Role

	Starter N=309	Substitute N=97	Total N
Female	74.4	25.6	270
Male	73.5	26.5	136
Totals	76.1	23.9	406

whether or not their team held a rookie party this year and, if so, to elaborate on the activities that were involved. Approximately three quarters (76.7%) of both female and male teams held rookie parties while approximately one fifth (20.6%) did not. The remaining respondents declined to answer the question. The nature of the activities will be examined and discussed in Chapter V.

Research subjects were asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview. The interview response is presented in Table 7 and Table 8 by type of sport and by sex of coach, respectively. Those who were amenable to this request returned a form, providing their name, telephone number, and the best day and time of the week to place a call. From the adjusted total sample (Table 1) of 916, there were 207 interview forms, or 22.6 percent, returned. From these, 59 telephone calls were made to complete 24 interviews. No one refused to be interviewed when contacted but most took more than one call to be reached. If there was no answer or they were not available after three attempts, an alternate subject was selected. The interviews ranged from 17 minutes to 61 minutes with 35 minutes as the average interview length.

Sexual harassment generic demographics - experience

The establishment of some background to begin analysis required the computation of frequencies and percentages describing the experiences of sexual harassment reported by athletes in Canadian University athletics. Section A of the survey instrument

Table 7

Interview Profile -Type of Sport

	Coeducational	Separate	Simultaneous
Female	2	2	8
Male	3	3	6

Table 8

Interview Profile - Sex of Coach

F-F	F-M	M-M	M-F
8	4	10	2

Code. F-F = female athlete, female coach
 F-M = female athlete, male coach
 M-M = male athlete, male coach
 M-F = male athlete, female coach

incorporated eighteen statements or questions which were designed to encourage respondents to relate their experience with sexual harassment in athletics. This experience included encounters that they may have had with a head coach, an assistant coach, an associate athlete or others involved in the athletic program at their university. The experiences reported by athletes are presented in Table 9. A complete description of the data is presented in Appendix I.

Responses to survey question number two:

"I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes,"

produced the highest recorded experience with 57.0 percent of the athletes answering 'yes' to this statement. A drop to 31.9 percent and 10.3 percent occurred respectively with the statements:

"I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by female athletes," and,

"I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by my university head coach."

Seventeen point seven (17.7%) percent of the athletes gave an affirmative response to the statement:

"male athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women."

Each of these four aforementioned responses are expressions of gender harassment within the definition of sexual harassment.

The next most frequent experience of athletes is:

"I have been in a position where a male athlete made forceful

Table 9

Summary of Athlete Experiences as Percentages (N = 407)

Behaviour	Agent				
	Coach	MAC	FAC	MA	FA
Sexist jokes	10.3	2.5	0.2	57.0	31.9
Visuals	-	-	-	14.6	4.1
Athl. as inapprop.	1.7	0.7	0	17.7	1.0
Sexual advances	0.2	0.5	0.2	-	-
Persistence	0	0.2	0	-	-
Invitation	0.2	0.2	0	-	-
Reward	0	0	0	-	-
Punishment	0	0	0	-	-
Invasion	0.7	0	0.2	-	-
Force	0.5	0.2	0.2	8.4	5.2

Code: Coach = Head Coach

MAC = Male assistant coach

FAC = Female assistant coach

MA = Male athlete

FA = Female athlete

- = no data collected/NA

attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me" (8.4%),
an encounter which falls into the category of sexual assault. The
sex reversal of this question,

"I have been in a position where a female athlete made forceful
attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me",
produced a response of 5.2%.

The next most frequently reported experience, also from the
category of gender harassment, is:

"sexual materials of a visual or written nature, such as
centrefolds of women or men or degrading drawings, are
displayed in or around my training site" (7.6%).

Sexist jokes (2.5%) told by assistant coaches was the next
most frequently reported experience.

"My university head coach has commented that athletics is an
inappropriate activity for women" (1.7%),
and having been sexually harassed as a university athlete by a male
professor, instructor or athletic director (1.7%) was an equally
occurring experience.

One point zero (1.0%) percent of the athletes reported that:

"female athletes have commented that athletics is an
inappropriate activity for women",

and 0.7% noted that assistant coaches have made the same comment.

An affirmative response was given by 0.7% of the respondents
to the statement:

"I have felt my university head coach invade my personal space
or deliberately touch me in a way that made me
uncomfortable",

and 0.5% of the respondents indicated that the statement:

"I have been in a position where my university head coach made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me"

represented an experience for them.

Male assistant coaches were cited in 0.5% of the responses for making

"sexual advances towards me that are outside the role of coaching."

Respondents indicated (0.2%) that they had experienced the following: sexual advances from a head coach outside the role of coaching; an invitation from a head coach to engage in a sexual relationship; feelings of discomfort as a result of a male assistant coach repeatedly asking for a date or sexual relationship; a male assistant coach making forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab; sexist jokes or comments made by a female assistant coach; sexual advances outside the role of coaching from a female assistant coach; a female assistant coach invading personal space; a female assistant coach making forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab; and the experience of non-specified sexually harassing behaviours from a male manager and a female athletic director.

As a summary question to the experience section, athletes were asked the general question:

"as an athlete on your present university team, have you ever been sexually harassed?",

to which 6.9% responded 'yes', by a male athlete, 1.0% responded 'yes', by a female athlete and 0.5% responded 'yes, by a male head coach. Also revealed with this question was the fact that 0.7% of

the athletes felt that they had been sexually harassed by a male athletic trainer.

The results revealed that none of the respondents had experienced sexual harassment of the nature being researched in a number of specific questions/statements presented. From the findings of this study, athletes have not been made to feel uncomfortable by a head coach or a female assistant coach repeatedly asking for a date or a relationship nor have they experienced a bribe or threat to engage in a sexual relationship from these individuals or from a male assistant coach. In addition, none of the respondents found that a male assistant coach invaded their personal space or touched them in a way that made them feel uncomfortable, and none found that a female assistant coach had ever commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women or ever made them uncomfortable with persistent requests for a date or relationship.

In response to the general summary question about whether the respondent had ever experienced sexual harassment in university athletics, none responded that they had ever been sexually harassed by a female head coach, a female assistant coach, a female manager, or a female athletic trainer.

Using the two statements that inquired about experience with forceful attempts of a sexual nature from male and female athletes respectively as a gauge to determine same sex harassment, it was found that same sex harassment is present. Of those reporting this experience, 5.9% and 9.5% involved same sex experiences for males and females respectively. This equals 1.5% of the males and 0.7% of

the females reporting same sex harassment that involves physical force.

Sexual harassment generic demographics - perceptions

A portion of the survey was designed to investigate the perceptions that athletes have about behaviours that could be construed as sexual harassment, the locus of responsibility for sexual harassment, the perceived prevalence of sexual harassment in university athletics and the familiarity with campus assistance available in the case of sexual harassment. Section B of the survey instrument presented twenty statements that were designed to solicit the opinions of the athletes. They were asked to respond on a four-point scale, measuring the degree to which they believed the meaning of certain behaviours are associated with sexual harassment. A complete description of the data can be found in Appendix I.

The results for the perception statements that represent gender harassment are outlined in Table 10 as percentages. Overall, the majority of the respondents agreed with each of the four statements that represented sexual harassment and disagreed with the statement that could be used in a sexually harassing way to disparage female participation.

Two statements reflect seductive behaviour (Table 11). The behaviour perceived least often as sexual harassment was unwanted sexual attention. In the second statement of seductive behaviour, the majority of the respondents (70.0%) perceived sexual

Table 10

Athlete Perceptions - Gender Harassment (%)

Behaviour	SA	A	TA
Suggestive comment	31.7	39.8	71.5
Sexist comments	27.6	39.2	66.8
Sexual flattery	22.9	39.9	62.8
Seductive remarks	19.2	41.1	60.3
Athletics as inappropriate	3.2	0.7	3.9

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Table 11

Athlete Perceptions - Seductive Behaviour (%)

Behaviour	SA	A	TA
Invitations	44.6	25.4	70.0
Unwanted attention	23.6	32.7	56.3

Code. SA = strongly agree
 A = agree
 TA = total agree

harassment to occur when a coach invites an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship.

Four statements addressed quid pro quo behaviours as they relate to coaching situations. The results are shown in Table 12 as percentages. Three of the four statements showed general consensus. The fourth showed that a slight majority disagreed that there would be consequences for refusing the sexual advances of a coach.

Three statements that involved touching (Table 13) were classified as assault. Again, responses indicated strong consensus with most agreement reported with assault and the least, albeit only slightly less, agreement with unwanted intimate touch.

The next three statements investigated perceptions concerning the locus of responsibility (Table 14) for the cause of sexual harassment. As Table 14 shows, a number of respondents believed that women are too sensitive about unwanted sexual attention. Fewer were inclined to identify women as responsible for the occurrence of sexual harassment.

Overall, almost one quarter of the respondents perceived sexual harassment in athletics as prevalent (Table 15). While a small majority of the respondents were aware of a policy on sexual harassment within their institution, a similar majority were unaware of the individual who is responsible for implementing this policy. The results of these findings are also outlined in Table 15.

Table 12

Athlete Perceptions - Quid Pro Quo (%)

Behaviour	SA	A	TA
Reprisal	95.3	2.9	98.2
Bribe	96.1	1.5	97.6
Reward	91.6	4.4	96.0
Consequence	25.1	21.6	46.7

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Table 13

Athlete Perceptions - Assault (%)

Behaviour	SA	A	TA
Force	96.8	1.2	98.0
Inappropriate touch	85.2	12.6	97.8
Unwanted touch	83.8	12.0	95.8

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Table 14

Athlete Perceptions - Locus of Responsibility (%)

Behaviour	SA	S	TA
Women too sensitive	2.2	17.5	19.7
Women responsible	0.7	5.2	5.9
Female athlete responsible	1.0	2.7	3.7

Code. SA = strongly agree
 A = agree
 TA = total agree

Table 15

Athlete Perceptions - Prevalence and Support Systems (%)

Behaviour	SA	A	TA
Policy	36.2	28.6	64.8
Administrator	22.4	19.7	42.1
Prevalence	5.1	19.7	24.8

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Hypotheses Analysis

Hypotheses 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, and 15 were tested quantitatively by use of frequencies, percentages, crosstabulations and chi square analyses. T-tests were used to test hypotheses 2, 4, 9, 10, and 12. Analysis of variance procedures were used to test hypotheses 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 16. The null hypotheses were tested. Because the dependent variables of experience and perceptions represent both autonomous categories of the operational definition and autonomous behavioural statements, and because seriousness of sexual harassment cannot be judged on behalf of a respondent, it was determined that evidence of difference on one to all of the dependent variables provided sufficient criteria for rejection of the null hypothesis.

This research used a .05 level of significance when testing hypotheses. However, although not traditional, results that showed significance at the .10 level were highlighted for potential educational significance and for identifying value for further study. For similar reasons, non-significant results supported in the interviews were noted. In such circumstances, the reporting of even one case can have social significance for an organization and its members.

Sexual harassment based upon gender

The first null hypothesis addressed athletes' experience with sexual harassment as reported by athletes and states that:

HO1 There will be no difference in the percentages of female and male athletes who have experienced sexual harassment in the athletic environment.

Crosstabulations and a chi square measure of association (Table 16) were used to determine if the sex of the respondent is related to the reported experience with sexual harassment. The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of the following results.

While both female and male athletes had sexist jokes or comments made to them by their university head coach, the chi square value of 16.73, (1, N=407) with an observed significance level of .001 was a measure of the divergence of this experience. Examination of the crosstabulations showed that male athletes report that they experienced sexist jokes/comments from head coaches significantly more often than female athletes.

Similarly, there was a difference in the experience of female and male athletes with respect to sexist jokes or comments made by male athletes. Male athletes experienced these from male athletes significantly, $\chi^2(1, N=407)=3.56$, $p=.05$, more often than female athletes. Further, in contrast to crossing gender lines, male athletes also experienced sexist jokes or comments made from female athletes significantly, $\chi^2(1, N=404)=10.83$, $p=.001$, more often than did female athletes.

With 7.6 percent of the athletes exposed to sexual materials of a visual or written nature in or around their training site, the experience between females and males was significantly different with a chi square of 14.12(1, N=405) and a .001 significance probability. The crosstabulations showed a difference of males

Table 16

Summary of Athlete Experience with Sexual Harassment (% and Chi-square)

Behaviour and Agent	Female %	Male %	χ^2	p
Gender Harassment				
Jokes - coach	5.9	19.0	16.73	.001***
Jokes - male athlete	53.7	63.5	3.56	.05*
Jokes - female athlete	26.4	42.6	10.83	.001***
Jokes - M. asst.	1.5	4.4	3.67	.15
Jokes - F. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Visuals	4.1	14.6	14.12	.001***
Athletics as inappropriate - coach	0.7	3.6	5.03	.08
Athletics as inappropriate - female	0.7	1.5	0.98	.61
Athletics as inappropriate - male	18.9	15.3	1.32	.51
Athletics as inappropriate - M. asst.	0	2.2	5.95	.2
Athletics as inappropriate - F. asst.	0	0	-	-
Seductive Behaviour				
Sexual advances - coach	0.4	0	1.01	.60
Sexual advances - M. asst.	0.7	0	1.01	.31
Sexual advances - F. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Persistence - coach	0	0	-	-
Persistence - M. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Persistence - F. asst.	0	0	-	-
Invitation - coach	0.4	0	1.01	.60
Invitation - M. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Invitation - F. asst.	0	0	-	-
Bribery				
Reward - coach	0	0	-	-
Reward - M. asst.	0	0	-	-
Reward - F. asst.	0	0	-	-

Table 16 cont'd.

Behaviour and Agent	Female %	Male %	χ^2	p
Coercion				
Punishment - coach	0	0	-	-
Punishment - M. asst.	0	0	-	-
Punishment - F. asst.	0	0	-	-
Assault				
Invasion- coach	1.1	0	2.04	.35
Invasion - M. asst.	0	0	-	-
Invasion - F. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Force - male athlete	11.9	1.5	12.88	.001***
Force - female athlete	0.7	13.9	32.00	.001***
Force - coach	0.7	0	1.53	.46
Force - M. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
Force - F. asst.	0.4	0	.50	.47
General Sexual Harassment				
Male coach	0.7	0	1.01	.31
Male assistant	0.4	0	.50	.47
Male athlete	9.6	1.5	9.46	.002**
Male manager	0.4	0	.50	.47
Male athletic trainer	1.1	0	1.53	.21
Male other	1.9	1.5	.08	.77
Female coach	0	0	-	-
Female assistant	0	0	-	-
Female athlete	0.4	2.2	3.09	.7
Female manager	0	0	-	-
Female athletic trainer	0	0	-	-
Female other	0.4	0	.50	.47

*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.001

Code: M = male, F = female, asst. = assistant coach, assistant = assistant coach

having more of these materials present in their environment than females.

A greater number of male athletes noted that their head coach has commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women at a .03 significance level, $\chi^2(1, N=406)=4.52$. However, the reliability of this statistic is questionable and would require further study since only seven respondents related this experience, two females and five males.

Although no significance was found, $\chi^2(1, N=406)=1.32$, $p=.51$, for the difference between the responses of females and males to the statement that:

"male athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women", the results were worthy of note. Of the 17.7 percent of the athletes who have heard this comment, 12.5 percent or 51 respondents were female and 5.2 percent or 21 respondents were male.

An additional nonsignificant response worthy of note was the crosstabulation for:

"I have felt my university head coach invade my personal space or deliberately touch me in a way that made me uncomfortable".

Although only 0.7 percent of the subjects responded 'yes' to this statement, all were female and none were male.

A chi square of 12.88(1, N=406) with a .001 level of significance revealed an association of experience with sex for the statement:

"I have been in a position where a male athlete made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me".

Female athletes reported this experience significantly more often than male athletes. Conversely, male athletes reported similar forceful attempts on the part of female athletes significantly more often, $\chi^2(1, N=407)=32.01, p=.001$, than female athletes. Neither of these experiences were reported exclusively by one sex. As noted earlier, same sex harassment was a reported experience with these statements.

While there was no significance from the analysis of the question that addressed forceful attempts by a head coach to be sexually physical with an athlete, those cases that were reported were experiences that females have had ($N=2$) with no report from a male athlete of a similar experience.

A significance was found, $\chi^2(1, N=406)=5.95, p=.01$, between the experience of females and males who reported comments from male assistant coaches that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women. The significance existed as a result of no female athletes who reported that they had been subjected to such comments. Only males reported this experience.

While there was not a significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=407)=1.02, p=.31$, found in the experience between female and male athletes who were recipients of sexual advances outside the role of coaching from a male assistant coach, it was noteworthy that, again, only females and no males had been placed in this position.

In response to the general summary question that asked respondents if they had ever been sexually harassed as a university athlete, the females showed a significantly higher experience of sexual harassment, $\chi^2 (1, N=407)=9.47, p=.001$, from male athletes than did male athletes. Conversely, the males showed a significantly higher experience of sexual harassment, $\chi^2 (1, N=407)=3.09, p=.07$, from female athletes than did female athletes. Once again, this result found that same sex harassment does occur although sexual harassment was predominantly a heterosexual experience.

In the cases combined that did not show a significant difference between the female and the male experience but reported some sexual harassment, there were 31 cases of sexual harassment reported by females compared to 4 cases of sexual harassment reported by males. The exception to this trend for females to report a higher number of incidences was sexist jokes or comments made by a male assistant coach in which case more males than females reported this experience.

In summary, both female and male athletes report having experienced sexist jokes/comments from peers. Female athletes experienced these frequently from male athletes and occasionally from female athletes while male athletes experienced these frequently from male athletes and occasionally from female athletes. This is a noteworthy distinction between the experience of female and male athletes to be addressed further in the discussion.

Male athletes were exposed to visual materials of a sexual nature in and around their training site more often than female athletes; coaches commented more often to male athletes than to female athletes that athletics is an inappropriate activity for females; male athletes experienced sexist jokes/comments from coaches more often than female athletes; female athletes reported more experience with sexual harassment than male athletes in a wider variety of behaviours and from a greater number of sources; and, male athletes experienced sexual harassment as well, however their experience was predominantly restricted to gender harassment with female athletes as the source of the harassment.

The second null hypothesis states that:

HO2 There will be no difference in the female and male athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment.

In all but one case, female athletes perceived the stated behaviours to be representative of sexual harassment more often than male athletes. The largest differences found in the gender harassment statements were those addressing suggestive comment and sexual flattery (Table 17). In the first case, 11.0 percent more females believed that suggestive comments are sexual harassment, with the difference surfacing primarily in the category of 'strongly agree' - 37.4 percent of the females and 20.4 percent of the males. In the second case, 9.4 percent more females believed that sexual flattery is sexual harassment with the difference again surfacing primarily in the category of 'strongly agree' where 26.7 percent of the females responded compared to 15.4 percent of the males.

Table 17

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions - Gender Harassment (%)

Behaviour	Females (N=270)			Males (N=137)			Differ (%)
	SA	A	TA	SA	A	TA	
Suggestive comment	37.4	37.8	75.2	20.4	43.8	64.2	11.0
Sexual flattery	26.7	39.3	66.0	15.4	41.2	56.6	9.4
Seductive remarks	22.6	40.0	62.6	12.5	43.4	55.9	6.7
Sexist comments	27.0	41.5	68.5	28.7	34.6	63.3	5.2
Athletics as inapprop.	3.0	1.1	4.1	3.6	0.0	3.6	0.5

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Diff = difference between TA for females and TA for males

T-tests were used (Table 18) to determine whether or not there were differences in the perceptions that female athletes held about the statements presented in the survey and the views held by male athletes. Overall there was a significant difference in the views of females and males on ten of the twenty statements. As a result of these findings, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Sex had a significant effect on three of the gender harassment statements as presented. While both females and males agreed that sexist comments are sexual harassment, $t(404)=-.22$, $p=.82$, and disagreed that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women, $t(405)=.46$, $p=.64$, there was a significant difference in their beliefs about the remaining three statements. Diversity surfaced in assessing seductive remarks about a person's appearance with females agreeing significantly more often than males, $t(404)=-2.30$, $p=.02$, that this is sexual harassment. Female athletes also agreed that sexually flattering or suggestive remarks are sexual harassment, $t(404)=-2.30$, $p=.02$, and sexual comments about an athlete's body are sexual harassment, $t(405)=-3.71$, $p=.001$ significantly more often than male athletes. Females and males differed in their belief that unwanted sexual attention is sexual harassment but showed some consensus that a coaches invitation to engage in a romantic relationship is sexual harassment (Table 19). There was a significant difference (Table 18) between females and males in their perception that seductive behaviour is sexual harassment on one of the statements. Unwanted attention, $t(405)=-3.78$, $p=.001$, showed a difference between the responses of females

Table 18

Summary Table of Means, Standard Deviations, and t-tests for
Athlete Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Perceptions	Females (N=270)		Males (N=136)		t (df=404)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Gender Harassment					
Seductive remarks	1.22	.88	1.43	.85	-2.30*
Sexist comments	1.12	.90	1.14	.91	-.22
Sexual flattery	1.15	.91	1.36	.85	-2.30*
Suggestive comments	.91	.86	1.25	.90	-3.71*
Athletics as inappropriate	2.88	.55	2.85	.58	.46
Seductive Behaviour					
Unwanted attention	1.20	.94	1.59	1.00	-3.78*
Coach's invitation	.89	.99	1.05	1.03	-1.50
Bribery					
Offer of reward	.13	.57	.18	.57	-.76
Promise	.07	.43	.10	.46	-.70
Coercion					
Reprisal	.07	.42	.09	.38	-.57
Consequence	1.76	1.21	1.41	1.18	2.75*
Assault					
Unwanted touch	.20	.58	.24	.55	-.68
Force	.07	.43	.05	.33	.28
Inappropriate touch	.14	.44	.23	.51	-1.64
Locus of Responsibility					
Women too sensitive	2.39	.80	2.10	.85	3.37*
Women responsible	2.76	.51	2.37	.72	5.66*
Female athlete responsible	2.83	.47	2.59	.64	3.80*
Support system					
Prevalence	1.89	.82	2.10	.76	-2.33*
Policy	1.18	1.12	1.16	1.11	.11
Administrator	1.69	1.19	1.89	1.22	-1.59

* $p \leq .05$

Table 19

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions on Seductive Behaviour (%)

Behaviour	Females			Males			Diff %
	SA	A	TA	SA	A	TA	
Unwanted attention	27.4	33.7	61.1	16.1	30.7	46.8	14.3
Invitations	47.4	23.7	71.1	39.0	28.7	67.7	4.4

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Diff = difference between female TA and male TA

and males. Females ($M=1.20$, $SD=.94$) agreed more often than males ($M=1.59$, $SD=1.00$) that such behaviours are sexual harassment. Both expressed similar agreement that a coach's invitation to an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship is sexual harassment.

Only one of the quid pro quo statements resulted in a significant difference, $t(400)=2.75$, $p=.006$, in the response of females and males. In this situation (Table 20), more males than females agreed that refusing sexual advances made by a coach would have a negative effect on an athlete's ability to achieve athletic goals. Consensus with the representation of these statements as sexual harassment was high for both females and males and only slightly higher for females with the exception of one statement. Neither females nor males were in strong agreement that refusing sexual advances from a coach would be detrimental to achieving their athletic goals. Males did, however, perceive this as a possibility more often than females.

One of the three assault statements revealed significance at the .10 level of confidence. The statement:

'deliberately touching an athlete in a way that is inappropriate or discomforting is sexual harassment'

showed a significant difference, $t(404)=-1.73$, $p=.10$, between females and males. Further analysis revealed that males agreed with this statement ($M=.09$, $SD=.38$) than females ($M=.70$, $SD=.42$).

There was general consensus between females and males that each of the assault statements reflect sexual harassment as shown in Table 21. However, there were some differences worthy of note.

Table 20

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions - Quid Pro Quo Behaviours (%)

Behaviour	Females			Males			Diff %
	SA	A	TA	SA	A	TA	
Consequence	22.4	20.5	42.9	30.6	23.9	54.5	11.6
Reward	93.3	3.0	96.3	88.3	7.3	95.6	0.7
Bribe	97.0	0.7	97.7	94.1	2.9	97.0	0.7
Reprisal	97.7	1.5	99.2	92.7	5.8	98.5	0.7

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Diff = difference between female TA and male TA

Table 21

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions of Assault (%)

Behaviour	Females			Males			Diff %
	SA	A	TA	SA	A	TA	
Unwanted touch	85.9	9.3	95.2	79.6	17.5	97.1	1.9
Inappropriate touch	87.7	10.4	98.1	80.3	16.8	97.1	1.0
Force	97.0	0.7	97.7	96.4	2.2	98.6	0.9

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

TA = total agree

Diff = difference between female TA and male TA

In each of the cases, there were more females than males who strongly agreed with the statement as presented. Yet two of the three statements were perceived as sexual harassment more often by males when strongly agree and agree selections were combined. Inappropriate or discomforting touching was less likely to be perceived as sexual harassment by males than it was by females.

The results showed that females are less inclined than are males to hold women responsible for provoking sexual harassment. However, a number of respondents, both female and male, believed that women are too sensitive about unwanted sexual attention. All three statements that examine locus of responsibility showed a significant difference between the perceptions of females and the perceptions of males. The results of these statements are presented as percentages in Table 18 and 22. In each case, more males than females attributed responsibility to the female more frequently than females attributed responsibility to the female. T-tests showed that there was a significant difference, $t(403)=3.37$, $p=.001$, in the response between females and males with respect to their belief that women are too sensitive about sexual harassment. Also, t-tests showed that there was a significant difference, $t(403)=5.66$, $p=.001$, in the response between females and males with respect to their belief that women who get unwanted sexual attention from men bring it on themselves. There was less support for this trend when the sexual attention received involves the relationship of a female athlete and a male coach. However, a t-test showed that

Table 22

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions - Locus of Responsibility (%)

Perception	SA	A	D	SDA
Women too sensitive				
Female	1.9	14.8	25.2	58.1
Male	3.0	23.0	34.8	39.3
Diff.	1.1	8.2	9.6	18.8
Women provoke SH				
Female	0.4	3.0	16.7	80.0
Male	1.5	9.6	39.3	49.6
Diff.	1.1	6.6	22.6	30.4
Athlete's provoke SH				
Female	0.7	1.9	10.7	86.7
Male	1.5	4.4	27.2	66.9
Diff.	0.8	2.5	16.5	19.8

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

D = disagree

SDA = strongly disagree

Diff. = difference between percentage response of females and males

there was still a significant difference, $t(404)=3.80$, $p=.001$, between females and males in response to the statement that female athletes who get unwanted sexual attention from a male coach bring it on themselves.

Only one response from the three statements concerning prevalence and university support revealed a significance. A t-test showed that there was a significant difference, $t(394)=-2.33$, $p=.02$, in the perception between females and males that sexual harassment is prevalent within university athletics. An examination of percentages, means and standard deviations in Table 23 shows that female athletes believe that sexual harassment is more prevalent in university athletics than do male athletes.

In summary, female athletes perceived more behaviours as sexual harassment than male athletes. When the ambiguity of the behaviour was strong, the difference in perception was greatest. Male athletes were more likely to identify females as the locus of responsibility than were female athletes. And female athletes were more likely to agree that sexual harassment in athletics is prevalent.

Sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility

The third null hypothesis for this study states that:

H03 There will be no difference in the athletes' experience with behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility.

Crosstabulations and chi square analyses were completed to

Table 23

Female and Male Athlete Perceptions - Prevalence and University Support (%)

Perception	SA	A	D	SDA
Prevalence				
Female	5.6	22.9	47.4	24.1
Male	3.8	13.1	52.3	30.8
Diff.	1.8	9.8	4.9	6.7
Policy				
Female	36.3	28.1	16.7	18.9
Male	36.0	29.4	16.2	18.4
Diff.	0.3	1.3	0.5	0.5
Advisor				
Female	23.3	20.7	18.9	37.0
Male	20.6	17.6	14.0	47.1
Diff.	2.7	3.1	4.9	10.1

Code. SA = strongly agree

A = agree

D = disagree

SDA = strongly disagree

Diff. = difference between percentage response of females and males

determine whether or not there was an association between experience with sexual harassment in university athletics and the athlete's year of eligibility. As a result of two findings of association, the null hypothesis was rejected. Year of eligibility has some influence on the experience that athletes may have with sexual harassment. However, the impact of this variable was minimal.

The associations found between year of eligibility and experience with sexual harassment was with respect to sexist jokes or comments made by male, $\chi^2(4, N=406)=31.7, p=.001$, and female, $\chi^2(4, N=406)=23.4, p=.001$, athletes. In both circumstances, the crosstabulations showed that athletes in their first year of eligibility did not report having been subjected to sexist jokes or comments to the same degree as athletes in their second through fifth years of eligibility. Consistent with the overall percentage, however, first year athletes reported having heard sexist comments or jokes from males (36.3%) twice as often as having heard sexist jokes or comments from females (18.5%).

The fourth null hypothesis states that:

HO4 There will be no difference in the athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon year of eligibility.

Each of the questions in Section B were examined according to the number of years that female and male athletes had competed in athletics at their current university. A 2 X 5 (Sex by Year of Eligibility) ANOVA was used to determine if there were differences

in the perceptions of the respondents. The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of one finding.

The first five statements related to perception addressed gender harassment. The interaction of sex and eligibility for each of these statements was large. Therefore, the effects of sex on perceptions were the same in each year of eligibility. There was no interaction effect for these variables (Table 24). In three of the statements, however, there was a main effect for sex - seductive remarks about a person's appearance, $F(1,395)=5.99$, $p=.01$, sexually flattering remarks, $F(1,395)=5.62$, $p=.02$, and sexually suggestive comments about an athlete's body, $F(1,394)=15.47$, $p=.001$. While year of eligibility did not affect perceptions of athletes, females and males, as previously reported in response to the second hypothesis, did not have the same perceptions with respect to defining these three behaviours as sexual harassment.

The questions used to explore perceptions about the use of seductive behaviour to initiate a sexual relationship asked respondents to express their agreement about whether a coach inviting an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship and whether unwanted sexual attention are behaviours of sexual harassment. The results of the ANOVA revealed that, although the main effect for sex was significant, $F(1,394)=15.27$, $p=.001$, for unwanted sexual attention, the interaction effect was not significant, $F(1,394)=.35$, $p=.85$. Neither the main effect for eligibility, $F(4,394)=.55$, $p=.70$, or the main effect for sex, $F(1,394)=2.50$, $p=.11$, nor the interaction effect of year of eligibility and sex, $F(4,394)=.89$, $p=.47$, on

Table 24

Analysis of Variance for the Interaction of Sex and Eligibility on Gender Harassment

Behaviour	N	df	SS	E	p
Seductive remark	404	4, 395	2.58	.85	.49
Sexist comment	404	4, 395	.90	.27	.89
Sexual flattery	404	4, 395	3.41	1.08	.36
Suggestive comment	403	4, 394	2.54	.83	.51
Athletics as inappropriate	403	4, 394	.37	.28	.88

determining whether or not a coach influenced an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship were significant.

Of the four statements that explored perceptions about quid pro quo behaviours as a condition of athletic opportunity, only one revealed any significance. Perceptions about refusing sexual advances made by a coach as detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations showed significance. The interaction effect was non-significant, $F(4,389)=0.348$, $p=0.845$, and the main effect of year of eligibility was non-significant, $F(4,389)=.163$, $p=.96$; but the main effect of sex was significant, $F(1,389)=7.698$, $p=.006$, again suggesting that there was no difference in the response to this statement depending upon year of eligibility but that females and males responded to this statement differently.

The next three statements represented a degree of touching and were classified as assault statements. Perceptions of forceful attempts of sexual touching or sexual intercourse as sexual harassment showed the interaction between sex and year of eligibility had no significance, $F(4,389)=.81$, $p=.52$. It did, however, show a main effect for year of eligibility, $F(4,389)=2.41$, $p=.049$, finding evidence that perceptions differed based upon year of eligibility. A oneway ANOVA using Tukey's post-hoc test was conducted to provide further analysis. A significant difference, $F(4,400)=2.21$, $p=.06$ was found between the perceptions that first year athletes hold as compared to fifth year athletes for this particular statement. Fewer fifth year athletes ($M=.24$, $SD=.72$) perceive forceful attempts of sexual touching or sexual intercourse as sexual harassment than first year athletes ($M=.04$, $SD=.37$).

The next three questions focused on the locus of responsibility for the experience of sexual harassment. The ANOVA showed a main effect for sex in all three cases on the determination of responsibility - women are too sensitive, $F(1,381)=10.22$, $p=.002$; women who get unwanted attention bring it on themselves, $F(1,381)=39.58$, $p=.001$; and, female athletes who get unwanted attention bring it on themselves, $F(1,381)=20.31$, $p=.001$. This is reported with the results presented for Hypothesis 2. No interaction effect between sex and year of eligibility was significant on any of the three - women are too sensitive, $F(4,381)=1.00$, $p=.40$; women who get unwanted attention bring it on themselves, $F(4,381)=.84$, $p=.49$; and, female athletes who get unwanted attention bring it on themselves, $F(4,381)=.85$, $p=.49$.

In summary, although a few differences were found in this analysis, there remains very little influence of year of eligibility on the perceptions that athletes hold regarding sexual harassment. However, it was found that first year athletes were more likely to perceive forceful attempts of sexual touching or sexual intercourse as sexual harassment than were fifth year athletes.

Sexual harassment based upon sex of the athlete and sex of the coach

The fifth null hypothesis propose that:

H05 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' experience with sexual harassment from a coach based upon the sex of the coach.

Crosstabulations and chi square analyses were used to determine the association of experience with sexual harassment of female and male athletes and sex of the coach. The null hypotheses were rejected based upon the following findings.

Overall, there was a significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=396)=14.44$, $p=.001$, in the number of athletes who reported having experienced sexist jokes or comments from their coach based upon sex of the coach. Of those athletes who reported this experience, 90.2 percent had male coaches compared to 9.8 percent with female coaches.

Male athletes who have male coaches were subjected to sexist jokes and comments significantly more often, $\chi^2(1, N=248)=8.32$, $p=.001$, than female athletes who have male coaches. In comparison, in the analysis of experiences with female coaches, there was no significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=145)=.302$, $p=.58$, between female and male athletes. Further, male athletes reported no instances of sexist jokes or comments from their female coach.

Similarly, male athletes reported, $\chi^2(1, N=250)=6.34$, $p=.04$, that male coaches commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women significantly more often than female athletes with male coaches (who reported no occurrences of this nature) and in comparison to male athletes with female coaches who also reported no occurrences of this type of comment, $\chi^2(1, N=146)$, $p=.78$.

Although the number of cases precludes significance, the reported incidence of sexual advances (1), requests for sexual relationships (1), invasion of personal space (3), forceful physical

encroachments (2) or general reports of sexual harassment from a coach (2) were identified exclusively as female experiences and predominantly as experiences between female athletes and male coaches.

Sex of the assistant coach generated similar results. Male and female athletes were as likely to be subjected to sexist comments and jokes, $\chi^2(1, N=190)=11.75, p=.001$, from a coach when the team has a male assistant coach but highly unlikely to be subjected to the same from a coach when the team has a female assistant coach, $\chi^2(1, N=115)=.075, p=.78$. Also, male athletes were more likely than female athletes to have a coach with a male assistant coach comment that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women, $\chi^2(1, N=190)=4.55, p=.10$.

Female respondents provided the only data relating experiences with sexual harassment from assistant coaches. This pattern showed that when the source of the harassment was from an assistant coach, there was a 5:1 ratio of male:female assistant coaches as the source of the harassment.

The sixth null hypothesis addresses sexual harassment that athletes experience from peer athletes, stating that:

H06 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' experience with sexual harassment from peers based upon the sex of the coach.

Crosstabulations and chi square analyses were used to determine if there was an association between sex of the coach and the experience that athletes had with sexual harassment from other athletes.

Once again, the null hypotheses were rejected. Significance was found with the experience that athletes encountered from sexist jokes and comments (Table 25). An association exists at the .10 level of confidence between the athletes' experiences with sexist jokes or comments from other male athletes for those who have a male coach, $\chi^2(1, N=250)=3.15, p=.07$. Males were almost twice as likely to experience these sexist jokes or comments than not and females were slightly more likely than not to report a similar experience. However, male athletes who have a female coach were marginally less likely to be subjected to sexist jokes or comments from other male athletes than male athletes with a male coach while female athletes who have a female coach were marginally more likely to be subjected to sexist jokes or comments from male athletes.

There was an association found between sexist jokes and comments made by female athletes and the sex of the coach as well. For athletes with male coaches, significantly more male athletes reported having been subjected to sexist jokes and comments from female athletes than did female athletes, $\chi^2(1, N=248)=6.92, p=.01$. The same analysis for athletes with female coaches did not produce significance, $\chi^2(1, N=145)=.172, p=.68$. However, approximately the same percentage of female athletes as male athletes reported sexist jokes or comments made by other female athletes while less than half the percentage of male athletes reported this experience.

All of the male cases reporting an experience with forceful

Table 25

Athlete Experience with Sexual Harassment from Peers Based upon Sex of the Coach (%)

Behaviour & Agent	Target			
	MA-MC (N=121)	FA-MC (N=129)	MA-FC (N=10)	FA-FC (N=136)
Sexist jokes - MA	65.3	52.9	60.0	54.3
Sexist jokes - FA	44.2	28.1	20.0	25.9
Athletics as inappropriate - MA	14.9	17.1	10.0	20.6
Force - MA	1.7	11.6	0	11.8
Force - FA	14.9	0	0	1.5

Code. FA = female athlete

FC = female coach

MA = male athlete

MC = female coach

e.g. MA-MC = male athlete with a male coach

advances from female athletes were from athletes with male coaches while those female cases reported were from athletes with female coaches.

Hypothesis seven proposed that female and male athletes coached by females and male and female athletes coached by males would hold the same perceptions about sexually harassing behaviours.

HO7 There will be no difference in female and male athletes' perceptions of behaviours defined as sexual harassment based upon sex of the coach.

T-tests were performed to first analyze the overall response to the survey statements based upon sex of the coach. Eight of the twenty statements showed a significant difference in the response given (Table 26). Three of the differences were in the gender harassment category, two were in the category of seductive behaviour, one in each of quid pro quo and assault categories and the last one was familiarity with a policy on sexual harassment.

2 X 2 ANOVA's were used to determine the effect of sex and sex of the coach on perceptions about sexual harassment as represented by the statements in Section B of the survey. None of the statements showed an interaction effect between sex of the athlete and sex of the coach on perceptions about sexual harassment. Seven analyses showed a main effect for sex of the athlete, two gender harassment statements, one assault statement, all three statements on locus of responsibility and the statement inquiring about perception of prevalence of sexual harassment in

Table 26

T-tests of Athlete Perceptions Based on Sex of the Coach (N=396)

	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t value</u>	<u>p</u>
Seductive remarks				
Female	1.19	.833	1.80	.07
Male	1.35	.894		
Flattery				
Female	1.09	.866	2.09	.03*
Male	1.28	.908		
Suggestive comments				
Female	0.87	.846	2.64	.001***
Male	1.12	.906		
Unwanted attention				
Female	1.18	.961	2.39	.01**
Male	1.42	.984		
Invitation				
Female	0.83	.958	1.79	.07
Male	1.02	1.04		
Reward				
Female	.095	.460	1.74	.08
Male	.192	.636		
Inappropriate touch				
Female	.116	.381	2.13	.03*
Male	.212	.515		
Policy				
Female	1.33	1.14	-2.24	.02*
Male	1.07	1.09		

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

university athletics. The only result that showed a main effect for sex of the coach was the response to the statement 'refusing sexual advances made by a coach would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations', $F(1,386)=4.238$, $p=.004$. In this case, more males ($M=1.61$, $SD=1.25$) than females ($M=1.69$, $SD=1.18$) perceived such a refusal would be harmful to an athlete's athletic career. Therefore, the null hypotheses were rejected.

Further analysis was done by creating a new variable, effect of sex, based on sex of the athlete and sex of the coach. Oneway ANOVA's with Tukey's post hoc analysis were performed to further assess the effect of the sex of the coach on perceptions that athletes hold concerning sexual harassment. Significance was found on responses to ten of the survey statements (Table 27).

Male athletes with a male coach were less likely to believe that sexually suggestive comments about athletes' bodies are sexual harassment ($M=1.29$, $SD=.91$) than female athletes with either a female ($M=.88$, $SD=.86$) or male ($M=.95$, $SD=.86$) coach. This result was not found for male athletes with a female coach. Female athletes with a female coach ($M=1.08$, $SD=.88$) were the most likely to agree that sexually flattering remarks were sexual harassment. Female athletes with a male coach ($M=1.21$, $SD=.92$) and male athletes with either a male ($M=1.36$, $SD=.88$) or female ($M=1.30$, $SD=.48$) coach were not as likely to do so.

Response to the statement that unwanted sexual attention is sexual harassment showed that male athletes with a male coach ($M=1.60$, $SD=.09$) were less likely to agree to the statement than

Table 27

**Analysis of Variance of Athlete Perceptions of Sexual Harassment
Based Upon Sex of the Athlete and Sex of the Coach**

Behaviour	N	df	ss	F	p
Sexual flattery	396	3,392	317.32	2.17	.09
Suggestive comment	396	3,392	313.63	5.60	.001***
Unwanted attention	396	3,392	380.65	5.54	.001***
Reward	391	3,387	571.11	4.26	.001***
Women too sensitive	395	3,391	272.31	4.12	.001***
Women responsible	395	3,391	144.37	11.32	.001***
Female athlete responsible	396	3,392	116.20	4.73	.001***
Prevalence	386	3,382	254.96	2.06	.10
Policy awareness	396	3,392	492.32	2.19	.08
Policy administrator	396	3,392	577.74	2.03	.10

***p ≤ .001

female athletes with either a female ($M=1.14$, $SD=.95$) or a male ($M=1.26$, $SD=.93$) coach.

Female athletes with a male coach ($M=1.87$, $SD=1.15$) were found to disagree significantly more often than male athletes with a female coach ($M=0.70$, $SD=.67$) that refusing sexual advances made by a coach would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations.

Each of the statements addressing locus of responsibility showed significance in the results (see Table 28). Both females coached by males ($M=2.43$,) and females coached by females ($M=2.37$, $SD=.79$) expressed stronger disagreement than males coached by males ($M=2.09$, $SD=.87$) that women are too sensitive about unwanted sexual attention; both females coached by males ($M=2.80$, $SD=.46$) and females coached by females ($M=2.72$, $SD=.55$) expressed stronger disagreement than males coached by males ($M=2.40$, $SD=.71$) that women who get unwanted sexual attention from men bring it on themselves; and, both females coached by males ($M=2.85$, $SD=.39$) and females coached by females ($M=2.80$, $SD=.53$) expressed stronger disagreement than males coached by males ($M=2.61$, $SD=.64$) that female athletes who get unwanted sexual attention from a male coach bring it on themselves.

While only at the .10 level of confidence, male athletes with a male coach ($M=2.10$, $SD=.77$) were least likely to see sexual harassment as prevalent within university athletics; female athletes with a male coach ($M=0.99$, $SD=1.07$) were most likely to be aware of a policy on sexual harassment; and, male athletes with a female coach ($M=2.50$, $SD=.97$) were

Table 28

Athlete Experience with Sexual Harassment by Sex Based Upon Team Role (% and Chi-square)

Behaviour and agent	Starter				Substitute			
	F	M	χ^2	p	F	M	χ^2	p
Sexist jokes-coach	6.7	20.0	12.22	.001***	3.3	16.7	5.36	.02*
Sexist jokes-MA	55.5	66.0	3.08	.07	47.5	55.6	0.58	.44
Sexist jokes-FA	28.4	45.0	8.68	.01**	19.7	34.3	2.53	.11
Visuals	4.3	15.0	10.61	.001***	3.3	13.9	3.80	.05*
Force - MA	12.0	2.0	8.47	.001***	11.5	0	4.45	.03*
Force - FA	1.0	16.0	27.90	.001***	0	8.3	5.24	.02*
Athletics inappropriate - MAC	0	3.0	6.33	.01**	0	0	-	-

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

Code. MA = male athlete
FA = female athlete
MAC = male assistant coach

least likely to be familiar with an individual responsible for implementing the policy on behalf of the institution.

In summary, the results found an influence of the coach on athletes' experience with sexual harassment. Male coaches and assistant coaches were involved in sexually harassing behaviours more often than female coaches and the athletes of male coaches were subjected to sexually harassing behaviours more often than the athletes of female coaches. Female athletes experience sexual harassment from peers more often than male athletes with a male coach. And, male athletes with male coaches were least likely to view nine of the statements presented in the survey as sexual harassment while female athletes with a male coach were least likely to view one of the statements presented in the survey as sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment based upon team role

The eighth null hypothesis questions the athlete's role within a team as a predictor of experience with sexual harassment. It states that:

HO8 There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon their role as a starter/top half of the team versus a substitute/bottom half of the team.

The role as starter/top half of the team versus substitute/bottom half of the team was a self-declared determination of the respondents position within the hierarchy of talent.

Crosstabulations and chi square analyses were executed to

determine association between role of the athlete and their experience with sexual harassment. Differences in experience based upon the athletes' role on the team resulted in the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Overall, there was no association between role of the athlete and experience with sexual harassment. However, the inclusion of sex of the athlete as a variable revealed some differences in the athletes' experiences (Table 29).

Male starters experienced sexist jokes and comments from coaches significantly more often, $\chi^2(1, N=309)=12.2, p=.001$, than did female starters. Male substitutes reflected a similar experience, $\chi^2(1, N=97)=5.36, p=.02$. However, in comparing percentages, fewer substitutes experienced sexist jokes or comments from a coach than starters with a greater dichotomy for females than for males.

There was a significant association at the .10 level of confidence, $\chi^2(1, N=309)=3.08, p=.07$, between the responses given to sexist jokes and comments from male athletes and the role of the respondent. Again, female starters were more likely to experience sexist jokes or comments from male athletes than female substitutes and both female starters and substitutes were less likely to experience the same than male starters and substitutes. Comparison of percentages showed that, of female starters and both male starters and substitutes, all had a higher percentage of respondents reporting experience with sexist jokes or comments from male athletes while female substitutes showed a higher percentage of the respondents not reporting such an experience.

Table 29

Analysis of Variance for Significant Interaction Effects with Sex of the Athlete and Role of the Athlete

	<u>df</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Seductive remarks	1,402	312.12	4.02	.04*
Sexual flattery	1,402	324.60	5.30	.02*
Suggestive comment re athletes	1,402	320.58	4.58	.03*
Unwanted attention	1,402	391.09	6.69	.05*
Invitation	1,400	411.90	6.04	.01**
Force	1,396	123.51	6.24	.01**
Inappropriate touch	1,396	89.04	3.35	.06

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01

When the source of the sexist jokes or comments is a female athlete, a significance, $\chi^2(1, N=308)=8.68, p=.01$, was found in the association between female and male starters. A greater percentage of male respondents (45.0%) reported that female athletes have made sexist jokes or comments to them than reported by female respondents (28.4%). Likewise, a greater number of male substitutes (34.3%) reported experiencing sexist jokes/comments from female athletes than female substitutes (19.7%) but a smaller percentage of both female and male substitutes reported sexist jokes or comments from female athletes than reported by female and male starters respectively.

The display of sexual materials showed significant association for both starters, $\chi^2(1, N=308)=10.61, p=.001$, and substitutes, $\chi^2(1, N=97)=3.80, p=.05$. Examining the crosstabulations, it showed that male athletes, as starters (15.0%) or substitutes (13.9%) were more likely to report sexual materials displayed in their training site than female athletes (starters=4.3%, substitutes=3.3%).

The statement from male athletes that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women showed no significance, $\chi^2(1, N=406)=2.86, p=.23$. However, percentages revealed that female starters are three times more likely to be the recipient of such a comment than male starters and, slightly more likely to be the recipient of such a comment than female substitutes.

The statements that inquired about forceful attempts of physical contact by athletes and coach showed significance of association in a heterosexual direction. Female athletes received such intrusions significantly more often from male athletes,

(starters: $\chi^2(1, N=309)=8.47$, $p=.001$, substitutes: $\chi^2(1, N=97)=4.45$, $p=.03$), than did male athletes. Male athletes received such intrusions from female athletes significantly more often from female athletes (starters: $\chi^2(1, N=309)=27.90$, $p=.001$, substitutes: $\chi^2(1, N=97)=5.24$, $p=.02$), than did female athletes and, female starters, while not significant, $\chi^2(1, N=309)=0.96$, $p=.32$, received 100%, $N=2$ of such intrusions from a university coach while male athletes reported no such behaviour. Comparison of percentages between starters and substitutes showed that female starters and substitutes had similar experiences with male aggressors while male starters reported more experience from male aggressors compared to male substitutes, who reported no such experiences. Male starters, on the other hand, experienced more physical aggression from female athletes than male substitutes while female starters reported more experience from female aggressors than female substitutes, who reported no such experiences. The only report of forceful attempts of physical contact by a university coach was reported by female starters.

Response to experiences revealed that male starting athletes were significantly more likely to report, $\chi^2(1, N=309)=6.33$, $p=.01$, that a male assistant coach commented on athletics as an inappropriate activity for women than female starters. There were no substitutes, female or male, who reported a similar experience.

The general summary question that inquired about whether the respondent felt that they had ever been sexually harassed in university athletics by a male athlete showed significance, $\chi^2(1, N=309)=6.86$, $p=.001$, between female and male starters'

experiences. Female starters were more likely to be sexually harassed by male athletes, reported by 10.5 percent of the female starters as compared to 2 percent of the male starters. Likewise, female substitutes, although not significant, $\chi^2(1, N=97)=2.46$, $p=.12$, were more likely to be sexually harassed by male athletes, reported by 6.6 percent of the female substitutes and zero percent of the male substitutes. As a comparison, no significance was found in the experiences of sexual harassment from female athletes reported amongst the female and male starters and substitutes. In this situation, 2 percent of the male starters, 0.5 percent of the female starters, 2.8 percent of the male substitutes and zero percent of the female substitutes reported having been sexually harassed by a female athlete.

Hypothesis 9 forwarded the premise that the role of an athlete as a starter or team member in the top half of the team might have perceptions about sexual harassment that differ from a substitute or team member in the bottom half of the team. The null hypothesis states:

HO9 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon their role as a starter/top half of the team versus a substitute/bottom half of the team.

Although the effect of the role of the athlete was not unilaterally a significant variable on the perceptions of sexual harassment held by athletes, the null hypothesis was rejected. T-tests were completed and significance was found with two of the variables. There was a difference in perception of sexist comments

as sexual harassment, $t(404)=-1.94$, $p=.05$, based upon role of the athlete and, there was a difference, $t(394)=-2.53$, $p=.01$, in the perception of the prevalence of sexual harassment in university athletics based upon role of the athlete. Athletes who were starters agreed more often than substitutes that sexist comments are sexual harassment (69.1% compared to 59.7%) and that sexual harassment is prevalent in university athletics (27.9% compared to 14.8%).

2 X 2 ANOVA's were used to analyze the interaction effect of sex of the athlete with role of the athlete on perceptions that athletes provided for the survey statements (Table 30). There was a significant Sex of Athlete by Role of Athlete interaction on seven of the variables, three for gender harassment, two for coercion, and two for assault. This indicates that differences based upon sex were not uniform for the two roles of starter and substitute. When the differences were examined by reviewing the main effect, the influence of sex revealed gender difference for these respondents but the influence of team role did not reveal difference.

To summarize, athletes who are starters or in the top half of the team experience more sexual harassment than athletes who are substitutes or in the bottom half of the team. However, perceptions of sexual harassment varied only slightly according to role in the team.

Table 30

Athlete Experience with Sexual Harassment Based Upon Type of Sport (%)

Behaviour and Agent	Experience					
	Coeducational		Separate		Simultaneous	
	F N=58	M N=38	F N=54	M N=36	F N=156	M N=62
Sexist jokes - coach	8.6	10.5	1.9	11.0	6.4	29.0
Sexist jokes - male athlete	65.5	52.6	46.3	61.1	51.9	71.0
Sexist jokes - female athlete	29.3	40.5	24.1	38.9	26.5	45.2
Visuals	3.4	2.6	3.7	41.7	4.5	6.5
Athletics as inappropriate - coach	1.7	0	0	2.8	0.6	6.5
Athletics as inappropriate - male athlete	12.1	10.5	20.4	16.7	21.2	17.7
Force - male athlete	17.2	2.6	11.1	0	10.3	1.6
Force - female athlete	0	13.2	1.9	13.9	0.6	14.5
Force - coach	1.7	0	0	0	0.6	0

Sexual harassment based upon characteristics of the sport

The tenth null hypothesis states that:

H₀₁₀ There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon the type of sport in which they compete.

The type of sport was designated as coeducational, separate or simultaneous. Respondents were asked to provide the specific sport in which they competed and they were assigned to one of these categories in the process of coding the data. Crosstabulations and chi square analyses were used to analyze differences in experience based upon type of sport. The null hypothesis was rejected on the basis of the results. Overall experience showed a significant difference based upon type of sport in which the respondent competes on three statements. The first was the display of sexual materials in and around the training site, $\chi^2(2, N=402)=20.71$, $p=.001$. The athletes of 'separate' sports accounted for 54.8 percent of all respondents who indicated that they have experienced this, compared to 35.5 percent from 'simultaneous' sports and 9.7 percent of the athletes from 'coeducational' sports.

The remaining two statements showing significance by type of sport both surfaced in the general summary questions. Sexual harassment (non-specific) from a male athlete, $\chi^2(2, N=404)=15.76$, $p=.001$, revealed that 53.6 percent of the athletes who reported this experience were members of 'coeducational' teams while 39.3 percent were members of 'simultaneous' teams and 7.1 percent were members of 'separate' teams. Harassment (non-specific) from an athletic trainer, $\chi^2(2, N=404)=9.75$, $p=.02$, showed that 100 percent

of the cases (N=3) reported are from athletes participating on 'coeducational' teams.

In two of the three categories of sport, there was a significant difference (Table 31) in the experience that female and male athletes had with respect to sexist jokes and comments made by a coach. Twenty-nine (29%) percent of the male athletes in the 'simultaneous' category reported this experience compared to 6.4 percent of the females, $\chi^2(1, N=218)=20.28, p=.001$. Eleven percent of the male athletes in the 'separate' category reported this experience compared to 1.9 percent of the females, $\chi^2(1, N=90)=3.52, p=.06$. In the 'coeducational' category, there was no association, $\chi^2(1, N=96)=.098, p=.75$, between the experience of females (8.6%) and males (10.5%) with reported experiences of sexist jokes and comments from a coach.

Sexist jokes and comments made by male athletes were reported by 46.3 percent of the female athletes compared to 61.1 percent of the male athletes of 'separate' sports and 65.5 percent of the female athletes, $\chi^2(1, N=90)=1.90, P=.16$, compared to 52.6 percent of the male athletes of 'coeducational' sports, $\chi^2(1, N=96)=1.59, p=.20$, neither showing a significant difference between the female and male experience. In comparison, the athletes of 'simultaneous' sports showed a significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=218)=6.57, p=.01$, between the female and the male experience with 71.0 percent of the male athletes and 51.9 percent of the female athletes reporting this experience.

Similar findings occurred with reports of sexist jokes and comments made by female athletes. The athletes of 'separate'

(females = 24.1%, males = 38.9%), $\chi^2(1, N=90)=2.25$, $p=.13$, and 'coeducational' (females = 29.3%, males = 40.5%), $\chi^2(1, N=95)=1.27$, $p=.25$, teams showed no significant difference between their experiences while the athletes of 'simultaneous' teams showed a significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=217)=6.98$, $p=.001$, between the female (26.5%) and male (45.2%) experiences.

This trend shifts with the results from respondents who reported the display of visual materials of a sexual nature in or around the training site. Athletes of 'separate' teams showed a significant difference, $\chi^2(1, N=90)=20.31$, $p=.001$, between the female and the male experience. Forty-one point seven (41.7%) percent of the male athletes of 'separate' teams reported this incident while only 3.7 percent of the females reported this experience. No significance was found in the other categories with 6.5 percent of the males and 4.5 percent of the females of 'simultaneous' teams, $\chi^2(1, N=217)=.73$, $p=.69$, and 2.6 percent of the males and 3.4 percent of the females of the 'coeducational' teams, $\chi^2(1, N=96)=.05$, $p=.82$, reporting the display of sexual materials around their training sites.

Although there was no significance in the difference between the female and male experience with a coach commenting that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women, the athletes of 'simultaneous' teams reported this occurrence 2.3 percent of the time as compared to 1.1 percent and 1.0 percent of the athletes of 'separate' and 'coeducational' teams respectively. Also, it was noted that females were the most frequent to report this.

A similar pattern followed with male athletes who comment that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women. Athletes of 'simultaneous' teams, $\chi^2(1, N=218)=.74, p=.68$, again reported this occurrence most frequently (20.2%) but athletes of 'separate' teams, $\chi^2(1, N=90)=.19, p=.66$, also reported it frequently (18.9%) while athletes of 'coeducational' teams, $\chi^2(1, N=96)=.05, p=.81$, reported it only 11.5 percent of the time.

A third example of this pattern surfaced with the general summary question asking respondents if they feel that they have ever been sexually harassed in university athletics. Targeting male athletes as the harassers, female athletes responded in the affirmative to this question at a rate of 7.1 percent for 'simultaneous' teams, 22.4 percent for 'coeducational' teams and 3.7 percent for 'separate' teams. The only males (5.3%) to respond in the affirmative to this question were participants of 'coeducational' teams.

Of note, although not significant, having been in a position where a university coach made forceful physical contact was reported near equally between 'simultaneous' sports (0.5%) and 'coeducational' sports (1.0%) while none of the athletes of 'separate' sports reported such an incident.

Again, of note, although not significant, $\chi^2(1, N=96)=2.02, p=.15$, was a result of the general summary question asking if respondents felt that they had ever been sexually harassed in university athletics. The respondents who indicated that they had been sexually harassed by an athletic trainer (5.2%) were all participants on 'coeducational' teams.

Response from the general summary question that identified female athletes as the harasser showed a significance difference, $\chi^2(1, N=218)=7.65, p=.001$, between the female and male experience for athletes of 'simultaneous' teams with only males (4.8%) reporting that this had occurred. Female athletes of 'separate' teams (1.9%) reported this experience as well while male athletes of 'separate' teams and female and male athletes of 'coeducational' teams did not report having been sexually harassed by a female athlete. Response from the general summary question that identified male athletes as the harasser showed significance between female and male experiences for athletes of 'simultaneous', $\chi^2(1, N=218)=4.60, p=.03$, and 'coeducational', $\chi^2(1, N=96)=5.12, p=.02$, sports only. The only males who reported this experience participate in 'coeducational' sport while the greatest percentage of female athletes who reported this also participate in 'coeducational' sports. The fewest to report this experience participate in 'separate' sports.

The perceptions that athletes hold about sexual harassment may be influenced by the type of sport in which they participate. The eleventh hypothesis examines the question of differences based upon the athlete's sport, with the null hypothesis stating that:

HO11 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon the type of sport in which they compete.

Oneway ANOVA's were performed on each of the perception statements. Oneway analysis did not reveal significance on any of the statements. The type of sport in which an athlete competes

appeared to have no overall effect on an athlete's perceptions about sexual harassment.

However, the interaction of sex with type of sport resulted in the rejection of the null hypothesis. Two-way 2 X 3 ANOVA's were performed with sex of the athlete and type of sport in which they compete. Two of the statements presented in Section B showed an interaction effect at the .10 level of confidence of sex and type of sport in which the athlete competes (Table 31). Both of these were found in the gender harassment category. The first revealed that female athletes of 'separate' sports were most likely to perceive 'sexist comments such as jokes or remarks that are stereotypical or derogatory to members of one sex are sexual harassment', $F(2,398)=2.469$, $p=.086$. The second revealed similar results with female athletes of 'separate' sports perceiving 'sexually flattering or suggestive remarks are sexual harassment', $F(2,398)=2.499$, $p=.083$.

Differences exist in the experiences with sexual harassment that athletes reported according to the type of sport in which they compete. Minimal differences were found in perceptions of sexual harassment related to the type of sport of the athlete. Those found occurred in the 'separate' sport category for gender harassment issues.

Sexual harassment based upon sexuality

The twelfth null hypothesis was designed to investigate differences based upon the sexuality of the athlete, stating that:

Table 31

**Analysis of Variance of Athlete Perceptions of Sexual Harassment
Based Upon the Interaction of Sex of the Athlete and Type of Sport**

Behaviour	N	df	ss	F	p
Sexist comments	407	2,398	334.78	2.46	.08
Sexual flattery	407	2,398	323.95	2.49	.08

$p \leq .10$

HO12 There will be no difference in athletes' experience with sexual harassment based upon their sexuality.

Of the respondents who identified their sexuality, 96.5 percent of these were reported as heterosexual, 2.0 percent were reported as homosexual and 1.0 percent were reported as bisexual. A slightly higher percentage of males (97.1%) than females (96.3%) reported heterosexual status. A slightly higher percentage of females (2.2%) than males (1.5%) reported homosexual status as well as bisexual status (females 1.1% and males 0.7%). As a result, no analysis could be completed on this hypothesis due to an insufficient number of respondents allocated to each of the cells.

The null hypothesis examining perceptions based upon sexuality states that:

HO13 There will be no difference in athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment based upon their sexuality.

As with the analysis on athletes' experience with sexual harassment, no analysis on perceptions of sexual harassment based upon sexuality was possible due to an inadequate number of respondents in each of the cells.

The quantitative survey results of the study have been presented in this chapter. Survey data were presented in response to the related hypothesis being tested. Evidence was found to reject ten of the null hypotheses while none was found to support the rejection of one of the hypotheses (Figure 2). Two of the hypotheses could not be tested due to an insufficient number of respondents reporting the necessary criterion.

Hypothesis	Outcome	Number of significant variables
HO1	Rejected	7
HO2	Rejected	9
HO3	Rejected	1
HO4	Rejected	1
HO5	Rejected	3
HO6	Rejected	1
HO7	Rejected	5
HO8	Rejected	8
HO9	Rejected	9
HO10	Rejected	10
HO11	Accepted	0
HO12	Not tested	-
HO13	Not tested	-

Figure 2. Outcome summary of hypotheses testing.

Overall, analysis of the data resulted in the rejection of fourteen of the hypotheses. Two hypotheses were unable to be tested due to an insufficient number of respondents in each cell.

Experience with sexual harassment was found primarily in the category gender harassment of the operational definition with peer athletes as perpetrators. As the nature of the behaviour became more personal and physically intrusive, the number of reported incidences declined. When sexual harassment was found in the remaining four categories, it was reported primarily by females with males as the perpetrator. Of the statuses tested, the primary influence on response of the subjects was sex of the athlete.

There was general consensus of perception amongst subjects for the statements presented to identify behaviours of sexual harassment. Females agreed most often that sexual harassment was present in the stated situations. When the behaviour became more ambiguous, the discrepancy between females and males was greater with males more likely to disagree that a behaviour represented sexual harassment than females.



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CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

The results section of the study provided information that communicates the status of sexual harassment within Canadian university athletics based upon hypothesis testing. However, the intent of the study was to extend beyond this, to examine the meanings of the relationships that athletes have with both coaches and peers and how sexual harassment becomes part of these relationships. Chapter V is a discussion of the results based on triangulation of data, blending the survey results, the interviews, the literature and interpretation as sources for understanding the nature and meanings of athletes' experiences. It is an attempt to move beyond frequencies of experiences to an understanding of the meanings and the effects of sexual harassment in athletics. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research.

Nature and Meaning of Athletes' Experiences

Identifying sexual harassment

The rate of incidence of sexual harassment (57.0%) in this study (see Note below) is difficult to compare to other studies but is comparable to the range (15-61%) of experience for college females suggested by others (Dagg & Thompson, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; MacKenzie & Lussier, 1988) in the category of gender harassment but lower in the remaining categories of sexual harassment. Because this study includes males, the comparison may

need to be qualified and caution must be used in citing the experience, and its meaning, of male athletes. When examining the statement "I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes", it was found to produce a 57.0 percent response rate. Analyzed by sex, 53.7 percent of the female athletes reported this experience while 63.5 percent of the male athletes gave affirmative responses to this particular experience. The same statement reversed by sex shows 26.4 percent of the female athletes have been told sexist jokes/comments by other female athletes while 42.6 percent of the male athletes have been told sexist jokes/comments by female athletes. The comparable figures determined by sex of the perpetrator, then, are 53.7 percent (male to female) with 42.6 percent (female to male) and 63.5 percent (male to male) with 26.4 percent (female to female). Males are more inclined, both openly (to females) and covertly (to males), to objectify women, relating to them in a sexual way rather than on the basis of mutual interests. Scott (1986) notes that "sexual objectification is the primary process of the subjections of women" (p.1058). As expected, the

***Note:** The 57.0% rate of incidence was taken from the behaviour classified as sexual harassment that was reported most frequently. In this case, the source of the harassment was sexist comments made by male athletes. Males, who were subjected to such jokes or comments but not a member of the target group referred to in the joke or comment, may not be sexually harassed as a result of the joke or comment, skewing the percentage slightly. In addition, respondents who had not reported this experience but had reported being sexually harassed in some other way, are not included in the percentage, again, possibly skewing the percentage slightly.

idea of masculinity rests upon the suppression of femininity and does not represent sexual harassment of males.

Females often engage in similar behaviour. Barb** believes that "it is more acceptable for a female to make sexist jokes about a male. A female makes a joke, everyone laughs but if a male makes a joke, everyone thinks he's a pig. It can be compared to racist jokes - whites almost deserve it (when jokes are made about them) because they have been on top so long - men have been dominating for so long."

Females use of sexism in this way also becomes a strategy that facilitates their integration into the socially dominant group of male athletes. The ability to present themselves in an acceptable way to the male athletic culture means that female athletes must learn and adopt the rituals of that culture. Tolerance becomes a requirement of acceptance. The need for personal status contributes to a failure to see, or admit, the negative impact of sexual harassment by male athletes on the liberation of women in athletics.

In the course of conducting the interviews, it became apparent that the student-athletes speaking believed that sexual harassment exists, that women were primary targets, but identifying sexually harassing behaviours was difficult and ambiguous. Paul mentioned that most sexual harassment involved "sexual comments and jokes within the team. Even the coach makes comments that emphasize

** The names used in this study have been changed to protect the anonymity of the research participants (see Table 32).

Table 32

List of Study Pseudonyms

Alice
Barb
Bill
Bob
Brad
Carol
Chris
Debbie
Dick
Don
Erin
Fred
Jan
Jane
Jean
Jennifer
Jim
Joan
Jodi
Lori
Pam
Paul
Ray
Robin
Steve
Ted
Tony

females as inferior." Steve commented that he has "heard stories (about sexual harassment in the athletic program). It's mostly attitudes and comments that support potential sexual harassment - women seen as sexual objects and pleasures - comments about women's ability and appearance." Ray thinks that sexual harassment is most evident through sexual comments and jokes within the team. He says that "even the coach, in the heat of the moment, will make comments like 'why are you guys playing like a bunch of girls?'" Lori notes also that sexual harassment is "mostly jokes or sexist comments" while Jim adds "looks from coaches or other athletes" to the verbal nature of the harassment. Jennifer notes that sexual harassment is "something every woman has to deal with at some point..... sometimes I'm just not comfortable, (but I) can't specify it." Joan related a similar experience where it is "just uncomfortable because of sexual attention", unable to condemn single actions but aware that a combination of experiences created feelings of discomfort. As noted by Guberman and Wolfe (1985) and Jaschik and Fretz (1991), athletes had difficulty labelling offensive behaviours as sexual harassment, particularly the more ambiguous overtures.

In spite of the frequent failure of survey subjects to identify experiences of gender harassment as sexual harassment, the design of the instrument allowed this to be done by the researcher. As reported in the literature (Benson & Thomson, 1982; Paludi & Barickman, 1991), the results of this study showed that the rate of reported incidence of sexual harassment diminished as the behaviours became more physically threatening. Pam notes that sexual harassment is "mostly sexual comments or jokes - males

make more jokes than females and they're more likely to sexually assault someone.... but I don't know of any." Ted reported that the sexual harassment he has seen is "joke or comments about girls." Bob reported that "day to day comments happen that are sexual harassment". Barb identified sexual harassment as "sexual comments and jokes" and supported the survey findings that "male athletes make more jokes than coaches" Debbie said that most types of sexual harassment are "sexist comments". Jan agreed stating that

most sexual harassment in athletics at her university is minor - general female cutdowns and remarks made at females as athletes - I guess women are used to that - it's a war of words, it doesn't drive deeply. Other types may exist but either don't happen very often or are just not publicized or brought out into the open very often.

Jim reported that there have been "sexist comments - and sexist jokes - and looks" when describing sexual harassment in his athletic program. He also told of "a coach who told a player to 'come back to my room with me or you won't get to play this weekend.'" There is a clear distinction between experiences with gender harassment and the remaining four categories of sexual harassment used in this study but evidence that threat, coercion and seduction are present as well.

The categories of sexual harassment in which survey respondents reported having had no experience were quid pro quo behaviours from a coach and one statement of seductive behaviour. This pattern suggests that the coaches of the athletes in this study

who did experience sexual harassment were inclined to use personal power, including Stricker et al.'s (1990) concept of ascribed power, rather than abuse their organizational and political powers to bribe or coerce athletes. But some of the interviews suggest otherwise. Bob thought "someone in a higher position may use a non-hands on, coercive type harassment like 'you'll play if" Don has seen "coaches treatment of some of the players off the court - they control their lives. They're professional on the court but (they want too much control away from the sport)." And the example of use of threat shared by Jim gives evidence that sexual harassment is present in athletics in all forms.

An explanation for low reports of incidence

Paludi and Barickman (1991) suggest that when definitions include gender harassment, the rate of incidence approximates 70 percent. This study has a lower rate of incidence, particularly for the four categories of seductive behaviour, bribery, coercion and assault, than would be predicted from this literature. Four explanations are possible. The first is that the actual occurrence of sexual harassment in athletics is less than in other areas of the campus or less than experiences on other campuses reported in the literature. There is no reason to believe that this is the case. In fact, many of the conditions that exist within athletics lend themselves to an environment susceptible to sexual harassment - a traditional male culture, legitimized violence, leadership predominantly held by males, and media and public celebration of male physical conquest. For example, Jean said that women "are

more susceptible to sexual harassment while males adjust to accept them". Ray noted how males and females "are integrated into sport - guys are taught to be tough, aggressive - girls take dance, tap, ballet first - guys have more opportunity to participate in mainstream sport." Tony recognizes that "men are given more attention- they are good, they bring in money and publicity for the university - men's athletics is looked on by society."

The second explanation evolves through the works of Fain and Anderton (1987), who explain that women in male dominant environments frequently hold the opinion that sexual harassment should not cause offense. They have, in their view, succeeded in a traditional male endeavour and become tolerant or desensitized (Konrad & Gutek, 1986) to the effects of sexually harassing behaviours. Female athletes may comply with this theory. Erin is an example of this with her statement that women have to assume some responsibility for sexual harassment because of the reluctance of women to stand up for what they feel is not right combined with women not being aware of sexual harassment, what it is and where support can be found ... women are mostly the victims, but they also allow themselves to be.

The third explanation is that experiences of sexual harassment are not reported. This is a possibility considering the response rate of this study. One of the deterrents to participating in research of a sensitive nature is the apprehension about sharing a personal experience. As noted earlier in this chapter, Paul thought even females might not respond to the survey if it would force them to relive an unpleasant experience. But others might find participation

futile or threatening if they have something to report. Paul went on to suggest that fear of being doubted would inhibit someone from reporting sexual harassment, also a concern expressed by Pam and Ray. Don believes that the risk of retaliation discourages individuals from coming forward. Jodi identified both of these concerns - a fear of not being believed and a fear of retaliation if someone found out about a complaint. These fears are supported as legitimate in the research of Konrad and Gutek (1986) with their finding that "women who file complaints of sexual harassment have been found to experience retaliation from organizational members" (p. 424). The potential source of this retaliation for athletes might be peer athletes, or coaches or administrators who could possibly be professors in their academic program. In spite of the assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, these apprehensions may serve as inhibitors to participation in research such as this.

The fourth explanation is described through the passive, caregiving nature of women. Robin suggests that females "don't want to say anything about it (sexual harassment) because they are afraid of hurting someone's feelings - females are compassionate and always seem to give the person the benefit of the doubt." Steve thinks that women are "taught to keep it to themselves - they're taught a 'you deal with it', 'ignore it, it will go away', or 'it's not as bad as you think' attitude." These attributions would discourage reporting an incident on their own campus but would also affect their perceptions about an incident in a manner that would cast self-doubt on the experience and questions about its actual occurrence. Denial would both discourage participation in the

research and affect the incidence rate reported for those who did participate. This becomes particularly operative in an environment such as sport where the dominant culture trivializes the participation and the experiences of women.

Alienation and objectification of women

For male athletes, sexist jokes and comments are commonplace, used to designate females as different than themselves and, in this difference, inferior to men. Ray suggested that sexual harassment, "athlete to athlete is minimal - it might be the guys in the change room will crack a joke about a girl, that's all." Such practices serve as a mechanism that is consistent with the "objectification of the female body in contemporary American culture" (Young, 1988, p. 336). Increasing commercialization and objectification of sexuality has become a social norm but it is females who are predominantly the targets. For females, on the other hand, being designated as inferior and judged on the basis of sexual objectification within this same culture has a controlling effect. As a result, the standpoint from which females and males develop their perceptions is different in general, resulting in differences in the experiences reported. Males are active participants in creating the female experience. The outcome that follows is that males are less critical of actions in which they, almost exclusively, engage. This pattern of verbal insult towards women distinguishes them as separate and superior to women. As a social process that uses demeaning interactions to maintain this social order, females are more critical since, from their experience,

it is a social process that uses oppressive interactions to stifle their individual freedoms and subordinate their athleticism.

As a comparison, the survey results show that male athletes are the targets of sexual harassment from female athletes less often than female athletes are from male athletes. This finding is again consistent with the literature which notes that females report a higher rate of sexual harassment in all incidences though the nature of the harassment varies. By viewing the percentages of sexist comments reported, it would appear that, overall, male athletes are subjected to sexist jokes or comments more often than female athletes. However, further study would be necessary to determine the target of the sexist jokes or comments. As MacKinnon (1987) points out, sexism is not gender neutral, hurting men and women equally. Women are generally the group subordinated as a result of sexism. It would, therefore, be predicted that women are the targets the majority of the time when sexist jokes and comments are made by both males and females regardless to whom they are directed. Traditionally, it has been females who have been sexualized in this way. Females, who are attempting to gain acceptance in a male dominated culture, may adopt the mannerisms of that culture. This is done in an effort to assimilate, including sexist jokes or comments that offend members of their own sex even as they continue to be alienated, as a group, from the dominant culture.

Friendships are mainly a vicarious experience. Women are trying to fit into the male athlete's sense of humour and sense of interaction - there's a lot of pressure to do so.

Women have to prove themselves to the male athletes. Therefore, a lot of women try to fit in with male athlete's jokes, sarcasm and interaction based upon cutting people down. This is a male trademark. There is the same expectation of other males. There is a male power group and all must conform (Steve).

Steve's comments are supported by the works of Messner (1992), Sabo, (1994), Whitson (1993), and others. They identify a masculinity in sport that highlights differences, physical and behavioural, as a means of distinguishing themselves from subordinate groups and of maintaining their dominance. Messner (1992) notes that the making of (and laughing at) heterosexist jokes serve to establish masculine status. At the same time, they operate to marginalize women and to maintain a social order that identifies women as sexual objects, inferior to males.

The display of visual material of a sexual nature that sexualizes members of the opposite sex is a more frequent occurrence for male athletes (14.6%) than for female athletes (4.1%). This is a further illustration of the objectification of women in society and how it is carried into sport. Sport becomes a vehicle for the perpetuation of the dominant male ethos. Young (1988) suggests that "the female person who grows up in a society which defines the female body as object rarely escapes developing a bodily self-image in conformity with that definition" (p.337). The risk of ridicule or serving as subject content for sexist humour forces conformity. Paul believes that, if confronted for sexist

behaviour, "most guys would react by diverting the problem away from them - like, can't you take a joke? so challenging them wouldn't stop them from doing the same thing again." This type of practice makes it much easier for the harasser since the target is compelled into letting it pass without saying anything. It serves notice of their social vulnerability in the athletic world of males.

Blinde (1989) writes about the alienation women experience in university athletics as a result of developing their programs on the male sport model. By doing so, the claim that females experience a negative climate is dismissed as trivial or as part of the package. As a result, without feminist leadership that is willing to validate women's experiences, the options available to women are assimilate or depart.

A further example of behaviours that objectify women became apparent in the analysis of rookie party activities. For both female and male teams, most of the activities involved excessive drinking and conduct with sexual overtones. Female rookies were often directed to dress up 'silly' and as ugly females, reinforcing the value of sexual attractiveness through the use of unattractiveness as a humbling experience. Male rookies were often required to dress up as women or as gays as one of their humiliating regimes, reinforcing hegemonic masculine dominance. In the case of male events, activities advanced male domination and objectification of females. In the case of female events, the sexual objectification of females for the servicing of male sexual pleasures serve to maintain a system of male dominance. Behaviours of sexual harassment thus become both a condition of the membership female athletes seek and

a result of the hierarchy, a construction to which they contributed. It was frequently noted by respondents that activities were offered under the premise of volunteerism. However, it might better be explained as engaging in an activity of forced, as opposed to unforced, choice. The pressures from veterans to conform to ritual are unspoken but intense for first year students who seek approval and acceptance amongst team-mates. Resistance would be an expression of disapproval and rejection of group values. It would take unusual understanding, strength of conviction and maturity to decline participation and risk alienation. With the sexualized nature of many of the activities, team membership and loyalty disguise the use of a ritual for the solidification of masculinity, the means by which hegemony thrives.

Coach-athlete relationships and sexual harassment

The relationship between athlete and coach, particularly female athlete and male coach, is one that matches the expected profile of complainant and respondent in a sexual harassment investigation. It is a relationship consistent with the structure of power that is conducive to sexual harassment. A female athlete is subordinate to a male coach in the sense that they are dependent upon a coach's expertise for attainment of their athletic goals. A coach holds organizational power by virtue of the position itself. Yet these circumstances alone do not result in sexual harassment. There are many female athletes and male coaches, and most male athletes and male coaches, who relate to one another over time in such an arrangement without experiencing or engaging in sexual

harassment. The element of gender difference adds to the complexity of relations. Yukl's (1989) assessment of power can now be applied to further the understanding of the role of power in sexual harassment of an athlete by a coach. Compliance can be induced by a coach through the manipulations of available power sources. Rewards, reward power, are controlled by a coach. These do not even need to be stated. Athletes understand that a coach can control their membership on a team, their status within the team, and their opportunities within the sport. Ray stated that "a male coach could demand something for a female to advance in the sport - use their authority as a means of sexual harassment." Chris noted that sexual harassment from a coach "might not be as suggestive but because it is from authority, it's very inflammatory since they have more influence and it's more threatening to someone's position." The behaviours of a coach that communicate this control can range from the mere verbal feedback to an athlete in practice to availability of competitive experiences to recommendations for awards and Provincial or National recognition. Coercive power is an accessory to reward power since it presents the negative aspects of the same conditions, the withholding of feedback, competitive opportunities and recommendations. When the organization delegates power to a coach, it legitimates the use of power by that coach to achieve organizational goals. When such powers are abused, sexual harassment may be an outcome of that abuse.

However, there are further power elements that increase the vulnerability of an athlete to sexual harassment from a coach. Athletes comply to requests or demands from coaches out of respect

for their expertise, expert power, and out of a desire for coach approval, referent power. While these may not represent organizational power, they do represent ascribed power for male coaches in particular. Since athletics is a social institution that illustrates a hierarchical gender order synonymous to society, with males ascribed greater status by virtue of their gender, athletes assume expertise is present with a male coach while they are more likely to demand that a female coach prove expertise (LeDrew & Zimmerman, 1992; Parkhouse & Williams, 1986; Weinberg et al., 1984). Bob didn't think that he would mind being coached by a female but he said "there is a fine line between credentials - a female is judged a little harder - her credentials would have to be clear or they would be doubted."

Control of an athlete's personal life becomes a mere extension of control of her athletic life. Because female athletes are sexualized, viewed first as a woman and second as an athlete, sexual harassment becomes naturalized. Combining the organizational structure of athletics with the authoritarian nature of athletics where deference to authority, typically male authority, is the norm (Messner, 1992), and with women's subjugation to male authority in society at large, the conditions for sexual harassment of female athletes by male coaches are potent.

These sources of power provide the social structural conditions within which sexual harassment of an athlete by a coach can occur. Yet there is still a personal element that may be an additional contributor. The leadership style that a coach assumes has significance. An athlete who is empowered to control their own

destiny with the guidance and support of a coach is less likely to experience sexual harassment than an athlete who is controlled for the personal or professional achievements and satisfactions of a coach. The latter combines personal attributions with structural conditions that virtually ensures sexual harassment in the athletic environment.

However, leadership style may also be encouraged by structural conditions. Coaches who are evaluated on the scoreboard successes and failures of their team's performance are less likely to relinquish the control of team or player decisions, either personally or athletically. They will embrace the authority vested in the position for their personal gratifications and professional advancement.

In contrast to a theory of power, a theory of social exchange (Jones & Remland, 1992) may explain sexual harassment of an athlete by a coach. The concept of mutual benefit changes the dynamics of the relationship. Leadership will still reflect a style that seeks to satisfy personal gratifications but the athlete accepts this style and its associated behaviours in return for a desired outcome. A balance is sought that deems the interactions acceptable to both parties. When this balance is disrupted, problems arise. This highlights a concern with the acceptance of consensual exchanges without consideration of the potential for abuse and exploitation. When a power imbalance exists and the balance of the mutual exchange is disrupted, the individual with less power will be the one who loses, becoming the victim.

This study, in contrast to the MacKenzie and Lussier (1988) research which found a high percentage of faculty members as offenders, found coaches (an analogous athletic position to faculty) to be the offenders less often than athletes. However, athletes did recognize the potential threat of power abuse available to coaches and the effect that this could have on individuals and the program. Paul noted that "more males are in the higher positions so they can sexually harass women because of their power." Barb feels that "power over other people lends itself to sexual harassment. There will always be someone who will abuse their power." Ray thought that a coach would be in a position to abuse power and Debbie agreed, stating that coaches "use power to make demands and expect them to be carried out. Advancement on the team might be dependent upon meeting the coaches expectations." Alice felt that "a coach could use more severe types of harassment with the more important athlete, for example, coerce them because they can control the athlete's playing time." And Fred suggested that, with the power of the position, "a coach could use it (power) against someone where an athlete would not have the same power so it would be a forced thing, more physical than the coach." In contrast to power, Jodi noted that "friendships and socializing on the part of the coach can lead to sexual harassment. It is important to maintain a professional distance while still caring about the welfare of the athletes."

The results of this study and the literature review provide evidence for both the presence and the potential of sexual harassment from a coach-athlete relationship. Paul noted that

"coaches can use their authority as a means to sexually harass someone" and Chris thinks that "a coach might use it (sexual harassment) as a tool or a style - just something they do and the control comes out in other ways as well". Ray thinks sexual harassment is an issue of power and control - "coaches can use their authority as a means to sexually harass someone - a male coach demands something from a female athlete for her to advance in the sport" while Debbie also noted that "a coach would have power to make demands and expect them to be carried out. Like maybe advancement on the team might be dependent upon meeting the coaches expectations."

Coaches were reported to have engaged in sexist jokes or comments, commenting that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women, invasion of the personal space of an athlete, sexual force directed towards an athlete, sexual advances towards an athlete outside the role of coaching and inviting an athlete to engage in a sexual relationship. While none of the statistics reveal that these behaviours occur with overwhelming frequency, their mere presence is cause for concern. Jane talked of her coach being nicknamed 'the human calipers' by her team because he was constantly pinching them to measure their fat. Pam decided to participate in the study because she "had heard people talking about sexual harassment - about a couple of coaches that we've had." As noted earlier in this discussion, Jim recounted a situation where a female athlete was threatened by a male coach who "told the player to 'come back to my room with me or you won't get to play this weekend." The control that coaches have over athletes and the autonomy with which they

conduct their programs, often in isolation from program administrators, contribute to an environment where sexual harassment can occur undetected. Don says that athletes "don't like it but the power of the coach prevents them from saying anything."

Assistant coaches serve a different function than a head coach. As a result, their ability to engage in quid pro quo forms of sexual harassment may be reduced but their participation in other forms of sexual harassment is possible, as shown by the results of this study. Assistant coaches were reported to have made sexist jokes/comments, commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women, repeatedly asked athletes for dates, and made sexual advances towards athletes outside their coaching role. On Jane's team,

an assistant coach is dating a player - he actually asked (another player) to be involved in sexual activity with them. She turned them down and was disgusted and told the coach. It's not right for an assistant coach to date a player - it's a bad situation. Nothing good can come out of it. This is a distraction to the whole team. If they break up, it will be a strain on the team.

A further complication that occurs with the role of assistant coaches is that most are part time volunteers, more distanced than head coaches from the program administration and, therefore, less monitored for their behaviours. In essence, the head coach becomes the only supervisor of an assistant coach. It is often difficult to get good assistant coaches so, combined with the facts that

heterosexual relationships between a dominant male and a subordinate female are considered the norm and assistant coaches are often friends of the head coach, it is doubtful that a head coach would intervene if an assistant coach engaged in sexual behaviours towards an athlete.

Assistant coaches appeared to have an influence on the behaviours of the male coaches. For those who had female assistant coaches, there were fewer sexist jokes or comments made. This could be explained in two ways. Male coaches of women's teams are more likely to have female assistants than male coaches of men's teams. The respect that they show female athletes may be arbitrated by the presence of a female assistant coach and result in more covert expression of sexist behaviours. On the other hand, their contact with and evaluation of female athletes may develop a sincere respect for female athletes that deems such behaviours inappropriate.

Peer relationships and sexual harassment

This particular research found that the most common source of sexual harassment emerged from peer relationships. This finding is consistent with the findings of the 1992 study by the National Organization for Women (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund and Wellesley College Centre for Research on Women, Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) and others. Messner (1992), Messner and Sabo (1990), Whitson (1990), Fine (1989) and others who have recently explored the sport environment as a training centre for masculinity have identified the objectification of women as a component of this

process. Male athletes were found to be the source of sexist jokes and comments more often than female athletes; they commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women; and, they engaged in physical force of a sexual nature. Jean felt that males implied that women don't belong in athletics because "they make comments about strength and toughness, like maybe girls aren't as good and shouldn't be in sport." Debbie thinks that "males have to react to women in sport - it's a hostile environment for some, especially if they're not in a traditional sport for girls, they will experience some sexual harassment." Jane said "they make comments that trivialize what we do in athletics." Robin's experience was with "the guys just teasing... a coach might use coercion - they have the control to do anything and would use this control to their advantage where an athlete uses less serious types of harassment."

More female athletes than male athletes have experienced sexual harassment in the form of force. When sexual harassment is used as a form of social control, whether verbal or physical, it expresses a power that instills fear (Guberman & Wolfe, 1985). Jan notes that "women (are) trusting, kind nature - the vulnerability of a lot of women - they're less physical, (not as strong) - and men take advantage." The fear of not being able to defend themselves physically is a further inhibitor to challenging sexual harassment on the part of females. It serves as a reminder of their vulnerability and of the possibility that non-compliance can lead to more aggressive retribution. Although male athletes also report forceful

advances on the part of female athletes, the same ability to instill fear is absent.

Heterosexism and sexual harassment

The ambience of male dominance exposes the homophobia that exists in hegemonic masculinity and the practices of compulsory heterosexuality that Hanmer and Maynard (1987), Rich (1993), West and Zimmerman (1991) and others address. The practices used in sexual harassment serve to keep both females and males within the constraints of heterosexuality, but particularly females.

Heterosexuality is a system of social control. Women learn to conform to male norms because they believe that this is the only way to identify with the dominant group. To resist results in rejection and possible accusations of being lesbian. Debbie noted that "you're still considered lesbians because you're involved in sport - you lose your femininity." Sabo (1994) notes that homophobia is used as a way to reinforce sexual inequality since it "isn't being used to discredit and beat down men's sports the way it is being used against women's sports" (p. 206).

Messner (1991) writes that "sport constituted and legitimized a heterosexist social organization of sexuality. As a result, the institution of sport in the twentieth century has played a key role in the construction and stabilization of a male-dominant, heterosexist system of gender relations" (p. 16). In the same work, he goes on to note that "boys learn early that to be gay, to be suspected of being gay, or even to be unable to prove one's heterosexual status is not acceptable" (p. 34) and that "within the athletic context, homophobia

is closely linked with misogyny in ways that ultimately serve to bond men together as superior to women" (p. 157). Homophobia is used to bolster the hegemonic masculinity that benefits those in power and to enforce a conformity to prescribed gender roles that demand compulsory heterosexuality accompanied by subordination of, and limitations for, women. "Homophobia promotes the cultural devaluation of women. Jennifer commented that "one of the guys running track said he can't wear his spandex as often as he wants because he would be considered gay by the football players." A gay male, or a 'fag', is regarded as an effeminate man, or one who thinks, acts, or feels like a woman. To call a man effeminate probably wouldn't be insulting if women weren't considered inferior to men" (Sabo, 1994, p. 109). Sexual harassment has been socially constructed in such a way that it serves the interests of male dominance in a similar way to these non-violent forms of heterosexuality (Edwards, 1987).

Although sexual harassment is predominantly a heterosexual experience, as noted from the results of this study and others in the literature, there was some same sex harassment reported. Similar to the findings of Mazer and Percival (1989), while female athletes experience more heterosexual harassment, male athletes experience more homosexual harassment.

Athlete status and experience with sexual harassment

There were some differences in experience based upon status of the athlete. Athletes in their first year of eligibility do not report having been subjected to sexist jokes/comments as often as

athletes in the remaining four years, also consistent with the findings of Mazer and Percival (1989) for the general student population. This would suggest two possible interpretations that might exist independently or concurrently. First year athletes may not yet be sufficiently astute to label jokes or comments, either with sexual overtones or demeaning to one sex as a group, as sexist. Coupled with this is the possibility that first year athletes have not yet been accepted as a trusted member of the male culture that subjugates women. As they proceed in their athletic career, they become more closely affiliated with peers and the attitudes of hierarchy that become conducive to internalizing the values of a dominant male culture. Many of the practices of male comradeship "demeans and objectifies women, and it enforces and reinforces a certain standard of masculinity (i.e., aggressive, dominating or "macho") among men" (Whitson, 1990, p.26).

The experience that athletes had according to year of eligibility can be explained in two ways. Since first year athletes do not report having experienced sexual harassment (in the form of sexist jokes/comments) as often as more senior athletes, duration in the program and familiarity with peers may explain this result. The longer athletes remain in the program, the more likely they are to experience sexual harassment. Also, the more secure individuals are within the program, the more likely they are to exhibit sexually harassing behaviours. In all likelihood, these behaviours would be directed towards athletes with a similar seniority, at a level of excellence and commitment where, in the case of males, they are

seen as comrades or, in the case of females, they are seen as a threat to the male athletic experience.

Many behaviours were directed more often towards female athletes who are starters or the top half of the team. The use of misogynist comments and actions as a means of discouraging women from entering and remaining in athletics is consistent with the identification of starters as targets. The successful female athlete is the most threatening to masculine supremacy in sport. The indirect effect on less highly acclaimed female athletes who aspire to succeed would be equally controlling.

It could be expected that coaches and athletes from male 'separate' sports would exhibit the most offensive and aggressive behaviours towards female athletes since they represent the traditional image of athleticism based upon strength and power, they are most traditionally exclusive male activities, and they are the most isolated from female athletes and an environment that is more conducive to developing an appreciation of female athletic excellence. In fact, male athletes of 'simultaneous' sports made sexist jokes/comments to each other more often than athletes in either 'coeducational' or 'separate' sports. Male athletes of 'separate' sports experienced sexist jokes/comments from other male athletes the least often of the three sport categories. Female athletes of 'simultaneous' sports were subjected to sexist jokes/comments from male athletes least often, and female athletes of 'coeducational' sports were subjected to sexist jokes/comments from male athletes most often of the three sport categories.

These results could possibly be explained by a combination of factors. The male athletes of 'separate' sports may be so accustomed to sexual innuendo around teammates that they have become indifferent to it and even unaware that it represents sexism. Added to this, is the fact that they may be aware of it but not comfortable admitting that it is present or willing to report its presence. Don suggests that "they (male athletes) know it but they don't want to acknowledge it because they don't want to change." Lori agreed, stating that "males want to keep it (the issue of sexual harassment) quiet. If they acknowledge that it happens they would have to change their ways of behaving and they don't want to. It is also not a big issue to males so they don't pay attention to it." A further explanation may be that they exist independently of other sports in the program so there is less opportunity for harassment of athletes. Their aggressions towards females may occur with women who they encounter in other social contexts outside of athletics (Messner, 1992). Upon calling one of the volunteers to arrange for an interview, he commented that, although that moment was inconvenient, he would like to be interviewed because he thought that it was important for the research to reflect "the other side of it." For example, "there are a lot of women who like to sleep around with hockey players - you know, maybe latch on to a pro athlete for the money - the puck bunnies." (Brad) When interviewed, however, little more was said about this. Once the focus of the interview was directed toward female athletes, he indicated that the relationship between males and females was good but that there was not a lot of contact with the female athletes in the program. It is possible that

these experiences do not happen with female athletes because female athletes may not hold male athletes in such high esteem as a result of their personal experiences in athletics.

A final explanation may be that the athletes of 'separate' sports feel less of a need to engage in harassing behaviours with each other because, as athletes, they are less threatened by the presence of females. They are secure as a result of both the physical (strength and size) superiority associated with their sport and the superior social status provided their sport through the athletic department (examples: funding, promotion, coaching), the public and the media. The credibility of this explanation is, however, questionable. Robin says that "men are threatened by the presence of females - sport has always been a man's world and they are afraid that women might be better than they are at something." The threat female athletes pose is distraction from the value of physical dominance and erasure of male social privilege. The removal of these two advantages from men's athletics disrupts the power balance and the social order that athletics has traditionally represented. Whitson (1990) suggests that the threat comes from "contemporary changes in gender relations" (p.24), not from the loss of material goods. The loss of privilege that supports their superiority is eroding their dominant status. Changes that allow women to infiltrate this male domain characterized by physicality, exclusion of women and male bonding translates into a male loss - "loss of a site of male companionship and masculinizing." With the increased presence of women, sexual harassment becomes a means of providing symbolic isolation.

When examining survey results for the presence of sexual materials displayed in the training site, views about women's role are further uncovered. Male athletes of 'separate' teams report that these materials are present more often than any group. Although their environment may allow them to do this more conveniently than other teams who may not have fixed team rooms (another symbol of their privileged status), it appears that the behaviour is condoned by coaches who are present in team rooms on a regular basis. Jodi commented that football players have told her of the "pictures on coaches walls and in locker rooms - coaches role of acceptance is degrading to women. No one challenges this in a group even when only a few initiate it." This type of support for behaviour that objectifies women is further substantiated with the finding that male athletes report significantly more often than female athletes that they experience sexist jokes from head coaches. Jim explained in his interview that coaches engage in sexual harassment as well, noting that his coach will make a sexist comment when a female walks past their practice. Jean thinks that "male coaches of women's teams accept and respect female athletes and their achievements but male coaches of men's teams have less respect - they mostly ignore us ." The survey results show that male head coaches of male athletes make sexist jokes/comments more often than male coaches of female athletes, again a message of support for behaviour in the men's program that objectifies women and trivializes their role as an athlete. This is all part of the "male mode system" of which Steve says you are expected to follow and the support "for attitudes and comments that support potential

sexual harassment - women are just sexual objects and for pleasure. There are comments on women's ability and appearance that trivialize them as athletes." In Hoffmann's (1986) analysis of sexual harassment, it is a "pattern of interpersonal behavior that functions at the social structural level to reinforce and perpetuate the subordination of women as a class" (p. 107). Reported behaviours in athletics serve a similar function.

In contrast to male athletes of 'separate' sports, the male athletes of 'simultaneous' sports may feel more threatened by the presence of females and resort, as a result, to expressing hostility through sexually harassing behaviours. The semi-proximity that these programs have with each other heightens the awareness of the distribution of resources and potential threat to privileged status for males. For example, shared facilities now often result in shared prime time practice and competition schedules, shared travel often means cooperating to accommodate different needs and preferences and shared funding is seen as a reduction of resources available for men's programs. However, the positive social side of training, travelling and competing may influence the experience that females have and account for female athletes of 'simultaneous' sports reporting the least exposure to sexist jokes/comments from male athletes. As a group, the male athletes may resent the presence of female athletes but individually, they may have a better rapport with them as a result of more personal contact. All of this is said while still recognizing that half of the female athletes of 'simultaneous' sports reported that they have heard sexist jokes/comments from male athletes. There may, also, be two

additional influences at work. Paul referred to the relationship between the male and female athletes as good - "they get along OK but guys talk differently in the locker room than they do to females on the bus, for example. When there are no females around, there is sexist talk and comments." This suggests that males are aware of the presence of women and have moved their objectification of women from the open to more covert forms of sexual harassment. Or, this may be another example where females assimilate and exchange accommodation of male behaviour for group acceptance. In one of the pilot interviews, Jane talked about "a group that would go to the back of the bus - the guys would tell all these sexist jokes and the girls would be the ones who laughed the loudest."

It was not expected that the highest frequency of sexist jokes/comments of male athletes to female athletes would be reported by those from 'coeducational' sports. At first glance, they appear to function in a very social and harmonious environment. However, this fact may also contribute to the finding. Their proximity and familiarity may both provide greater opportunity for comments as well as ease the tensions that can serve as a deterrent from making offensive remarks. Added to this, as Chris noted, is the attire of these sports (swimming and athletics) which tends to be more revealing to allow for greater freedom of movement. This tends to further sexualize the environment, "little clothing, mixed teams, always together, so there are always sexual tensions" and, in turn, may create a susceptibility to sexual association during social exchange.

With respect to the structure of the athletic program, a relationship may exist between female athletes and the threat to the male athletes in 'coeducational' sports. When funding cuts are made to athletics, often the less popular spectator sports face budget reductions or are eliminated from the program. The male athletes may see the overall presence of women in athletics as a threat to their survival as a university sport. This may result in the expression of animosity towards their female teammates by communicating that they are less worthy.

Sexual harassment as a social control

Connell's (1985) concept of the gender order, applied to athletics by Messner (1991) and Messner and Sabo (1994), is useful in explaining the differences amongst males in their symbolic expressions of male dominance. They argue that the gender order is in a constant state of flux both between males and females and amongst males themselves. This implies that men are not an undifferentiated group that participates equally in the oppression of women. While "the project of men's domination of women may tie all men together, ... men share very unequally in the fruits of this domination" (Messner, 1991, p. 73). It would be expected that the experience of male athletes will affect their relation to female athletes.

The source of sexist jokes/comments is not, however, limited to athletes involved in the same sport. The survey did not allow for the determination of any characteristic other than the initiator's sex.

A similar pattern exists when examining the frequency of sexist jokes/comments made by head coaches. Male athletes report this behaviour more often from head coaches in all three sport categories than do female athletes. The arguments that are presented to understand the athlete- athlete experience can be applied to the athlete-coach experience in this situation. Another example is provided with the survey results that indicate a greater number of male athletes responded that their head coach suggested that athletics is inappropriate for females. While the numbers were not excessive, it serves as another example of social control and the hegemonic process that maintains the cycle of women's oppression. This process conforms with the findings of Gutek (1985), who found that women in the workforce, who had male supervisors, reported more sexual harassment. As with the results of this study, much of the sexual harassment reported was from peers while the male leadership tolerated an environment that perpetuated sexual harassment as a controlling influence on the professional lives of the women in the organization. Those in power, mostly men in this case, normally determine what is allowable. Their sentiments are expressed through the voice and actions of their athletes. In the current climate of political correctness where animosities towards marginalized or historically disadvantaged groups are considered inappropriate, sexist behaviours have moved from overt expressions to more covert strategies. Barb noted that

male athletes make more jokes than coaches. Today, coaches have to be careful about what they say but an athlete doesn't care because they have nothing at stake. People will pick up on

what a coach says if it is out of line but brush it off if it comes from an athlete.

Those coaches who support the masculine bias of athletics will condone sexism by their athletes and foster an environment in which it persists. Athletic administration may communicate a similar message with the actions that they take or fail to take. Paul thinks that administrators respond to complaints about athletes differently, depending upon the athlete. "Certain players bring a certain amount of money to athletics so the administration would back them up but might not with a less prominent athlete." Steve made a similar notation - "if a complaint is made against a star player before a big game, an athletic director is likely to ignore the complaint for the sake of the competition." And Jan follows this up by stating that "if nothing is done, no policy or things, people don't think about why it is wrong." The tolerance for sexual harassment in athletics is clearly communicated by the leadership, both coaches and administrators.

Sexual harassment is a means of controlling and diminishing female athletes by devaluing their achievements in athletics, by discouraging them from pursuing athletic goals and by diluting their self-esteem, particularly as athletes. At the same time, it also serves as a technique of inflating the harassers self-importance. When asked to share their feelings about why an athlete or coach would sexually harass someone, some of the responses supported this concept. Bob said "why (sexual harassment)? control - maybe a way to keep females down." Chris said "to dominate and control,

keep women down." Lori believes it's "mostly a power issue and desire to dominate. Power over other people lends itself to sexual harassment." Jean said that "the number one reason is to dominate - they are trying to get women out of sports" while Pam said "for the feeling of power and control - to get their way - for their own personal esteem - it makes them feel higher as a person while the other feels lower." Jan also noted control as a reason for sexual harassment, combined with "if they are insecure, it is a way to make them feel better." Sexual harassment is a tool to enhance the personal power of an individual by diminishing the worth of another. The behaviour is reinforced through peer approval since, in the process, it contributes to male solidarity by reducing the value of a rival social group.

As experiences moved from gender harassment to more intrusive personal or physical advances, they also declined in the number of experiences reported. It is at this point that it becomes even more evident that sexual harassment is primarily a women's issue. Discomforting invasion of person or space and forceful attempts to be sexually physical, both with a head coach as the aggressor, were experiences reported by females only. Likewise, advances from an assistant coach were female only experiences.

In spite of the literature, the media and research of this nature that clearly documents sexual harassment as a social problem that disadvantages women, there is still a sentiment amongst males that sexual harassment is a women's issue because "the cases that are reported are males harassing females" (Fred); or, "because you only hear about the women's side - they are vocal"

(Ted); or, "women take it more personally and are willing to take action", rather than because it is an experience that serves as a barrier for women, as a group, whereas for men, it is not.

Nature and Meaning of Athletes' Perceptions

Labelling experiences as sexual harassment

The experience that athletes reported and the perceptions that they hold are somewhat inconsistent. A majority of the athletes reported that they have had sexist jokes or comments made to them and two thirds of the athletes concur with the statement that sexist jokes are sexual harassment. Yet 6.9 percent was the highest percentage of athletes to report that they have been sexually harassed. This occurred in the case of individuals who felt that they had been sexually harassed by a male athlete. This would lead to the conclusion that athletes experience behaviours that are defined as sexual harassment, that they perceive as sexual harassment, but that they do not recognize or acknowledge as sexual harassment when it happens to them. This is consistent with the literature where Baker et al. (1990), Jaschik and Fretz (1991), Marks and Nelson (1993) and Popovich et al. (1992) found that females were willing to ignore less threatening forms of sexual harassment. While they may find them annoying or unpleasant, they do not label them as sexual harassment. Some of the interviews supported this concept. Jennifer stated that when sexual harassment occurs, "if it's minor, just avoid the guy." Lori felt that dealing with sexual harassment "depends on the severity - if it is minor, just ignore it."

Ray identified sexist comments and jokes as common within his team. He added that "even the coach, in the heat of the moment, will make comments like 'why are you guys playing like girls?' But I don't know if that is sexual harassment but it's degrading to women." While he recognized the potential for such a statement to be damaging, his confusion represents that which exists in defining such comments as sexual harassment. In a similar situation, Jodi noted that "some coaches tolerate little jokes about women and even tell them themselves." Paul revealed that "Some believe that it is not wrong so why not?" Steve supported this idea, stating that the majority aren't aware that they are sexually harassing. They don't think that what they are doing is wrong. As long as they are not hurting the person physically they are oblivious to the fact that they are putting them through an emotional wringer. This is alien to a lot of men.

"There is a gap between experiencing and disliking the phenomenon and applying the term sexual harassment in describing it" (Schneider, 1982, p.75). One of the problems that surfaces when behaviours are detached from the label of sexual harassment is that they persevere and proliferate. Bob felt that "males aren't affected by it (sexual harassment) - they can go on saying and doing things and as long as there is no action, they do what they want." Over time, such behaviours become the norm. Aggressors see no harm in them and victims come to expect such treatment as a normal part of social exchange. Both consciously and subconsciously, the social order of male dominance is reproduced.

There is a clear distinction between experiences with gender harassment and the remaining four categories of sexual harassment used in this study. Overall, similar to the findings of Fitzgerald and Omerod (1991), both males and females agreed that the quid pro quo behaviours and the physically more intrusive behaviours represent sexual harassment. However, when behaviours became less aggressive or explicit, there was more ambiguity on the part of respondents with divergent interpretations based upon sex. Male athletes do not interpret offensive or degrading behaviours or remarks that target an individual, or a group of individuals, based upon the sexual characteristics of that group as sexual harassment as often as female athletes.

Overall, the athletes' perceptions about whether or not particular behaviours represent sexual harassment are varied along gender lines. In all but three statements, female athletes perceived the behaviours to be sexual harassment more often than male athletes. Sexual innuendo, unwanted sexual attention and discomforting touch are examples of behaviours where females and males differ in perceptions, with female athletes finding these behaviours more offensive than male athletes. The object value of a sexual nature that males place on women may contribute to this difference. Not only do women resent being objectified in this way, but males would operate on the assumption that females exist within their same value system, finding pleasure in accommodating male sexual advances. It is plausible, then, that males make the assumption that women enjoy their sexual attentions and find them flattering.

In some cases, women do appear to have adopted the male value system. "The more male-identified a woman is, the less likely she is to respond to sexual harassment as a serious problem" (Silverman, 1976, p.22). Women who socialize in an athletic world, dominated by male interactions, are likely to be male-identified. The previously cited reference to female laughter as a response to sexist jokes is one example. Another is the ritual of rookie parties. Often these parties are the men's and women's teams together. Activities with sexual overtones, such as (female rookies) "blindfolded and eating M & M's from the chest of one of the guys on the team" and "eating a banana from the crotch of one of the male (athletes)", further the expectation that female athletes have embraced the male sport culture. Therefore, when sexism in the form of sexual harassment directed at a female athlete generates a negative reaction, the mixed messages produce confusion. Female athletes, in their quest for equality with and acceptance from male athletes, collude in the sexism as athletes, not as women. When sexism is directed at them in a personal way as women, they are offended because it symbolizes their rejection as a member of the dominant group in which they sought membership. Sexual harassment, personally experienced, is an indication that women can never be fully accepted in the hegemonic, masculine athletic world.

More males than females felt that refusing a coach's sexual advances would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations. The greater confidence that women have regarding their athletic future in such a circumstance is unexplained.

Males also perceived sexual harassment more often than females in two of the assault statements. This may be explained by female athletes making a distinction between sexual harassment and assault. In this case, they do not recognize the mutual intent of each of the behaviours as a form of social control.

Interestingly, female and male athletes agreed that a coach's invitation to an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship is sexual harassment. This type of relationship is viewed as abuse of power and breach of trust. Tony felt that "if a coach is involved with sexual harassment it is more serious (than if a peer). Teams have a power structure and athletes must be able to trust their coach." A professional distance between coach and athlete was important to the subjects of this study.

A case study

Temporary and marital relationships between female athletes and their male head coaches exist within Canadian university athletics. There is no knowledge of administrators discouraging these relationships or of campus policy that prohibits relationships between student-faculty/athlete-coach. They generally represent the normal, heterosexual arrangement seen in society at large. They also represent relationships with the male partner in the more powerful position and the female in a subordinate position. Dick conveyed his experience as a contrast to the 'natural', socially constructed order. As a male athlete with a female coach, he entered into a romantic relationship with his coach, beginning in his second year of eligibility. They went on to marry, while he remained

a student athlete and she, the coach. In the process that led up to their marriage, however, they met with resistance within the university system. When the relationship began, "some players questioned what was going on between them, partly out of curiosity and partly out of concern for favouritism." As it continued and became more public, "the athletic administration had a problem with a coach-player relationship. They told the coach that she would have to end the relationship or resign her position. Meanwhile, a new chairperson of athletics who accepted the relationship assumed the administrative responsibilities of the program." Dick and his coach decided to implement an advisory position, filled by an individual to serve as team psychologist, to provide team members with an individual as liaison when they were not comfortable approaching their coach. "Further discussions were held with the Director of the Division and the University President, both accepting of the relationship. The President even noted that he and his wife met under similar circumstances. We got married between my third and fourth years as a player."

Both a female coaching a men's university team and a female coach-male athlete relationship are unusual circumstances, a challenge to the social norm. This couple appears to have met with greater resistance than male coaches who establish relationships with female athletes. There are two factors that might contribute to this resistance. As a female in a position of power (as coach), she may be subject to more scrutiny and immediate criticism when her actions give rise to debate. In addition, males are normally viewed as the initiator of relationships. Her position of power leads

to the assumption that she is the initiator of the relationship or, accurately presupposes that she is the one who can control the direction of the relationship since she holds the power in the coach-athlete association. This control on the part of a female is not natural when compared to the manner in which relationships are established in society at large. As a result, discomfort with both of these factors as departures from society's status quo lend themselves to resistance.

Athlete status and perceptions of sexual harassment

Athletes in their first year of eligibility did not perceive forceful attempts of a sexual nature to be sexual harassment as often as athletes in the remaining four years. This is consistent with some of the findings of Mazer and Percival (1989) for the general student population. A probable explanation for this could, again, be that this action goes beyond the scope of sexual harassment in the opinion of the respondent. More senior athletes may have developed a better understanding of sexual imposition and, as a result, make a distinction between sexual harassment and sexual assault. It suggests a dichotomy between the seriousness, and perhaps the legal consequences, perceived between assault and other forms of sexual harassment.

Sex of the coach had some influence on the perceptions that athletes hold concerning sexual harassment. It was, however, connected to sex of the athlete as well. Male athletes, the majority of whom have male coaches, showed greater tolerance for sexual harassment than female athletes. While female athletes showed

less tolerance for sexual harassment, it was not dependent upon sex of the coach. Female athletes who had female coaches did not express less tolerance for sexual harassment than female athletes who had male coaches. This may be an outcome of the standpoint from which females assess their overall experience with sexual harassment. Ray stated that sexual harassment is "a situation where a male sexually harasses a female the majority of the time". Tony said that "women are more the victims". And Jennifer noted that "every woman has to deal with it (sexual harassment) at some point."

Further, it was found that male athletes with male coaches were least likely to believe that sexually suggestive comments about athletes' bodies are sexual harassment. This distinction reinforces the theory that a male athletic environment sexualizes female athletes as a part of their athletic culture and objectifies women in their quest for dominant status. Also, it may suggest that male athletes who have female coaches develop a greater appreciation of females for their athletic contributions, distracting them from basing their judgment of women on sexual criteria. Or, it may suggest that such comments directed toward males themselves are not offensive, thus they do not perceive that a similar experience would be offensive to others.

Female athletes with a male coach were less likely to believe that refusing sexual advances made by a coach would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations than male athletes with a female coach. It is possible that male athletes who have experienced a female coach may have become more sensitive to the possible

abuses that can occur because they are part of an unusual structural arrangement. Female athletes who have a male coach are participating in a normal and familiar arrangement and have been able to trust their coach. As a result, they adopt a 'not in my backyard' attitude that defends against the belief that quid pro quo abuse could occur.

Male athletes coached by males placed the locus of responsibility on the female more often than female athletes coached by either females or males. As with the findings of Hartnett et al. (1989), blame is directed at the victim for the situation as it presents itself. However, in contrast to Hartnett et al. who found that sex did not make a difference in attributing blame, this study shows that the victim is more likely to be blamed for the situation by males than by females. Two explanations might be tendered for this difference. It is much easier to justify behaviour if it can be explained with an argument of provocation or if the complaint can be dismissed as trivial. In both circumstances, a complainant has had the issue obscured and, in the process, becomes the person whose behaviours are questionable. If sexual harassment is allowed to represent something for which women are to blame, individuals will remain silent rather than risk censure for voicing a complaint.

It would be desirable for female coaches to use their positions to educate their athletes about the dynamics of sexual harassment. However, there are a number of reasons that might prevent this from happening. First, coaches are not a part of the athlete social system. Athletes feel more pressure to conform to peer values than

to adopt the perceptions that a coach may offer. Second, female coaches are a minority in the profession and will experience the same social controls as athletes through pressure and hostility from their peers. Third, the coaches have been hired by a hegemonic male culture who attempt to create a homosocial environment, even when hiring females. The female coaches may, then, reflect the value system as it existed upon their entry and may reflect the findings of Fain and Anderton (1987) that women should not take offense to sexist behaviours. Again, women are expected to deal with sexual harassment on their own and, if they cannot, it is their own shortcoming, not the fault of anyone exhibiting offensive behaviours.

The role of the athlete did not have a major influence on the perceptions of the athletes on sexual harassment but increased in relevance when interacting with sex of the athlete. Male starters and female starters and substitutes are likely to perceive more behaviours as sexual harassment, displaying less tolerance for sexual harassment. Male substitutes, who differ by displaying more tolerance for sexual harassment, may be insecure in their role as an athlete on their ability to establish their masculine identity through their sporting experience. As a result, they may be the most likely group to find the presence of women as threatening to the concept of sport as a male domain. If, as a result, they employ more sexual harassment behaviours, they are less likely to identify them as such.

The type of sport in which an athlete participates does not strongly influence perceptions that athletes hold concerning sexual harassment. However, the interaction effect with sex that showed male athletes of 'simultaneous' sports least likely to view sexist

jokes/comments or sexual flattery as sexual harassment may suggest that those athletes who engage in certain behaviours are least likely to find them offensive.

Defining sexual harassment and breaking the silence

Definition was addressed in the quest for resolutions when interviewing athletes. Jodi suggests there needs to be more awareness of players and coaches about sexual harassment and a clearer definition of what it is. That way coaches would know there is a policy and consequences and it might serve as a deterrent and players might recognize sexual harassment sooner and be able to stop it before it got too serious.

Jean stated that "there needs to be a better definition with samples in the definition so people are clear on what sexual harassment is", while Debbie expressed a similar approach that required seminars to "define the issue, provide stories and talk". Paul noted that "people have to be educated because they don't know what sexual harassment involves". Bill emphasized the need for education. "Men need to understand how it affects a person. When they make a comment such as "you have a nice ass", they don't think it is a big deal - they need to understand how it is damaging." Don gave a summary that identified the exclusion of gender harassment from most of the athletes' operational definitions by stating that "the serious cases are being exposed but the smaller issues are being kept quiet. They

need to be heard because they have just as big an effect on an individual."

When discussing the dynamics of sexual harassment in athletics with the interview subjects, it became apparent that their concerns about the issue generally focused upon the physically intrusive features of sexual harassment, what some refer to as the more severe experiences. Based upon this framework for a definition, they acknowledged that sexual harassment occurs but spoke of it in the abstract, absent from their personal experience. This view of a definition identifies power as a major component. Paul notes that

if a coach is harassing someone, it is their sense of power and control. Coaches can use their authority as a means to sexually harass someone" but "athletes might sexually harass someone because they think it is cute and see nothing wrong with it if the female does not get upset. Both males and females are not very educated about what is and what isn't sexual harassment.

Ray sees sexual harassment as "power and control - Coaches can use their authority as a means to sexually harass someone. A male coach demands something from a female athlete for her to advance in the sport."

"Definitions of sexual harassment are important because they can educate the community and promote discussion and conscientious evaluation of behaviour and experience" (Crocker, 1983, p. 697). Athletes and coaches learn what is wrong, the

official university position on sexual harassment, sanctions and hopefully, understanding. Most importantly is that dialogue removes sexual harassment from its shroud of secrecy. Visibility would suggest that victims no longer need to be silent. Currently, to express concern about an experience means that the concern must be recognized. For those who do recognize a wrongdoing, they may not understand it. Lori thinks someone who is sexually harassed would experience "a sense of guilt that it might be your fault"; Jodi says "you would feel guilty but learn to accept it as typical behaviour"; Joan believes sexual harassment would lead to "confusion, wondering if it is just you affected by this, if it is your fault, why it is happening and is it because of my sex"; and, Bob suggests that "they would feel guilty - they would wonder how they could let it happen."

And, for those who both recognize and understand it, fear may silence them. Bill believes that someone would "put up with it (sexual harassment) for fear of losing a position on the team or for fear of the other athletes turning against you"; Chris thinks they might not say anything "because they would be afraid of people not taking them seriously"; Steve says "there would be little reported because of a fear of what will happen and how will they be treated for reporting it. They would rather put up with it than being called a traitor"; and, Jodi believes that there is a "fear of reporting an incident when you don't know who to talk to. Fear of not being believed and of retaliation because you have to see this individual every day."

Almost one fifth of all respondents believed that women are too sensitive about issues of sexual harassment. Particularly with issues of gender harassment, individuals would be hesitant to grieve an offense for fear of sanction from peers in spite of the majority who release the victim of responsibility for the behaviour. Paul believes there would be "team conflicts - if others thought that a coach they liked was fired because you complained" and Carol and Ray agree, stating there will be "team conflicts - not everyone on the team will have the same opinion so it could divide the team" and "if it is not obvious, athletes might think that there is no way this has happened and will side with the coach while some will side with the athlete", respectively. Typically, the person who complains will be isolated as the trouble maker rather than the person who created the situation by their behaviour.

A greater number of males than females believe women to be too sensitive and that they bring sexual harassment upon themselves. For females who are seeking access to and acceptance from a male culture, the opinion of male members wields greater influence. This influence determines not only the response of the victim, but also the reaction of the females to whom she might turn for support. A source of a supporting network is precarious, eroded by the controls of the male culture. This serves as an instrument to divide women, as yet another deterrent to voicing objection to sexually harassing behaviours, and, therefore, a means of condoning sexual harassment and maintaining male superiority.

Dziech and Weiner (1984) and Paludi and Barickman (1991) also identified the value of a definition within a policy for

enhancing the understanding of the complexities of sexual harassment and comprehending the meaning of personal experiences. In reviewing the presence of institutional policies which contain definitions that include gender harassment issues, it is noted that all Canadian universities have such policies. As disclosed from the results of these interviews, it becomes clearly apparent that the presence of a policy is inadequate. A commitment to disseminating the information and creating an atmosphere conducive to its utilization becomes the responsibility of athletic leaders. Administrators, coaches and even team captains and senior team members have a responsibility to incorporate and apply sexual harassment policies within their programs.

Approximately one quarter of the respondents believe that sexual harassment in university athletics is prevalent, significantly more females than males. The majority know of an existing university policy and almost half also know of a person responsible for implementing the policy. But the interviews do not connect this with a policy for athletics. All but one interview referred to the athletic administration as the location for reporting an incident. And reference was made to the need for a policy and means of education. The failure of athletic administrations to access the campus resources where the expertise resides for neutral resource information and education communicates that no perceived need exists. This translates into a denial of the presence of sexual harassment in athletics, which in turn, communicates to the athletes that there is no problem. This process becomes another

method of silencing complaints by isolating an individual and reinforcing a sense of self-blame should sexual harassment occur.

Discrimination as a factor

The final question of the survey asked respondents whether or not they felt that there was equity in their athletic program. The frequency distribution showed that 60.5 percent of the respondents believe that the men's program is advantaged, 34.9 percent of the respondents believe that the women's and men's programs are treated equally, 1.7 percent of the respondents believe that the women's program is advantaged and 2.9 percent of the respondents did not answer the question. The chi square statistic, $\chi^2(2, N=) = 32.31$, $p = .001$, revealed that there is a significant difference in the responses given by females and males. The crosstabulations showed that 76.8 percent of the females, compared to 23.2 percent of the males, believe that the men's program is advantaged. A balance exists between females and males who believe that the programs are treated equally (females=49.3%, males=50.7%) and that the women's program is advantaged (females, N of 3=42.9%, males, N of 4=57.1%).

The results from this question are presented in Table 33. There were some differences in how athletes view equity. More athletes, $\chi^2(2, N=) = 7.50$, $p = .02$, who are substitutes/bottom half of the team believe that the programs are treated equally (47.4%) compared to starters/top half of the team (32.3%). Conversely, more starters/top half of the team (66.0%) believed that the men's

Table 33

Program Equity - Percentages Reported by Type of Sport, Year of Eligibility, Role of the Athlete, and Sex of the Coach

Status	Equal	Men's Adv.	Women's Adv.
Type of Sport			
Separate	22.5	52.1	25.4
Simultaneous	21.6	55.5	22.8
Coed	28.6	71.4	-
Year of Eligibility			
1st	36.4	61.2	2.5
2nd	38.5	60.6	1.0
3rd	36.8	62.1	1.1
4th	29.8	68.4	1.8
5th	37.5	58.3	4.2
Role of Athlete			
Starter	32.3	66.0	1.7
Substitute	47.4	50.5	2.1
Coach			
Female	28.0	69.9	2.1
Male	41.2	57.2	1.6

program is advantaged compared to substitutes/bottom half of the team (50.5%).

The following points did not show significance but are worthy of note:

- no athletes of 'coeducational' sports felt that the women's program was advantaged
- a higher percentage of 4th year athletes identified men's programs advantaged compared to the athletes in their first three years of eligibility but 5th year athletes reported a lower percentage for this than 4th year athletes, similar to the responses in the first three years of eligibility
- athletes with a male head coach reported that the programs were treated equally more often than athletes with a female head coach and athletes with a female head coach reported that the men's program was advantaged more often than athletes with a male head coach

Incorporation of interview input and the literature provides more insight into the issue of equity in athletics.

The structure of organizations is created by those who are in power in their own interests (Messner, 1992). Examining the behaviours of individuals and reacting to cases of sexual harassment when they surface as a corrective strategy does not address the structural conditions that contribute to the problem of sexual harassment. Tony believes that sanctions against a coach or an athlete are appropriate in cases of sexual harassment but adds that

"this does not really deal with the problem - it just shifts somewhere else." The connection between equity and sexual harassment evolved as the content of the interviews was examined. The relationship between females and males in athletics was generally presented as favourable when expressing interactions on an individual basis. Alice commented that "male and female athletes treat each other equally. Most of the disrespect for female athletes comes from outside of athletics." Debbie noted that "male athletes outside of (my sport) have no respect for female ... players." And Jan commented that "male athletes are more accepting of women's athletics than non-athletes."

However, not all agree. Don confessed that "there is an old boys network who have always had control and they don't want to give it up so they will behave in ways that keep women down. Sexual harassment is one of these ways." According to Jennifer, "the attitude that women are out of place in athletics still exists. Women's sport is not given as much prestige as men's sport and women athletes are not seen as important - they take a back seat to men's athletics. This attitude contributes to sexual harassment through male dominance." Jean stated that "maybe we're more susceptible (to sexual harassment) while males adjust to accept us."

Others find that acceptance as an equal is absent. "Guys treat you as a little inferior - girls' sport is not real sport" (Barb). Erin noted that "female and male coaches in the program support us but the male athletes don't have as much respect for our (women's) athletic ability as women do - they are supportive but add 'you're good, for a girl'. They have a sense of superiority." This is

supported by Lori's experience. She states that "the guys treat female athletes as a little inferior and make little comments like 'oh, it's just girls (sport)' or 'girls (sport) should have been cut a long time ago'. It's just not as important." This parallels Young's (1988) philosophic discussion on the exclusion of women from sport. She states,

To the degree that in our society the female body is objectified women must be excluded from the concept of sport. It follows that if there is a particular female person participating in sport, then, either she is not "really" a woman, or the sport she engages in is not "really" a sport (p. 336).

Debbie felt that

males still have to react to women in sport. It is a hostile environment for some, especially in a non-traditional sport. Because athletics has been traditionally male centred, you will expect some sexual harassment. Women are becoming more equal - views have changed by being in sport but they're (women) still considered lesbians because they're involved in sport - they lose their femininity.

Attitudes that serve notice to members of one sex that purport limitations in athletics according to their gender are a form of social control. This is expressed in a number of socially approved ways for females and for males in the process of the social construction of heterosexual femininity and masculinity. West and Zimmerman (1991) refer to such practices as doing gender. They

"claim that gender is not merely an attribute but something that is accomplished through interaction with others. When we look at it this way, our focus shifts from characteristics of individuals to interaction and ultimately, institutional doings" (p.155).

Sport is a form of doing gender only if properly controlled. Sexual harassment is one of the methods used to exert this control, especially when it calls into question the sexuality of the members of each sex. To be truly masculine, males must engage in sports that symbolize strength, power and control and they must participate in the misogynist and homophobic behaviours that subordinate others. To be truly feminine, females must engage in sports that symbolize grace and beauty and they must present themselves as physically attractive to others. However, the premise of physical freedom offered through athletics is a contradiction to the restrictions imposed through sexual harassment (Green et al., 1987). When this is in conflict with achieving athletic goals, they must find other ways to display their gender. This is often seen in the self-presentation of female athletes. For example, the athletic wear, makeup and manicures of Jackie Joyner Kersee remind the public that she is a woman in spite of her athleticism. Again, as part of the collusion, the constraints thrive because men and women share the same assumptions about what is appropriate behaviour for women. This is one of the strengths of hegemony where inequalities are sustained through legitimation and naturalization rather than through coercion and dogma. To cross the line and adopt male athletic traits as a female will result in the expression of the regulating hostilities and controls noted by Debbie. "In short,

women who do not limit themselves to gender appropriate forms of behaviour learn to expect sanction" (Green et al., 1987, p.80). The result is that by doing gender, we create artificial differences between males and females and, at the same time, "if we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category" (West & Zimmerman, 1991, p.33).

The male athletes interviewed expressed approval of women's involvement in athletics. But Steve notes that he has "heard attitudes expressed" that women are out of place in athletics because of "the competitive aspect - a sense that women can't be equally competitive, therefore they don't belong - and the history of physical exertion - women aren't as good as men." He went on to show where women have added much to sport by bringing different sports to a higher level of appreciation, moderating the competitive, score-based aspect of men's sport and helping to change some attitudes. With men's athletics,

there is a whole system of a masculine mode that you are expected to slip into. There's not the same pressure from female athletes - more communal - (acceptance is) not based on skill on the court but (on being) athletic and involved. Males - respect is gained through virility as expressed in competition. The male coach feels he has to be the captain of masculinity, a sense of the strong, silent type coach, a distant, father-type coach - disciplinarian, leader, pinnacle of confidence. (Women make) less of a connection of being defined by performance.

Jim noted the tensions that arise between male and female athletes and coaches as a result of fundraising. His coach implied that 'the girls' should not be involved because there is no good female competition anyway. "This type of comment goes on and suggests that women aren't as good as men." Ted accepted the idea that women "do have a place in athletics but the physical nature of football and hockey prohibits mixed play - they can still play but not at the same level" or "they (women) face attitudes because they can't play at the same level."

The acceptance-resistance was expressed a different way by Chris. He acknowledged that there have been some amazing things done by some women - I wouldn't go and watch a girls athletic event though. It is fine but there's just not the same interest. They have to expect men to be that way.... Men feel threatened that women may be better than them. Men feel so superior to women in athletics, they can't imagine a woman better - it's hard to deal with - sexual harassment is a tool to discourage females.

Ted shared an observed experience of a female student trainer for his team.

One year the female complained a lot about one guy - he always jokes and stuff. We talked to him but he just laughed - he doesn't care. She stuck it out but told the administration at the end of the year. They decided it might not be wise to put a

female with a guys team. This was the result of only one person and his insults.

This case is an example of the effects that the 'less serious' forms of sexual harassment can have on an individual. Even though the individual in this case was able to endure the year, the resolution forwarded by the administration denied female trainers of the future an opportunity that may have far reaching implications for access to future experiences and, possibly, career aspirations. This is an example of the lack of administrative commitment to addressing the source of the problem of sexual harassment.

"The female person who grows up in a society which defines the female body as object rarely escapes developing a bodily self-image in conformity with that definition ... it is difficult not to regard ourselves from the same objectifying point of view" (Young, 1988, p. 337). This same concept extends to the compared value of women's and men's sport. Females have been convinced, along with males, that their sports are insignificant, an aberration from the true sport, their aspirations are secondary, their contributions inferior, and their achievements trivial. This is part of the collusion into which females have been drawn as participants in the elevation of male status. Collusion serves as a means by which hegemony conscripts women to criticize women based upon the dominant values of the organization. As a result, both females and males offer excuses or qualifiers for justifying male privilege and advantage. For example, Alice commented that "men's programs are advantaged but there is also more interest in men's athletics. Men

do seem to get more given to them and have easier access to the funds. Men probably feel that this is right because it has always been that way." Chris feels that males reported that "men's programs are advantaged because people are accustomed to seeing men's athletics - it is just a fact - that's the way it has always been." Steve thinks male athletes believe "they deserve to be (advantaged) and they recognize that it is a detriment to women but that's the way it is. Men's sports are more popular, it's not our fault, what are we going to do about it?" Ray believes that "men's programs are advantaged - in a way, it is fair because men's programs make the money and draw the spectators. This doesn't mean to take anything away from the women but the men have earned it." Jan realizes that men's programs are advantaged but notes, "recognizing physical limitations, females have proven themselves and are more accepted..... change has to be gradual or there will be backlash. The men will protest because something is being taken away and they get upset." Joan notes that "sometimes the male athletes will joke around and give the impression that they think they are better and deserve more but males will give credit where credit is due - (this is just) a joke rivalry between (two teams) ... who gets the field for practice?" And, Robin notes that "even though women aren't as strong, they still provide entertainment through sport." These comments are generally supportive of women's athletics but often offer subliminal qualifiers at the same time that promote the subordinate status of women in athletics.

The athletes were asked on the survey instrument to share their view about whether or not they felt that men and women were

treated equally within the athletic program. As the results showed, approximately two thirds of the respondents perceived the men's program to be advantaged over the women's program. Interestingly, as with the survey response rate, approximately two thirds of the respondents are women. It might be expected, therefore, that respondents would react defensively with women generally viewing men's programs as advantaged and men generally viewing women's programs as advantaged. This is not, however, the case. Almost three quarters of the females and half of the males perceive the men's programs to be advantaged. This imbalance, perceived as male supremacy, has emerged as a primary ingredient in the underpinnings of sexual harassment in university athletics.

Gender power is a personal power and, as proposed by Stringer et al. (1990), it is a form of ascribed power determined by characteristics that cannot be changed. They also note that in a time of crisis in a person's life, sexual harassment can be used to decrease the power of the victim without expecting a sexual relationship. In this case, simply being a member of a powerful group bestows sufficient power to effectively sexually harass someone who poses a life crisis by threatening the institution (athletics) from which they acquire their male identity. "The intent is to embarrass or intimidate the victim in such a way that her/his credibility, competence, or power is decreased" (Schneider, 1982, p.49). At the least, this renders them (the victim) ineffective within the structure of athletics and at best, encourages them to leave altogether.

Athletics is used as a vehicle to enhance personal power. Athletics is also male dominated. It has traditionally been used by males as a declaration of hegemonic masculinity and aggrandizement, generally to the exclusion, and often at the expense, of females (and marginalized males). Jodi noted that the male need to maintain power and control over such resources as money and programs provides them with "a material power that adds to the personal power a harasser feels." This may be the case more often for some sports than for others as noted, "men's programs are advantaged, especially football and hockey" (Lori). Jennifer noted that the inequity is not always based upon a sex division because "football think they're superior - they tell jokes and some of the jokes aren't funny even if you're not overly sensitive. One of the guys running track said he can't wear his spandex as often as he wants because he would be considered gay by the football players." Jean noted that, in sport, women as a group are trivialized, which makes it harder to be seen as an equal. "Men need to accept females in sport and until they do, they will use sexual harassment to push them out." Robin indicated that, while there are limitations on women and men are in control, inequality is based more upon sport than by sex.

For example, football gets special treatment - they sell tickets, they take a day to set up for a game, they do more to promote it and provide media coverage. This makes football players think that they are more important, that they are superior to the athletes who participate in other university sports.

Robin also felt that "men feel the most threatened - females can't be better! - it's a man's world. So they need something to make the girls less significant so they will use sexual harassment to help do this."

In spite of explanations that identify specific sports as the organizing principle that results in inequities, gender remains the dominant principle. No female sports have been promoted to parallel the so-called spectator sports and pseudo-money makers for men. Men's sports are generally advantaged when compared with the same women's sport. "Attention to gender is often not explicit, but it is nonetheless a crucial part of the organization of equality or inequality" (Scott, 1986, p. 1073).

The role of leadership

Leadership is critical in determining the message that the athletes acquire about the role of university sport. The findings of Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) that suggest organizations with high equal opportunity for women have lower levels of harassment is critical. This study cites numerous inequities on the basis of gender that contribute to a superior-inferior dichotomy. Both females and males perceive men's athletics to be more important. Support from the public, the media and the student population reinforce this perception. And athletic administrations, too, as the leaders who establish priorities and exhibit their values through these priorities, undoubtedly convey this message. This status

contributes to a sense of empowerment on the part of males and disempowerment on the part of females.

Sport, as a social institution, with socially constructed dominant-subordinate roles for males and females respectively, a structure which sexualizes females, creates ideal conditions for sexual harassment. Many will argue that the attitudes held by both females and males about each other's athletic roles are established before they enter university. While this may be somewhat true, it is also a critical time to determine whether or not institutions of higher learning are prepared to challenge these attitudes or allow them to be maintained and reinforced. Alice noted that "the athletic director is closer to the male athletes. He knows more male athletes than female athletes and the male athletes are regarded more highly than the female athletes." Building upon this type of distance between leaders and female athletes, a comment made by Paul becomes critical. He stated that

with no women in positions of power, if a female goes to a male athletic director with a (sexual harassment) complaint, they would probably doubt her. A male will protect his buddies. A female would be more likely to deal with a complaint (of sexual harassment) and would look at it in an unbiased way.

Steve lends support to the need for more female leadership with his comment that

whoever is at the top of the administrative hierarchy determines the distribution of information and priorities.

Male athletic directors are standoffish and give lip service to the issue of sexual harassment. Female coaches (and athletes) are therefore uncomfortable speaking to the administration and get no cooperation when they do. This is obvious because what has been done in athletics to address sexual harassment in athletics?

The literature has identified sexual harassment as a women's issue. Yet there are suspicions that experiences with sexual harassment go unreported for the same reasons that it occurs in the first place - a structure and set of gender relations that discourage reporting. This has been corroborated by the athletes interviewed in this research. It suggests a link to structure and leadership which needs modification for the eradication of sexual harassment in athletics. Fred expressed concern that with males in control and few or no women to talk to, victims of sexual harassment feel alone and isolated. He remarked that "men feel women won't complain to males so (their experience) is silenced." Ray commented that "more males are in the higher positions so they can sexually harass women more often because of their power", suggesting that "if (sexual harassment was) reported to the athletic administration, they would not believe it at first but might investigate it." In such a case, he also suggested that "fear of being doubted would make someone afraid to go forward to report it (sexual harassment)." Chris, in considering how an athlete who had been sexually harassed would deal with the experience, proposed that "they might talk to the coach or report it - but most wouldn't because they would be afraid of

people not taking them seriously ... one problem is that if they reported it in athletics, they would have to talk to a man so women might be put off by that." This same issue was indirectly addressed by Bob when he shared his thoughts that "with males in the leadership positions, there is more opportunity for sexual harassment to occur if it's a power struggle. More females as coaches for example, would speak on behalf of the female athletes."

A shift in the numeric balance of leadership based on gender will not guarantee a shift in the value system that sport currently offers.

... in contemporary society sport appears to carry nearly the full weight of the meanings of masculinity. Most masculinist societies contain a number of institutions in which a man can show himself a "real" man, and from which women are excluded. In contemporary society, however, sport remains one of the few institutions which explicitly serves this function, and hence it is overburdened with a masculine image (Young, 1988, p. 339).

Sexual harassment as a women's issue

The majority of the study respondents were female athletes. The fact that the issue of sexual harassment is an experience that primarily females encounter, particularly in physically threatening forms, may account for this response distribution. Males may feel that they do not have enough knowledge about the topic to participate in the research, they may consider it a subject that is irrelevant to them or, they may be hostile towards the topic and

decline from contributing to the outcome of the study. Pam thought that "males don't respond because they don't see it as a problem - not so much that they don't experience it but they are the initiators and don't think it is wrong". This is consistent with the findings of Kenig and Ryan (1986) who reported that males perceive sexual harassment more often when directed from someone in a position of authority. Therefore, they do not see the peer behaviour to which Pam refers as sexual harassment. Don thought that males "are afraid to be part of the results or contribute to the discovery that women are disadvantaged. They know it but they don't want to acknowledge it because they don't want to change." Robin suggests that females

respond to the research more because guys don't really care - they would think that it is stupid, that the research really doesn't prove anything anyway - and, they probably are feeling guilty because they know they have done it. Most guys have made sexually degrading comments sometime during their lives. They also feel peer pressure to not get involved in stopping sexual harassment. Females are interested in correcting it because they are more commonly the victims.

And Bill suggests that females respond more than males

because males don't really care while females are trying to correct it. Also, because the name of the researcher was female, males would react and not contribute, expecting a female to take the approach that guys are assholes.

Steve also thinks that males would react negatively to the theme of the study and comments that "males can be quick to condemn and will see it as another feminist sexual harassment thing that is politically correct and, therefore, they disregard it - they say 'not me' so don't bother." Some of these comments made by the interview subjects made reference to the reasons that females do participate as well as those reasons that males do not participate. Paul thinks that females respond to the research more than males

because it happens to females more and they want to do something about it. They may write about it when they won't face up to it themselves. However, they might not respond either because they have to relive it by participating in the research.

Bob agrees, stating that females respond "because it's the females being hurt by the male's negative actions, therefore it is a female issue."

The results of this study give some evidence to the fact that sexual harassment is a women's issue. The experience that female athletes have had with sexual harassment is greater than that of male athletes. Only female athletes reported sexual harassment from an assistant coach. Males are more frequently identified as the harasser with no sexual harassment from a female head coach, female assistant coach, female manager or female trainer reported in this study. Reports of sexual harassment from a head coach are exclusively experiences between a female athlete and a male head

coach with no male athletes reporting sexual harassment from a head coach.

The preceding quotes support the literature and the overall findings of this study with respect to the identity of sexual harassment as a women's issue. They also reflect on some of the hostilities that are present in the relationship between females and males when the existing social order, and methods of maintaining it, are challenged. Sympathies for the experiences of women are scarce. The females who willingly participated in the interviews had an understanding of sexual harassment and its potential effects on their environment because they were aware of its presence from personal encounters or the threat of the same. The males who willingly participated in the interviews did not relate the same experience or threat from sexual harassment. It was apparent that they had given some thought to the issue, often because of sisters or girlfriends who had drawn their attention to it and helped them develop an understanding of sexual harassment and its effects. As a result, they were a unique group, empathetic to the vulnerability of the female athletes. In spite of a response rate equal to or better than most of the literature reviewed, their comments would suggest that there is a large population of male athletes who either deny the sexual harassment experiences of female athletes or the seriousness of them, a population that this study failed to reach, particularly for the interview process.

The use of feminist theory to explain the presence of sexual harassment in athletics seems appropriate considering the issue, the available literature and the results of this study, particularly

the interviews. Tangri, Burt and Johnson's (1982) biological model does not appear to have relevance but the interaction of their organizational model and their sociocultural model provides a reasonable explanation for sexual harassment. The gender relations in sport give males a monopoly on both formal and informal sources of power through structures that represent male values and the naturalization of men's position of privilege over women while, at the same time, trivializing the female athletic experience. A biological difference has been translated into a social difference that places female athletes inferior to male athletes (Theberge, 1985).

The male experience

The survey results show that a number of males experience sexual harassment in the category of gender harassment. Although there has been limited research on the male experience, it is similar to findings presented by Mazer and Percival (1989) and Riger (1990). As noted earlier, some of the experiences reported in this study may not, in fact, target them as the harassed. For example, a male athlete relating a sexist joke targeting a female to another male athlete, while it may not diminish the offensiveness of the comment, is not harassing that individual. What he may be doing, however, is reinforcing the inferior status of women and their status as sexual objects at the expense of recognition for athletic accomplishments. As the individual targeting females with their jokes or as the listener who laughs and goes along with the joking, both parties are either an active or passive participant in the

perpetuation of an offensive environment for women and some men. For this reason, combined with the facts that men may be targeted with the behaviour from females, this result is significant.

There are some facts that make the experience of males somewhat different than the experience of females with sexual harassment. MacKillop (1993) has noted that the discrepancy of both social and physical power possessed by females and males results in less fear attributed to the male experience. Don confirmed this fact in his interview. He stated that "women ... do not have the power. But when males do experience sexual harassment, the experience is a similar one to that of women." Chris stated that "males experience sexual harassment as well, probably from both females and males, but it is not seen as harassment or as threatening to men ..." Yet Ray stated that "it does happen the opposite way. But a male would probably not look at it as sexual harassment." For females, "it goes a lot further because males cannot be sexually assaulted or raped", suggesting that the fear of sexual physical aggression, absent from the male experience, is an everpresent threat for females. "If it were to happen to males, it would be more a verbal thing" (Ted). Jean commented that

it's a man's world. Sexual harassment doesn't hurt a male the way it does a female. Sexual harassment by men may be more physical while sexual harassment by women may be more verbal. So men may be more inclined to respond to sexual harassment with physical retaliation,

again suggesting that the physical threat to women who harass, as well as those who are harassed, instills a fear for their well being that they cannot defend.

The experience of sexual harassment of the male is affected by the physical qualities of the harasser as well. Jodi noted that

harassers are more likely to be men because a lot of women would not harass men for fear of 'getting in over their head'. Harassers tend to exploit easier targets and men often view women as more passive which makes them more vulnerable.

This concept would explain, in part, the difference in experiences between females and males. By understanding sexual harassment, as Collier and Holmes (1989) present it, "pitting the powerful against the powerless", a distinction between the male and female experiences can be made based upon physicality. A distinction can be made socially, as well. In athletics, female leaders have less organizational power as there are fewer women in organizational positions to hold such power and, for those who do occupy such positions, their access to resources are often limited (Knoppers et al., 1990). Amongst athletes, the strategies used to strengthen male comradeship at the exclusion of females, ignoring women's contributions, relegates greater personal power to males than to females (Cleveland and Kerst, 1993). Athletics is a hierarchy whereby males, at the top of the hierarchy, assume the greatest power. While equality may appear to be divided along the lines of sport more than gender, males generally identify with privilege - football, basketball and hockey - and assume their power vicariously

through the powers bestowed on those sports. Lori explains this by stating that

male dominance results in women's sport being pushed to the side. It is not seen as important as men's basketball or men's hockey. For example, when the banquet is held, the women are pretty well excluded from the awards. Some of the dominance is based upon sport as well as sex - men's soccer is viewed as less important than basketball and hockey as well but men's soccer is also viewed as more important than women's soccer.

While to deny the male experience is to duplicate the response that women have been given when faced with sexual harassment, the reality is that women do not possess the power that makes the female and male experience analogous. Although experientially and personally similar in the category of gender harassment, difference exists in the experience for the remaining four categories used in this study and in the effect on men as a group. The structure in which interactions occur involve very different relationships amongst individuals. Women face the threat of sexual harassment on a regular basis while for men, sexual harassment is an anomaly. The male experience is an isolated event that makes it a personal problem. The female experience is a repeated offense that makes it a problem for women as a social class.

Bill suggested that

males tend to give less meaning to behaviours that females find offensive. (For example, if a guy whistles at a female and someone tells him that it is sexual harassment, he doesn't

make the connection.) Men don't feel threatened or affected by sexual harassment so it doesn't affect them in the same way as it does females.

Bob commented that "if males experience sexual harassment, it is not a problem. They don't find it offensive if a female is the initiator." MacKinnon (1987) would propose that this is the result of the different experience that a patriarchal society offers women overall. Women have been judged, historically, based upon their sexuality. Men have been judged based upon their achievement and their physical dominance. Attraction that incites sexual harassment of a female is demeaning while attraction that incites sexual harassment of a male is complimentary. Likewise in sport, women are more accepted when their participation conforms to activities that compliment femininity, where they can be judged on beauty and attraction that serve male sexual desires. Men are more accepted when their participation conforms to activities that compliment masculinity, where they can be judged on strength and power that serve a masculine desire to dominate. Chris sums it up nicely with his comments that

in society as a whole, women are exploited by the media while men are not exploited in the same way. Women are aware of this difference. As a general cultural bias, women become more threatened by sexist attitudes in athletics as well.

On the basis of the findings from both this study and others affirming that males do experience sexual harassment and that their

experiences are not a lot different than the experiences of females, particularly experiences of gender harassment, the meanings of these experiences need further exploration to understand why more is not reported and how the male victims cope. The interviews offered some insight to address these queries. Bob proposed that "guys can defend themselves better than girls - they don't feel as vulnerable - maybe they're physically more secure." Ted feels that it is more likely that "males wouldn't say anything - they have to be macho and would be embarrassed to admit to being sexually harassed" and Jan thinks that "the male experience is ignored by society men are less likely to make a big scene about it than females - males wouldn't admit that it had happened to them because it would demean the perception of their strength and them being in control." Jim agrees, saying " ... because of the male ego, men are afraid to say that it has happened to them" and so does Pam, who feels that "they (males) have a more macho attitude and overlook it, thinking that it is not really sexual harassment but a female who is sexually interested in them which is complimentary." Others simply do not interpret sexual advances as sexual harassment. Steve notes that

harassment of males can happen but there's such a problem with the male psyche - they grow up believing that advances by a female is a compliment and they are lucky to have her attention. So, they don't consider it sexual harassment. Even if it is not wanted, they wouldn't dare express it. Their male peers wouldn't comprehend - if it's a problem, why not just confront the person in a boorish or violent way and therefore,

prove your self - so it's impossible to voice that because it would be voicing a weakness.

Paul "can't see his male friends saying a female was sexually harassing him. They'd be embarrassed - afraid friends would think them homosexual (for not liking it)." He thought it more likely that "he might just diffuse the situation, like if the female coming on to him is unattractive, he might get verbally aggressive with her and then look for peer approval." Carol felt that when

guys experience sexual harassment, they wouldn't speak about it - people would think that the athlete was lying, it's not true - he would be looked down on. It would be harder to believe because it's not discussed.

Alice noted that

guys are comfortable with more sexual partners and with women being sexual around them. It would have to be more blunt for a male to experience sexual harassment. They would not see the less serious as offensive and would probably like the attention.

According to Robin,

if guys are sexually harassed, it is different for two reasons - one, they may enjoy it because it makes them look good in front of their friends and it would feed their ego - in this case, it may also feed a woman's ego but I think this would be more common among men. And two, if they didn't like what a girl was doing they would probably tell her right out whereas

women would probably not say too much because they are afraid of hurting someone's feelings.

Barb doesn't think that "guys would be as ready to do something about it. It would be embarrassing for them because they would think others would see them as less of a man if they couldn't deal with it themselves."

These are predicted responses to sexual harassment in the event that it occurs. However, there was also a question about the frequency with which males experience sexual harassment. Barb notes that "women are most often the victims of sexual harassment." Don notes that "males do experience sexual harassment but it is less because women are more reserved and passive by nature and not domineering. Women also do not have the power." Jennifer believes that "sexual harassment is a women's issue - men don't experience it to the same degree" and Joan agrees, saying "this is because men are more aggressive and women are more passive, It is also a power struggle." Bob says that "women are the victims of sexual harassment for the most part - not 100% but they are mostly the ones who have to put up with it." Tony concurs with Joan, noting "in society, males are seen as the aggressor and are more physical which contributes to the ability to sexually harass someone ... sport is an aggressive atmosphere and attracts people with these qualities. Aggression is encouraged in sport so it is sometimes hard to draw the line between sport and society."

When the effects are negative, the experience is grievous regardless of the sex of the victim. The recovery from the distress caused by sexual harassment may, however, vary in length dependent upon the sex of the victim. For male victims, the personal affront caused by sexual harassment occurs in isolation from a culture that generally, glorifies male achievement and holds men in high esteem. It is, however, doubtful that an experience with sexual harassment will discourage a male from participating in athletics. A number of the interview respondents indicated that a female athlete's experience with sexual harassment would culminate in them quitting the sport. For female victims, indignations felt as a result of sexual harassment serve to reinforce a sexist society that devalues the contributions of women and limits their freedom. The ability to recover with high self-esteem, self-respect and assertiveness would appear to be more difficult for females than for males, facilitated by the social construction of power.

Discussion summary

The experience with and perceptions of sexual harassment for athletes in Canadian university athletic programs is both unique and similar to the reported findings for other populations studied. There is a tendency for athletes to deny experiences that could be legitimately identified as sexual harassment. Yet the nature of their experience parallels that in other settings. The use of objectification of females to devalue their athletic achievements as a group is a common tactic. The presence of power relations between females and males, peers and coaches, is present. The

enforcement of social norms that reflect heterosexist values serve as social controls.

Athletes expressed some difficulty in labelling behaviours as sexual harassment. They did, however, identify daily practices that contribute to inequities within athletics that disadvantage women's programs and reinforce the stereotypes that advance sexual harassment. Structure was identified as a crucial factor in the creation of conditions that perpetuate sexual harassment and establish it as a women's issue. In its present state, male dominance precludes the elimination of sexual harassment from Canadian university athletics.

Research Summary

The presupposition underlying this research was that sexual harassment is present in Canadian university athletics. The questions directing the study were designed to determine the frequency with which athletes experience sexual harassment, their views about behaviours deemed to represent sexual harassment, and the meanings that athletes give to such behaviours.

Eight (8) research questions and thirteen (13) hypotheses were developed to investigate these general questions that framed the study. Testing and analysis included a triangulated approach, combining quantitative analyses of survey responses with qualitative analyses of interview data. The two hypotheses based on sexuality could not be tested due to an insufficient number of respondents for comparisons. Of those remaining, ten of the null

hypotheses were rejected and one was accepted. A summary of the key findings follows.

Research Question 1

What is the frequency of athletes experiencing sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics?

This research question provided demographic information about the sample and served as a foundation for study comparisons. From the survey responses, it was confirmed that Canadian university athletes do experience sexual harassment within their athletic programs. The majority of these experiences involved gender harassment, diminishing in frequency as the nature of the harassment changed from verbal and visual forms to personalized forms that were more physically intrusive. There was a wide variety of sexually harassing behaviours reported by athletes in spite of no report of experience in some instances. A few of the athletes' experiences were expressions of same sex sexual harassment.

The agents of sexual harassment are predominantly male peer athletes, female peer athletes, coaches and assistant coaches. Athletic trainers, athletic directors and managers were identified as perpetrators of sexual harassment on occasion.

Research Question 2

Are there gender differences in the frequency of athletes who experience sexual harassment in Canadian university athletics?

Five null hypotheses were developed to specifically analyze this research question. Follow-up gender analysis on two additional hypotheses was completed to add to the depth of the response to this research question.

Analysis of the survey responses indicates that female athletes experience sexual harassment more often than male athletes. The exceptions to this were found in the responses to male athletes experiencing sexist jokes/comments from other male athletes, male athletes experiencing sexist jokes/comments from female athletes, and male athletes experiencing sexual force from female athletes. Sexual harassment becomes more specifically a problem for female athletes as the more intrusive nature of the behaviour increases and as the authority of the source of the harassment increases such as in the cases of coach and assistant coach. While female athletes report more frequently than male athletes on heterosexual harassment, male athletes report more frequently than female athletes on homosexual harassment.

Identifying the agents of sexual harassment revealed that males were the primary agents in gender harassment. Female athletes were reported to engage in gender harassment behaviours as well. As the overtone of sexual harassment became more physically intrusive, the harasser became almost exclusively male and the target of harassment became almost exclusively female.

The hypotheses that questioned difference in experience with sexual harassment based upon changes in status as athletes were also examined to determine whether or not sex of the athlete had an effect. First year athletes experienced sexist jokes/comments from

male athletes more often than from female athletes but less often than athletes in other years of eligibility.

Female athletes with male coaches reported the most experience with sexual harassment with the exception that male athletes experience sexist jokes/comments from a coach more often than female athletes. Only female athletes reported sexual harassment, excluding gender harassment, from an assistant coach. Female athletes with a female coach experience more sexual harassment from peers than female athletes with a male coach while male athletes with a female head report less experience with sexually harassing behaviours than male athletes with a male coach.

Female starting athletes experience more sexual harassment from male athletes than female substitute athletes and male starting athletes experience more gender harassing behaviour from coaches in the form of sexist jokes/comments than male substitute athletes.

Female athletes who participate in 'simultaneous' sports experience more sexual harassment, primarily in the form of sexist jokes/comments, than male athletes and female athletes in other sport categories with the exception that male athletes of 'separate' sports report exposure to the display of visual materials of a sexual nature most often.

Research Question 3

Are there differences in the experiences with sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes based upon their status in the athletic program?

There were some overall findings addressing this research question in addition to the gender differences noted above related to experience based upon status. First year athletes experienced less sexual harassment, primarily in the form of sexist jokes/comments from athletes, than that experienced by senior athletes. Female athletes with a male head coach report more experiences with sexual harassment than other athletes. More starting athletes than substitute athletes report experiences with sexual harassment.

The experience of sexual harassment reported as gender harassment occurred more often to athletes with male head coaches. The number of cases of sexual harassment in the remaining categories was insufficient to analyze statistically but numerically, showed male coaches as the harasser more often than female coaches. Further, the presence of a female assistant coach resulted in less reported sexual harassment than the presence of a male assistant coach.

The influence of the sex of the coach on the participation of athletes in sexual harassing behaviour showed that male athletes with male coaches experienced sexist jokes/comments more often than male athletes with a female coach and more often than all female athletes.

Female athletes with a female coach reported experience of force of a sexual nature from male athletes exclusively. Male athletes with a male coach reported experience of force of a sexual nature from female athletes exclusively.

Experience with sexual harassment from peers did not vary as a result of the role of an athlete. However, when sex was included

as a variable, some difference was found. Male starters experienced sexist jokes/comments from a coach more often than female starters and male and female substitutes.

Athletes of separate sports, primarily male athletes, have experienced the display of visual materials of a sexual nature more often than other types of sport. Harassment from an athletic trainer was reported by athletes from coeducational sports only. Male athletes in simultaneous sports experienced sexist jokes/comments from a coach more often than other male or female athletes. Male athletes experienced sexist jokes/comments from male athletes more often than female athletes in separate and simultaneous sports but female athletes experienced this more often than male athletes in coeducational sports. Male athletes experienced sexist jokes/comments from female athletes more often than female athletes in separate and coeducational sports but female athletes experienced this more often than male athletes in simultaneous sports. Finally, male athletes of separate sports reported most that they experienced the display of visual materials of a sexual nature, far more often than females of any type of sport and males of coeducational and simultaneous sports.

Research Question 4

How does the experience with sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes compare to other populations as noted in the research findings of previous studies?

Athletics is a traditionally male-dominated environment yet little research has examined the experience of sexual harassment

within its realm. In order to fully understand the meaning of the experience that athletes have with sexual harassment, it was necessary to make comparisons with other populations that have been subjected to greater study.

Generally, the experience that Canadian university athletes encounter with sexual harassment in athletics is comparable to that of findings of studies reported in the literature. Athletes' experience with gender harassment is similar while their report of experiences with remaining categories of sexual harassment is less than that of other populations. As in other studies, athletes' experiences diminish as the verbal exchanges move to more physically intrusive representations of sexual harassment, females experience more sexual harassment than males, and, more females than males experience the physically intrusive forms of sexual harassment and sexual harassment from persons in positions of authority. Also consistent with the literature, males are cited predominantly as the harassers while females are targets of the harassment.

Research Question 5

What are the behaviours that Canadian university athletes perceive to be sexual harassment?

Respondents expressed overall consensus that statements, as tendered in the survey, represented sexual harassment. Only one statement, perceived probability of retaliation for refusing the sexual advances of a coach, resulted in a minority of respondents agreeing with the statement. The strongest concurrence was

reported for the statements that represented the most threatening situations for an individual while the least support was reported with statements that reflected more ambiguous behaviour. Although the majority supported each of the statements, there was a dissenting minority that became larger with an increase in ambiguity, a situation that creates confusion and antagonism when confronting the issue of sexual harassment and while searching for resolutions.

Overall, a minority directed the locus of responsibility for the presence of sexual harassment towards women. Most attribute sexual harassment to causes other than the victim.

Approximately one quarter of the respondents believe that sexual harassment is prevalent in Canadian university athletics. A slight majority are familiar with an institutional policy to address the issue but a minority are familiar with an individual who is responsible for administering this policy.

Research Question 6

Are there gender differences in the behaviours that Canadian university athletes perceive to be sexual harassment?

The athletes participating in this study reported a difference based on gender in their perceptions about the behaviours that constitute sexual harassment. Overall, female athletes are more likely than male athletes to identify behaviours as sexual harassment. The exception was the statement that an athlete would experience reprisal detrimental to achieving athletic goals for refusing the advances of a coach. Male athletes perceived this

situation to be more probable than female athletes. In all other cases, male athletes do not identify sexual harassment as an issue as often as female athletes. The most prominent difference occurred in the category of gender harassment. There were three statements, those expressing seductive remarks, sexual flattery and sexually suggestive comments, that resulted in a significant gender difference. This difference diminishes as the statements represent more intrusive behaviours.

In exploring perceptions on locus of responsibility, male athletes were more likely to consider females too sensitive about sexual harassment and more likely to hold females responsible for sexual harassment when it occurs. Although both female and male athletes were less likely to hold female athletes responsible when sexually harassed by a coach than they did females in general, male athletes were more likely to do so.

Female athletes perceive sexual harassment as more prevalent in university athletics than male athletes. While their difference of familiarity with a university policy on sexual harassment was negligible, there was a slightly greater difference in their familiarity with the individual responsible for implementing the policy, with female athletes more familiar.

Research Question 7

Are there differences in the perceptions of sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes based upon their status in the athletic program?

There were some differences found in the perceptions of athletes based upon their status in the program. First year athletes are less likely to perceive behaviours as sexual harassment, compared to senior athletes. This is particularly evident in the assault category, where first year athletes identified fewer of these statements as sexually harassing behaviours.

Male athletes with male coaches were less likely to perceive two of the statements as sexual harassment, one with respect to gender harassment and the other addressing seductive behaviour. These athletes were, also, the most likely to perceive the target of sexual harassment as the locus of responsibility and the least likely to perceive sexual harassment in athletics as prevalent. Male athletes with a female coach reported similar perceptions as female athletes.

Starting athletes perceived sexist comments as sexual harassment more often than substitutes. Starters, also, perceived sexual harassment in athletics as prevalent more often than substitutes.

There were no differences found in the perceptions that athletes held based upon the type of sport. However, it was found that perceptions about sexist comments and sexually flattering remarks, upon interaction with sex, differed.

Research Question 8

What are the meanings that Canadian university athletes assign to sexual harassment?

There was an element in responses suggesting that sexual harassment is just an expression of the way guys are and that, if anything is likely to change their behaviour, it will only be time and changes in society at large. However, the majority of the sentiment proposed that sexual harassment is a reaction of males in athletics who feel threatened by the presence of females, believing that athletics is an environment where only males can excel. Therefore, the privilege and power should remain exclusively male. Token representation of females is tolerated on male terms until it begins to erode the principles of a dominant masculinity representing strength, superiority and control.

In such a system, sexual harassment is used as an expression of control. Respondents' views of resolution include the immediate redress for acts of sexual harassment, mandating personal responsibility for managing sexual harassment, combined with enduring alterations to the structural conditions that facilitate and condone sexual harassment. This approach merges institutional responsibility with personal accountability to achieve the eradication of sexual harassment.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The experiences with and perceptions of sexual harassment as shared by a sample of Canadian university athletes have contributed a great deal to the understanding of relations between female and male athletes and coaches in Canadian university athletic programs. The use of quantitative analysis has provided some representation of the extent and nature of the problem. The incorporation of interviews as a qualitative technique has enhanced the depth of the research by providing some insight into the meanings of behaviours. The interviews advanced understanding from the standpoint of the athletes, female and male, explaining the dynamics of sexual harassment in athletics within their reality.

This research connects with feminist theory where the daily lives of women and men are interpreted from different experiences. It shows a close connection with the theory of Connell (1985, 1992), Lorber and Farrell (1991), West and Zimmerman (1991) and others who refer to the use of gender order as a socially constructed pattern of power relations between men and women. This study portrays sexual harassment and related elements of power and its theory as tools in the expression and maintenance of a male dominated gender order. It serves as an example of how athletics functions as a major social institution for the production and reproduction of hegemonic male dominance in North American society.

As this study evolved, it attempted to look at both organizational and individual factors in determining the meaning of sexual harassment in athletics. "The view of organizations separates structures from the people in them" (Acker, 1991, p. 163). As we have seen, individual behaviours are influenced by the athletic structure yet, at the same time, individuals must be held accountable for their actions. To date, organizations have taken the approach that sexual harassment is the outcome of deviant behaviour from an individual. The results of this study lend support to the concept of Acker (1991), Kanter (1977), and MacKinnon (1987) that individual men and women are less responsible for the presence of sexual harassment in society than are the structures within which sexual harassment occurs.

The role of gender in the athletic structure is an integral component of the domination and subordination of relations. As a major social status, along with athletic achievement, gender shapes the opportunities for individuals within the program and within their individual sports (Lorber and Farrell, 1991). The pattern of domination is very clear. University athletics is dominated by masculine values in the way that it is structured and, as an outcome of this, in the decisions that are made throughout its programs. This system of domination was constructed, and continues to be maintained on a day to day basis, both institutionally and individually. Sexual harassment is a practice that is used collectively and by individuals to achieve this end.

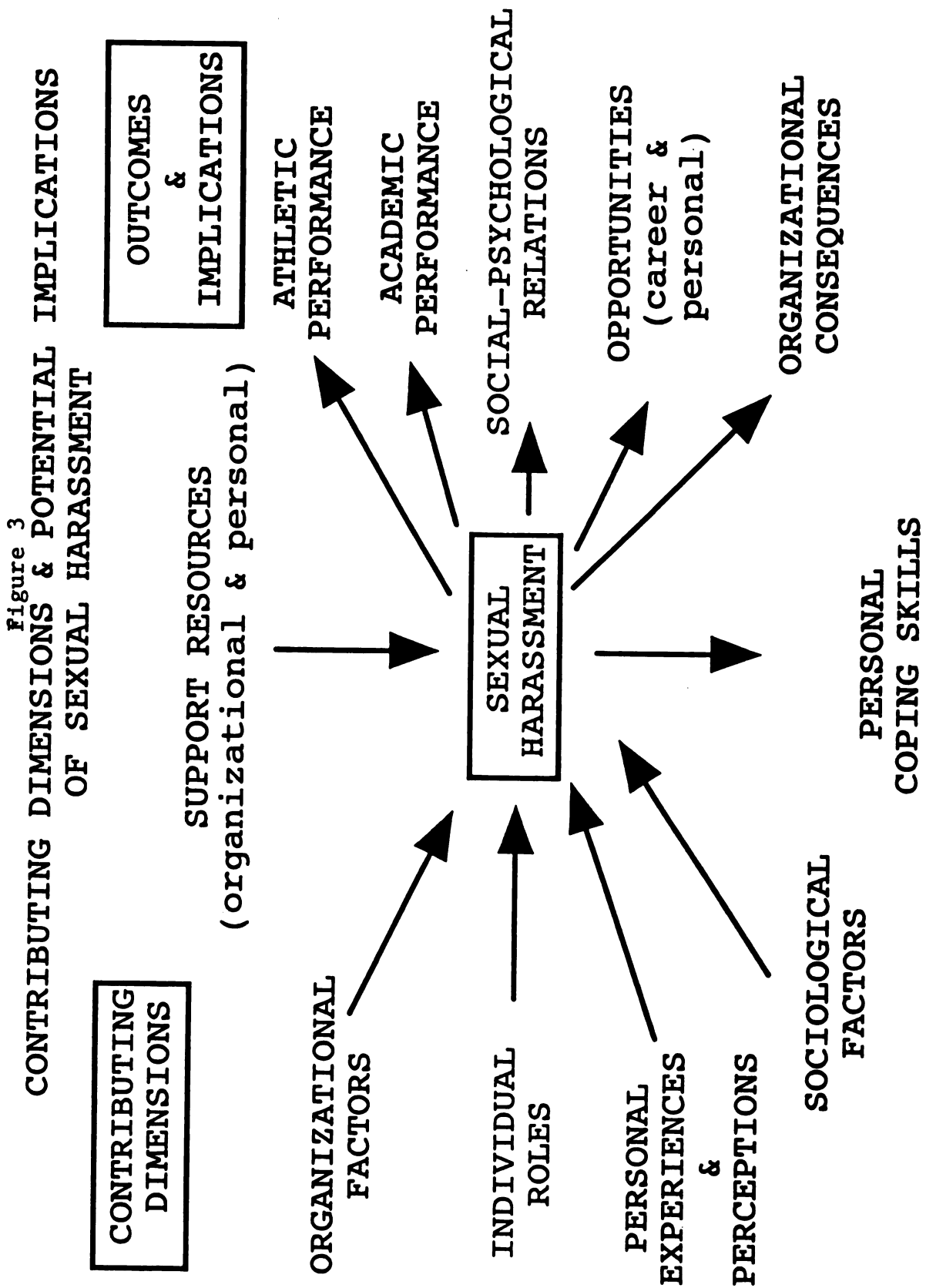
Sexual harassment reinforces the athletic hierarchy, a hierarchy that subordinates women by emphasizing their sexual

value ahead of their value as athletes. "The most notable feature of sexual harassment is that it asserts aspects of a woman's sexuality over and above every other role she may take" (Kelly, 1987, p. 118). Operating in this way, this hierarchy also functions to reproduce the desired gender order that best serves the interests of men in athletics, maintaining their dominance. It is assumed that, if women want to participate in a system that has traditionally been male dominated, it is the women who must change, adapt and acquiesce rather than expecting sport to change and accommodate them. In this way, sport continues to function as a social system to reinforce cultural roles for females that are oppressive and a male-female dichotomy that is naturalized for the purpose of maintaining the existing social order.

The experiences of sexual harassment are wide ranging. While men report experience with sexual harassment, their accounts of such experiences are very different than the experiences of women. Women's experiences cover a broader assortment of behaviours, sources of harassment and context of behaviours that exacerbate the complexity of this experience. As Guberman and Wolfe (1985) note, "women experience such a wide variety of sexually harassing situations that no single statement can capture all of their experiences" (p. 133). This makes definition difficult to establish. As well, it leads to a wide variation in the perception of behaviours as sexual harassment. None of these conditions, subject to debate by researchers, professionals and lay people in other populations, have escaped the attentions and dissonance of those in athletics.

The value of a policy on sexual harassment, a grievance procedure for complaints, and sanctions for inappropriate behaviours are crucial at this point in time. However, it is also a superficial approach to dealing with sexual harassment and a dead-end approach to the eradication of sexual harassment from athletics. To borrow from Hoffmann (1986), the objective has to be to eliminate the inequalities that generate sexual harassment. This is not to say that individuals can escape responsibility for their own actions. But it is saying, in addition, that organizations must assume responsibility for creating a structure that minimizes power and status differences, particularly based upon gender. The current use of sport to accentuate differences in power and status can no longer be tolerated, not only by female coaches and athletes, but by women in society at large. The argument that women are not interested in athletics or the positions of responsibility is no longer an adequate argument. Many of the reasons for this have been identified within this study. If the literature is accurate, harassment is a significant factor in discouraging women from entering athletics and from persevering when they do, whether it is as an athlete, coach or administrator. The strategies used to maintain a male dominated sport culture needs to be challenged by organizational leadership.

Figure 3 provides a summary of the research that accentuates the complexity of the issue of sexual harassment. It presents some of the contributing dimensions of sexual harassment, some of the factors that influence an individual's response to sexual harassment, and some of the outcomes and implications for both the individual athlete and the Canadian University Athletic Union.



Contributing dimensions were identified as organizational factors, individual roles, personal experiences and perceptions, and sociological factors. The study design identified the organizational factors as type of sport, sex of a coach, and year of eligibility. Each of these factors may influence the predisposition for sexual harassment. Individual roles refers to such elements as formal team role and informal peer relations. Each of these factors may influence experience with, perceptions of and reaction to sexual harassment. Personal experiences and perceptions refers to the influence of past experience with sexual harassment, past experiences in athletic settings, and educational experiences that contribute to an understanding of the issue. Sociological factors refer to the influence that social institutions have, such as family, schools, and religion, in establishing a value system that directs behaviour and methods of interaction. Each of the contributing dimensions provide a conditions that may result in an individual being sexually harassed or an individual sexually harassing another. The response of a target of sexual harassment will depend upon the support, or perceived support, available from the athletic organization and from personal sources such as friends, teammates, and family. It will also depend upon personal coping skills which will determine an individual's reaction to stress, potential confrontation and conflict, possible retaliation, and, ultimately, method of personal resolution.

The outcomes and resulting implications have significance for both the individual and the organization. For the individual, experience with sexual harassment may interfere with athletic

performance, academic success, relationships within athletics as well as external to athletics, and opportunities associated with athletics such as off-season employment or advanced competitive experiences. For the organization, the potential for a tarnished community image and the related student recruitment impact, organizational conflict, and a loss of trust and respect for organizational members become issues of concern.

This research has confirmed that sexual harassment is a multidimensional problem that varies with the type of harassment, the severity of the incident, the source of the harassment and the reaction of the target. Figure 3 provides a summary that exposes sexual harassment as an issue that impacts on more than two individuals involved in an incident of questionable behaviour. It touches on the depth to which sexual harassment can penetrate to have a debilitating effect on individuals and organizations alike.

Implications

Assessing the Negative Outcomes

The behaviours that are described as sexual harassment are declared meaningless and best ignored by some but are considered harmful and worthy of redress by others. The results of this study identify hostile environment issues associated with gender harassment as the most prevalent in comparison to quid pro quo sexual conduct.

The qualitative results of the study suggest that the intent of the behaviours reflects a need on the part of males to use sexual

harassment as a tool in the maintenance of a male dominated social structure. Benson and Thomson (1982) "argue that the prevalence of sexual harassment has the cumulative effect of eroding women's commitment to careers in male-dominated areas" (p.236). This is based upon the facts that women avoid situations where harassment exists, they lose self-confidence when "harassment occurs in a more established student-teacher relationship" (p.236), and, there is a loss of respect for male faculty. These principles can be applied to sport as well. Interview subjects thought that female athletes would avoid situations or the individual where harassment exists. Paul says, "I'd quit - maybe transfer schools." Barb thought she would "avoid the sport - I wouldn't want to be involved anymore." Jennifer said "I would avoid the person - but this can have a limiting effect on the opportunities available to someone." Tony bluntly stated that "you really couldn't participate in the sport" as a result of being sexually harassed. And Fred said that "it would force them out of the sport - they'd want out of the environment - get away from it happening again." Bill said that quitting means a lot because it probably means leaving the sport. "Guys could go play somewhere else but there aren't as many places for girls to be able to play." Leaving sport means that the individual loses athletic opportunities that enhance physical, social and cultural experiences as well as the potentially limiting career opportunities upon graduation.

Low satisfaction with their athletic experience may result in less sport involvement after graduation. This effect reduces the pool of female coaches in the community. With the loss of even one female in athletics, there is the loss of a valuable role model for the

young people whom she may touch in her life. With such a domino effect, while the experience of sexual harassment affects that individual the most, it affects other females in a negative way as well.

The loss of self-confidence can affect athletic and academic performance and instill self-doubt on a long term basis. Steve believes that an experience with sexual harassment would erode "confidence, morale, comfort with the environment - when you're constantly evaluated for appearance not skills, you can't be comfortable. It destroys the enjoyment." Jim said that it would be "devastating - a bit of everything - a feeling of worthlessness, devalued, no good in the sport", wondering if membership on the team is a result of physical attraction rather than athletic skill. Lori says someone who is sexually harassed "feels unrespected, less of a person" and Pam says "it lowers your self-confidence and self-esteem. You feel low right at that point and right after - but I guess that's the objective of sexual harassment."

A loss of respect for the harasser is a probable effect of sexual harassment. In the case of the coach, Pam notes that "your feelings are even stronger because you trust a coach." And Barb feels that after an experience with sexual harassment, you would "be permanently scarred - it will affect the way you deal with people in a position of trust." Lori expressed that when it is a coach who sexually harasses someone "you would have similar feelings (uncomfortable, avoid them, unrespected) but it would be harder to deal with - the person is around you more - you have to see them - you can't tell him to shove it or you could get cut from the team."

And Ray noted that "it affects them for the rest of their lives - its difficult to trust again."

Sexual harassment prospers on the premise that it will be silenced. There is evidence from this study that validates this claim and outlines some reasons. Bob believes that "you might be seen as a whistle blower so most would be uncomfortable complaining." Jodi says "you're afraid to report it - complaining makes you vulnerable - a man will doubt you - so you think who am I going to say something to?" The fear of retaliation, the hesitation to confide in a male administrator, the hierarchy of credibility that dismisses a complaint as invalid, the lack of familiarity with available resources and the self-doubt and self-blame that generate feelings of guilt, all contribute to the process of silencing legitimate complaints.

As a result of the findings in this study that confirms the presence of sexual harassment in athletics, there is concern for the number of women who may have left athletics (and are not available to participate in this study) or for those who may leave athletics in the future in order to avoid the harassment; because of their loss of self-confidence and comfort with their personal image as an athlete; because of their distaste for athletics as a result of disrespect; or, as a result of a combination of all of these. Unfortunately, when women leave, it reinforces the behaviours of sexual harassment since the goal of the harasser is achieved. At the same time, women's athletics loses a valuable resource. For the individual, they may experience a loss of self-esteem, a loss of opportunities, and a loss of social connections. As a result, sexual

harassment can impact upon career outcomes and personal relationships. Organizationally, a group of individuals are not being treated as equal members of society, specifically within the social circle of university athletics. This not only has moral implications but legal implications for institutions that fail to address the issue.

Strategies for change

Accepting the concept that sexual harassment has little to do with sexual desire but much to do with male domination and control, long term resolutions must address structure as well as the individual malady. Efforts must be made to eliminate gender as an organizing principle in athletics. Basing the structure of sport on a professional athletic model, a male model, disadvantages the majority from the cradle to the grave. It results in the creation of social divisions in athletics that are stronger than divisions justified by biological difference. Athletes, free from the constraints of gender, have more similarities and more in common than they have differences.

The reorganization of athletics in university settings will provide some internal change and gradually impact institutions outside athletics. However, there needs to be a stronger challenge to other social influences that contribute to existing gender roles. There is potential for this to occur in universities, with university athletics becoming an agent for change, since such progressive action fits the university mandate for community service.

Women may be contributing to their own oppression by uncritically participating in the institution of athletics as it exists

rather than attempting to transform it or construct alternative feminist sports structures (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Women and feminist men essentially have three choices for determining their commitment to equity and the issue of sexual harassment as a symptom. They can disregard what they see and function independently, influencing change when convenient. They can accept the structure as it is, justifying the power relations as they exist and attempting to advance in a system where full acceptance can never be achieved. Or, they can resist and challenge the current hierarchy, recognizing that such action will result in isolation and retribution.

However difficult it might be to question a powerful culture, given the isolation and climate that women face, it is critical to the elimination of sexual harassment and other inequities that female participants, coaches and administrators face on a regular basis. The placement of women in positions of power is not enough. In a male dominated system, these women are often carefully chosen based upon their support and commitment to male values. Their power is dependent upon those who appointed them so, to speak and act in the interests of women more than occasionally, would put them at risk (Lorber, 1991). As Dewar (1993) cedes, "It is one thing to critique dominant sporting frameworks and practices; it is quite another to challenge and change them. Women who challenge dominant sporting practices encounter an array of responses, most of them unpleasant and frustrating" (p. 160).

The results of this study may have some implications for athletic organizations concerned with resolving the issue of sexual

harassment within their organization. Pam indicated that it is important to "get people to feel all right about it (sexual harassment) and that it is not their fault - that way they'll be more comfortable talking about it." Paul noted that "right now there are no penalties and there should be - it's (sexual harassment) not taken seriously and penalties would change that." Barb suggests that administration "look at the people working for you - they need to be respectable and monitored. You never can eliminate it (sexual harassment) but you can control it - the more that's known, the less reluctant they'd be to go to people and share their experience. They (administration) need to educate about warning signs and what to do if it happens." Jodi believes that a victim would not know what to do in the case of sexual harassment. She thought that they would feel "who am I going to say something to? - it's a problem because don't know what to do and don't know the resources" and Jennifer said that if it happened to her, "I'm not really sure how I'd deal with it - I wouldn't know where to go but would find out and report it." Erin stated that "one of the problems is not knowing how to deal with it (sexual harassment), feeling helpless." Jodi and Bob both emphasized the need for seminars. Jodi said that "seminars develop awareness - and it's important to know someone is there to help, an advocate." Bob, having attended a seminar, said "... it (the seminar) was a positive environment ... it made people aware and whether they liked it or not, they knew what it (sexual harassment) was and what would happen if they did it once the seminar was over." These comments offer some input from student athletes who recommend establishing ways to develop awareness, opening lines of

communication and support and bringing the issue of sexual harassment into public view.

The concept of eliminating gender as an organizing principle may seem overwhelming. Traditions are strong and resistance will be stronger. However, having determined that gender difference is socially constructed, it only goes to say that it can also be re-constructed. In the interim, strategies must be pursued to educate members of the organization, to legislate against sexually harassing behaviours and to ensure the enforcement of these strategies. To achieve this end, it is essential that athletic organizations draw on the expertise of individuals trained in, educated about and working with the complexities of sexual harassment. It is not a problem exclusive to athletics and cannot be completely resolved internally.

Future research

This research had some limitations that warrant further study in the area of sexual harassment in athletics.

a. The population studied in this research was limited to a predominantly white, middle class university student population of athletes. While it was noted that the gender differences in responses may be based upon the different standpoint of females and males, it must also be noted that race/ethnicity places individuals in yet another social location. It would be important to study how race/ethnicity and gender combine to create experiences and perceptions in future research.

b. Similar research would be valuable in community colleges and secondary schools. Some of the characteristics of the athletic structure and the participants may be different. These may lead to different results and additional insights in dealing with sexual harassment in educational athletics, overall.

c. This study addressed sexual harassment of Canadian university athletes by athlete peers and coaches only. It would be worthwhile expanding the study to other athletic roles to determine the incidence of sexual harassment and the perceptions held by others. Some of these populations would be coaches, administrators, and technical assistants such as athletic trainers, administrative assistants or sports information personnel.

d. This study included an overview of statuses that were identified as potentially relevant to the likelihood of experiencing sexual harassment or of influencing perceptions of sexual harassment. It would be valuable to isolate these statuses, such as type of sport, year of eligibility or sex of the coach, and study them in more depth to establish a better understanding of the dynamics of sexual harassment. It would be important to study gay and lesbian athletes to understand any differences in their experiences as a result of the homophobic environment of athletics as well as their encounters with same sex sexual harassment.

e. Comparison of athletes with other populations might shed further insight on the meanings of sexual harassment in athletics. Direct study of this aspect would provide stronger input than a simple review of literature was able to provide. For example, comparisons of and between females and males in human movement

education as active individuals with varsity athletes would offer a wider variety of analyses of sexual harassment in both competitive and non-competitive situations.

f. Comparisons of experiences with and perceptions of sexual harassment between schools with football and ice hockey programs for men and those without them would provide information with respect to the influence of these programs, and the values generated, on the attitude towards women in athletics and the presence of sexual harassment.

g. It would be interesting to study whether female athletes' experiences with athletics and with sexual harassment in athletics influences the way in which they relate to individuals, particularly in sexually harassing situations, outside of the athletic environment.

h. The potential exists for cross-cultural study of sexual harassment in athletics. A Canadian-American comparison would be worthwhile considering the basic philosophical differences in the nature of the athletic programs on campuses. This distinction holds particular significance for American Division I programs where scholarship programs are structured on a professional entertainment model.

i. Individuals who chose to leave athletic competition after one or two years of participating on a Canadian university team were excluded from this study by virtue of their departure. Their reasons for leaving could be linked with an experience of sexual harassment. It would be worthwhile to study the reasons that athletes do not complete their years of eligibility.

j. This study was the first of its kind to survey Canadian university athletes about their experiences and perceptions of sexual harassment in athletics. It did not, therefore, use an instrument that was fully developed and proven valid and reliable. Research to develop such an instrument that could be used in a variety of athletic settings, not just university athletics, would provide a valuable resource to future research.

k. The development of a workshop format for education on sexual harassment and the evaluation of its effectiveness could prove to be invaluable for the management and elimination of sexual harassment from athletics. This would serve as a resource for everyone in athletics, including coaches and athletes.

l. The completion of this research confirmed that confusion and discord still exists concerning a clear and meaningful definition of sexual harassment. It would be helpful to research this issue in isolation in an attempt to establish a definition that reflects the needs of the athletic community.

m. Research that documents the legal cases on sexual harassment in athletics, filed and adjudicated through the courts, as well as the decisions handed down, would provide valuable information on the legislation in various jurisdictions and its effectiveness.

This research has achieved its objectives. It has provided a beginning for the study of sexual harassment in athletics. With the confirmation of its presence, an attempt was made to understand the meanings of sexual harassment between coach-athlete and

athlete-athlete. It has increased the understanding of how both individuals and organizational structures interact to contribute to the domination of one group at the expense of another.

Recommendations have been offered to reduce the potential for sexual harassment manifesting itself in athletics. And finally, direction is provided for future research. This research addresses only one small element of the oppression of women in society. It is intended to combine with others in our attempts to craft a better experience for the women who cross the threshold to meet the challenges of a male dominated society.

Life

When I was young
The choices I made
Often involved what games to play.

The choices today are much the same--
If you want to win,
You must play the game.

My Best Friend,
April 24, 1995

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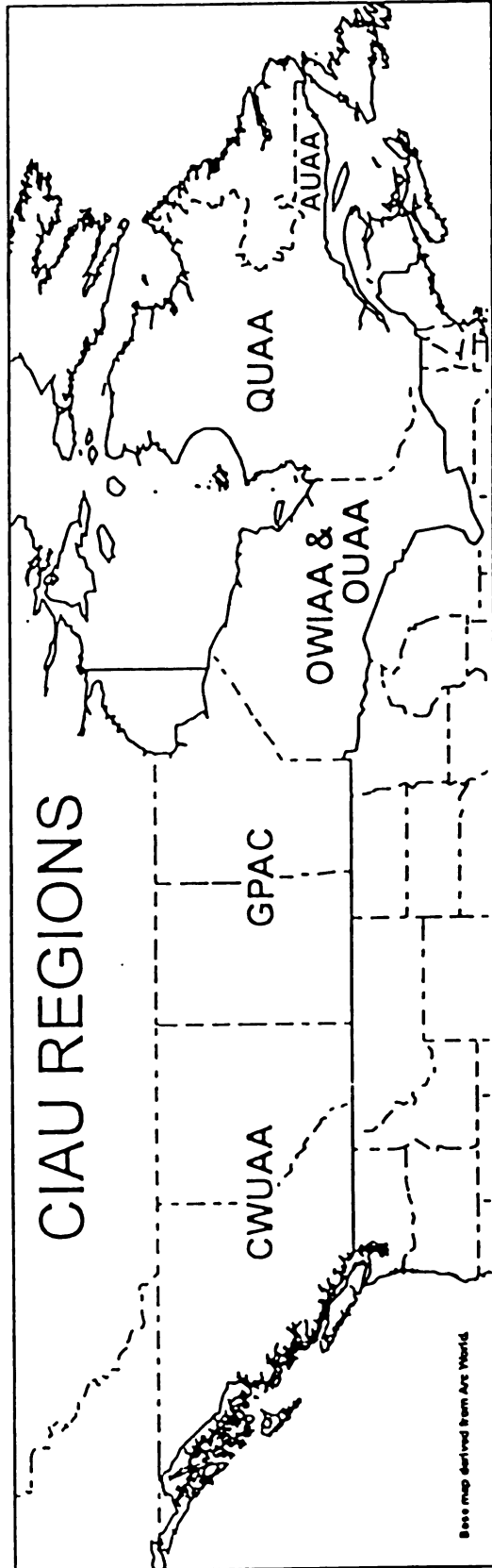
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MAP IDENTIFYING GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF THE CIAU



APPENDIX B

PROJECT APPROVAL

**UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY**

AND

CANADIAN INTERUNIVERSITY ATHLETIC UNION

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

322

November 11, 1994

TO: Margery Holman
3890 Four Seasons Dr.
Gladwin, MI. 48624

RE: IRB#: 94-511
TITLE: FEMALE AND MALE ATHLETES' ACCOUNTS AND MEANINGS
OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITY
ATHLETICS
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: 1-C
APPROVAL DATE: 11/10/94

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project including any revision listed above.

RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/
CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)355-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:pjm

cc: Yevonne Smith



OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES

Committee on
Research Involving
Human Subjects
(UCRIHS)

State University
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3890 Four Seasons Dr.
Gladwin, Michigan
48624
June 24, 1994

CIAU Board of Directors,
c/o Ms Jennifer Brenning,
Director of International Programs & Community Relations,
1600 James Naismith Drive,
Gloucester, Ontario
K1B 5N4

Dear Jennifer:

As a follow up to our telephone conversations, I would now like to formally seek the endorsement of the CIAU for dissertation research that I wish to engage in as a requirement for the completion of my doctoral degree at Michigan State University. Briefly, the purpose of this study will be to investigate the perceptions and meanings of sexual harassment, the incidence of sexual harassment within university athletics and the familiarity with available resources within the university environment for addressing issues related to sexual harassment.

I have enclosed the following for your perusal:

- a. an outline and tentative procedures for conducting the study.
- b. a copy of the ethics committee's forms from Michigan State University
- c. a sample survey instrument
- d. a condensed resume for those who do not know me or know of my involvement in university athletics

I would like to invite both fall and winter sport participants to act as subjects for this research. It is, therefore, necessary to be able to contact student-athletes directly by mail. It is my intent to

contact team members in early January. The target completion date for the entire study is May, 1995. Any requests that you might have for reports and/or presentations within and following this time period will be accommodated.

If you have further questions regarding this project, please feel free to contact me. I appreciate your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Marge Holman

APPENDIX C

SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Sampling Procedures**Target Population**

CIAU Athletes from 45 Universities

includes 8 sports

(Athletics including Cross Country Running, Basketball, Women's Field Hockey, Men's Football, Men's Ice Hockey, Soccer, Swimming, Running, Volleyball)

Sampling Frame

Each sport by sex of the coach

Each sport by year of eligibility

(as determined from CIAU eligibility lists)

Example**Basketball - W**

Male coach

Female coach

1 2 3 4 5

1 2 3 4 5

Sample Size

		F	M	F/M	M/F*
Group 1 - Coeducational (240 subjects, 120M/120F)					
Athletics	24 teams/960 athletes		60	60	
Swimming	31 teams/620 athletes		60	60	
Subtotal			120	120	
Group 2 - Simultaneous (564 subjects, 204M/360F)					
Basketball - W	38 teams/456 athletes	60		60	
Basketball - M	38 teams/456 athletes		60		
Soccer - W	32 teams/640 athletes	60		60	
Soccer - M	35 teams/700 athletes		60		
Volleyball - W	35 teams/420 athletes	60		60	
Volleyball - M	26 teams/312 athletes		60		24
Subtotal		180	180	180	24
Group 3 - Separate (220 subjects, 100F/120M)					
Field Hockey - W	17 teams/340 athletes	100			
Football - M	23 teams/1380 athletes		60		
Ice Hockey - M	33 teams/680 athletes		60		
Subtotal		100	120		
Overall	332 teams/6,964 athletes				
Sample Size = 1,024 (580 females, 444 males)					

* F = females coached by females, M = males coached by males, F/M = females coached by males, M/F = males coached by females

APPENDIX D

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Operational Definition of Sexual Harassment
(Till, 1980)

Gender Harassment

Generalized sexist remarks and behavior; not designed to elicit sexual cooperation, but that express hostile, insulting, or degrading attitudes about women

Seductive Behavior

Inappropriate and offensive, but essentially sanction-free behavior; that is, there is no penalty attached to noncompliance

Sexual Bribery

Solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior by promise of rewards

Sexual Coercion

Coercion of sexual activity by threat of punishment

Sexual Imposition or Assault

Gross sexual imposition (ie. touching, fondling, grabbing or assault)

APPENDIX E

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Survey Instrument

(personal identification
i.e. favourite code word,
parent's birthdate etc.)

Sexual harassment within university athletics has received some recent attention with varied opinions about the behaviours that are identified as sexually harassing, the degree to which it exists, and what action to take should it occur. Your responses to the following will assist in providing answers to these questions. Your completion and return of this survey will signify consent of voluntary participation in the study. Your responses will be treated with strict confidence.

Section A: Please respond to the following statements based upon your personal experience with your current (1994-95) university team.

1. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by my university head coach.

Yes ____ No ____

2. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

3. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by female athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

4. Sexual materials of a visual or written nature, such as centrefolds of women or men or degrading drawings, are displayed in or around my training site.

Yes ____ No ____

5. My university head coach has commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Yes ____ No ____

6. Female athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Yes ____ No ____

7. Male athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Yes ____ No ____

8. My university head coach has made sexual advances towards me that are outside the role of coaching.

Yes ____ No ____

9. My university head coach made me uncomfortable by repeatedly asking me for a date or a relationship, refusing to take no for an answer.

Yes ____ No ____

10. I have been invited by my university head coach to engage in a sexual relationship.

Yes ____ No ____

11. I have been offered benefits as an incentive to engage in a sexual relationship with my university head coach.

Yes ____ No ____

12. I have been threatened with negative consequences for refusing to engage in a sexual relationship with my university head coach.

Yes ____ No ____

13. I have felt my university head coach invade my personal space or deliberately touch me in a way that made me uncomfortable.

Yes ____ No ____

14. I have been in a position where a male athlete made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?

Yes ____ No ____

15. I have been in a position where a female athlete made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?

Yes ____ No ____

16. I have been in a position where my university head coach made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?

Yes ____ No ____

17. Have you experienced any of the preceding situations involving your head coach from a

____ male assistant coach?

If yes, please circle the statement numbers that apply.

#1 #5 #8 #9 #10 #11 #12 #13 #16

____ female assistant coach?

If yes, please circle the statement numbers that apply.

#1 #5 #8 #9 #10 #11 #12 #13 #16

18. As an athlete on your present university team, have you ever been sexually harassed?

Yes ____ No ____

If yes, please indicate the role of the harasser (check all that apply).

head coach	____ male	____ female
assistant coach	____ male	____ female
athlete	____ male	____ female
manager	____ male	____ female
athletic trainer	____ male	____ female
professor/instructor	____ male	____ female
other (please specify)		

Please explain the nature of the sexual harassment that you have experienced using survey statements as a guide (e.g., #s 1- 16).

Please proceed to Section B

Section B: Please circle the appropriate number in response to **your feelings** about whether you think the behaviour presented in the statement is sexual harassment.

Scale: Strong agreement or strong disagreement to a given statement are represented by '1' and '4' respectively while '2' and '3' represent a milder emotion.
e.g.. I like anchovies on my pizza.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

Selecting '4' indicates that I hate anchovies on my pizza (whereas '2' would mean that I can take them or leave them but would prefer to have them).

1. Making seductive remarks about a person's appearance is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

2. Sexist comments such as jokes or remarks that are stereotypical or derogatory to members of one sex are sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

3. Sexually flattering or suggestive remarks are sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

4. Sexually suggestive comments about athletes' bodies are sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

5. Unwanted sexual attention, such as flirtation, being overly helpful, too friendly or personal, is sexual harassment .

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

6. Competitive athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

7. A coach's invitation to an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

8. The offer of something as a reward or benefit for sexual cooperation is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

9. The promise of making the team for engaging in sexual behaviours is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

10. Experiencing negative consequences for refusing to be sexually cooperative is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

11. Refusing sexual advances made by a coach would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

12. Unwanted attempts to kiss, hug, touch or fondle are sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

13. Forceful attempts of sexual touching or sexual intercourse are sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

14. Deliberately touching an athlete in a way that is inappropriate or discomforting is sexual harassment.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

15. In general, women are too sensitive about unwanted sexual attention.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

16. Women who get unwanted sexual attention from men bring it on themselves.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

17. Female athletes who get unwanted sexual attention from a male coach bring it on themselves.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

18. Sexual harassment is prevalent in university athletics.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

19. I am aware of a university policy concerning sexual harassment on my campus.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

20. I am aware of a person specifically responsible for providing assistance in the case of a sexual harassment complaint on campus.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

Please proceed to Section C.

Section C: Now, a few final questions about your background and experience.

1. In what CIAU sport do you compete?

2. Did your team have a rookie party this year?

___ Yes ___ No

If yes, please outline the activities planned for rookies.

.

3. Current year of eligibility:

1st ___ 2nd ___ 3rd ___ 4th ___ 5th ___

4. Do you consider yourself:

___ A starter or among the top half of the team

___ A substitute or among the bottom half of the team

5. Your coaches are (check all that apply):

___ Male head coach

___ Female head coach

___ Male assistant coach

___ Female assistant coach

6. Race/ethnicity:

☐ African Canadian☐ Asian Canadian☐ Hispanic Canadian☐ Native Canadian☐ White Canadian☐ Other (please specify) _____

7. Major _____

8. Sexuality:

☐ Heterosexual☐ Homosexual☐ Bisexual

9. Past sport experience (check all that apply):

☐ High school all star☐ Community club team☐ Regional team☐ Provincial team☐ National team☐ Other (please specify) _____

10. Do you believe the women's and men's athletic programs in your institution are treated equally?

___ equally

___ men's program advantaged

___ women's program advantaged

Thank you - I appreciate the time that you have taken to do this survey. All the information that you have given me will be used to help in the understanding of sexual harassment. I assure you once again, that everything you have told me will remain strictly confidential.

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Questionnaire sur le harcèlement sexuel
Athlètes hommes membres de l'USIC

(votre nom codé)

On se préoccupe depuis un certain temps du harcèlement sexuel dans les sports universitaires. Mais quand il s'agit de déterminer quelles conduites constituent le harcèlement, combien il est fréquent, et comment lutter contre lui, les opinions sont partagées. **Vos réponses peuvent nous aider à bien cerner ces questions. Si vous complétez et retournez le présent questionnaire, vous avez consenti à participer à ce sondage. Vos réponses resteront strictement confidentielles.**

Section A: Dans votre expérience personnelle, dans votre équipe universitaire actuelle (1994-95), les énoncés suivants sont-ils vrais ou faux?

1. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université m'a raconté des plaisanteries, ou fait des remarques, de nature sexiste.
Oui _____ Non _____
2. Des athlètes hommes m'ont raconté des plaisanteries, ou fait des remarques, de nature sexiste.
Oui _____ Non _____
3. Des athlètes femmes m'ont raconté des plaisanteries, ou fait des remarques, de nature sexiste.
Oui _____ Non _____
4. Des matériaux sexuels visuels ou écrits, comme des photos de magazines genre Playboy ou Playgirl ou des dessins obscènes, sont affichés au lieu où je m'entraîne.
Oui _____ Non _____
5. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université a dit que le sport n'est pas pour les femmes.
Oui _____ Non _____
6. Des athlètes femmes ont dit que le sport n'est pas pour les femmes.
Oui _____ Non _____

7. Des athlètes hommes ont dit que le sport n'est pas pour les femmes.
Oui _____ Non _____
8. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université m'a fait des avances sexuelles que son rôle d'entraîneur (entraîneuse) ne justifie pas.
Oui _____ Non _____
9. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université m'a gêné en me demandant plusieurs fois de sortir avec lui (elle) ou d'être son petit ami; j'ai dit non mais il (elle) a persisté.
Oui _____ Non _____
10. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université m'a invité à avoir des rapports sexuels avec lui (elle).
Oui _____ Non _____
11. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université a offert de me récompenser si j'avais des rapports sexuels avec lui (elle).
Oui _____ Non _____
12. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université m'a menacé de conséquences désagréables parce que je refusais d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec lui (elle).
Oui _____ Non _____
13. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université s'est tenu(e) trop près de moi ou m'a touché exprès, de façon à me gêner.
Oui _____ Non _____
14. Un athlète a essayé de me toucher, caresser, embrasser ou saisir par la force.
Oui _____ Non _____
15. Une athlète a essayé de me toucher, caresser, embrasser ou saisir par la force.
Oui _____ Non _____
16. L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef à mon université a essayé de me toucher, caresser, embrasser ou saisir par la force.
Oui _____ Non _____

17. Pour les questions où on lit "L'entraîneur (l'entraîneuse) chef", avez-vous eu une de ces expériences avec

_____ un entraîneur adjoint?

Si oui, entourez d'un cercle les numéros pertinents.

#1 #5 #8 #9 #10 #11 #12 #13 #16

_____ une entraîneuse adjointe?

Si oui, entourez d'un cercle les numéros pertinents.

#1 #5 #8 #9 #10 #11 #12 #13 #16

18. Comme athlète membre de votre équipe universitaire actuelle, avez-vous jamais subi du harcèlement sexuel?

Oui _____ Non _____

Si oui, veuillez indiquer qui vous a harcelé (cochez toutes les cases pertinentes)

un entraîneur (entraîneuse) chef _____ homme _____ femme

un entraîneur (entraîneuse) adjoint/e _____ homme _____ femme

un(e) athlète _____ homme _____ femme

un(e) manager _____ homme _____ femme

un entraîneur (entraîneuse) d'athlétisme _____ homme _____ femme

un(e) professeur(e) _____ homme _____ femme

une autre personne (précisez)

Indiquez la nature du harcèlement sexuel que vous avez subi, en vous servant des énoncés ci-dessus (1 à 16) comme guide.

Passez à la Section B

Section B:

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Entourez d'un cercle le chiffre approprié pour indiquer si, **personnellement**, vous trouvez (ou ne trouvez pas) que la conduite décrite dans chaque énoncé constitue un cas de harcèlement sexuel. Le 1 indique un accord très fort, le 4 un désaccord très fort, tandis que 2 et 3 représentent des vues plus modérées. Par exemple, pour l'énoncé

j'aime avoir des anchois sur ma pizza

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

le 4 indique que je déteste avoir des anchois sur ma pizza, et le 2 indique que j'aime mieux en avoir mais que je peux m'en passer.

1. Faire des remarques aguichantes au sujet de l'apparence de quelqu'un, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

2. Faire des commentaires sexistes, par exemple des plaisanteries ou remarques qui évoquent des stéréotypes désobligeantes pour un des sexes, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

3. Les remarques suggestives ou sexuellement flatteuses, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

4. Les remarques sexuellement suggestives au sujet des corps des athlètes, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

5. Des attentions importunes, par exemple flirter ou être trop attentif, trop amical ou indiscret, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

6. Le sport compétitif n'est pas pour les femmes.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

7. Si un entraîneur (une entraîneuse) invite un(e) athlète à s'engager dans une liaison amoureuse avec lui (elle), c'est du harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

8. Offrir une récompense en échange des rapports sexuels, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
9. Promettre une place sur l'équipe en échange des rapports sexuels, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
10. Souffrir des conséquences désagréables pour avoir refusé d'avoir des rapports sexuels, c'est subir du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
11. Un athlète compromettrait sa carrière sportive en refusant des avances sexuelles faites par un entraîneur (une entraîneuse).
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
12. Des tentatives importunes de vous toucher, étreindre, embrasser ou caresser, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
13. Des tentatives de toucher vos parties génitales ou d'avoir des rapports sexuels par la force, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
14. Toucher un(e) athlète exprès d'une façon inconvenante ou gênante, c'est du harcèlement sexuel.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
15. En général, les femmes sont trop sensibles au sujet des attentions sexuelles importunes.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
16. Les femmes qui font l'objet d'attentions sexuelles importunes ont ce qu'elles méritent.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord
17. Les athlètes femmes qui font l'objet d'attentions sexuelles importunes de la part d'un entraîneur ont ce qu'elles méritent.
- Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

18. Le harcèlement sexuel est courant dans le sport universitaire.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

19. Je sais que mon université a une politique concernant le harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

20. Je sais qu'il y a une personne sur mon campus qui est là spécifiquement pour offrir de l'aide en cas de harcèlement sexuel.

Très d'accord 1 2 3 4 Pas du tout d'accord

Passez à la Section C.

Section C: Pour finir, quelques questions sur vos origines et votre expérience. ³⁴³

1. À quel sport compétitif de l'USIC jouez-vous?

2. Votre équipe a-t-elle eu une soirée cette année pour accueillir les recrues?

Oui _____ Non _____

Si oui, décrivez les activités organisées pour les recrues.

3. Année courante d'éligibilité

1^{re} _____ 2^e _____ 3^e _____ 4^e _____ 5^e _____

4. Est-ce que vous croyez être

_____ parmi la meilleure moitié de l'équipe

_____ parmi la moins bonne moitié de l'équipe

5. Vous avez comme entraîneurs (cochez toutes les cases pertinentes)

_____ un entraîneur chef

_____ une entraîneuse chef

_____ un entraîneur adjoint

_____ une entraîneuse adjointe

6. Votre origine :

_____ africaine

_____ asiatique

_____ latino-américaine

_____ autochtone

_____ européenne

_____ autre (veuillez préciser) _____

7. La discipline universitaire où vous vous spécialisez : _____
8. Votre tendance sexuelle :
- _____ hétérosexuelle
- _____ homosexuelle
- _____ bisexuelle
9. Votre expérience sportive passée (cochez toutes les cases pertinentes) :
- _____ l'équipe de votre école secondaire
- _____ l'équipe d'un club communautaire
- _____ l'équipe régionale
- _____ l'équipe provinciale
- _____ l'équipe nationale
- _____ autre (veuillez préciser) _____
10. Croyez-vous que les programmes de sport à votre université sont sur un pied d'égalité?
- _____ oui
- _____ non, le programme pour hommes est favorisé
- _____ non, le programme pour femmes est favorisé

Merci d'avoir pris le temps de compléter ce questionnaire. Tous les renseignements que vous m'avez donnés serviront à faire mieux comprendre le harcèlement sexuel. Je vous assure de nouveau que tout ce que vous m'avez confié restera strictement confidentiel.

APPENDIX F

COVER LETTER AND REMINDER NOTICE

Cover Letters and Reminder Notice

Sexual Harassment Survey CIAU Female Athletes

This survey is part of my ongoing doctoral studies at Michigan State University. Your assistance by completing this survey is greatly appreciated. The purpose of the survey is to better understand the perceptions and meanings that athletes have of behaviours that comprise sexual harassment, the level of incidence of sexual harassment in university athletics and the familiarity athletes have with university resources available for information or assistance.

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. **Your consent to participate in this research will be indicated by completing and returning this survey.** However, your willingness to participate is extremely valuable to the outcome of the study.

The survey has no means of determining identity. **Your responses will be completely anonymous and individual results will be confidential.** The completed surveys will not be available to anyone other than the researcher. Please create your own identification number on page one i.e. by filling in a favourite code word or a parent's birthdate etc. You will also be asked to volunteer for a telephone interview. For those of you who do volunteer, your personal identification number may be needed.

When you have completed the survey, please place it in the return envelope provided for return to me.

If you have any questions or comments about the survey or if you would like to receive the results, I can be reached by telephone or you can send me a note to the address on the return envelope.

Once again, I appreciate your assistance. Thank you very much for taking part in this study.

Sincerely,

Marge Holman,

Sexual Harassment Survey
CIAU Female Athletes

(personal identification
i.e. favourite code word,
parent's birthdate etc.)

Sexual harassment within university athletics has received some recent attention with varied opinions about the behaviours that are identified as sexually harassing, the degree to which it exists, and what action to take should it occur. Your responses to the following will assist in providing answers to these questions. Your completion and return of this survey will signify consent of voluntary participation in the study. Your responses will be treated with strict confidence.

Section A: Please respond to the following statements based upon your personal experience with your current (1994-95) university team.

1. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by my university head coach.

Yes ____ No ____

2. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

3. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by female athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

4. Sexual materials of a visual or written nature, such as centrefolds of women or men or degrading drawings, are displayed in or around my training site.

Yes ____ No ____

5. My university head coach has commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Yes ____ No ____

Sexual Harassment Survey CIAU Male Athletes

This survey is part of my ongoing doctoral studies at Michigan State University. Your assistance by completing this survey is greatly appreciated. **PLEASE DO NOT discard it because you believe that this is an issue concerning females only. Your experiences and opinions are very important.** The purpose of the survey is to better understand the perceptions and meanings that athletes have of behaviours that comprise sexual harassment, the level of incidence of sexual harassment in university athletics and the familiarity athletes have with university resources available for information or assistance.

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. **Your consent to participate in this research will be indicated by completing and returning this survey.** However, your willingness to participate is extremely valuable to the outcome of the study.

The survey has no means of determining identity. **Your responses will be completely anonymous and individual results will be confidential.** The completed surveys will not be available to anyone other than the researcher. Please create your own identification number on page one i.e. by filling in a favourite code word or a parent's birthdate etc. You will also be asked to volunteer for a telephone interview. For those of you who do volunteer, your personal identification number may be needed.

When you have completed the survey, please place it in the envelope provided and return it to me.

If you have any questions or comments about the survey or if you would like to receive the results, I can be reached by telephone or you can send me a note to the address on the return envelope.

Once again, I appreciate your assistance. Thank you very much for taking part in this study.

Sincerely,

Marge Holman,

Sexual Harassment Survey
CIAU Male Athletes

(personal identification
i.e. favourite code word,
parent's birthdate etc.)

Sexual harassment within university athletics has received some recent attention with varied opinions about the behaviours that are identified as sexually harassing, the degree to which it exists, and what action to take should it occur. Your responses to the following will assist in providing answers to these questions. Your completion and return of this survey will signify consent of voluntary participation in the study. Your responses will be treated with strict confidence.

Section A: Please respond to the following statements based upon your personal experience with your current (1994-95) university team.

1. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by my university head coach.

Yes ____ No ____

2. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

3. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by female athletes.

Yes ____ No ____

4. Sexual materials of a visual or written nature, such as centrefolds of women or men or degrading drawings, are displayed in or around my training site.

Yes ____ No ____

5. My university head coach has commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Yes ____ No ____

January, 1995

I recently mailed a survey to you as a part of my dissertation research. If you have already completed and returned it to me, please accept my sincere thanks. If not, I would appreciate it if you would be willing to do so as soon as possible. Your input is important to this study.

Sincerely,

Marge Holman,
Doctoral student,
Michigan State University

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Sexual Harassment Interview Guide

Name _____
Telephone # _____
Date _____
Start time _____
End time _____

First of all, thank you for completing the survey. How did it go - was it easy enough to do?

I really appreciate you volunteering for an interview. You have my assurance that your comments will be held completely confidential. No one will have access to your comments or even to the knowledge that we have spoken.

The purpose of the interview is to explore the survey issues in greater depth. I will initially guide the interview by asking some introductory questions about sexual harassment in university athletics. The questions will be open-ended, allowing you to elaborate as much as you wish. I encourage you to respond candidly and completely and to ask for clarifications at any time.

If I have your permission, I would like to tape record the interview so that I can accurately represent what you say. If at any time you would like the tape recorder turned off, please let me know and I will stop it.

OK, let's get started?

Questions

1. When you volunteered to be interviewed, did you do this just to help me out with my research _____
or
did you have something specific to share that you thought would improve this study _____ ?

2. Tell me what you felt when you received the survey and as you filled it out.

3. Some would say that women are out of place in athletics - how would you react to this?

explain what difference you think the presence of women makes to athletics?

4. Are there ways that male athletes treat you differently than female athletes?
(female) (male)

is there a power relation?

How about male coaches as compared to female coaches?

Others?

5. Why do you think that sexual harassment comes across as a women's issue?

6. Some of the research, including mine, shows that males experience sexual harassment as well - how do you think this might differ from the female experience?

7. Why do you think someone would sexually harass a person?

control ____

superior ____

dominate/power ____

their right ____

other

8. One of the benefits of competing in athletics is the friendships that are developed. Can you comment on how friendliness and sexual interest are determined or how the lines are drawn?

9. As you probably noticed in the survey, the definition of sexual harassment ranges from sexual assault to bribery to sexist innuendo. Do you think there is a difference in who uses one type of harassment over another? (and why?)

10. What effect does this have on an individual or those around them?

angry ____	guilty ____
afraid ____	offended ____
helpless ____	embarrassed ____
disgusted ____	surprised ____
abused ____	indifferent ____
other	

11. How do you think people deal with it when it happens to them?

keep it to themselves ____
tell a friend ____
confront the harasser ____
report the harassment ____
go along with it ____
avoid the person ____
other

12. What kind of things have happened in athletics at your university that you would consider sexual harassment?

gender harassment	sexist comments ____
	sexist jokes ____
	looks ____
	visual materials ____
	trivialized ____

other

seductive behaviours

bribery

threats

assault

touching ____

force ____

other

by whom?

to whom?

13. Have you experienced any of these?

14. If it happened to you and you complained to someone, how do you think people would react?

(would anything be done about it?)

nothing ____

reprimand ____

terminated ____

nothing ____

positive action ____

retaliation ____

other

15. Who or what is responsible for sexual harassment occurring?

16. Some will argue that the way athletics is structured makes women more susceptible to sexual harassment - how would you argue for or against this idea?

17. I'm going to let you be an administrator now - what kinds of solutions do you think will put an end to sexual harassment?

18. The last question that I asked on the survey was about equality of the men's and women's programs - do you recall how you answered it? Can you tell me why?

19. Have you been coached by both males and females?

Yes _____ Do you have a preference?

No _____ Would you mind being coached by a male/female?

As I code the survey responses, I have noticed that more females than males are responding. Can you speculate/your feelings about why you think this happens?

I'm also finding that a lot of the males are telling me that the men's program is advantaged. Why do you think that they admit this?

a. should be

b. detriment to women

20. Is there anything else that you can add - any part of the survey that stands out in your mind that you would still like to discuss or have you been able to share your experiences and thoughts completely?

Did you find participating in the research educational?

Would you be willing to share your survey identification code with me so that I can do some analysis that compares the survey and interview data?

When I have looked at your interview, would you be willing to verify my interpretation, if I send you a copy?

Address	Street	_____
	City/Prov	_____
	Postal	_____

OR

Demographics (as per survey)

APPENDIX H
INTERVIEW REQUEST

Interview Request

**Sexual Harassment Survey
CIAU Athletes****Interview volunteers**

The research process for this study includes interviews for data collection. Your individual responses will be treated with strict confidence and will remain anonymous in reports of the research findings. If you are willing to volunteer for an interview, please complete the following information.

I am willing to volunteer as a candidate for a telephone interview.

Name _____

Telephone Number (Area code) _____ - _____

Day of the week and time best to call

1. _____

2. _____

For those respondents who speak French as a first language, please indicate if you are willing to be interviewed in English.

Yes ____ No ____

(to maintain survey response anonymity, please return this page separately in the self-addressed, stamped envelope provided)

APPENDIX I

SURVEY RESULTS

Sexual Harassment Survey Results

Section A: Responses based upon personal experience current (1994-95) university teams.

1. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by my university head coach.

Female 5.9% Male 19.0%

2. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by male athletes.

Female 53.7% Male 63.5%

3. I have had sexist jokes or comments made to me by female athletes.

Female 26.4% Male 42.6%

4. Sexual materials of a visual or written nature, such as centrefolds of women or men or degrading drawings, are displayed in or around my training site.

Female 4.1% Male 14.6%

5. My university head coach has commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Female 0.7% Male 3.6%

6. Female athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Female 0.7% Male 1.5%

7. Male athletes have commented that athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Female 18.9% Male 15.3%

8. My university head coach has made sexual advances towards me that are outside the role of coaching.

Female 0.4% Male 0%

9. My university head coach made me uncomfortable by repeatedly asking me for a date or a relationship, refusing to take no for an answer.
- Female 0% Male 0%
10. I have been invited by my university head coach to engage in a sexual relationship.
- Female 0.4% Male 0%
11. I have been offered benefits as an incentive to engage in a sexual relationship with my university head coach.
- Female 0% Male 0%
12. I have been threatened with negative consequences for refusing to engage in a sexual relationship with my university head coach.
- Female 0% Male 0%
13. I have felt my university head coach invade my personal space or deliberately touch me in a way that made me uncomfortable.
- Female 1.1% Male 0%
14. I have been in a position where a male athlete made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?
- Female 11.9% Male 1.5%
15. I have been in a position where a female athlete made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?
- Female 0.7% Male 13.9%
16. I have been in a position where my university head coach made forceful attempts to touch, fondle, kiss or grab me?
- Female 0.7% Male 0%

17. Have you experienced any of the preceding situations involving your head coach from a

 X male assistant coach?

If yes, please circle the statement numbers that apply.

#1	Female 1.5%	Male 4.4%
#5	Female 0%	Male 2.2%
#8	Female 0.7%	Male 0%
#9	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
#10	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
#11	Female 0%	Male 0%
#12	Female 0%	Male 0%
#13	Female 0%	Male 0%
#16	Female 0.4%	Male 0%

 X female assistant coach?

If yes, please circle the statement numbers that apply.

#1	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
#5	Female 0%	Male 0%
#8	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
#9	Female 0%	Male 0%
#10	Female 0%	Male 0%
#11	Female 0%	Male 0%
#12	Female 0%	Male 0%
#13	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
#16	Female 0.4%	Male 0%

18. As an athlete on your present university team, have you ever been sexually harassed?

Yes ____ No ____

If yes, please indicate the role of the harasser (check all that apply).

male head coach	Female 0.7%	Male 0%
female head coach	Female 0%	Male 0%
male assistant coach	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
female assistant coach	Female 0%	Male 0%
male athlete	Female 9.6%	Male 1.5%
female athlete	Female 0.4%	Male 2.2%
male manager	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
female manager	Female 0%	Male 0%
male athletic trainer	Female 1.1%	Male 0%
female athletic trainer	Female 0%	Male 0%
male prof/athletic dir.	Female 1.9%	Male 1.5%
female prof/athletic dir.	Female 0.4%	Male 0%
other (please specify)		

Section B: Responses to feelings about whether the behaviour presented in the statement is sexual harassment.

Scale: Strong agreement or strong disagreement to a given statement are represented by '1' and '4' respectively while '2' and '3' represent a milder emotion.
e.g., I like anchovies on my pizza.

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 Strongly disagree

Code: SA/strongly agree; SD/strongly disagree

Selecting '4' indicates that I hate anchovies on my pizza (whereas '2' would mean that I can take them or leave them but would prefer to have them).

1. Making seductive remarks about a person's appearance is sexual harassment.

Female SA	22.6%	40.0%	30.0%	7.4%	SD
Male	12.5	43.4	32.4	11.8	

2. Sexist comments such as jokes or remarks that are stereotypical or derogatory to members of one sex are sexual harassment.

Female	SA	27.0%	41.5%	23.7%	7.4%	SD
Male		28.7	34.6	30.1	6.6	

3. Sexually flattering or suggestive remarks are sexual harassment.

Female	SA	26.7%	39.3%	26.7%	7.0%	SD
Male		15.4	41.2	34.6	8.8	

4. Sexually suggestive comments about athletes' bodies are sexual harassment.

Female	SA	37.4%	37.8%	21.1%	3.3%	SD
Male		20.4	43.8	25.5	10.2	

5. Unwanted sexual attention, such as flirtation, being overly helpful, too friendly or personal, is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	27.4%	33.7%	29.6%	9.3%	SD
Male		16.1	30.7	31.4	21.9	

6. Competitive athletics is an inappropriate activity for women.

Female	SA	3.0%	1.1%	1.1%	94.4	SD
Male		3.6	0	3.6	92.7	

7. A coach's invitation to an athlete to engage in a romantic relationship is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	47.4%	23.7%	21.1%	7.8%	SD
Male		39.0	28.7	20.6	11.8	

8. The offer of something as a reward or benefit for sexual cooperation is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	93.3%	3.0%	0.4%	3.3%	SD
Male		88.3	7.3	2.2	2.2	

9. The promise of making the team for engaging in sexual behaviours is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	97.0%	0.7%	0.4%	1.9%	SD
Male		94.1	2.9	1.5	1.5	

10. Experiencing negative consequences for refusing to be sexually cooperative is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	96.7%	1.5%	0.0%	1.9%	SD
Male		92.7	5.8	0.7	0.7	

11. Refusing sexual advances made by a coach would be detrimental to an athlete's athletic aspirations.

Female	SA	22.4%	20.5%	14.9%	42.2%	SD
Male		30.6	23.9	18.7	26.9	

12. Unwanted attempts to kiss, hug, touch or fondle are sexual harassment.

Female	SA	85.9%	9.3%	3.0%	1.9%	SD
Male		79.6	17.5	1.5	1.5	

13. Forceful attempts of sexual touching or sexual intercourse are sexual harassment.

Female	SA	97.0%	0.7%	0.4%	1.9%	SD
Male		96.4	2.2	0.7	0.7	

14. Deliberately touching an athlete in a way that is inappropriate or discomforting is sexual harassment.

Female	SA	87.7%	10.4%	1.1%	0.7%	SD
Male		80.3	16.8	2.2	0.7	

15. In general, women are too sensitive about unwanted sexual attention.

Female	SA	1.9%	14.8%	25.2%	58.1%	SD
Male		3.0	23.0	34.8	39.3	

16. Women who get unwanted sexual attention from men bring it on themselves.

Female	SA	0.4%	3.0%	16.7%	80.0%	SD
Male		1.5	9.6	39.3	49.6	

17. Female athletes who get unwanted sexual attention from a male coach bring it on themselves.

Female	SA	0.7%	1.9%	10.7%	86.7%	SD
Male		1.5	4.4	27.2	66.9	

18. Sexual harassment is prevalent in university athletics.

Female	SA	5.6%	22.9%	47.4%	24.1%	SD
Male		3.8	13.1	52.3	30.8	

19. I am aware of a university policy concerning sexual harassment on my campus.

Female	SA	36.3%	28.1%	16.7%	18.9%	SD
Male		36.0	29.4	16.2	18.4	

20. I am aware of a person specifically responsible for providing assistance in the case of a sexual harassment complaint on campus.

Female	SA	23.3%	20.7%	18.9%	37.0%	SD
Male		20.6	17.6	14.0	47.1	