UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER
(an accredited institution of the UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON)

Department of Sport Development and Management

A critical analysis of the development, outcomes and definition of the Women and Sport Movement (W&SM)

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER

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ABSTRACT

DEPARTMENT OF SPORT DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT, OUTCOMES AND DEFINITION OF THE WOMEN AND SPORT MOVEMENT (W&SM)

Jordan John Kirkham Matthews

It is widely recognised that women encounter barriers to participation and involvement in sport. How these issues have gained recognition and become legitimised within dominant sporting and non-sporting rhetoric is less well understood. The lobbying and activism of women and sport organisations has been relatively overlooked in favour of making sense of the growing awareness of how the structure and practice of sport subordinates women. Based on an interpretive thematic analysis of documents from the Anita White Foundation International Women and Sport Movement Archive and 21 semi-structured interviews with 24 key personnel from women and sport organisations, this thesis uses social movement literature to focus on the processes involved with mobilising and politicising women's activism in sport, predominantly the period 1949 to 1997.

Over time, uncoordinated groups of disparate women became a collective and formalised into national, regional, and international organisations. The mobilisation of a variety of resources by these groups has helped to affect positive change for women and sport through the publication of major governmental and non-governmental discourse, for example. However, the most substantial work to have focused on this activism also provides a strong critique with regard to whether the white, Western women who have directed global advances for women and sport represented difference through their dialogue (Hargreaves, 2000). This thesis challenges this critique by using social movement literature and postcolonial feminist theory to provide reasons both for why the movement has predominantly grown in Western contexts, and, why it has struggled to connect with some non-Western areas.

The thesis provides the 'Women and Sport Movement (W&SM)' as a term to encompass women and sport activism, and includes an analysis of the origins, development, and relations between different women and sport organisations nationally and internationally, the outcomes and impact of their activism, and possibilities for future directions.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Jordan J.K. Matthews

declare that the thesis entitled

A critical analysis of the development, outcomes and definition of the Women and Sport Movement (W&SM)

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, or [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

Signed: ……..

Date:…….

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Acronyms

ACSM	American College of Sports Medicine
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
AWF	Anita White Foundation
AWISA	African Women in Sport Association
AWS	Asian Women and Sport
CAAWS	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport
CCPR	Central Council of Physical Recreation
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGF	Commonwealth Games Federation
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Ministers
CWS	UN Commission for the Status of Women
ESC	European Sports Conference
ESCWGWS	European Sport Conference Working Group on Women and Sport
EWS	European Women and Sport group
FAS	Fitness and Amateur Sport
FSFI	Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale
GAD	Gender and Development approach
IAAF	International Amateur Athletic Federation
IAPESGW	International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women
ICHPER	International Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
ICHPER-SD	International Council for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance
ICSSPE	International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education
ICWSC	Islamic Countries' Women's Sport Solidarity Council
IFs	International Sport Federations
IFWS	Islamic Federation of Women's Sport
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
IWG	International Working Group on Women and Sport
JAPEW	Japan Association of Physical Education for Women
JWS	Japanese Women and Sport
NAGWS	National Association for Girls and Women in Sport

NAPECW	USA National Association of Physical Education for College Women
NASSS	North American Society for the Sociology of Sport
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOC	National Olympic Committee
NSM	New Social Movements
ODESUR	Organización Deportiva Suramericana
PERWOSI	Indonesian Association in Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
PPT	Political process theory
RMT	Resource mobilisation theory
SAAW	Sports Association of Arab Women
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace movement
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
UN	United Nations
W&SM	Women and Sport Movement
WAD	Women and Development approach
WID	Women in Development approach
WISC	Women's International Sports Coalition
WISM	Women's International Sport Movement
WSFF	UK Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation
WSFJ	Japanese Women's Sport Foundation
WSFUK	UK Women's Sport Foundation
WSFUS	USA Women's Sports Foundation
WSI	WomenSport International
WSIHE	West Sussex Institute of Higher Education
WWII	World War II

1. Introduction

It is widely recognised amongst academics in the sociology of sport that sport has been overly-dominated by men and founded upon central tenets of masculinity (Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Dunning, 1999; Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Messner, 1992). Women encounter a number of barriers to their involvement in sport. These include, but are not exclusive to, the traditional under-representation of women across most sports and activities (Lopiano, 2007; Scraton et al., 1999; WSFF, 2012); access to leadership positions in sport (Henry and Robinson, 2010; Henry et al., 2004; Rintala and Bischoff, 1997; Talbot, 2002; White and Kay, 2006); the quality and amount of media coverage (Bruce, 2013; Creedon, 1994; Davis, 1997; Kane, 2013; Theberge, 1991); the influence of body image (Theberge, 1989; Markula, 1995); sexual harassment and abuse (Brackenridge, 2001; Fasting et al., 2011); and a range of socio-cultural beliefs which work to systematically exclude older women (Pike, 2011; 2012), disabled women (Blinde and McCallister, 1999; Rauzon, 2003), women of ethnic minorities (Benn et al., 2011; Lee, 1998; Scraton et al., 2005), and lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered women (Cahn, 1994; Griffin, 1998; Hargreaves and Anderson, 2014; Lenskyj, 1986; 1990; Norman, 2012).

Such social issues directly impact upon women and girls in sport and physical activity and have been increasingly researched over the last thirty years. However, very little research has been directed at women and sport groups, associations, and organisations that have lobbied and advocated against the aforementioned barriers that limit female involvement in sport (Pike and Matthews, 2014). Even the recent growth of research examining the consequences of women's involvement in sport has largely ignored processes such as conferences, policy formulation, and national and international coordination which have provided the opportunity for activism to transform into change (Hedenborg and Pfister, 2012; Osborne and Skillen, 2011; Park and Vertinsky, 2011; Schultz, 2014; Williams, 2014). Often, these crucial events are briefly cast-aside in academic textbooks and journal articles as simply 'occurring', without thorough explanation for why events happened, where groups came from, and what impact, if any, the actions have had toward addressing women's experiences in and through sport. Thus, this thesis focuses on how and why women and sport issues have developed recognition and been legitimised within sporting/non-sporting and political/non-political environments to the extent that change for women and sport has resulted.

One explanation for why the lack of attention may have occurred is that a small amount of work was published in the mid-1990s and early-2000s which has, ever since, been used as a holistic explanation for an area of research rife with nuanced complexities yet to be fully understood. In 1995, Hall (1995) analysed four women and sport organisations from Australia, Canada, the UK, and the USA. All originated in different ways due to the different societies each was located in but progressed toward the same objective of wanting to change sport for women. This was achieved through collating resources such as personnel and research, raising consciousness of issues through conferences and formulating formal and informal groups, and eventually engaging with the dominant sporting structures in their countries to enact women and sport policy (Hall, 1995).

A few years later Hargreaves (1999; 2000) analysed international women and sport organisations which, she claimed, were part of a social movement that 'reputedly represents a global community of women from different countries and social and cultural groups throughout the world' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 215). Her analysis included brief histories of the origins and development of the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW – established 1949), the Women's International Sports Coalition (WISC – established 1992), WomenSport International (WSI – established 1994), the first and second World Conferences on Women and Sport (Brighton, UK – 1994, Windhoek, Namibia – 1998), and the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG – established 1994). Hargreaves' work continues to be one of the sole scholarly texts to analyse these groups and events.

The groups Hall (1995) and Hargreaves (2000) analyse originated and developed in response to the systematic marginalisation and trivialisation of women in the male- and masculine-dominated structure of sport (Birrell, 1988; Grace, 1995; Hall and Pfister, 1999; Hargreaves, 1994). Both pieces of work were groundbreaking for women and sport research because they began to explain the developments of the ways in which activism for women and sport has, over time, led to change. Only recently has a re-engagement in such analysis been pursued by people who, unlike Hall and Hargreaves, have not played significant roles in the direction of women and sport activism (Comeau and Church, 2010; Matthews, 2012; Pike and Matthews, 2014; Safai, 2014).

This is an important nuance which has to be understood of Hall's and Hargreaves' work. As will be explored later in this thesis, both critiqued the groups they analysed as tailoring to liberalised forms of political engagement to advance women and sport issues. Both have published literature based upon radical feminist theorising

(Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994) which focused on *changing* the structure and practice of sport, rather than pertain to the liberal approach of including women *into* a male-dominated structure which then continues to subordinate women (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002). This is crucial because both engaged with some of the groups they analysed and, both subsequently distanced themselves from the groups because they did not agree with the paths they were taking. It is therefore interesting to take another look at both pieces of work and attempt to unpack their political influence on the strong critiques they provide of each group.

A more fundamental criticism of Hargreaves (2000) is her claim that the groups she analyses are part of a social movement, without describing what social movements are, how they form, and the outcomes and consequences they influence. In the sociology of sport, there was a brief flirtation with social movement understanding during the mid-1990s (Harvey and Houle, 1994; Harvey et al., 1996) and Harvey et al. (1996, p. 268) even claimed 'a feminist movement has been successful in advancing the cause of women in sport on a global scale', but did not include the depth of analysis Hall (1995) and Hargreaves (2000) were to provide. Over a decade later, Harvey et al (2009, p. 392) questioned why there had been 'little attention paid to new social movements and sport since the early 1990s', before promulgating that the complexities involved with social movements have inhibited further understanding and even limited the awareness of social movement literature. This may account for how claims for a gay rights movement (Davidson, 2013), a sport for development and peace movement (Chawansky, 2008; Kidd, 2008), and protests against mega-sporting events such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup (Cornelissen, 2012; Rowe, 2012; Schausteck de Almeida et al., forthcoming) have failed to engage with social movement literature.

Thus in accordance with Pelak (2002, p. 94), 'there is an absence of analyses that draws on social movement theory to understand the processes by which women's collective action results in inclusion within male-dominated institutions', such as sport. This thesis not only aims to critique Hall's (1995) and Hargreaves (2000) work, but expand and add to it. There is a tremendous amount of detail which can be added to their work because they forged a new path of research that has since failed to be followed.

1.1 Introducing Social Movements to make sense of Women and Sport Activism

Social movements can be characterised as fluid, inter-connected, yet uncoordinated, sets of social actors with the collective commonality of sustained activism for change (Crossley, 2002; Freeman and Johnson, 1999). In rarer cases, social movements may also work to defend authority or tradition such as the threat of change to education or law (Snow et al., 2004). As such, they are extremely complex, and Roberts (2009, p. 266) remarks they are 'so varied that a definitive typology is impossible, generalising is hazardous [and] they challenge sociology's standard vocabulary of structures, institutions, parties and organisations'.

Chapter two highlights three general approaches to understanding different phases of social movements. The first to be outlined is the collective behaviour approach, which explores how and why a multitude of interdependent dissatisfied people who do not know each other encompass similar beliefs and a sense of belongingness to exert pressure (Diani, 1992). For example, those wanting to change women's subordination in sport may be informal groups or governmental commissions, media outlets or charities, research centres or dedicated women and sport groups, but all will have the same objective. This is important because 'members of any movement, in order to qualify as such, must assumedly subscribe to a set of beliefs which are distinct from those of the wider population and sufficiently homogeneous for us to describe them as those of a single movement' (Crossley, 2002, p. 6).

The second approach is resource mobilisation theory (RMT). RMT provides a greater rational understanding for how these unconnected collectives mobilise and gather resources in order to affect change (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). Examples include the formalisation of groups and the hosting of conferences which raise consciousness and/or activism.

Political process theory (PPT) is the third approach and explores the power relationships in politics and institutions over time and through different contexts (Giugni, 1998; Kriesi, 2004). This social movement approach is fruitful for analysis because it illustrates how previously informal collectives may become institutionalised and bound within dominant rhetoric. The ways that social movement groups work to influence this rhetoric is precisely the arguments Hall (1995) and Hargreaves (2000) were so critical of in their analysis. Instead, this thesis will show that liberal agendas were used to gain access to male-dominant sports structures, and that gradually over time, change has been instigated. Utilising this approach is important because 'in the twenty-first century,

the vast majority of protest campaigns and social movements are ultimately aimed at influencing laws, policies, and government officials' (Johnston, 2014, p. 49).

Scholars argue social movements should not be confused with organisations, which are often more singular and static in their intentions, and public interest groups or sects because they are individualistic and so do not share a belongingness with other groups (Crossley, 2002; Diani, 1992). Instead, the ideas and goals of a movement are interrelated which bind people, groups, organisations, and networks together who share collective interests (Johnston, 2014). The benefit of social movement analysis is that it makes sense of the diverse origins and developments for addressing women's subordination in sport, and reconstitutes them in a multi-layered analysis of institutional, structural, and cultural power relations throughout the different societies examined (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Connell, 1987; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Koopmans, 2004). For example, wider societal advances for women in some countries such as gender equality and sex discrimination acts have provided social movements with resources to influence sporting institutions. Essentially, this allows for identifying activism 'in the context of large, global as well as more particular, cultural and historical processes' (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997, p. xxxix). But rather than analysing the movement as a 'whole' – something which chapter nine argues is beyond the scope of one research project – this thesis examines the power relationships between key personnel and networks within the movement for they are the people who have guided the work, often in different and contradictory ways (Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Talbot, 2000).

Knowing where to begin this analysis illustrates a further complexity of social movements. It is impossible to determine where a social movement starts and ends because of the characteristics associated with embryonic activism (Taylor, 1989). The aforementioned recent growth of women's sport history research makes this process easier but not complete because many examples of activism have yet to be analysed. For example, the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport has been described as a 'tool' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 65), and a 'valuable prop' (Hargreaves, 1999, p. 466) because it directly influenced, among others, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to address women and sport as an issue (see chapter eight). The Declaration is a set of ten principles that when adhered to, will 'develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport' (IWG, 1998a, p. 51). It originated from the first World Conference on Women and Sport in 1994, which itself was instigated as the result of over twenty years of political lobbying in European and North American societies (Hargreaves, 2000). Previous to this, up to one hundred years of smaller-scale activism focused on challenging the stereotypes

and assumptions which prevented women having access to physical education and sport, for example. None of these processes were by accident and were the result of generational activism to repress subordinate experiences for women in sport. These processes started disparate and disconnected but over time, mobilised into collective action that politicised and directly impacted upon beginning to change sport positively for women. Therefore, this thesis analyses the origins, development, and outcomes of a social movement for women and sport.

As Safai (2014) has also recognised, the multitude of groups which could be included into this analysis is both overwhelming and exciting. Appendix 1 is a timeline constructed throughout this research that details the collective action which has occurred for women and sport globally. Each of these events needs to be accounted for because they reveal insights to how different women and sport histories have interacted with politics and culture, and may lead to new strategies for activism that may be used in other parts of the world (see chapter nine).

Achieving a broader understanding also allows for making sense of one of Hargreaves' (2000) stronger critiques of what she calls the Women's International Sport Movement (WISM). Hargreaves (2000, p. 215) claims this *international* movement for women and sport has consisted predominantly of white, Western, middle-class women being 'joined by neo-colonial elites' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 215). She is critical of how 'the international movement embodies new elites from postcolonial countries, brought to power by independence, often educated and trained in the West, who are unrepresentative of women at the grassroots in their respective countries' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 227). This thesis addresses these critiques by utilising social movement understanding with postcolonial feminism.

Postcolonial feminism argues women are often homogenised and their experiences and cultures repressed by dominant Western discourse (Ashcroft et al, 2007; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999; Young, 2001). A common theme throughout postcolonial feminist arguments is a notion of hierarchy with Western groups deeming themselves as an elitist and superior force compared to inferior and comparatively 'underdeveloped' non-Western groups. Thus, Western groups project a need to represent non-Western groups as they do not conform to the dominant Western model, and are deemed in need of help (Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999). In opposition, non-Western feminists and some Western scholars have argued that Western groups should pay greater attention to, and learn from, non-Western groups' experiences and ideas (Ashcroft, 2001; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1999).

This postcolonial feminist understanding is combined with social movement analysis within this thesis to firstly explore how women and sport activism has been

predominantly comprised of white, Western women, and secondly why it continued to be characterised by this demographic when Hargreaves (2000) published her work. The socio-historical analysis is based on the approaches to social movements mentioned previously. From the 1970s, the white, Western, middle-class, able-bodied women were university lecturers, representatives in ministries of sport, or elite sportswomen who had the resources to be able to lobby to change sporting practice. Crucially, they were lobbying in societies which through discrimination acts and shifts in societal opinion, were increasingly conducive toward enabling women to lever for change. This has not happened all over the world. Thus, these women reached their prominent positions in the social movement because their collective activism was enabled to be mobilised within societies and contexts more favourable to their advance (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Kriesi, 2004). Chapter five onwards will demonstrate that attempts were made to connect with non-Western women but essentially, 'there were no women at the inn' (Shelton and Bourque, interview) because women and sport had not gained the legitimacy and social acceptance that it had in Western countries. This analysis is largely missing from Hargreaves' (2000) work.

This research also adds to existing academic literature on women and sports policy, in particular demonstrating previously limited connections between women and sport activism and policy origins, and how policy has become an important legitimising mechanism for the development of a global sport advocacy movement. In addition, this research addresses calls to enhance the limited academic literature regarding the nexus of postcolonialism, sport and gender (Bale and Cronin, 2003) and adds to social movement engagement with sport (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008; Harvey et al., 2009; Harvey et al., 2014).

In agreement with Schultz's (2014, p. 8) cultural focus on American women's sports' activism, this study 'hopes to call into question those eras by which we traditionally carve up the sporting past' to provide greater understanding with regard to how women and sport as an issue has manifested over time globally. Achieving this also has implications for a better understanding of social movements. This thesis details a women's movement, predominantly constituted of women, which has used mobilising events such as conferences to shift 'kitchen-table' activism into political institutionalism both within and outside of sport to the extent that, in 1995, the United Nations (UN) recognised the importance of sport and physical activity for women and girls under the broader themes of education, health, and the girl child (UN, 1995; see chapter eight). Many of these elements have been ignored or under-represented in social movement literature (see chapter two), meaning this thesis adds to greater

understanding of the development, outcomes, and impacts of social movements in society.

The study aims are all interlinked to provide as detailed an analysis as possible, but, in particular to:

- critically analyse the origins, developments, and relationships of the women and sport groups that form a social movement for women and sport. Particular focus is situated between 1949-1997 to take account of the founding of IAPESGW in 1949 and to enable an analysis of the immediate outcomes following the first World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton, UK, in 1994. However, events and issues regarding women and sport which occur before 1949 and after 1997 will be referred to for a greater socio-historical analysis.

- critically analyse the organisation, development, and outcomes of the first World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton, UK, in 1994.

- examine the influence of white, Western dominance on the development and outcomes of the women and sport movement.

- provide a foundation of work towards, and framework for, future analysis of subsequent development and outcomes from the movement, in particular post-1997.

1.2 Thesis structure

Chapter two explores the literature published on social movements. This includes continuing to explain their complexities and characteristics, as well as further outlining the different approaches to make sense of social movements. The chapter also provides examples of research completed on women and sport activism that has yet to be collated into broader social movement analysis. The chapter ends by critiquing Hargreaves' (2000) term the '*Women's International Sport Movement*' and instead offers the *Women and Sport Movement* (W&SM) as a more useful concept to help explain activism for women and sport.

Chapter three demonstrates the benefits and limitations of postcolonial feminism. It is argued that the theory facilitates theoretical understanding but is

constrained by how this understanding is applied to empirical data. The chapter shows how social movement literature provides a structure to allow application of the theory, in particular regarding the politicisation and institutionalisation of women and sport groups, because postcolonial feminism can make sense of whether the movement has claimed/privileged dominant Western politics, resources, and collective action as universal for all women.

Chapter four explains the mixed-methods approach used in this research. Documentary analysis of a range of documents including policies, committee meeting minutes, conference proceedings and published reports was undertaken at the Anita White Foundation (AWF) International Women and Sport Archive at the University of Chichester, UK. This analysis was complemented with 21 semi-structured interviews with 24 key personnel from the movement. The chapter provides a rationale for why these methods were chosen, their link to social movement analysis and postcolonial feminism, issues that arose, and reflections on the research process.

From chapter five onward is a quasi-chronological mapping of the movement. Chapter five is split into three parts to chart the main foundations from which the movement grew to the start of the 1990s. Firstly, it explains how IAPESGW was based on developments in American physical education. IAPESGW was formalised in 1949 and was the only international women and sport group until the early-1990s. During this period it staged world congresses in every continent, often in contexts where women's engagement in physical education and sport faced considerable socio-cultural and structural barriers. The chapter also shows that IAPESGW became increasingly constrained by financial issues and staunch criticism from some of its members that it was too conservative and not willing to address the growing significance of sport in Western societies (Hall and Pfister, 1999). The second part of chapter five adds to Hall's (1995) analysis of national groups in Canada, the UK, and the USA that were formed from the late-1970s. These groups were the foundations for much of the work undertaken over the next thirty years. The final part of chapter five begins to acknowledge the wealth of women and sport groups that have existed around the world that have yet to be fully analysed.

Chapter six explains the consequences of IAPESGWs conservatism outlined in chapter five and adds to Hargreaves' (2000) work by acknowledging the power relations at play between competing groups. WISC, and later WSI, formed out of dissatisfaction with both the lack of interaction with 'harder' issues that were affecting women in sport such as sexuality and abuse, and the limited focus on wanting to change the structure of sport. The chapter also analyses a group Hargreaves (1994; 2000) has only very briefly acknowledged before; the European Sport Conference

Working Group on Women and Sport (ESCWGWS) and its later incarnation titled the European Women and Sport group (EWS). This group was the first politicised women and sport group at a continental level and helps to illustrate a number of previously untold strategies for advancing women and sport activism.

Chapter seven is the first dedicated explanation and analysis of the first World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton, UK, in 1994. Brighton was heavily influenced by the development of all the groups outlined in chapters five and six and as such, the first part of the chapter explains the tense power relations between a number of groups who wanted Brighton to benefit their development, as well as women and sport activism. The second part of the chapter explains how the structure of the conference deliberately facilitated paying greater attention to women and sport experiences in the non-West because the groups outlined in the previous chapter had struggled to do so up to this point. As such, the Brighton Conference is assumed as a major development in the history of the movement because it has acted as a catalyst in bringing together previously disconnected women and sport activism globally. Notwithstanding, the conference is rarely mentioned in academic texts and has been the subject of very little critical engagement until now. The chapter ends with an introduction to the outcomes of the conference.

Chapter eight focuses on the outcomes and impact emerging from the growing influence of women and sport activism. Both the IWG and WSI interacted with major sporting and non-sporting organisations and ensured the issues women and girls encountered in sport were encapsulated in official discourse. Particular attention is paid to IOC and United Nations developments, as well as the growth of regional activism around the world. Despite this progress, throughout the chapter are references to the continuing conflicts, consequences, and constraints that dedicated activism had for the social movement groups.

Chapter nine provides conclusions to this research. It will state that, through combining social movement literature and postcolonial feminist theory to analyse materials from a dedicated women and sport archive and interviews with key movement personnel, there has been a social movement for women and sport. This thesis provides the first detailed academic attempt at outlining the movements' origins, development, and initial outcomes and impacts. Moreover, the thesis moves beyond established critique of the movement thus far that it has been dominated by white, Western women, and provides reasons for how and why this dominance has occurred. This chapter also contains a number of suggested fruitful avenues for further research and mechanisms that should be utilised in order to continue to understand the social movement for women and sport.

2. Social Movements, Women, and Sport

2.1 Introduction

Social movements are important to examine because they constantly shape society and 'are, in themselves, manifestations of social change' (Crossley, 2002, p. 8). For example, during the writing of this thesis the Arab states have seen the biggest uprising in a generation and in response to the FIFA World Cup and Olympic and Paralympic Games in Brazil, millions of aggrieved citizens have expressed their dissatisfaction and anger with the economic costs involved through street protests (Silva, 2013). However, not all outcomes of social movements may be as immediately forthright, such as greater consciousness to recycle (a result of the environment/Green movement) and awareness of gender equality issues (a result of the feminist movement) (Crossley, 2002).

Although difficult to understand, the dynamics, successes, and failures of social movements help make sense of the society in which they are located and how and why change occurs across all aspects of the social and political spectrum (Crossley, 2002; Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Giugni, 1998; Johnston, 2014). In particular, social movements allow an exploration of the shifting processes of resistance and challenge involved with gender relations in sport (Pelak, 2002).

Section 2.2 outlines the main approaches put forward by scholars attempting to explain social movements. A variety of approaches exist but have yet to be integrated into sociology of sport theorising completely (section 2.3). Section 2.4 starts to determine whether there is a social movement for women and sport by critiquing established literature and formulating a new term to be used throughout this thesis.

2.2 Social Movements

2.2.1 Complexities of social movements

Giugni (1998, p. 373) states that the 'ultimate end of movements is to bring about change' but that 'the effects of social movements are often indirect, unintended, and sometimes even in contradiction to their goals' (p. 386). This makes theorising about social movements extremely complex (Roberts, 2009). For example, Freeman

and Johnson (1999) claim social movements are located somewhere in the middle of a continuum between the spontaneity of disorganised, irrational collective action, and structure, due to coordinated mobilisation of resources and political lobbying.

For some scholars theorising about social movements, the aim is simply defining what a movement is because of the diversity in context, aims, and size which make it 'difficult to isolate their common elements' (Freeman and Johnson, 1999, p. 1). For others, it is analysing the relationships between the networks involved rather than what the social movement is attempting to change (Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Crossley (2002) states that ultimately the most prominent social movement scholars are too broad or narrow in their analysis, or are too specific in naming opponents as structure or agency-oriented. Thus there is general agreement about aspects of social movements (as seen in the approaches below) but disagreement about how they are described.

Central to these concerns are that movements are constantly shifting because they are made up of people, not stationary objects of analysis (Crossley 2002; Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Chapter four addresses why socio-historical and 'multi-layered' analyses of social movements – to account for multiple and intersecting forms of oppression both structurally and culturally – are favoured by scholars (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Giugni, 1998; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Koopmans, 2004; Pelak et al., 1999; Safai, 2012; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Adopting these research practices also addresses how the majority of social movement work is Western-based with 'systematic work on social movements outside Western democracies still relatively rare' (Klandermans et al, 2002, p. 315). Even within Western societies, social movement research is difficult to apply to all contexts because of the differences between countries. For example, Nash (2002) found major differences between the women's movements in the UK and the USA because of their interactions with different political systems.

Indeed, the position of women in social movement research is contested because it has 'developed to date with primary reference to movements led by and directed toward men' (Ferree and Mueller, 2004, p. 587), leading to what some have called the 'live burial' of feminism in social movement literature (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005, p. 47). As will be further outlined in chapter three, the diversity of women's experiences are being recognised as potential for advancing general social movement theorising (Martin, 1990; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005).

2.2.2 Approaches to understanding social movements

The attempts to understand social movements herald from two distinct areas of work. Table 1 illustrates how American research was mostly empirical-based to account for justice movements experienced in the country, whereas European work was mostly philosophical and historical in order to explain revolutions and conflict uprisings (Crossley, 2002, p. 10). The linkages between the schools of thought were slow to form (Klandermans et al., 2002). It was not until the 1970s, when it was increasingly accepted sociologists could engage in political action, that greater theorising of social movements were produced.

	USA	**Europe**
Pre-1970s	Collective Behaviour Approach	Marxism
1970s onwards	Resource Mobilisation Theory Political Process Theory	New Social Movements

Table 1. The development of social movement approaches (Crossley, 2002, p. 10)

Over time each approach refined its concepts with regard to critique from another approach. For example, before the 1970s it was argued by the collective behaviour approach that social movements were chaotic collectives of irrational individuals. It was not until the work of McCarthy and Zald (1977) onwards that it was claimed these individuals were actually networks of people working rationally in order to mobilise resources to affect change – resource mobilisation theory (RMT). Similar moral values, thoughts, ideologies, goals for social change, and standards of behaviour all 'foster a sense of common identity' (Johnston, 2014, p. 16) and reflect the collective interests of social movement participants. Johnston (2014, p. 16) continues that 'these ideologies and the interrelated ideas they embrace are the glue that helps bind people together into groups, organisations, and networks of the structural sphere' over time.

Table 1 is useful for newcomers to distinguish the research of each social movement approach. It is easy when attempting to first comprehend the complexities of social movements to be drawn toward one approach, partially because scholars belonging to some approaches have been exclusionary to other approaches. Despite this, more comprehensive works of social movement approaches and concepts have been produced to bring together the different (potentially even in some respects,

competing) approaches to understanding social movements (Crossley, 2002; Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Klandermans et al., 2002; Snow et al., 2004). Notwithstanding, the distinctiveness of each approach is a benefit to 'comprehending the breadth' of social movement analysis (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008, p. 127). This is particularly so with the growing influence of culture and the emergence of New Social Movements (NSMs – explained in section 2.2.2.4) which mean that each social movement approach is continually tested to better understand what a social movement is and how it functions (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Williams, 2004). Additionally, the growing influence of women in social movement research, and the empirical studies with women at their core, have generated new insights which disagree with previous theorising that claimed social movements start and then stop (Taylor, 1989), as explained in section 2.2.2.4.

The following sections outline each approach and crucially the key concepts each has provided that allow social movements to be understood more holistically. How social movements come to be, the dynamics between individuals, groups, politics, institutions, culture, their outcomes and consequences, and whether or not they cease to be, are all explored. The collective behaviour approach, RMT and political process theory (PPT) on their own are not enough to understand whether there is a movement for women and sport. But when utilised as a whole throughout this thesis, each approach provides greater cohesion to explain the different stages of a social movement for women and sport.

2.2.2.1 Collective Behaviour Approach

The collective behaviour approach argues that when there is threat of societal change, or when a society is failing to integrate or provide opportunities for its citizens, large numbers of people may feel aggrieved leading to a society becoming strained and even breaking down. The strain creates 'psychological anxiety or discomfort' (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008, p. 127) and in response, 'anger, frustration, and aggression would build and collective outbursts of protest and rage would occur' (Johnston, 2014, p. 29). Examples included crazes, panics, fads and riots. The assumption that psychological instability grew from societal strain and led to participation in these seemingly irrational and chaotic events guided original research and meant social movements were originally categorised as a sub-field of collective behaviour (Beuchler, 2004; Freeman and Johnson, 1999).

However, embryonic work on social movements provided an increasingly more rational underpinning to reasons for the dissatisfaction of collectives, such as conflictual responses to political regimes explored by Marxism (see Table 1). Tarrow (1994, p. 153, cited in Koopmans, 2004, p. 21) used the concept of a protest cycle to define 'a phase of heightened conflict and contention across the social system'. The contention can expand (locally and/or transnationally), transform, and contract, which means no protest ends where it began. The range of tactics that may be employed by a social movement is expansive, with Wang and Soule (2012) identifying 63 different types of protest tactics from moderate to disruptive. However, different social movements will use different protest tactics in line with their wider aims and context they find themselves in. As such, Crossley (2002) questions whether protest forms a central part of all social movements, but does state there may be internal disagreement and tensions over whom may act as a figurehead for the movement for example. Emerging work has begun to focus on protest in sport (Erhart, 2014; Silva, 2013) and the role of professional athletes as figureheads for social change (Darnell, 2012). But the growing focus on women in movements has also posited that protest is inherently masculine and patriarchal, ignoring different discourses of challenge that women undertake (Grey and Sawer, 2008), for they usually do not attempt to seize control or use violence (Ferree and Mueller, 2004). Chapter five onwards provides examples of institutionalised protest such as conferences aiding women and sport activism, whereas section 2.4 and chapter five both explore emerging collective, yet disconnected, dissatisfaction looking to change sport for women's benefit.

The collective behaviour approach particularly focuses on the reasoning behind the rise of a social movement but fails to provide arguments for how this reasoning becomes rationalised into collective action. The approach was grounded in 1960s' understanding and over time, scholars wanted greater comprehension of how social movements gathered resources and gained access to political opportunities, strategy and organisation (Freeman and Johnson, 1999), and thus, the following approaches to social movements grew.

2.2.2.2 Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) approach

RMT moved away from describing the spontaneous base of collective behaviour approaches toward a structured and grounded understanding of social movements (Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). A focus on how social movements mobilised resources allowed for understanding the

‘ability to balance the costs, rewards and incentives that provided agents with the motivation to become involved in struggle’ (Crossley, 2002, p. 12).

The rational aspect of RMT is seen through concepts such as a social movement organisation (SMO) and countermovement which provide the ability to measure social movements through units of analysis (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). Organisations and/or groups involved with social movements are conceptualised as a SMO – ‘a complex, or formal, organisation which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement these goals’ (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1218). Throughout the thesis, international, regional, and national groups such as IAPESGW, EWS and the USA Women’s Sports Foundation (WSFUS) are identified as SMOs. SMOs represent and help to realise the broader objectives of the social movement but also have their own diverse target goals because of both the common discourse and shared identities encompassed by its participants (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Snow et al, 2004). For example in sport, academic groups and advocacy organisations may be distinct most of the time but should an issue arise that affect them both, they may mobilise together or interdependently in order to lobby the same issue in line with their aims. This is seen when the latter will request research from the former in relation to a particular issue, such as sport participation rates.

Because a SMO may act across multiple movements, ‘there are no well-established criteria or sampling frames for delineating SMO populations’ (Minkoff, 2002, p. 265). However, a SMO is different to ‘more bounded concepts such as “protest campaigns”, “challenging groups”, or “protest events”’ (Johnston, 2014, p. 13) because these often focus on one highly contextualised element in particular (e.g. a social media outcry to an example of derogatory comments about sportswomen, as was seen in response to remarks made by British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) presenter John Inverdale about the physical appearance of Wimbledon tennis champion Marion Bartoli). SMOs are more likely to have greater coordination of participants and management of resources in order to ‘convert available pools of individually held resources into collective resources and to utilise those resources in collective action’ (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004, p. 116). Using the above example of John Inverdale again, the UK Women’s Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) responded to the growing media attention by issuing a statement claiming they had ‘written to the BBC expressing concern at [Inverdale’s] comments and asked whether the presenter will be facing further disciplinary procedures’ (WSFF, 2013). This was important because WSFF had created strong links with parliamentary ministers over

the previous year, meaning it utilised its extra leverage to spearhead the collective action.

Edwards and McCarthy (2004) collated 25 years of RMT research into a model of six aspects. Each of the aspects below allow for a refined understanding of how women and sport groups have used resources in order to implement change for women in sport.

Unequal distribution of resources: The potential to mobilise resources 'varies over space, through time, and across constituency' (2004, p. 116). Resources are concentrated in certain areas of the world, such as resource-rich people located in the resource-rich West, and can be redistributed in a number of ways with a variety of resultant benefits and consequences, whether intended or unintended. The state can redistribute resources through funding, status, and/or access to decision-making roles if certain criteria are met. Likewise, organisations (e.g. corporate, religious, foundations) and individuals (e.g. patrons, celebrities) can also provide resources based on their own expertise and ideological orientations. The funding of women and sport activism varies globally. Chapter five outlines how different societal contexts affect the distribution of resources.

Different types of resources: Heavily based on Bourdieu's (1986) concept of capital, the resources are defined as moral (legitimacy and support), cultural (specialised knowledge), socio-organisational (networks – including overlapping SMO memberships), human (skills and experience) and material (financial and physical capital) which can be acquired and lost over time.

Key resource attributes: The understanding of how useful resources are within a given context, as well as how controllable they are. For example, a legislation for women and sport may have more influence when produced by a government or major sporting organisation. However, it will also be controlled and legislated by them so may have little input from women and sport lobbyists who do not hold positions of power within those institutions.

Mechanisms to obtain resources: When linked with the moral, cultural, socio-organisational, human, and material resources above, the following mechanisms provide a substantial matrix of resource types and ways to obtain them. *Aggregation* refers to bringing dispersed resources together. Ferree and Mueller (2004, p. 594-5) focus on the importance of conferences to women's social movements for they 'concretise' previously dispersed work and networks and are 'organisational and interpersonal, offering a particularly useful melding of advocacy network and lifestyle politics'. UN Women Conferences are a prominent example for providing a central platform from which women could first join together. However, conferences have been 'less readily recognised as important by social movement researchers, perhaps because women have relied on them as mobilising tools disproportionately more than men' (Ferree and Mueller, 2004, p. 595). Johnston (2014) adds that meetings, planning sessions, and conferences where individuals meet can generate meaning, affirm identity, and share tactics through intra- and intermovement diffusion of ideas. Chapter seven onwards will assess how important the Brighton Conference has been for women and sport networks. *Self-production* is the creation of resources that aid the movement or add value to them, such as research highlighting issues women continue to encounter in and through sport and why (IWG, 2014a). *Co-optation/appropriation* is the usage of other people's resources, whether it be allowed or not. An example would be different networks highlighting their work within an SMO's newsletter in order to reach a wider audience. Finally, *patronage* is the giving of resources by an individual or organisation. Quite often these are financial bequests from former activists. One such example is the Anita White Foundation.

How resources are mobilised depends upon the enabling and constraining of the relationships formed by the SMO. Edwards and McCarthy (2004) suggest a number of resource mobilisation processes. Firstly, the creation of SMOs and how their capacity is built is important because how the SMO is structured impacts upon its potential to accrue, use, and mobilise certain resources. In general, small, local and volunteer SMOs are much more common than the large, professionalised and richer SMOs. This means the decisions taken by smaller SMOs are crucial to their future impact. For example, chapter six

outlines how WSI initially decided not to allow males to join; meaning a significant set of resources could not be mobilised. Secondly, mobilising money occurs through going to a few large organisations or many individuals, or somewhere in-between. Importantly however, the greater the overhead costs by the SMO, the more likely their efforts are shifted away from their original cause. The following chapters will demonstrate how money has been a major issue for all women and sport SMOs over time, but when it has been mobilised, the resultant opportunities were utilised to have significant impact in the form of research, conference organising, and travel subsistence to lobby for policy change. Thirdly, the process of mobilising activism can be split into 'action activism' where greater numbers of people are mobilised to join the movement, or 'consensus activism' where greater numbers of people are mobilised to adhere to the goals of the movement. The latter has been more common throughout women and sport activism and is achieved through public education, campaigns, and awareness. Consensus activism is important because 'while SMOs pursuing similar goals may be in competition for the money and time of adherents to their causes, any success they have in consensus mobilisation generates available human resources for the entire movement' (2004, p. 141). A practical example for women and sport SMOs has been the cohesiveness in the promotion of conferences and events for each SMO.

Creating resources and mobilisation potential through collective action: This aspect refers to the potential for incremental growth due to a sustained collective. Conferences can attract new interest and more activists, and this growth is important because the resultant networks and resources can be utilised and/or expanded upon in order to aid the progress of the movement who hosted the original conference. The Brighton Conference has had many indirect and unplanned results for women and sport, such as the formation of regional women and sport groups, which are analysed in chapter eight.

Edwards and McCarthy's (2004) work offers a systematic framework to understanding how social movements move from interdependent networks of dissatisfied people to co-ordinated movements of mobilised resources aiming to directly influence and lever change. Essentially, 'the amount of activity directed toward

goal accomplishment is crudely a function of the resources controlled by an organisation' (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1221).

Notwithstanding this breakthrough in social movement theorising, RMT has been consistently criticised for being *too* rational and placing resources and economics too central to analysis. This has meant the emotions and dissatisfactions associated with people who constitute social movements over time are seen as a constant (Beuchler, 2004; Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Tilly, 1995; Williams, 2004). Giugni (1999) claims the RMT approach ultimately positions social movements as 'weak' because they are overly reliant on resources to effect change, which does not properly consider the effect of political institutions and structures in different contexts. Ignoring powerful rhetoric within changeable contexts can be dangerous when theorising about social movements. Hayhurst et al (2011) highlight how non-Western women and sport SMOs often have to suit the ideological criteria of dominant sport development groups predominantly based in the West in order to receive crucial resources to grow communities or expand their programmes. Furthermore Ferree and Mueller (2004) claim more research needs to be conducted on how women's movements have interacted with resources over time. Diversity needs to be better included into this rationalised, yet useful, approach to understanding social movements.

2.2.2.3 Political Process Theory (PPT) approach

PPT was instigated to make sense of the impact between supposedly 'rational' actors within social movements and political systems. According to Freeman and Johnson (1999, p. 4), the 'pendulum swung' during the 1980s and 1990s away from 'who did what?' to 'why and how… political opportunities or access to resources lead to collective action'. Proponents of PPT argued social structures enabled and constrained social movements, which themselves are 'active in a larger political process that involves a variety of other players such as the government, the general public, corporations, and the media' (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008, p. 128). Greater focus on context and multi-level analysis became apparent through this approach and informs the methodology outlined in chapter four.

The concept formulated by PPT scholars to understand 'the relation between social movements and their political environment – the system of alliances and oppositions, and the structure of the state', (Giugni, 1998, p. 381) was the Political Opportunity Structure (POS). A POS helps to explore relationships between constantly negotiating political environments. It allows scholars to account for why social

movements thrive in some societies and not others by moving the focus of analysis away from social movements and towards the dynamics of society (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Williams, 2004).

According to Kriesi (2004), political institutions sit at the centre of POSs and their openness is down to the extent they are centralised. The more decentralised a political institution is from its core, the larger the gaps between government, parliament and public administration meaning it is harder to directly affect change. But political structures are not static. The actors with whom political structures consist are constantly shifting and changing in response to ideological objectives (Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). As such, there is debate about whether a SMO ceases to be a SMO once it becomes institutionalised. The PPT approach suggests that to be successful at some point, SMOs will have to interact with societal institutions such as governments or corporate business. This can lead to positive outcomes such as the impact the women's movement had on the UN regarding sexual discrimination legislation in the 1970s, or how government funding may be released for programmes and further resources (Grey and Sawer, 2008; Martin, 1990). Yet it may also lead to the SMO moving away from both its original aims and the social movement to which it connects. Becoming institutionalised often means subscribing to rules of more powerful organisations that may not necessarily share immediate or even similar visions, or directing resources away from the core aim of social change toward other necessary commitments such as marketing and public relations (Johnston, 2014). Section 2.4 explores strong critiques of women and sport SMOs who are claimed to have institutionalised toward liberal objectives for women and sport and away from their original radical identities. As will be explored throughout this thesis however, by becoming institutionalised into the patriarchal male-dominated sphere of sport, women and sport SMOs have managed to influence these dominant networks and foster change in a number of ways, such as the formation of commissions or the employment of women in decision-making positions.

Institutions are 'the rules of the game in society' and consist more specifically of 'formal constraints – such as the rules that human beings devise – and informal constraints – such as conventions and codes of behaviour' (North, 1990, p. 3-4, cited in Krook and Mackay, 2011, p. 11). For example, the rules of political institutions are upheld by individual organisations such as parliaments and political parties. These may change at any time due to the enactment of laws or results of elections. Crucially however, their norms, principles and ideas are embedded in traditions and codes of conduct which are much harder to change immediately (Lovenduski, 2011). Examples of this 'informal politics' may include intimidating and uncomfortable nomination and

electoral procedures for leadership positions in sport because women are often outnumbered by men in an already male-dominated environment (Henry and Robinson, 2010). Therefore, advancing women's rights and policies is just as dependent on the informal constraints institutions pose as they are for the rules which enable their engagement in the first place. Interrupting the 'rules of the game' to better reflect gender within institutions is a dynamic for change.

Understanding that 'institutions consist of formal rules and informal norms, and second, that institutions are complex systems that may work in permissive or obstructive ways' (Krook and Mackay, 2011, p. 4) is especially important when examining processes of change. Talbot (2000, p. 11) acknowledges the existence since the 1980s of the 'sports femocrat'; an important group of women working in the sports bureaucracy for women's issues. However, little is known about their experiences and the processes with which they have worked to enable change for women in sport. Indeed, Krook and Mackay (2011) claim that work to determine the actions of social movements and interpersonal relations associated with institutionalism are still ongoing. A further consideration is how women are presumed to cater to the needs of the institution rather than the social movement they are part of (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997; Talbot, 2002). Indeed, Taylor's (2005, p. 373) work argues that rather than 'writing equity officers off as dupes or sell-outs', their impact as adherents is a key resource for social movements. Taylor (2005) identified how women, and feminists, interpreted their roles in different ways and developed autonomy by renegotiating their identity as equity officers. Greater connections to previously ignored activists created a dynamism that contributed to a growing feminist consciousness. Chapter five onward demonstrates the strategies undertaken, and the work completed, by women who have engaged with the practices and norms of masculine sport-based institutions.

Despite being one of the major movements before the 1980s, the women's movement was rarely included into PPT analysis because women's activism was predominantly at grass-roots level rather than institutions at the centre of POSs (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005; True, 2010). Thus this thesis addresses concerns by Crossley (2002) and Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) that PPT struggles to explain the multi-faceted nature of social movement participation. Actors in politics may also be participants in social movements (e.g. Feminists; the Green Party) and may not be minorities in society (white, Western, middle-to-upper class participants). A broader explanation for some of the criticisms of PPT is that it has only been focused on national political contexts of Western liberal democracies and social revolutions of the past (Kriesi, 2004) meaning its overall application is difficult.

However, the next chapter outlines how PPT is crucial for contextual understanding of how women and sport activism is facilitated globally.

2.2.2.4 The growing influence of New Social Movements (NSMs)

PPT restored some identity to social movement research after its rationalisation by RMT but its argument that power revolves around the state failed to acknowledge the influence of different institutions (Freeman and Johnson, 1999). By the end of the 1980s in Western societies, cultural movements based on lifestyle and identity (e.g. Environmentalism) were increasingly common. Exponents of PPT who expected social movements to use institutional organisation and structure in collective action to change the state were challenged by these non-linear social movements. Culture was previously argued as a by-product, rather than integral part, of political/economic change (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008). Elements such as youth and gender became important features of modern societal strain, displacing class-based conflicts related to previous Marxist understanding (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Crossley, 2002; Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Johnston, 2014). NSMs shifted analysis from structure, rationality, and politics back toward agency and the processes involved with forming identity. An example was enhanced analysis of processes involved with the Women's Movement, and this sub-section outlines how social movement understanding has been advanced because of this analysis. However, this sub-section also begins to acknowledge the limited connections between women and sport activism and the wider Women's Movement. Sport and physical activity were argued to be of tangential concern by the Women's Movement compared to issues such as abortion and sexual abuse (see chapter five and eight).

Different waves of feminist thought were developing throughout the Western women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s. In the USA, there have been different generations of women who have pushed for liberal reform strategies from the 1960s, through to radical younger women who wanted to raise consciousness about patriarchy in structural hierarchy (Grey and Sawer, 2008; Pelak et al, 1999; Sawer and Maddison, 2009). More recently, women's movements have been forced to question the 'global sisterhood idea' due to a realisation of greater diversity between women. Women's movements in non-Western countries grew at different times and in different scenarios to those in the West (Grey and Sawer, 2008; Pelak et al, 1999; Sawer and Maddison, 2009). As women increasingly become a central focus of analysis in social movement research for how they organise and affect change (Crossley, 2002; Ferree and Mueller,

2004, Krook and Mackay, 2011), there is a gradual move away from focusing on American women's movements (Whittier, 2004). This relationship is expanded further through postcolonial feminist theorising of wider sociology in chapter three.

Not all women's movements can be categorised as feminist. Women's movements are simply the organisation and mobilisation of women; health, peace and anti-racism may be central aims of their protests. Feminist movements have the distinct goal of changing women's subordination and are not always against men, for the church and state have been equally subordinating as institutions, even though they sometimes include women (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Sawer and Maddison, 2009). Thus, both women's and feminist movements can be inside and outside of the state, profitable and not-for-profit, structural and fluid, dependent and also autonomous (Grey and Sawer, 2008; Martin, 1990). These complexities have led to many diverse and unplanned outcomes, some positive (abuse and sexuality recognition and help; intersections with class and race) and some constraining such as the growth of reactionary conservative groups who aim to stifle progression of women's movements (Messner, 1997; Pelak et al., 1999).

The Women's Movement is a NSM example but in view of Taylor's (1989) argument in the following sub-section that movements have no start or end-point, 'new' social movements of the 1960s onwards are now half a century old (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Crossley, 2002). Furthermore because NSMs are argued to be new manifestations of conflict, any manifestations of activism to have occurred previously are ignored, especially women's struggle (Sawer and Maddison, 2009).

Intramovement Development

One of the most fundamental questions for social movement research is how they start and stop. For many years it was assumed social movements grew out of dissatisfaction but there were few insights into how and why they discontinued, apart from logical conclusions that resources and/or participants reduced their activism and thus the movement finished. NSMs provided new thinking in response to the growing critique of the rationality and political thought associated with social movements.

Taylor's (1989) theorising was due to the complexities and increasing diversity within the women's movement. The supposed diminishing of passion within contemporary women's movements compared to the 1960s and 1970s, as well as their institutionalism compared to the radical politics of their foremothers, led some to question whether a women's movement existed anymore (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Taylor (1989) disagreed and instead provides an alternative to the 'start-end'

dichotomy of social movement life-cycles. Rather than ceasing, movements diversify over time. The women's movement has diversified to an extent that feminism is now embedded in state and institutions through equality laws (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Activism and lobbying for statutes still exist but are less pronounced than decades beforehand, leading some to question whether the women's movement still campaigns for such advances. A further example is how women and sport SMOs are reactive to media interest on issues affecting women in sport rather than being proactive in generating the stories themselves. Months may pass without exposure but this does not mean that activism is not occurring. Moreover, 'the bar is always rising for what media outlets consider dramatic and compelling' (Johnston, 2014, p. 96), so SMOs quite often have to be innovative too.

In contrast, people clinging to traditional feminist values are argued to be out-of-touch with new feminisms. Taylor (1989, p. 762) states this is because 'as the cultural and political climate had changed, these women found that their ideals and commitment to feminism marginalised and isolated them from the mainstream'. As mentioned in section 2.2.2.3, changes in a POS affect social movements. Some activists may be marginalised by the impact of the changing POS so decide to create a new SMO within the social movement. Taylor (1989) explains the development of the women's movement as different groups taking different avenues regarding their own interests. The original women's movement became so dissipated that instead of ceasing to exist, its SMOs re-negotiated their aims with regard to the overall movement goal. Crucially however, each SMO had dissimilar objectives because they wanted different things such as access to politics, activism against sexual abuse, greater childcare focus (Grey and Sawer, 2008). This impacted the movements' opportunity for change. Lack of communication meant similar groups unknowingly approached similar institutions, leading to stereotypes of confusion from those outside of the movement, and competition with those in the movement. This hindered progress, despite the fact individuals had the status and resources to be able to attract interest if all SMOs were more cohesive with shared objectives (Taylor, 1989). Talbot (2000) acknowledges the nexus of differences between the sports femocrats, the organisations they worked for, and participants in the social movement. She hypothesised that these complexities had 'lead to potentially destructive schisms' over time (Talbot, 2000, p. 15). Chapters five to eight highlight how some women and sport SMOs have experienced generational dissatisfaction. IAPESGW in particular saw its conservative activism result in other SMOs, such as WISC and WSI, being formed who focused on women and sport issues it was not willing to address. Moreover, these chapters also outline how advances by women and sport SMOs occurred without the initial recognition of the wider Women's

Movement because sport was seen as less important in comparison to examples noted above such as sexual abuse and childcare. Chapter eight details how women and sport was included in UN discourse because of women and sport SMO activism, rather than by the Women's Movement. These are further examples of the complexities associated to the composition of social movements.

The 'start-end' dichotomy is thus replaced by a continuum, for aspects of the collective behaviour approach can be seen in the dissipation of a movement due to feelings of dissatisfaction that it does not represent all activists it claims to. Taylor's work provides continuity for social movement research, but more work needs to be undertaken on the durability and direction of change in social movements (Giugni, 1999). As will be outlined in the next sub-section, this includes focusing on the outcomes and impacts of social movements over time (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008; Giugni et al, 1999), as literature has predominantly concentrated on social movement's mobilisation (Pelak et al, 1999). Chapters seven and eight will, for the first time academically, examine the initial outcomes and international organisational impact of activism for women and sport.

2.2.2.5 Outcomes and consequences

Despite social movements ultimately attempting to change aspects of society, literature on the outcomes and consequences of social movements is uncommon. This is predominantly because many social movement studies are small empirical case studies of a particular context, thus are not generalisable or representative of the movement as a whole (Crossley, 2002; Koopmans, 2004; Nathanson, 2010). One such collection of work is by Giugni et al (1999) on the impact of social movements on politics, participants, and other social movements. Regarding outcomes, success can differ within a movement (some SMOs may do well, others not), inside and outside of a movement (some aspects/themes/issues are successful, others not), and success itself can be overemphasised with difficulties in attributing causality (Giugni, 1999). For example, it is very hard to find direct evidence for a social movement being the single catalyst for policy changes.

However, there will have been strategic decisions about the coordination of available resources, the political context of opportunities, and the extent to which the outcomes will (partly) reach the goals of the social movement (Johnston, 2014). There is a careful balance required to please participants who want immediate change, and those participants working toward long-term objectives. For example, disruption and

moderation are consequences of social movements. The former is very powerful but requires many resources and is difficult to achieve, whereas the latter can mean greater inclusion into an institution causing dissatisfaction for some social movement participants. Short-term outcomes may initially cause change but 'will not alter, in a fundamental way, existing structures and practices', yet long-term change is harder to achieve but can have a more 'durable impact' (Giugni, 1999, p. xxix). Furthermore, the impact of one social movement may produce changes in identity, create rival/counter-movements, force legal statutes to be enacted or changed, and allow activists to be co-opted into positions of power to dramatically change the societal horizon and the POS (Harvey et al., 2009; Pelak et al., 1999; Tilly, 1999; Whittier, 2004).

Another dynamic a social movement may utilise is its composition of SMOs. Radical SMOs have been acknowledged as pursuing their objectives to the extent that moderate SMOs within the movement are then approached as the 'safer' option by opponents (Johnston, 2014). Generally however, the growth of social movements as professionalised and engaged proponents of political institutional debates has meant they have become more accepted as a feature of contemporary society.

In short, there is no doubt that social movements create change, but more analysis is needed on what exactly change is and what the resultant society looks like after change. This thesis examines women and sport activism socio-historically to account for what outcomes have been produced to address the barriers women encounter in sport.

2.3 Social movements in sport

There is increasing work on social movements in sport, especially the Sport for Development and Peace movement (SDP) (Chawansky, 2008; Kidd, 2008) and the Gay and Lesbian sport movement (Davidson, 2013) but they rarely acknowledge social movement literature and are not compared to other social movements in sport and wider society (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008; Wilson, 2007). Bevington and Dixon's (2005) acknowledgement of the lack of linkage between academics and activists in social movements can be seen through Kidd's (2008) work on the disorganised nature, political processes, and chronic struggle for resources the SDP movement undertakes without mentioning any social movement literature.

There is also growing realisation of how sport is inextricably linked into protests and movements against wider institutional spheres, especially economic and societal

dissatisfaction with mega-sport events (Cornelissen, 2012; Rowe, 2012; Schausteck de Almeida et al., forthcoming). Davis-Delano and Crosset (2008, p. 116) state 'many sport-related movements emerge from outside sport, are driven primarily by activists from outside sport, and have goals far beyond sport'. Often though, sport as a location for activism is not taken seriously and is ignored by feminists (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008). Pelak (2002) claims there has been much work on the structural changes involved with women's sport (Birrell and Cole, 1994; Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994) but little focus on women's roles throughout these processes. This thesis adds to this niche of research by placing women's collective action at the centre of a social movement for women and sport.

2.4 Introducing a social movement for women and sport

As the literature surrounding social movements in sport develops, over time there has been irregular debate relating to a movement for women and sport. In 1994, Harvey and Houle (1994) argued there was no example of a sport-specific social movement, although sport was influencing wider social movements. Two years later, Harvey et al. (1996, p. 268), in acknowledging the work conducted since 1990 for progressing women and sport, premised that 'the feminist movement has been successful in advancing the cause of women in sport on a global scale'. In 2000, Hargreaves (2000, p. 215) believed there was a Women's International Sport Movement (WISM): 'a new social movement which reputedly represents a global community of women from different countries and social and cultural groups throughout the world'. Five years later, a conference paper presented by Yesukevich (2005) questioned whether there was a social movement for women's equality in sport in the USA. Yesukevich (2005, p. 1) stated 'the effort for increasing women's acceptance in sport is based on underlying social networks and it is successfully maintaining a sustained challenge to a powerful male-dominated system. But the extent to which it is based in collective action frames is limited' because groups did not know whether to engage in feminism or not – linking into women's/feminist movement debates highlighted in section 2.2.2.4. More recently, Matthews (2012), Pike and Matthews (2014) and Safai (2014) have started to pay greater attention to a social movement related to women and sport.

Away from a focus on the movement as a whole, Hall (1995) used Martin's (1990) ten dimensions of feminist organisations (e.g. feminist ideology and values,

founding circumstances, members and membership) for case studies of four Western women and sport SMOs between 1974-1991. Martin (1990) herself constructed the dimensions to expand RMT's lack of interaction with feminist SMOs. In using this analysis, Hall (1995) only accounts for the organisation of the women and sport groups individually and does not expand upon how they may be part of a broader movement for women and sport, and indeed, what the movement looks like. Martin's (1990) analysis of feminist organisations is very useful for analysing SMOs within a social movement but does not adequately address the interconnections between many different groups toward a collective aim. Furthermore, the mid-1990s saw work completed on the UK Women's Sport Foundation (WSFUK – renamed in 2007 as WSFF) (Clarke and Humberstone, 1997; Grace, 1995), as well as more contemporary works which have focused on women and sport SMOs in North America (Comeau and Church, 2010) and an audit of management processes for the Brighton Conference (Kluka, 2008).

Yet the most detailed literature continues to be by Hargreaves (1999; 2000) whose central theme is whether those who make up the 'WISM' acknowledge difference and represent marginal women. In recognition of the limitations for how representative social movements really are (Nathanson, 2010), Hargreaves' (2000) primary concern is that the WISM's main agents are white, Western, middle-class females positioned within a dominant white, Eurocentric and Americanised, heterosexual, able-bodied male sports system. She argued that the growing interconnectedness between countries and cultures, due in part to examples such as the first World Conference on Women and Sport in 1994, in Brighton, meant those leading the WISM were homogenising women. Moreover, according to Hargreaves (1999; 2000) the dominant white, Western demographic was increasingly being joined by 'neo-colonial elites' who espoused similar values and attitudes to the dominant structure and adopted Western discourse as knowledge. This 'homogenising' argument influences her only reference to what a social movement is, and how it acts, for it 'implies a global dimension that transcends nationhood, encompassing on equal terms women from the East and the West, from the developed and developing worlds, women of different races and ethnicities, and of different religions and philosophies' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 217). Hargreaves believed the movement was neglecting difference, despite its increasingly diverse make-up. The next chapter outlines how postcolonial feminism is used in this study to make sense of the issues which arise when women are homogenised.

Both Hargreaves (2000) and Hall (1996) praise the growth of national and international women and sport SMOs but argued they needed to politicise more for

they are too liberal, bureaucratised, and professionalised. As will be shown throughout this thesis, it is unfair to critique these groups when context and POSs are understood more. For example, major political gains were made through the formation of EWS – a women and sport SMO both scholars fail to analyse in their work. In relation to her critique of the dominant demographic of the movement, Hargreaves (2000) also detracts from the realisation that without organisational power, global change is exceptionally difficult to achieve. Moreover, she negates the difficulties in connecting with different areas of the world on limited finances and resources at a time when IWG were directly affecting powerful groups such as the IOC. A liberal means of engagement was leading to gradual change but it seems Hargreaves wanted stronger, more direct action in order to change sport for women.

Hargreaves' argument has impacted upon subsequent literature. Safai (2014, p. 63) follows Hargreaves (2000) in her critique of international women and sport SMOs such as the IWG and WSI in stating they are comprised of elite women who 'are being absorbed into the existing male-privileged and male-privileging elite sport, rather than genuinely threatening those discourses and structures of power'. Although true in the sense women from these SMOs are reaching major policy-making positions in sport, claims such as this deny the decades of collective and political activism that has led these roles and assumes the women would do little to change the structural, organisational, and management practices which surround them (Talbot, 2002; Taylor, 2005). Indeed, Hargreaves homogenises diverse 'white', 'Western' women with laudable experience and skills into one category. Section 2.2.2.3 has already acknowledged Talbot's (2000, p. 12) concern that 'there is very little information, let alone analysis, of the effectiveness of the international organisations on women and sport'. Furthermore, Hayhurst et al. (2011) is just one example of many from the sociology of sport literature who use Hargreaves' (2000) insights to summarise the Brighton Conference and Brighton Declaration in less than five sentences and assume it had little impact on women and sport. Chapter seven onwards will outline how this is simply untrue and dangerous to future understanding on women and sport.

Hargreaves (2000, p. 215) also claims that the WISM 'stemmed from the establishment of international organisations and groups for women in sport and physical education – the first one, IAPESGW, founded in the late 1940s – whose leaders were almost exclusively white, Western and middle-class'. Both she and Hall (1995; 1996) critique IAPESGW for being too conservative and acting as a catalyst for the formation of WISC, which later became WSI. In claiming the WISM stemmed from IAPESGW, Hargreaves ignores the role of previous activism for women and sport. The next sub-section outlines this activism.

2.4.1 The importance of history for women and sport 'collective' action

Attributing a 'start-point' to the WISM neglects work that was previously being undertaken (Taylor, 1989). Both in the UK and the USA, women were participating in physical education and sport before 1900 (Fletcher, 1984; 1987; Guttmann, 1991). Trade expositions and fairs in the USA recognised the need to improve sanitation to aid hygiene and general health (Park, 2005; 2008). But physical activity for women was decreed by male and female physicians to be unwomanly, dangerous to health and offspring, detracting from other duties, causing burnout from learning and exercise, and thus, 'harming' the human race (McCrone, 1988; Park, 2005; 2008; Vertinsky, 1994; Williams, 2014). For an elite few in UK and USA societies however, some powerful female physicians were positive toward female physical activity. Physical education and sports courses underpinned by Swedish gymnastics were established in USA colleges as early as 1865 (Park, 2010) and 1889 in the UK (Fletcher, 1987). Sports were adapted and the competition element removed by female physical educators 'to eliminate roughness and to minimise the danger of overexertion' (Guttmann, 1991, p. 115). The crucial ideology was that physical education was for all, whereas sport promoted competitive values so should be limited. These were the roots from which IAPESGW was formed (Hall and Pfister 1999; Petersen, 1975; see chapter five).

Through the 1920s-1930s, Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI) directly challenged the hegemonic masculinity and male-dominance in sport. Primarily northern-European-based, it is the first example of a group claiming to hold the interests of sportswomen globally. FSFI was established in 1918 by the President of an all-female French women and sport group. Alice Milliat had unsuccessfully lobbied the IOC and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) for women's involvement in track and field events, so 'decided upon the formation of an international organization for women which would provide a forum for competition as well as a regulatory body for their control' (Leigh and Bonin, 1977, p. 76). Just one year after its formation, the FSFI hosted the first Women's Olympic Games in Paris, France, in 1919. Much like the IOC version, these were to continue quadrennially and had '38 countries representing five continents' affiliated – as many as the IAAF at the time (Carpentier and Lefevre, 2006, p. 1117).

FSFI under Milliat had a limited base of resources and power, but consistently challenged patriarchal sport dominance. The hegemonic male organisations of the IOC and IAAF felt threatened by the encroachment of 'militant' groups (Hargreaves, 2007, p.5; Terret, 2010, p. 1166) into 'their' sporting domains (see Dunning, 1999;

Hargreaves, 1994). By 1926, the IAAF and IOC showed increased desire to control FSFI as they thought 'they were the best judges of what was suitable and proper for women [so] promoted the governance of women's sports by the international federations only in order to limit and control their growth' (Leigh and Bonin, 1977, p. 77). The IAAF effectively superseded FSFI by making key decisions, such as 1928 Olympic Games women's participation criteria, and became the main authority on women's sport at the time by allowing patriarchal national Olympic Committees to control women's sport (Carpentier and Lefevre, 2006; Hargreaves, 1994; Leigh and Bonin, 1977). FSFI ceased in 1936 and the planned Women's World Games for 1938 became the first IAAF European Championships, highlighting FSFI's Euro-centrality because all FSFI Games had been held in Europe and primarily competed in by European women. Fundamentally however, as early as the 1920s a women and sport group had attempted to shift opinion of women in sport (Hargreaves, 2007). The FSFI not only impacted the IOC and IAAF, but had indirectly affected national groups such as those in the USA and UK.

The fact that IAPESGW's roots were about eliminating the 'evils' of competition (Petersen, 1975), whereas FSFI's mandate was affording women the opportunity to participate in the highest level of competitive sport, highlights the advantage of using social movements to explain seemingly contradictory examples towards advancing women in sport. These were different SMOs who had a similar goal – greater inclusion for women in physical activity or sport – but different objectives. This was change for societies of that period. The fact Hargreaves (1994) had previously written about FSFI adds more confusion to why she states IAPESGW was the 'start' of the 'WISM'.

Between the 1920s and the 1980s in the USA, there were major power battles between women's physical educators and men's sports providers for women's physical education and sport. The former controlled colleges through physical education, the latter controlled every other societal sector for sport and physical activity. An array of literature highlights the ongoing tensions between the groups but there have been limited connections between this body of work and contemporary women and sport SMOs (Cahn, 1994; Griffin, 1998; Guttmann, 1991; Hult, 1994; O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007; Park, 2005; Park, 2010; Schultz, 2014), especially WSFUS. Fortunately this literature exists to allow the unpacking of different relationships over time and how, similar to FSFI and the IOC/IAAF, American women's sport and physical education groups were gradually subsumed by dominant men's sporting organisations.

For other areas of the world, including many parts of Europe, these valuable histories of women's sports organising have yet to be fully detailed (Guttmann, 1991; 2005). Recent texts (Benn et al., 2011; Hall, 2002; Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003)

have started to collate different experiences from around the world but these are by no means extensive, despite laudable efforts of the authors. However, as chapter five and the timeline (see Appendix 1) acknowledge, large numbers of events have occurred but are yet to be included into analyses of women's relationship with sports activism.

Thus it is not helpful to state a movement for women and sport started with IAPESGW (Hargreaves, 2000). IAPESGW grew out of domestic American debates (Hall and Pfister 1999; Petersen, 1975; see chapter five). In addition, there was an international group before IAPESGW and, as chapter five will demonstrate, around the world there were examples of women and sport activism. By broadening analysis to include as wide and varied a collection of women and sport SMOs as possible, their relationships can be understood in relation to whether there has been sustained collective action over time in order to change the subordinate experiences of females in sport.

2.4.2 Broadening understanding of a social movement for women and sport

The existing literature on a 'WISM' needs to be contextualised within its time. Texts by Hargreaves (1999; 2000) and Hall (1995; 1996) outlined above are now dated and do not consider the many examples of global work for women and sport which occurred before their publication, and very little analysis has been given to developments since (see Appendix 1). The following quote by Hall (1996, p. 96-7) not only provides a rationale for further work on understanding a social movement, but also points to how different women and sport SMOs have developed in different POSs:

> 'Most [of the women and sport groups formed up to this point] have evolved quite differently given the unique features of the sport systems in their respective countries, but what they have in common is the goal of providing an alternative to traditional sport organisations. It is imperative, in my view, to study these organisations, reconstruct their organisational histories, examine the ways in which they negotiate their place within the broader sport systems, and assess the extent to which they have been able to maintain their political and advocacy functions'.

Hargreaves (2000, p. 232) extends this by arguing for the establishment of 'a sense of difference and shared experience'. Both quotes show how engagement with social

movement literature may not have been central to their understanding, but preliminary theorising was underpinning their analysis.

However, her lack of engagement with social movement literature means Hargreaves' (2000) term to describe collective activism on women and sport – the WISM – can be critiqued. Despite acknowledging the gains made by groups over time, she is critical of its participants and questions whether they are representative of the 'international', before going on to call their work the Women's *International* Sport Movement. Adding 'international' within the term 'WISM' adds a further level of description and hierarchy which is not needed (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). This is especially so when attempting to collate the vast array of local, national, regional, transnational, and international SMOs together with passionate individuals and activists working within grassroots politics and sport.

A 'Women and Sport Movement' (W&SM) is more appropriate for it encompasses the comprehensive collective of SMOs and additional agents mentioned above, while crucially also accounting for relationships with non-W&SM groups lobbying on behalf of women in other sectors of society. A 'women's sport movement' would imply a type of sport that women have formed or only they participate in, whereas a 'women in sport movement' would deny the wider societal and cultural influences that impact upon sport, and women in sport (Connell, 1987; 2012). The W&SM is part of the Women's Movement for underpinning both are similar aims. But the W&SM is also distinct from the Women's Movement because contrary to what Harvey and Houle (1994) and Harvey et al. (1996) state, women within sporting spheres were lobbying for greater opportunities for women in sport. As chapter six will highlight, leading into the mid-1990s there was very little direct help from the wider Women's Movement to develop women and sport SMOs because the connections between the benefits of sport for women, and society, had yet to be fully recognised in societal thinking. However, this is not to say that women and sport SMOs did not mirror similar practice and ideas to the Women's Movement during this time. It was not until post-2000 that sport was embraced by the Women's Movement *because* of work by the W&SM (see chapter eight onwards). Therefore, this thesis adds to the understanding of 'more diverse and varying organisational repertoires' of the Women's Movement (Ferree and Mueller, 2004, p. 595).

Thus for the remainder of this thesis, the W&SM is understood as a complex and fluid set of relations between collective, yet not necessarily connected, SMOs. These SMOs mobilise resources within shifting POSs in order to achieve their overriding objective of sustained activism to change sport for women. Sport is used in its contemporary meaning as the most prominent descriptor for characteristics of

physical education, physical activity, leisure, recreation, fitness, exercise, play and highly-organised competition in order to be as inclusive a descriptor as possible. Although homogenous, the term is used as the first attempt to ground women's activism in these endeavours together into analysis. By acknowledging this, cultural aspects and differences related to these different terms will be highlighted when necessary. Girls and young women are not excluded from analysis but as this thesis focuses on activism at decision-making level, they are referred to in the minority. Furthermore due to limits of time and space, the inclusion of groups focused on women and sport coaching, journalism, and development agencies to name a few, are also in the minority in order to provide the origins, developments, and outcomes of the major women and sport advocacy SMOs. Further work should endeavour to map the connections between the multitude of SMOs in existence (see chapter nine). The adequacy of this definition will be returned to in chapter nine. Thus, after critiquing Hargreaves' (2000) definition, this thesis provides a social movement-oriented addition to her work, whilst forging a new understanding toward how a W&SM has developed and what outcomes it has produced for women and sport.

2.5 Summary

The study of social movements is confusing because its literature is expanding multi-directionally from a base of knowledge still to be fully examined (Crossley, 2002). Small-scale empirically-based research is dissipating weakening theoretical boundaries that attempt to piece together social movement work (Koopmans, 2004). Nevertheless, there has been a coordinated body of social movement understanding whose central aim has been to uncover exactly what a social movement is, how it functions, and what its outcomes and impacts can be (Crossley, 2002; Snow et al. 2004).

The social movement literature does not provide a theory but a model of identifiable trends and concepts to be seen in social movements. Collective behaviours by dissatisfied, yet unconnected groups of diverse people, provide the groundwork for how action becomes organised into SMOs and how resources are mobilised in order to affect change within ever-shifting POSs (Johnston, 2014). Cultural influences and greater focus on women continues to shape the direction of social movement literature and helps to answer questions such as whether a social movement starts and stops (Taylor, 1989).

Connections between literature on social movements and sport are increasing but will continue to face difficulty if social movement understanding does not underpin research (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008). This can particularly be seen in relation to women and sport, where work has added certain insights but has yet to fully embark on mapping a social movement for women and sport. This thesis not only aims to achieve this but address Hargreaves' (1999; 2000) claims of neo-colonialism within the W&SM. The following chapter starts to challenge these discussions by drawing on postcolonial feminism to explore issues involved with W&SM work originating from Western POSs and constituted of discourse by white, Western, elite women.

3. Postcolonial Feminism, and its collaboration with Social Movement understanding

3.1 Introduction

Feminist sociology of sport research produced since the 1980s has positioned multiple experiences of women more centrally into an analysis of how patriarchal structures within sport constrain and oppress women (Birrell and Cole, 1994; Connell, 2012; Dunning, 1999; Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; 2000; Messner, 1988; Scraton and Flintoff, 2002; Talbot, 1986; Theberge, 1985). This has allowed for a greater understanding of the politics and representation of difference for women and sport SMOs which have, over time, aimed to address issues that affect women in sport. However, the discourse of sport feminisms have been critiqued for being premised on white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian women (Hargreaves, 1994; Hayhurst et al., 2011; Mangan and Park, 1987; Scraton and Flintoff, 2002; Theberge and Birrell, 1994).

Postcolonial feminism has rarely been utilised to make sense of issues in sport (Caudwell, 2012). Aspects of sociology in which it has been significant involve the acknowledgement that women are often homogenised and their experiences and cultures repressed through grand, macro-sociological theories underpinned by Western discourse. As seen in chapter two, an ethnocentric W&SM has been accused of privileging white, Western discourse and failing to represent difference (Hargreaves, 1999; 2000), while suppressing experiences of issues women face in global sporting contexts (Hall, 1996). This is positioned within an overarching male-dominant patriarchal POS for sport which generally oppresses women.

This chapter provides a rationale and outline of the central principles of postcolonial feminism and argues the theory is a beneficial facilitator of theoretical understanding. However, the theory is difficult to apply to empirical data because of inadequate sociological language and terms of analysis such as dichotomies. The chapter demonstrates how the fluidity of postcolonial feminism can be enhanced using the structure of the social movement approaches outlined in chapter two. Furthermore, this chapter shows how postcolonial feminism enhances analysis of whether the W&SM has claimed/privileged dominant Western politics, resources, and collective action as universal for all women, thus potentially ignoring the specific experiences of non-white, non-Western women in sport (Hargreaves, 2000).

3.2 Some Postcolonial Philosophical Understandings

According to Connell (2007, p. 50), 'with few exceptions, mainstream social theory sees and speaks from the global North'. She believes a 'general' theory – which exemplifies Western (culture) and 'Northern' (hemisphere) discourse and values – has, over time, been instilled to a position of the norm within sociology and other academic disciplines. These dominant theories produce a discourse that is argued to be 'relevant everywhere and propose methods of analysis that will work under all conditions' (Connell, 2007, p. 28). As will be noted in section 3.3, these norms have been critiqued, challenged and overcome by scholars both from the West and non-West.

The continued use of grand theories such as functionalism and Marxism are gradually dissipating in favour of more-applicable grand theories, yet some influences may remain through 'their symbolic power [that] generates distorted pictures of the history of sociology' (Connell, 2007, p. 24). In other words, when people try to expand sociological knowledge, they may often return, or compare their work, to the universal concepts, terms, trends and patterns that are found in the classical Northern texts. This has been seen over time regarding feminist approaches in the sociology of sport. The original 'waves' of liberal and radical feminism have been critiqued by post-structural feminisms (Caudwell, 2012; Hargreaves, 2000) as being 'white feminisms' (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002, p. 38) due to the underpinning dominant discourse and experiences of white, Western, middle-class sportswomen.

Connell (2007) critiques Western scholars such as Coleman, Giddens and Bourdieu for being homogenous, ignoring wider world processes, and situating knowledge about the non-West through debates forged from Western societies. According to Connell (2007), the formations of sociological thought are Western-based and may have limited use toward non-Western understanding. This had previously been noted by other scholars such as Spivak (1999, p. 1) who acknowledges a 'dredging operation' in action and Ashcroft (2001, p. 3) who states how 'Latin American scholars have generally rejected post-colonial theory as an Anglocentric discourse, or at least treated it with great wariness'. As seen from chapter five onwards, the origins and developments of the most influential W&SM SMOs are in the West. Over time, these groups interacted closer with their POS which had previously posed a barrier. Women and men secured jobs and influenced decisions within politics and institutions. As these successes played out, non-Western individuals and SMOs interacted with Western SMOs to lead Hargreaves (2000) to claim they had become neo-colonial elites

by conforming to a dominant discourse and alienating themselves from their own discourse and experiences.

Although Connell does not claim to be a post-colonial feminist, the majority of her book *Southern Theory* provides indicators to understand the fluid underpinnings of the theory. In particular, she cites four characteristics to highlight a 'Northernness of general theory' (2007, p. 45-7); a claim to universality, reading from the centre, gestures of exclusion, and grand erasure. As will be shown throughout the following paragraphs, each of these characteristics is seen throughout postcolonial feminism and allows greater conceptualisation to make sense of the supposed 'Northernness of the W&SM'.

A *claim to universality* has been highlighted so far whereby 'general' theory is applied everywhere, to try to understand and explain everything. When conducting research, the non-West is 'framed by concepts, debates and research strategies' (Connell, 2007, p. 64) from the West and thus, non-West research is applied to universal claims of the dominant discourse. For example, social movement research has been accused of being Western-dominated and oriented (Klandermans et al., 2002). When applied to the W&SM, this can be seen when policies and guidelines (e.g. the IWG International Strategy outlined in chapter seven) are constructed by Western women but are applied on a global scale, potentially ignoring the culturally-specific context women inhabit in different areas of the world. Whether done purposively or unwittingly, the effects are still damaging to peripheral knowledge bases (Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999).

A key illustration made by Connell (2007) to exemplify *reading from the centre* is globalisation literature. She dedicates a whole chapter of her book to the inadequacies of this work for 'it embeds a view of the world from the global North, and therefore has not opened a fresh path for sociology' (Connell, 2007, p. 63). In the W&SM this occurs when research and policy monitoring and evaluation are undertaken by Westerners. Crucially however, the researchers compare what they find to Western discourse or apply concepts of Western origin to a non-Western context, regardless of the socio-historical processes that have occurred beforehand. Thus, attempts to understand marginal or peripheral societies are compared to, or based on, dominant (usually Western) discourse (Connell, 2007; Hargreaves, 2000; Spivak, 1999).

Indeed, it can be assumed that a Western publication culture may be detrimental to peripheral nations and knowledge. For example, Connell (2007) argues habitus is shared within Western discourse. Knowledge and experience of academia are constructed, formatted and produced according to capitalist pressures under Western dominance – via Western institutions such as universities, conferences,

publishing companies and research grant schemes – which means emerging academics from non-Western contexts may be unaware or unfamiliar with the process and are thus constrained. This may continue to be seen through W&SM publications, whereby established academics in the West are repeatedly chosen to produce reports and documents (IWG, 2014a). Connell (2007, p. 219) concludes this argument by arguing 'the ways in which the production and circulation of knowledge are organised generally produce metropolitan dominance and peripheral marginality in social science'.

Spivak (1999, p. 170) queries why 'Third World studies, including Third World feminist studies in English, become so diluted that all linguistic specificity or scholarly depth in the study of culture is often ignored'. This is Connell's third characteristic – g*estures of exclusion* – the overlooking of non-Western ideas and publications. Concepts and ideas from the non-West are ignored or are warped *into* a dominant Western theory that is believed to be similar in explanation. Alexander and Mohanty (1997, p. xvii) suggest:

> 'Token inclusion of our texts without reconceptualising the whole white, middle-class, gendered knowledge base effectively absorbs and silences us. This says, in effect, that our theories are plausible and carry explanatory weight only in relation to our specific experiences, but that they have little value in relation to the rest of the world'.

An example of this occurring within the development of the W&SM was the legacy of the 4th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport in Kumamoto, Japan. Instead of a text-based document used in every legacy until then, a symbol was used to highlight a 'Commitment for Collaboration'. There was much debate among key Western women in the W&SM at the time whether a symbol would be of comparable significance to the previous statute-based legacies (White interview, 2013).

Connell's (2007) final characteristic is *grand erasure* and can be the most damaging to non-West groups. Much like the first characteristic – a claim to universality – should research be conducted with a disregard for a certain section of society and then claimed to be universal, the experiences of others are erased from analysis. For example, histories can be completely ignored. Connell (2007, p. 64, emphasis in original) criticises globalisation literature by stating it '*almost never* cites non-metropolitan thinkers and *almost never* builds on social theory formulated outside the metropole'. In attempting to make sense of the W&SM, chapter five demonstrates how activism for women and sport and physical activity globally does have a history which is

still being uncovered. Understanding the different experiences and cultures of countries allows contemporary work to be more mindful of difference when constructing policies (Pelak et al., 1999). For example, both Dong (2003) and Kietlinski (2008) outline how Western stereotypes and assumptions do not transfer to women in sport in Asia, predominantly because the various cultures in Asia and their relationship to sport have yet to be analysed.

As mentioned, Connell does not claim to be a postcolonial feminist, but her insights provide a greater understanding of the base from which the theory works. The following section highlights how postcolonial feminist theory allows for greater attention to be paid to those peoples and groups in the periphery.

3.3 Postcolonial Feminist Theory

This section provides a summary and justification for the selection of post-colonial feminist theory to inform this study. As 'postcolonial sociology relativises the Western point of view and gives voice to the world's subordinated people' (Roberts, 2009, p. 207), postcolonial feminism attempts to give voice to all women of the world and avoid homogenisation. This section highlights some key aspects of the theory as well as examining the problems associated with categorising the vast social groupings that constitute the W&SM.

As the W&SM has been accused of being predominantly constituted of white, middle-class Western women and 'immersed in Western ideas and discourses about sport' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 226), so too has Western feminism been accused of creating homogenous categories based on Western ideologies and ignoring the experiences of non-Western women (Ashcroft et al, 2007; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999; Young, 2001). Indeed, '"International" feminism embraces an approach of the articulation of many voices to specify an inclusive feminism with calls for "global sisterhood" often premised on a centre/periphery model where women of colour or Third World women constitute the periphery' (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997, p. xviii). Thus, postcolonial feminist theory is used in this study to critically evaluate the development of a social movement with the distinct characteristics of focusing on women – an area of general postcolonialist discourse that some feel has been wrongly ignored (Midgley, 1998; Mills, 1998) – that may homogenise women from different nations and contexts in order to change the experiences of women in sport.

Unlike many of the grand-narratives in sociology, postcolonial feminist theory has no succinct framework of analysis. Instead, it is based on key ideas that are constantly shifting and reacting to the experiences of, predominantly marginalised, women globally. The most pertinent point raised by postcolonial feminism is that women, and especially non-Western women, are not a homogenous group that may necessarily suit Western feminist ideals of a 'global sisterhood' movement (Hirshman, 1995; Lewis and Mills, 2003; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999; Young, 2001). Western feminists have been accused of 'victimising' Third World women (Katrak, 1995; Marchand, 1995; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999) and trying to 'emancipate' them from their 'inferior' subject position by 'speaking for' the Third World woman (Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999).

As highlighted previously through Connell's (2007, p. 66) work, there is 'a common logic to a system of categories that is created by metropolitan intellectuals and read outwards to societies in the periphery, where the categories are filled in empirically'. This approach to gathering knowledge has been reflected upon, criticised and countered. Non-Western feminists and some Western scholars have argued for Western feminists to listen to non-Western women's experiences and opinions (Ashcroft, 2001; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1999) and not attempt to 'mould' (Hirshman, 1995) the non-West into a Western 'superior' ideal (Mohanty, 1995) by privileging Western ideologies and grand narratives (Kurian, 2001; Marchand and Parpart, 1995). Research has shown Western ideologies do not necessarily transfer to the different context, culture and locality non-Western women find themselves in compared to the foundations the Western research was premised upon (Chowdhry, 1995; Lewis and Mills, 2003; Young, 2001), even after supposed political independence for women in cases such as India (Kurian, 2001) and parts of Africa (Young, 2001). In line with social movement research, political environments shift when change occurs. Yet the degree to which the environment shifts may not be total (Giugni, 1998), meaning women advance in political systems but do not replace long-established traditions of patriarchal government structures (Krook and Mackay, 2011; Pelak et al., 1999). Therefore, policy for women and sport can be enacted in a non-Western country but if the patriarchal structure is still in place at the delivery-level, the policy will probably have very little positive impact for women in sport (Talbot, 2002).

Over time, Western development programmes implemented in non-Western countries have impacted both positively and negatively. Some non-West nations may need Western intervention (e.g. money and aid), but not necessarily the accompanying Western-based and influenced ideology (Rathgeber, 1995). Aid programmes and academic research have found that some non-Western women may be relatively worse off than before when Western ideas were implemented as Western values conflict with

their religious, cultural and national identity (Young, 2001; Levermore and Beacom, 2012). When dealing with sport for development work, 'there can be serious risks for girls and women who challenge patriarchy through their involvement in sport and these risks must be carefully taken into account' (Hayhurst et al., 2011, p. 354). Chapter seven onwards provides examples from W&SM women who heard, often for the first time, such stories during seminar sessions at international conferences with women from Africa and Asia in particular who challenged sports structures.

Furthermore, there is a lack of monitoring and evaluation of women and sport for development projects (in)directly led by Western groups in non-Western contexts (Hancock et al., 2013). Similar to calls made by Bevington and Dixon (2005) regarding stronger links between social movement activists and academics, both Chawansky (2008) and Nicholls et al. (2010) call for greater links to be made between theory and practice in sport development work for often, local experiences are marginalised. It is argued that local experiences do not match data sets and knowledge required by Western funders (Hayhurst et al., 2011; Nicholls et al, 2010; Connell, 2012). However, this is an example where social movement literature can highlight how these non-Western groups require resources which are bound in Western rhetoric in order to advance. Powerful Western-based statutes are symbols for access to resources, money, and aid. Suiting the criteria often means moving away from their local base and into an international sphere of operation. Simultaneously, the country is seen as the 'problem', rather than the ideological structure embedded such as patriarchal barriers towards women's participation in sport (Hayhurst et al., 2011). The primary point is that people who fall into a non-West descriptor are 'not just the objects of theory, the data mine for social science, they are also the subjects – the producers of theory about the social world and their own place in it' (Connell, 2007, p. 68).

Postcolonial theory has been used 'to begin to transform the agenda and practice of mainstream political and economic activities such as Development Studies, where previously disregarded local knowledge and practices of indigenous men and women have at last begun to be taken seriously' (Munck and O'Hearn, 1999, cited in Young, 2001, p. 8). Postcolonial feminist theory can inform the development of sport by highlighting issues involved with colonialism (particularly neo- and anti-colonialism) through the discourse of a predominantly white, Western, middle-class W&SM. Chapter six onwards will show how networks were created, and organisations established, in non-Western areas of the world because of the work conducted in the West.

How this data is analysed has caused much debate and is the focus for the rest of this chapter. Although the fluidity of the theory can be a benefit – allowing for a constant re-shaping and realignment of key concepts and ideas – it can also be a

hindrance when firstly trying to grapple with the theory and secondly, applying it to data. Indeed, general 'postcolonial theory and colonial discourse analysis have been dismissed by many historians of empire as the latest fashionable preoccupations of "politically correct" literary scholars, and ridiculed for their theoretical obscurantism' (Midgley, 1998, p. 4). Despite claims of relativism, the theory is used to analyse the relationships between the different people, groups, and nations who constitute the W&SM.

The next section highlights the reasons for these obscurities and complexities, and how the theory can both complement and confuse the intricacies involved with making sense of the W&SM. The terms and dichotomous thinking so apparent in wider sociology are not adequate when applying postcolonial feminism to empirical data. As a facilitator of philosophical understanding in sociology however, postcolonial feminism can be beneficial, especially when linked to social movement terms and concepts.

3.3.1 The complexities of social groupings in postcolonial feminist theory

A central tenet of postcolonial feminist theory is addressing the difficulty in conceptualising the social groups involved. In avoiding any homogenisation of 'women' as a group, it is crucial to understand the vast complexities of those groups involved, and the contexts in which they live. Adhering to stereotypes and assumptions that are static and do not reflect the fluid nature of context in societies limits holistic attempts to understand a topic such as the W&SM. This section gives a brief summary of key concepts and the major criticisms expressed, with particular focus on dichotomies and over-simplified categorisations.

Complexities are seen throughout the W&SM and its links to women from different countries and cultures all over the world. For example, the IWG has only one representative from each continent of the world (IWG, 2013) and only recently decided to split the 'Americas' into 'North America' and 'South America and the Caribbean'. Additionally, a sport policy/decision for one group of people or culture may have a dramatic impact on the lives of others, such as Muslim women competing in the Olympic Games and the wider socio-cultural controversies that arise through religious dress and access according to the diverse manifestations of Islam (Pfister, 2010a; Benn et al., 2011). Furthermore, lesbians have been 'hidden' throughout W&SM history (Griffin, 1998; Hall, 1996), and disabled women have only recently become central focuses of attention (Doll-Tepper, 2005; Seal, 2012). All of these debates have been

advanced because of sport feminists' attempts to highlight understanding and acknowledgement of difference within the sociology of sport (Hargreaves, 2000; Scraton and Flintoff, 2002).

The attempt to acknowledge difference has itself been accused of using dominant 'Western' ideas such as categories, frameworks and grand-narratives (Katrak, 1995), all of which have received increasing critique and criticism from non-Western and Western academics (Ashcroft, 2001; Marchand and Parpart, 1995; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak 1999; Young, 2001). According to Connell (2007, p. 59), dichotomies have arisen because of 'the project of constructing a model of the world from the perspective of the metropole, while imagining one is taking a global perspective'. The distorted base by which dichotomies are constructed has led to many problems when attempting to theorise, as one reassertion of a concept is based on a previous consideration itself based on inaccuracy or stereotype. The result is slightly more accurate definitions, but ultimately similar dichotomies leading to limited new breakthroughs in understanding.

Firstly, the generalised 'colonised' and 'coloniser' categories are a dichotomy, for one may be made up of many of the others. Pertinent examples are countries in Latin America; one of the most complex and differentiated areas of the world that has had surprisingly little postcolonial research completed despite a rich colonial heritage (Ashcroft, 2001; Bale and Cronin, 2003; Marchand, 1995). Indeed, the sociology of sport community can be critiqued for 'reading from the centre' (Connell, 2007), as only recently has research emanating from the region been acknowledged. Notwithstanding, literature is likely to further increase with the 2014 FIFA football World Cup and the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games being staged in Brazil (Schausteck de Almeida et al., 2009).

Other categories are based upon factors such as: the North/South and developed/under-developed divides concerning industry and economics; the West/non-West or subaltern can be determined by cultures and/or religion whereas the First World/Third World divide can be based on differences in cultures and economics. Further descriptors that have been found include native/diasporic (Rajan, 1993), one-third world and two-third world (Hayhurst et al., 2011), core or centre/periphery, and metropole/colony. All are dichotomies that over-simplify and create homogenous groupings, which are unhelpful when theorising about the complexities involved with global sport development in the sociology of sport (Maguire, 2011).

Stereotypes and assumptions may emerge when dealing with dichotomies. Mohanty (2004, p. 47) argues how 'scholars often locate "Third World women" in terms of the underdevelopment, oppressive traditions, high illiteracy, rural and urban poverty,

religious fanaticism, and “overpopulation” of particular countries’. Nevertheless, ‘Western’ societies may also partly be constructed of communities, peoples and cultures that may also be classed as ‘Third World’ (Marchand, 1995; Mohanty, 2004). Categorising people within countries such as India and China would also be inadequate due to the polar economic extremes experienced by their citizens. When relating to gender, women from countries such as Iran and Libya may live in different social contexts to women in Bulgaria and Uruguay – all similarly categorised countries according to the World Bank (2013). Not all indicators applied will necessarily suit all contexts that are constantly shifting in response to wider social and cultural influences.

Some attempts have been made for more useful terms such as tricontinentalism (Young, 2001) that has a greater focus upon Latin America, Asia and Africa together. However, as well as being dichotomous and homogenous, emerging terms are also hierarchal with the West/First World/North/core/metropole/coloniser read as the superior and an elite context to aspire towards.

However throughout conducting this research, no other helpful explanations have been uncovered or developed to move away from working on dichotomies. Thus, ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’ categories are predominantly used. Although homogenous, they do to an extent provide clearer divides (such as the geography of W&SM SMOs) when relating generally to the W&SM. Further descriptors will be added when suitable. The next section critiques this decision but acknowledges that enhanced detailing of situations, groups, or individuals by contextualising on continuums is some way off but should be attempted (Connell, 2011; Giugni, 1998).

3.4 Dichotomies, Continuums, and Social Movements

Fundamentally, dichotomies are inadequate for analysis when using postcolonial feminism to make sense of the W&SM. In essence, postcolonial feminism facilitates calls to listen to and acknowledge difference but offers few avenues in which to apply this acknowledgment to wider contexts such as the W&SM when dichotomies are so embedded into sociological analysing. Structural tendencies of social movement literature help in the application of postcolonial feminism to data.

The rationale for the decision at the end of the previous section to work with ‘West’ and ‘non-West’ as initial descriptors is in response to Connell (2007, p. 59) arguing that ‘unless the whole analysis is constituted in another way, the polarity cannot be overcome’. Connell (2007, p. 212) highlights that despite all the issues with

these terms, dichotomies do achieve their purpose by making the researcher and reader 'refer to the long-lasting pattern of inequality in power, wealth and cultural influence that grew historically out of European and North American imperialism'. Essentially, it is meant as working with what we already have.

Intersectionality further divides and complicates the categorisations favoured by Western academics (Lewis and Mills, 2003; Marchard, 1995; Mohanty, 1995; Suleri, 1995). Mirza (2010, p. 3) uses the example of 'women collectively defined as "Black" or "Asian" in official policy and practice [having] different multiple experiences in terms of their age, sexuality, disability, religion or culture'. It is common within postcolonial feminist theorising to come across debates over the impact of different forms of race and ethnicity, but one of the rarer debates is on how white women are also often homogenised. Overall though, women as a whole have often been homogenised into a powerless group prior to an analysis argued to be overly patriarchal (Ashcroft et al, 1995; Gamble, 2001; Mohanty, 1995). Ashcroft et al. (1995) claim non-Western women may be subject to a 'double colonisation' as they are oppressed by Western women who themselves are less powerful than males due to the patriarchal context of Western society. As seen with social movement literature, this can distort research as not all women neatly suit the dichotomy of being termed powerless or powerful. A practical W&SM example is Nawal el Moutawakel; a Muslim woman who is a former Olympian and has worked her way up the IOC hierarchy to the position of vice-president, despite the barriers and challenges Muslim women face in sport (Benn et al., 2011). Context and history are crucial for every colonial situation is different, so generalising people's experiences in discourse and policy is not only unhelpful but also damaging (Hargreaves, 2000; Mohanty, 1995).

Contemporary theorising has attempted to tackle issues associated with postcolonial feminism. Previously, debates often resulted in post-modern arguments about the difficulties in addressing the many 'paradigms' based on Western knowledge as post-colonial theory 'provided few tools for reconstructing alternative histories of imperialism' (Midgley, 1998, p. 5). Indeed, the dichotomy debate has been addressed by wider feminist philosophy also, for 'one of the features of our present historical condition is the shifting grounds on which periphery and centre confront each other, with a new level of complexity which defies dualistic or oppositional thinking' (Braidotti, 2003, p. 208). Cognisant of social movement scholars calling for comparative research in order to contextualise different societies at different points in time (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Giugni, 1998; Klandermans et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2004), Connell (2011, p. 290, emphasis in original) adds that 'we need to understand multiple modernities *in relation to each other* on a world scale'.

Mohanty (2004, p. 227) argues the 'very imprecise and inadequate analytical language' we are working with causes difficulties in achieving this. Language, like knowledge and context, is not static. Therefore as more research is conducted, more adequate and appropriate terms and concepts may become available to unpack the multiple number of situations, knowledges, and contexts experienced when undertaking research on topics as complex as the W&SM. But in agreement with Midgley (1998), postcolonial feminism offers 'few tools' to decipher the often dichotomous relationships found within the W&SM which are in contrast to the theory's central tenets. However, postcolonial feminism does have useful ideas and concepts that may simply need to be tested in research more frequently.

This can be achieved through a reciprocal partnership with social movement literature. Through using terms and concepts applied to understanding social movements, postcolonial feminism is afforded structure in analysis. Terms like POS can aid in understanding how complexities, such as changeable societies over time, impact upon issues such as women in sport (Safai, 2012; 2014). Political environments often change, thus opinions and reactions to issues change too. Having a more holistic understanding to women and sport processes globally will enable acknowledgment of why certain trends are more visible than others. For example, chapter six onwards will highlight that the W&SM grew out of many Western POSs because these were gradually more favourable to women who engaged in sport over time. Crucially however, other POSs around the world were also favourable but because their histories have yet to be fully extrapolated into dominant Western discourse (Connell, 2007), they are assumed – after comparison to Western 'development' – to have done little for advancing women and sport.

In return, postcolonial feminism benefits social movement literature through making the reader aware of how terms and concepts such as resources, POS, and SMOs can all belong to a certain discourse or way of thinking. If some or all of these are Westernised, it is increasingly likely they will be exclusive to some and not others, such as Westerners in the W&SM as argued by Hargreaves (2000). However, through postcolonial feminist considerations, the opposite can occur whereby social movement literature shows how W&SM SMOs in the West were aware of such issues but did not have the power – whether it be resources such as money or networks, or institutional standing such as dedicated full-time positions – to alleviate these criticisms. This power can be explained using resource mobilisation theory (RMT) to contextualise the political opportunity structures (POSs) of W&SM social movement organisations (SMOs) over time.

Bringing together the varied power battles that have existed across multiple POSs over time globally is understandably quite challenging. However, the W&SM can be a case study to achieving such an understanding. The key factor for the W&SM is how a Western POS has, or has not, been used to shape the direction of the W&SM through the interactions of its participants. For this to be fully understood, postcolonial feminism is needed.

3.5 Summary

In line with a shift toward post-structural theorising in feminism, postcolonial feminism has no framework of analysis, rather a set of key terms and concepts to be aware of when conducting research. Although this element is challenging to work with and has been criticised, it can also be a benefit. Scholars advocating the theory encourage researchers to attempt to move away from the grand macro-theories of sociology, for they are often premised on Western discourse, experiences, and assumptions and use terms that can be considered unhelpful when wanting to address 'marginal' or 'peripheral' groups. Instead, there is a focus on listening to and learning from these groups, rather than comparing and applying understanding found in these areas to Western understanding (Ashcroft, 2001; Connell, 2007; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1999).

By linking postcolonial feminism with social movement literature, both offer reciprocal contributions to each other's advancement. Postcolonial feminism has been criticised for focusing too much on cultural identities and not enough on how they interplay with ideological structures (Hayhurst et al., 2011; Midgley, 1998), whereas social movement research has been urged to include greater cultural understanding into overtly-rational analysis (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Freeman and Johnson, 1999). Thus, the social movement approaches outlined in chapter two primarily outline the development of the W&SM but are informed throughout by postcolonial feminist understanding in order to critically analyse whether the W&SM has privileged Western discourse and resources, and why. The next chapter will outline the methodological tools used in order to achieve this.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of, and a justification for, the methods used to generate understanding of how the W&SM developed over time. A mixed-methods approach was adopted to account for the relationship between social movement literature and postcolonial feminism outlined in the previous chapter (Blee and Taylor, 2002). A documentary analysis of a variety of materials from the AWF International Women and Sport Archive at the University of Chichester provided a socio-historical view of the origins and developments of the W&SM. This information was complemented with 21 semi-structured interviews with 24 key W&SM personnel.

The chapter firstly outlines how an underpinning feminist-informed epistemology relates to principles in both social movement literature and postcolonial feminism. Secondly, the chapter shows how these considerations impacted the selection of documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews. Thirdly, the methods are explained, including sampling, collating, and analysing the data, as well as ethical considerations such as the anonymity of interviewees. Finally, reflections are provided regarding the influence of the demographics of the researcher, as well as thoughts on the research process.

4.2 Epistemology and Ontology

According to Stanley and Wise (1993, p. 188), an epistemology is ‘a framework or theory for specifying the constitution and generation of knowledge about the social world; it concerns how to understand the nature of “reality” and specifies not only what “knowledge” is and how to recognise it, but who are the “knowers”’. Conventionally, epistemology is split into positivist and interpretivist camps with the former usually being associated to physical sciences and the latter with the social sciences.

Positivist understanding states ‘the social world is considered to exist outside an individual’s perception of it and can be observed by researchers from a detached and objective stance’ (Grace, 1997, p. 19). Leading up to the twenty-first century in Western societies, this approach to generating knowledge through understanding was widespread. It was not until feminist interaction with the ‘scientific’ value-free production

of knowledge that the positivist approach was questioned, for 'women's perspective, women's knowledge, and women's experience, provided an irrefutable critique of objective knowledge' (Stanley and Wise, 1993, p. 163). Feminists argued positivist science was masculinised through quantitative methods and controlled research environments to enhance validity, thus was merely reflecting and reinforcing patriarchal values through a dominant male model of reality (Grace, 1997; Stanley and Wise, 1993; Taylor, 1998).

Moreover, feminists claimed researchers undertaking a study could never be completely objective because ontologically, each person has their own history, culture, and location which will construct certain beliefs upon the research they undertake (Grace, 1997; Stanley and Wise, 1993). It is these subjective, rather than static positivist and objective, realities where feminist science has been focused in order to understand society's shifting relationship with terms such as 'gender' and 'woman'. This constructivist focus has allowed for the inclusion of emotion and identity as part of the research process, as well as unpacking rational dichotomies (Stanley and Wise, 1993).

Fundamental to all these concerns was centring the experiences of women into the production of knowledge. Postcolonial feminism is an extension of these debates by arguing the 'experiences' of 'women' so far have predominantly been standpoints belonging to those of white, Western, elite women (see chapter three). Lennon and Whitford (1994, p. 3) argue these scholars were 'producing a new narrative which, from the perspective of other women, suffered from the same falsely universalising pretensions as the masculine knowledge originally critiqued'. Thus, some women's experiences were adding to knowledge production but many other women continued to be marginalised because their experience and context was different to white, Western women.

The politics of difference has continued to direct feminist epistemologies, in particular unpacking binaries such as objective/subjective and positivist/interpretivist. Alcoff and Potter (1993, p. 3) critique positivist science with feminist theory, demonstrating 'that gender as a category of analysis cannot be abstracted from a particular context while other factors are held stable; gender can never be observed as a "pure" or solitary influence'. The terms 'gender' and 'woman' need to be located on a continuum between objective attempts to know everything and subjective claims that knowing everything is impossible (Lennon and Whitford, 1994). Furthermore, Stanley and Wise (1993, p. 165) argue we can apply further subjective terms such as '"the family", "capitalism" or "men" as the reasons for women's oppressions … but this merely re-states the problem. It doesn't tell us the mechanisms, the experiences, the

behaviours, the conversations, which are involved'. Gender is different in all societies because of the shifting institutions that constitute those societies (Connell, 1987). A move toward making sense of global socio-historical contexts of women qualitatively, such as those undertaken with social movement analysis, enriches human knowledge and distances us from assumptions of positivist science (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Taylor, 1998).

Socio-historical research allows for understanding the structural and cultural development of social movements during shifting contexts to make sense of their impact on society (Giugni, 1998; Johnston, 2014). Yet as has been highlighted in chapter two, social movement research has been criticised for being too relative due to numerous small-scale empirical studies lacking in generalisability (Crossley, 2002; Koopmans, 2004). This can be countered through mapping the contexts of social movements, such as the women's movement (Ferree and Mueller, 2004). Klandermans et al. (2002, p. 333) state 'standardisation of case studies also means clearer specification of the conditions that hold in particular cases, so that they can be compared to other cases on various dimensions'. This is not meant at reducing social science to a single set of norms, but allowing for transparency in the research process. This can be achieved by highlighting what terms, concepts, trends, patterns are being searched for in qualitative data and reflecting on how and why these were chosen. The following sections explain how these considerations influenced the selection of both documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews to understand the origins and developments of the W&SM.

4.3 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis allows greater socio-historical analysis of gender relations over time (Ferree and Mueller, 2004). This is especially important when studying a social movement with global SMOs such as the W&SM, and the variety of shifting POSs which impact upon the development of women and sport activism in each country. Social movement literature has been criticised as 'either searching for generalisations across movements at different times and places, or focusing on single movements at one particular time and place … what came before and what happens elsewhere [are ignored]' (Koopmans, 2004, p. 40). Therefore, this section highlights that the majority of data collated about the origins and development of the W&SM was collated through documentary analysis. This information was used to situate and make

sense of the arguments made by key W&SM decision makers during different time periods, and also supplemented the questions asked of the interviewees (see section 4.4). Postcolonial feminism aided this analysis by questioning who the powerful individuals and members were, and their stance towards non-Western women, throughout the development of the W&SM.

Documentary analysis was solely conducted at the AWF International Women and Sport Archive at the University of Chichester. 105 EcopHant archival quality storage boxes are housed containing the following resources explicitly linked to women and sport and physical activity:

> 'reference and research papers, correspondence, books, journals and magazines, meetings and courses, international bodies and organisations, international publications and papers, women and sport Asia, Commonwealth organisations, European papers, worldwide organisations, UK sports organisations, national government and sport, local government and sport, advisory organisations, campaign organisations, commercial companies and sport, leisure and recreation organisations, and research organisations' (AWF, 2013).

The archive was recognised by the IWG as the 'central repository for historical documentation about the IWG in May 2010' (AWF, 2013) and materials continue to be donated. The scope and content of the archive covers the origins and development of IAPESGW up to contemporary issues regarding women and sport worldwide. In particular, there are major sections of the archive on IWG, WISC, WSI, WSFUK/WSSF and IAPESGW. Additionally, there are examples of policies and conference proceedings from a range of countries globally, but there are fewer documents pertaining to WSFUS, Latin America and parts of Africa and Asia.

However, Booth (2006, p. 92) argues archives are not 'simple, straightforward sites of knowledge' and are instead 'contested sites of power'. Archives have facilitated growing debates about viewing their contents as political representations by dominant groups (Blee and Taylor, 2002; Clemens and Hughes, 2002; Johnes, 2007; McCulloch, 2004). Rather than accepting documents housed in archives as sheets of paper or reels of film, these sources should be critically analysed to account for why they are there, what they say, and also what they do not say, for groups may 'omit or distort crucial information in order to present the organisation more favourably, for the sake of present legitimacy or future legacy' (Clemens and Hughes, 2002, p. 203).

For example, the contents of the AWF archive have been predominantly donated by white, Western women who have either held dominant positions across many W&SM SMOs or have been successful scholars. The same postcolonial critiques Hargreaves (1999; 2000) aims at the W&SM can be levied at the AWF archive, especially when referenced against Blee and Taylor's (2002, p. 93) comment that 'the propaganda and internal documents of SMOs, as well as the personal testimonies and recollections of participants, are often produced by official leaders and those who are articulate, educated, and confident about the historic importance of their activities'. Yet to accurately detail the origins and developments of EWS, WSI and IWG, for example, the AWF archive is very beneficial. It is less comprehensive toward an analysis of women and sport groups in the non-West. Indeed, Booth (2006, p. 99) outlines postcolonial work which highlighted how archives are another mechanism that 'excluded the voices of subordinate groups'. But as entries from the archive into the timeline (see Appendix 1) show, there are many beneficial resources from the non-West which have been collated by the white, Western women over time. Indeed, the archive itself is a practical example of calls to preserve and better understand women's marginalised position in sports history thus far (Schultz, 2014; Williams, 2014).

Apart from who donated the archive materials, there are a number of other variables which were considered before analysis. McCulloch (2004, p. 43) states that 'some documents are more likely than others to be stored safely after they have been produced'. Examples from the W&SM include documents produced and stored in Africa from the second IWG World Conference on Women and Sport in Windhoek, Namibia, for archive work is easier to undertake in Western countries 'characterised by extensive record-keeping' (Clemens and Hughes, 2002, p. 221). In relation to countries that still impose strict barriers on women (and women in sport) there may be scenarios whereby women who were organising or engaging in women's sport have been more secretive and less systematic and thus any potential archive material has not been stored or was destroyed (Duran, 2001; Lavrin, 2005). Secondly, and as will be further outlined throughout the thesis, the documents of each SMO reveal interesting thoughts and opinions of each other. The amount of data that has been kept by these women over time is impressive, and it will be very hard to understand what they may have disposed of, but in keeping with feminist tenets of reflection and reciprocity, there are a number of documents that directly criticise another group or person. This should be applauded of the donors, for many stated when they were interviewed that it was important to document what actually happened in the development of the W&SM in order to benefit future understanding. For example, the origins of EWS show many political

manoeuvres by both men and women through policy and practice that have not been revealed before (see chapter six).

4.3.1 Sampling and Analysis

An extension to debates about archives being manifestations of power is how they are analysed. Johnes (2007, p. 129) comments of sports history that 'the precise mechanics of data gathering is hidden', such as how many documents are analysed, how long and intensely documents are read for, and how notes are taken. Clemens and Hughes (2002) add that each document is different in what it can reveal, as a policy will provide different information to a membership list, so researchers have to be aware of the power relationships embedded in each document.

In response to these points, McCulloch's (2004, p. 42) 'four established rules that apply in appraising and analysing documents' – authenticity, reliability, meaning, and theorisation – were acknowledged when undertaking the data collection. The number of inter-related documents personally donated by key W&SM figures which were then systematically catalogued by a dedicated archivist provide proof of the authenticity and reliability of the archived material. Nearly every document has its origin clearly stated and some documents, such as recurring fax and email communications, meant it was uncommon for any major chronological gaps to occur. When gaps did occur, such as communications between WSI members often slowing to just a few emails every six months, reasons were later found for the lack of communications such as personal tragedies or home relocation.

The influence of social movement and postcolonial feminist theorising on the documentary analysis are located under the 'meaning' and 'theorisation' rules. McCulloch (2004, p. 45) calls for the 'technical phrases, esoteric allusions and references to individuals and institutions, as well as of the changing usages of particular words and terms' to be uncovered through documentary analysis. Using concepts and understanding facilitated by both postcolonial feminism and social movements, the themes and patterns searched for included: the processes involved with the formulation and development of SMOs, including their mobilisation, access to and use of resources, and interaction with shifting global contexts and POSs; the changing relationships between different W&SM SMOs and other institutions inside and outside of sport; examples of the homogenisation of women within the patriarchal nature of sport and wider societies; and examples of Western dominance over non-

Western groups and countries. Each theme is inter-related, and located within wider societal processes. For example, IAPESGW expanded its international focus through staging its world congresses in non-Western areas of the world in the 1970s. However, for a women's physical education and sport association to be visiting Iran, Japan, and South Africa during this time period raises many further political issues that have to be considered. This analysis occurs in chapter five.

Overall, approximately 450,000 words of notes were taken from analysing the documents, with key content and quotes typed on to a laptop in the archive. Apart from policies and books that can be downloaded from the internet, none of the archive material is digitised, meaning the themes outlined above were solely interpreted by the researcher.

All typed data from the archive was collated and chronologically ordered into time periods (e.g. late-80s, early-90s, mid-90s) to gain control over the large data sets. Data was then thematically analysed interpretively through the use of a colour-coding technique into the categories derived from social movement literature and postcolonial feminism outlined above. For example, documents from the late-1980s (see chapter six) increasingly referenced conservatism on the part of IAPESGW and an emergence of new women and sport SMOs. This pattern was further broken down into key processes such as the hosting of the Council of Europe Bisham Abbey seminar (see section 6.2), and the disenfranchisement of some IAPESGW members (see section 6.3) leading to the establishment of WISC and then WSI (see section 6.3). These processes were themselves further broken down to a point until data was so diverse that the study aims were not being met. Thus, both this pattern and the key processes contributed to making sense of the data in relation to the following categorised themes: the formulation and development of SMOs, and, the changing relationships between different W&SM SMOs. Categorising the various levels of qualitative data in this way allowed for a 'generalisation in the sense of summarising the material on a higher level of abstraction' (Flick, 2009, p. 325). This thematic analysis was extensive but due to the scope and aims of the thesis, the inclusion of some sub-levelled themes was not always possible. Instead, key examples were identified to illustrate the overall themes. Flick (2009) recognises that this categorisation may echo values of quantitative data analysis, but in order to make sense of such a volume of data, the researcher had to be selective of the data chosen in relation to the themes and aims of the research.

In total, sixty of the 105 boxes were analysed in full over a five month period in 2012 and a further month in 2013 to account for new additions. The analysis started with extensive reading of international groups such as IAPESGW, IWG, and WSI, regional groups such as EWS and Commonwealth organisations, and then numerous

national groups and events like CAAWS and WSFUK. The 2013 analysis looked at Asia and the IOC in particular. Every single page of every document was read in full in order to obtain as complete an understanding of the W&SM as possible. However, seventeen boxes are solely dedicated to the WSFUK/WSFF and the scope of this data on one national SMO was deemed too large to include in this study. Furthermore, 22 boxes are dedicated to research papers on women and sport by eminent sociologists of sport (see chapter three) and six boxes contained materials such as posters and merchandise from conference delegate packs which were not analysed as they did not directly link to the aims of this study.

Documentary analysis of the archive has been invaluable to this study. As will be highlighted in subsequent chapters, a number of key issues relating to the developments and outcomes of the W&SM are being highlighted for the first time outside of those involved in the W&SM. These may have occurred from other methods undertaken, such as greater questioning and probing via interviews and/or life histories but not every point may have been uncovered. By looking socio-historically at the development of the W&SM, this study: a) addresses criticisms that social movement research has not been longitudinal in scope (Klandermans et al., 2002) by uncovering the purposive and strategic decisions taken by the people who constitute them over time (Johnston, 2014), and that gender relations have been ignored (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Taylor, 1989); b) gives voice to women who have negotiated political space for advancing sport (Talbot, 2000); and c) determines what direct and/or indirect impact and consequences the W&SM has had (Giugni et al., 1999). Furthermore, 'by bringing this material to the attention of people today, new ties are made that help explain the current relation between gender and power and give some groups a greater sense of their own history' (Reinharz, 1992, p. 163). Because this research has not been completed to such an extent before, new knowledge has been generated even for those engaged in developing the W&SM.

The socio-historical understanding of the W&SM was further determined using the supplementary method of semi-structured interviews. Klandermans et al., (2002, p. 331) comment that utilising both methods is 'particularly important in allowing researchers to connect levels of analysis over time, showing how changes in large-scale political and cultural contexts, organisational forms, and micro-level perceptions are linked'. The following section outlines the semi-structured interviews conducted in this study.

4.4 Semi-structured Interviews

The documentary analysis was complemented by semi-structured interviews to uncover the opinions and experiences of those people central to the development of the W&SM. In agreement with Reinharz (1992, p. 213), this multi-method approach 'created the opportunity to put texts or people in contexts, thus providing a richer and far more accurate interpretation'. This section outlines why interviews were undertaken, with whom, and issues that arose during the process.

Feminist epistemology has critiqued the masculine protocol to interviews and how people are treated as controllable, objective data sets (Oakley, 2005; Taylor, 1998). Stanley and Wise (1993, p. 203) argue 'we do not find such an approach helpful, for it separates off a particular and distinct kind of behaviour – 'research' – and specifies a set of ethical principles which should govern it and which are different from those that govern other kinds of social relationships'. Instead, reflexivity and reciprocity should be included to account for how each interview was conducted and the strategies used by the researcher to enhance responses from the interviewee.

Feminists in particular have utilised interviews because they are 'especially useful in assessing feelings, emotions, motives, life histories, and interpretations of complex phenomena' (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002, p. xv-xvi). However, through focusing on these aspects, interviews are often accused of being 'improper' because they comprise subjectivity and involvement in the research process. Oakley (2005, p. 221) claims this 'polarity of "proper" and "improper" interviewing is an almost classical representation of the widespread gender stereotyping which has been shown, in countless studies, to occur in modern industrial civilisations', with rationality being male-oriented and irrationality partnered with women. Feminists critique this polarity because no two interviews will be the same as humans are not rational machines. Each interview will be different because each question relates to a different context for each person (Stanley, 1988). This is especially true with social movements and how people's thoughts, justifications, and dissatisfactions were turned into action (Blee and Taylor, 2002).

In particular, semi-structured interviews were used because they allow a longitudinal view of 'capturing the rhythms of social movement growth and decline, and participant involvement and withdrawal over time' (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 95). Apart from Grace (1995) and Clarke and Humberstone (1997) who interviewed national SMO members, interviewing members of the W&SM has not been undertaken before. Thus through interviews, the research aimed to 'uncover previously neglected or

misunderstood worlds of experience' (Reinharz, 1992, p. 44) by listening to the people at the centre of the development of the W&SM. The fluid yet partially structured aspect of semi-structured interviewing facilitated this (Gratton and Jones, 2004). As will be acknowledged in the next section, some interview structures were adapted depending on time constraints, unexpected answers, or the suitability of the question to the interviewee. For example, a member solely of WSFUS may not need to be asked questions about the political governance and formation of EWS, but would be asked about their thoughts about the Brighton Conference on Women and Sport.

The central themes for the interview questions (see Appendix 3) were, similar to the documentary analysis, based on concepts from social movement literature and postcolonial feminism and included: asking for more information about key events such as conferences, as well as thoughts on the impacts of such events; unpacking the relationships between people, SMOs, and institutions; general thoughts about the W&SM; and interviewee opinions about the white, Western dominated nature of the W&SM. Unlike Clarke and Humberstone (1997) who looked at life histories of WSFUK chairwomen, the questions for this study are categorised as key informant interviewing. The main distinction between this type and life history interviewing is that 'the interviewee's experiences and motivations are not the unit of analysis; rather the interviewee is being asked to serve as an expert to inform the researcher about various aspects of the movement' (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 106). The following sub-section outlines how and why certain people were chosen to be interviewed and also how a reciprocal relationship in generating knowledge between interviewer and interviewee was built because of the former's growing knowledge from the archive material, and the latter's personal expertise from being involved in the W&SM.

4.4.1 Sampling and Analysis

Rubin and Rubin (1995, cited in Blee and Taylor, 2002) claim sampling for qualitative interviews should strive for completeness – collating enough data until similar data becomes saturated and results in the same answers – and similarity and dissimilarity, whereby accounts of similarly situated actors can be compared, or where differences can be seen between very different actors. Thus, to gain as complete an understanding of the development of the W&SM as possible, interviewees were selected on the basis that they had been principally involved in and/or throughout the development of the W&SM. The criteria for selection was cognisant to the aims of this

study, meaning it was crucial for interviewees to be a leader or major representative of any international or national women and sport SMO, or playing a major role in organising the Brighton Conference on Women and Sport.

The interviews conducted for this study took place over two periods. Eight interviews with twelve people were conducted in late 2011 (see Appendix 2, Table 3). A second period of thirteen interviews was conducted in late 2012/early 2013 (see Appendix 2, Table 4). Table 3 and Table 4 (see Appendix 2) outline further information about the interviews and interviewees.

Interviews were conducted across two periods for a number of reasons. Firstly, little work has been conducted on the W&SM, thus an introductory understanding from people who have played a significant role in the development of the W&SM was sought. The perfect opportunity to do this was one year into the study when many targeted interviewees visited the University of Chichester to attend the launch of the AWF. It was to be a rare opportunity for these people to be together and thus in three interviews there was more than one interviewee. The same questions were posed to each person during these group interviews and each individual answered each question, which built upon the description and opinion of the other interviewees. Yet in accordance with the limitations of group interviews, strong personal opinions may have been omitted by the individual interviewees (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

This first period of interviews were conducted in a variety of locations and scenarios, and lasted from between 45-90 minutes. Other interviews were conducted through utilising the researchers' participation in a PhD Summer School at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, and visits of guests to the University of Chichester. The researcher's original role as clerk of the AWF also facilitated new contacts and knowledge regarding the overview and structure of the W&SM.

The second period of interviews occurred over seven months from October 2012-April 2013. As much of the thematic analysis from the archival work had been completed, it was easier to interview the prominent figures with the same questions posed to the first period of interviewees because the researcher had much more background information to work from (see section 4.5.1). Interviewees were contacted via email in the majority of cases with an introduction to the research followed by formal scheduling of when the interview could take place. Snowballing did occur, for academic contacts were willing to introduce the researcher to more prominent W&SM figures. This scenario led to the interview of Anita De Frantz and Margaret Ann Hall in particular. It should also be acknowledged that work completed for the IWG on behalf of the AWF (Matthews, 2012) also allowed for some recognition of the researcher himself. Unlike the first period, this period of interviews were only with individuals and

ranged from 45-180 minutes in length, with the majority being 120 minutes. Throughout both periods however, the length of time respondents spent on each question differed tremendously. In some instances, the same question would receive a one-word answer by some respondents, whereas others would respond for up to thirty minutes.

The interviews were recorded on Dictaphones (one spare to cover for the potential malfunction of the first) and conducted in a variety of locations. As the first period of interviews were predominantly face-to-face, they occurred in practical locations such as cafés, offices and via transport. The second period of interviews was mainly with people who lived abroad, thus Skype was used to conduct the interview and the Dictaphones were placed next to the computer speakers. In addition, some interviews took place in the archive in accordance with study visits, or at the interviewee's home. These different scenarios are reflected on in the following section.

Within one day of the interviews being conducted, the recording was transferred to a password-protected laptop computer and manually transcribed using a transcription foot-pedal. Although time-consuming, transcription did allow for some reflection on the interview itself and some of the data produced. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were proof-read by the researcher and then emailed to the interviewee; an example of the feminist influence of reciprocity throughout the research process (Oakley, 2005; Taylor, 1998). This was especially so because anonymity would not be preserved due to the interviewees' high-profile position as either academics and/or activists in the W&SM. This was the only ethical implication (as well as a man interviewing women which is reflected upon in section 4.5), to arise for this study and thus ethical approval for the research was granted by the University of Chichester Ethics Committee in February 2011 (see Appendix 4). The researcher did offer the opportunity for some comments to be anonymised should they be of a sensitive nature. This occurred in eight interviews, ranging from a single sentence to a three minute section of speech, and were constructed of sensitive information or opinions of other people and groups in the W&SM. In two cases, the interviewees were happy for the comment to be included in the thesis on the proviso it was anonymised. Not all interviewees decided to read back the transcript (due to a lack of time or interest) but those who did corrected minor spelling errors and names.

As with the documentary analysis, interview analysis was also undertaken manually without the use of coding software. This was chosen because the researcher has previous experience of manually transcribing and coding interviews and believes the complicated intricacies posed by social movement and postcolonial feminist understanding would be undermined by computer software; particularly the contextual complexities between different ways of mobilising collective activism over time among

the SMOs. Each interview was subjected to an interpretive thematic analysis informed by the key tenets of both postcolonial feminism and social movements, including: how SMOs originated and developed over time; SMO relationships and interactions with each other, sporting and non-sporting institutions over time, and non-Western women and sport groups; examples of how women have been homogenised in sporting and non-sporting discourse; and how a Western model has been positioned to be dominant in the W&SM. Once again, as the themes were identified, they were colour-coded. For example, one colour was attributed to all thoughts and experiences of the Brighton Conference. When it came to writing chapter eight, this content was combined with patterns and themes from the archival data meaning the chapter's basic structure was premised on data supporting different forms of protest in social movement literature and how postcolonial feminism heightens the recognition of white, Western dominance amongst international knowledge transfer. Furthermore, by conducting and transcribing the interview, and then cross-checking the transcript against the interview recording before it was sent to the interviewees to read themselves, and then analysing the final transcript up to three times afterwards, the researcher was able to analyse each data set a minimum of four times.

Additionally the researcher also made use of academic conference attendance throughout the project. This was particularly useful on occasions whereby interviews could not be scheduled. Instead, the researcher managed to have unrecorded interviews with Professor Don Sabo, Professor Rosa D'Amico Lopez (as of April 2013, IAPESGW President) and Dr Katia Rubio for up to an hour each. Professor Sabo has played a major role in research in particular for the WSFUS and gave some initial background to the organisation as well as his role as a male within the organisation. Professor D'Amico and Dr Rubio gave broad reflections of women and sport in Latin America and the structures involved through their scholarly networks. These non-recorded conversations were closely based around the core interview structure described above and were extremely beneficial at contextualising the status and structures of women and sport organisations in the Americas, especially Latin America whereby it was recognised there was no formalised group like EWS or WSFUS for the researcher to pursue. Furthermore, a fifteen minute unrecorded interview with Dr Gloria Obajimi (President of the Nigerian Association of Women in Sport) focused on her thoughts of women and sport in Africa and the role of the IWG. Unfortunately, contact with her was not able to be resumed since the conference so no further questions were asked.

4.4.2 Interview Issues and Actions

A number of issues have been encountered regarding the interview method. The location of some of the interviews affected the transcription process. As seen in Table 3 (see Appendix 2), three separate interviews were in cars or a café. The noise disturbance from these situations sometimes made the speech recorded inaudible. After the transcript was sent to the interviewees, this could sometimes be rectified. Additionally, driving a car while attempting to conduct interviews with two passengers was challenging. Not only did the researcher have to react to any interesting issues raised in the answers and construct new questions to reveal more information on the answer given, and maintain a rapport (via eye-contact or conversation), but also drive safely and considerately for ninety minutes on UK motorways and country roads. In contrast, Skype was very reliable, cheap, and allowed for interviews to be conducted with people in Japan, Canada and the USA.

Some issues arose while the interviews were being conducted. First, four interviews were conducted with people who use English as a secondary language, but only on a few occasions did a question have to be further clarified. Second, an interview with Barbara Drinkwater (founding member of WSI) was stopped after seven minutes as she believed her background as a physiologist meant she was not the right person to be answering the questions posed. Despite attempts at further email correspondence, no further communication occurred. Third, it was not uncommon for some interviewees to give very strong opinions of other participants in the W&SM. These were often later asked to be removed from the final analyses but cognisant to findings from the documentary analysis, it was soon clear that tensions were apparent in the relationships between SMOs and members (to be explained in chapters six and seven). Fourth, there was confusion over historical conferences and meeting dates from many of the interviewees. This also led to claims that some individuals attended events which turned out not to be true when they were interviewed. For example, Anita De Frantz claimed Anita White was at the New Agenda Conference in 1981 in the USA, but the latter denied this during her interview. These infrequent but unreliable points are understandable for people who had been involved in the W&SM for up to four decades and the amount of global and domestic events they have attended during this period. The issue was something to be wary of throughout but the benefit of the researcher's archival understanding allowed this to be kept to a minimum. This is reflected upon further in section 4.5.1.

A further issue regarded the ability to contact and interview non-Western people involved with the W&SM. Constant efforts were made to connect with non-Western participants in the W&SM but were mostly unsuccessful. From Table 4 (see Appendix 2), only Lombe Mwambwa and Etsuko Ogasawara may be regarded as non-Western. Numerous attempts were made throughout the research process to contact the major figures involved with the second IWG World Conference in Namibia, IWG regional representatives over its tenure, and other personnel from Latin America, Africa and Asia who were prominent SMO figures at regional and national level. Unfortunately, communication was non-existent or at best sporadic, and thus, no interviews or contact could be established.

The researcher is aware that much of the theory highlighted so far focuses on understanding and listening to the experiences of non-Western people and how the few non-Westerners interviewed may fall into Hargreaves' (2000, p. 215) criterion of a 'neo-colonial elite' – someone who has joined the dominant white, Western elitist female discourse on women and sport. However, the key personnel who Hargreaves (2000) claims to have made the W&SM Western-centric have been interviewed and asked for their opinions of this argument. Moreover, many of the non-Western people targeted for interviews have either ceased their work in the women and sport sphere, advanced their careers into other areas such as politics, or have disappeared/distanced themselves from communication with the W&SM. It may have been easier to interview non-Western women at the grassroots of sport, especially with the growing research area of sport for development, but this would ignore the ways in which key decision- and policy-makers in these countries and cultures have interacted with the Western-dominated W&SM, thus missing potential reasons for how and why non-Western women have adhered to a Western rhetoric within the W&SM.

The unsuccessful attempts at connecting with non-Western W&SM participants led to further sampling to broaden the frame of reference for the W&SM. This included obtaining contacts from social networking sites and organisational mailing lists. Through collaboration with the IWG on a monitoring and evaluation project (Matthews, 2012), the researcher was able to contact women and sport organisations around the world. The contacts were selectively chosen on the basis of whether they represented non-Western women and sport organisations. Despite the IWG contact list being global in its range of contacts, the list was still relatively small (n=300) and strongly based upon NOC women and sport commissions and groups. The list was reduced to 25 contacts to account for national women and sport SMOs. In addition, contact details of eight regional IAPESGW (2013) representatives were added, meaning 33 contacts were collated. Emails were sent briefly outlining the research project and whether a

representative of the organisation could give a response to four questions: a) when the women and sport group had been formed; b) what had been the successes over time; c) what had been the barriers and challenges over time; and d) whether there was any further contact information the researcher could pursue, such as a website. The professional social networking site LinkedIn was also used to for some of these contacts, as were official groups on Facebook, but both were unsuccessful.

Six responses were received in total. Detailed correspondence from the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) Women in Sport Committee, Women and Sport Oceania, and the Mexican NOC Women and Sport Commission was obtained, whereas very brief information was gathered from the Hong Kong Women's Sports Commission and the organiser of the South American Games, Organización Deportiva Suramericana (ODESUR). This was disappointing but in hindsight highlights the disparate nature of the W&SM and how women and sport groups exist all around the world, but may be limited in terms of connections and communications. Indeed, communicating across language divides could have nullified this approach, although for Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries, translation was provided by a fellow PhD student from Brazil.

A further respondent from this method was Nabilah Abdulrahman (see Appendix 2, Table 4). Due to limited technological capability and being retired, her secretary agreed to an email questionnaire comprised of many questions from the original semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 3) which could be printed off and given to Nabilah to respond to. She responded to the initial set of questions within two weeks. The same process with which the previous semi-structured interviews were administered was continued, with the same analysis and reciprocity repeated. Brief follow-up questions to clarify and expand upon her answers were sent and replied to, with all data being used to inform aspects of chapter seven.

4.5 Research position in the research process

It is worth acknowledging that this study was conducted by a white, Western, male, and supervised by a team of white, Western females. Firstly, established debates on the influence of these demographics are provided, followed by some reflections on this, and the research process as a whole.

A variety of scholars have discussed the impact of males conducting research on females (Oakley, 2005; Stanley and Wise, 1993), especially in the sociology of

sport, where the previous dominance of malestream texts have angered some feminist academics in sport (see chapter two). For example, Guttmann (2005, p. 23), a man, has claimed a 'regret that some feminist historians let me know, before and after I finished my research, that they resented my intrusion into what they considered their exclusive 'turf". In non-sport scholarship, Spivak (1999, p.177), a woman, 'confesses to a certain unease in celebrating a man's text about a woman'.

Published reflections to the critical resistance profeminist men have encountered from women and other men provide clarity to issues about men working with feminism. Both Digby (1998) and Kimmel (1998) acknowledge a homogenisation of men into an all-powerful category which, over time, is being understood more due to studies on gendered power relations. Despite his text not focusing on sport, Digby (1998) admits to feeling uncomfortable with the aggressive, competitive bravado of school-level sport which conflicted with his upbringing in an environment more familiar with feminism's central concepts. Debates on different masculinities in sport (Messner and Sabo, 1990) had already been established to make sense of damaging sports experiences on men. Hargreaves (1990, p. 301) acknowledged that 'although many men in sport may be agents of oppression, men are not inherently oppressive and they have a primary role to play, with women, to eliminate in sport uneven gender divisions'. Thus, for some, there is an acceptance of men conducting feminist-inspired research in order to counter masculinised issues in sport. But similar to Guttmann (2005) above, when men conduct feminist-centred research, Kimmel (1998) admits there are fears from women of men taking control of feminism. Instead, he argues that men should contribute to feminist discourse but not seek to be central to it. Both Harding (1998) and Sterba (1998) highlight how the lack of documented male experiences ultimately disadvantage feminist understanding of gender relations because men can expose patriarchal institutions and modes of behaviour.

Therefore throughout this research, the following passage by bell hooks (2000, p. 12) was pertinent because of the researcher's position as a male in this women-centred study:

> 'Without males as allies in struggle feminist movement will not progress. As it is we have to do so much work to correct the assumption deeply embedded in the cultural psyche that feminism is anti-male. Feminism is anti-sexism. A male who has divested of male privilege, who has embraced feminist politics, is a worthy comrade in struggle, in no way a threat to feminism, whereas a female who remains wedded to sexist

> thinking and behaviour infiltrating feminist movement is a dangerous threat' (bell hooks, 2000, p. 12).

Thus although the author of this study may be 'writing as an outsider' (Alexander and Mohanty, 1997, p. xxxiv) by being a white, Western male, through adopting research processes and analysis informed by feminism's central tenets, this research 'allows women's voices to be heard, exploitation to be reduced by giving as well as receiving during fieldwork, and women not to be treated as objects to be controlled' (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p.161). The following reflections describe how these debates were located within the research.

4.5.1 Reflections

I have repeatedly questioned myself (and been questioned by academics and interviewees) about some of the criticisms I may receive for why, as a white, Western male, I am undertaking a study about the relationships between women and sport SMOs accused of postcolonialism. In response, it seems that the meanings associated with my demographic are the issue, for I have been asked 'Why is a young female researcher not doing this work?'. Moreover, homogenisation has occurred when it was insinuated that being a male I 'would not understand women's experiences'. I agree with the aforementioned work by Kimmel (1998) that men can study, research, and provide new understanding to established debates using feminism but that crucially, they should not attempt to become the central component. Following bell hooks' (2000), I believe feminism is anti-sexism and a useful tool in order to understand gendered power relations. Therefore, gender relations should be central to analysis on women, men, or both.

I also acknowledge that my culture, country of origin, and education will all impact upon my ideas and beliefs, but in an increasingly global and technological age, I am also increasingly aware of the amount and diversity of cultures, ideas and beliefs that exist, even though I may not fully understand them. Hargreaves (2004, p. 193) praises post-structural theories that resonate with some 'young sport academics in the West, in particular, [who] recognise that today's world is complex and changing, they appreciate the ironies of contemporary life, and they understand their own shifting identities and insecurities of self'.

Although as a white, Western male I may be this research topic's antagonist, I can claim that I am at least attempting to do this research, despite all the conflictual descriptors and demographics involved. In accordance with the comments of bell hooks (2000) above, as a male conducting feminist research, I may be able to bring unfamiliar and novel experiences to the research process and outcomes. It can be argued this has occurred with feminism itself, with the increasing challenges sought by black and ethnic women, and men, thus 'feminist activism may now take forms that would be unrecognisable to their 'foremothers" (Grey and Sawer, 2008, p. 143). Prominent examples in the sociology of sport include Messner and Sabo (1990) who broke new ground not only as men researching women and sexuality, but men who received praise and credit for their work on masculinities by distinguished feminists and women in the field.

Throughout this thesis I have highlighted feminist calls for reflective practice within the research process to be included as part of the research itself (Oakley, 2005; Stanley and Wise, 1993). McCulloch (2004) calls for more reflexive accounts of documentary analysis and for greater ethical consideration. I have read a vast amount of documents housed in the archive. Some were very sensitive and are not included in the final write-up, but are important. For example, confidential documents about personal tragedies that directly impacted upon key women in the movement are difficult to fully explain. The connection established to the participants of the W&SM due to dedicating half a year of my life to reading so many documents in chronological order meant that when a personal tragedy did occur, I was saddened. This is despite the fact I had never met the person before and the events had happened twenty years previously. Following Oakley (2005), humans are not machines in the research process, and I argue that it would be impossible for someone not to feel emotion should they have gone through the same research process. Feminist research and social movements share the common aim of change (Lennon and Whitford, 1994; Taylor, 1998). But as it is difficult to measure what change, if any, has occurred (Giugni, 1999), there has been the scenario where, like Grace (1995; 1997) who reflected upon the negative events she saw through her WSFUK case study, I have seen many examples when lives have been drastically affected because change for women and sport has not occurred. This included job losses, financial insecurity, and home relocation. There have been times of great struggle for those involved in the W&SM and, although these have been carefully articulated by interviewees when they have felt a need to highlight them, the documentary analysis revealed further detail because some of those involved in the W&SM had become friends who shared their heartache through emails and fax communications. Indeed, arguments exist for greater

focus on the interpersonal communications between activists because of the role of identity within social movements and struggle (Della Port and Diani, 2008; Johnston, 2014; Williams, 2014).

Additionally, documents highlight information about some W&SM SMOs and individuals that will be detrimental to them should they be repeated for a wider audience (e.g. strong opinions expressed of other W&SM participants). A tricky yet interesting balance in analysing the W&SM has been reached where it would be a benefit to knowledge to make these documents public, but may not benefit the W&SM now because its current personnel were not involved in those arguments and decisions. McCulloch (2004, p. 49) alludes to this by claiming 'the researcher may be constrained from using material that might undermine or damage it [the group, person, or organisation], or from interpreting the documents in an unfavourable way'.

The AWF itself has played an immeasurable part in this study. Since its establishment in 2010, the archive has been utilised and relationships with many key people who have a link to the W&SM have been formed. This involvement has been invaluable in clarifying ideas and themes throughout, although it has been important to keep an involved yet distant relationship with Anita White, one of three or four major W&SM figures. For example, an impression made from the first informal interview conducted with her was that she knew much about the research project and aims. A quagmire was that she was vitally important for the project but was very informed about the research angles. Through these close links however, I have uncovered more 'hidden' W&SM occurrences that may not have been said during 'standard' interviews, such as discussions forged between W&SM personal during informal meetings.

Indeed, after archival analysis was completed I often found myself aiding the interviewees in pinpointing dates or events from the W&SM history that they had forgotten. I have noticed this gave me some respect during the interviews as the interviewees saw I was willing to listen to and learn from them regarding their experiences of the W&SM. This was in stark contrast to the first period of interviews in which I was somewhat relying on the interviewees to relay some of this history to me as the limited amount of literature of the W&SM did not facilitate this. For example, I asked all the interviewees how an SMO was formed, but in the latter interview I already had a strong impression of what the answer would be (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, cited in Blee and Taylor, 2002), whereas in the former I only had certain bits of information.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed how and why documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews were used to reach a greater understanding of the development and outcomes of the W&SM. The methods were chosen to allow the researcher to trace how different women and sport SMOs mobilised, sought resources, and developed within shifting global contexts and POSs (Clemens and Hughes, 2002), predominantly in the West. The chapter acknowledged how feminist epistemology impacted upon the selection of the methods, and how social movement literature and postcolonial feminism informed how the W&SM originated and developed, who the powerful individuals and members were, and their stance towards non-Western women throughout.

Joining feminist research tenets with social movement concepts allows for a subjective, interpretivist focus on identity and culture to be included within institutional and structural debates (Taylor, 1998). Utilising feminism on its own is beneficial, but linking in social movements allows for locating the particular in the general; 'transcending the isolated view of single movements and inserting them in time and space' (Koopmans, 2004, p. 40). To further make sense of how the W&SM developed, and in response to the limited socio-historical and interview-based research previously completed on the W&SM, the experiences of those who were centrally involved were sought through semi-structured interviews because:

> 'The open-ended nature of such interviewing strategies makes it possible for respondents to generate, challenge, clarify, elaborate, or recontextualise understandings of social movements based on earlier interviews [or] documentary sources. This is particularly helpful for understanding little-studied aspects of social movement dynamics and for studying social movements that are difficult to locate, generate few documents, or have unclear or changing memberships.' (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 94)

The chapter has also addressed a number of methodological and ethical issues associated with this project, including the impact of the researcher being a white, Western male. Finally, the chapter has provided some reflections on the research process and the demographic of the researcher.

In the following chapters, data generated by these methods is outlined via a quasi-chronological ordering of the origins and development of the W&SM. Groups are explained fully, but laced into the emergence of other groups that formed around a similar time (e.g. the early 1990s). This is to allow for a richer and more detailed analysis of what was occurring, and more importantly, why.

5. Joining the Dots: Mobilising Collective Action up to 1990

5.1 Introduction

This chapter maps the disparate origins of the W&SM by analysing how collective action mobilised into the establishment of SMOs (Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Minkoff, 2002; Snow et al., 2004). Kluka (2008, p. 85) argues IAPESGW was 'the first constitutionalised international organisation with initially all-female membership that focused on the importance and values of physical education and sport in the lives of girls and women worldwide'. Between 1949 and 1990, IAPESGW was the only dedicated women and physical activity, physical education, and sport organisation internationally and Anita White (interview, 2011) claims IAPESGW was 'a pre-cursor' to the W&SM. However, how 'international' it was and its intention to address issues affecting women and sport has been critiqued (Hargreaves, 2000). Section 5.2 outlines IAPESGW and explores this critique.

Western national SMOs formed in a variety of ways due to the diversity of resources available (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). SMOs in the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, and Scandinavian countries interacted with predominantly patriarchal POSs nationally in order to address the subordinated experiences of women in sport. These interactions were extremely challenging but over time the SMOs undertook political manoeuvrings and became more institutionalised themselves, albeit at the expense of criticisms for depoliticising radical feminist issues such as sexuality (Hall, 1995). Section 5.3 outlines the origins of some of these SMOs and makes sense of the critiques of them.

The chapter finishes with a brief overview of why non-Western (and some Western) nations did not have SMOs in comparable positions of power. Section 5.4 adds to growing women and sport research globally by illustrating how more work needs to be undertaken toward understanding the social contexts in which collective activism for women and sport occurs (Guttmann, 2005; Hedenborg and Pfister, 2012).

5.2 International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW)

5.2.1 Introduction

This section analyses the origins and development of IAPESGW; the oldest W&SM SMO still in existence. Two main sources of literature – Hall and Pfister's (1999) commemorative text which acknowledges the 50th anniversary of the organisation and Petersen's (1975) life history of IAPESGW's founder Dorothy Ainsworth – are used in conjunction with archival documents including IAPESGW member correspondence and newsletters, and interviews with people linked to the association.

Ainsworth 'was ahead of the time with the idea of worldwide international cooperation toward stimulating international understanding and goodwill' (Petersen, 1975, p. 415) for women and girls in physical activity/physical education. She advanced this ideology using financial resources, as well as institutional links with Smith College, USA, in order to provide mechanisms for national networking and international collaboration such as IAPESGW. Unlike FSFI who wanted change for women in sport, IAPESGW itself was predominantly constituted of academics and physical activity/physical education practitioners who met to exchange good practice and knowledge to provide women and girls with more opportunities and better standards.

However, IAPESGW has long faced criticisms of being an international old student's club (Brackenridge interview; Neill interview; White interview, 2011) that has 'systematically privileged Western physical education discourse and constructions as universal' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 219). The volunteer-led Association has staged Congresses globally since 1949, but towards the 1990s was increasingly accused of being conservative regarding issues women and girls were facing in sport. Nevertheless, its importance and influence to the W&SM is profound. After its origins and development are outlined, section 5.2.4 addresses the criticisms directed at IAPESGW.

5.2.2 Origins

Dorothy Ainsworth aimed to collaborate and learn what fellow physical education practitioners were doing in different parts of the world (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Petersen, 1975). Before IAPESGW was formed, she had travelled to Europe with the Smith College Relief Unit for both World Wars, facilitating her understanding of working with different cultures and people; completed a PhD on the history of physical education in twelve American Colleges for Women, providing her with extensive background knowledge of the subject nationally; and became Director of Physical Education at Smith College, a symbolic status of power within a Women's College which allowed her to teach to an international cohort because of her networking and her institution's prestige (Petersen, 1975).

Section 2.4.1 acknowledged the power battles between women's physical educators and men's sports providers in the USA at the start of the twentieth century (Cahn, 1994; Guttmann, 1991; Hult, 1994). Smith College mirrored the ideology of the physical education-oriented groups. Ainsworth believed physical education was functional in its orientations for girls, for it made them 'a useful, happy and well-balanced person who will accept gracefully the responsibilities and pleasures of her home circle and family life' (Petersen, 1975, p. 317). Unlike the challenges FSFI made to the IOC (see section 2.4.1), Ainsworth adhered to the societal opinion that competition and sport were unladylike and enhanced the skills of an elite few, whereas physical education was feminine-appropriate and allowed for mass participation (Park, 2005).

Her beliefs were influential in either helping to establish, or become president of, a number of state, regional, national, and international physical education organisations and associations (Petersen, 1975). One of these groups was the National Association of Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW). In her role as chair of NAPECW's International Relations Committee in the early 1940s, Ainsworth took up a member's idea for an international congress on women's physical education.

Links made in Western Europe through Ainsworth's involvement in the Relief Unit during World War II (WWII) led to collaboration with the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, in staging the first International Congress on Physical Education for Girls and Women in 1949. Sponsored by NAPECW, 'the conference was not to advocate one method or system, but free discussion and knowledge on many different kinds of physical education, so that each person would be free to take from the congress whatever seemed most useful to her for the girls and women of her country' (Petersen,

1975, p. 310). Thus just four years after WWII, ‘a stunning achievement’ (Hall interview) of over two hundred delegates (the majority of whom were women) from 24 countries with all continents represented travelled to Copenhagen for a congress on women’s physical education (Hall and Pfister, 1999).

Only women presented in Copenhagen, which was a rarity at the time, but reflected Ainsworth’s intention to allow women to speak for themselves. Extracts from her speech in a later IAPESGW newsletter show Ainsworth stated that ‘never before, to my knowledge, have women met as an international group to discuss the problems particular and peculiar to physical education for women’ (IAPESGW, 1985a, p. 10). Furthermore the congress produced unplanned outcomes, such as the election of a chair (Ainsworth) and members to a continuing committee, agreement of a future congress, and a knowledge exchange programme (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Petersen, 1975). Due to further links Ainsworth had established with the French government, four years later the second congress took place in Paris, France, in 1953 and the continuing committee was formalised to become IAPESGW. 540 delegates were welcomed by a senior French Minister for Youth and Sport. Despite disagreements regarding women and physical education surfacing between the Americans, British and other Europeans, Ainsworth commented that the differences ‘clarifies our own ideas and stimulates experimentation and research. Let us accept differences and learn from them, that we may come closer to our common purpose in physical education for girls and women’ (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 7).

Thus before 1950, two international, yet distinct, women and sport organisations had emerged in FSFI and IAPESGW. Women engaging in sport and physical education were challenges to dominant patriarchal societies. Different collective action was occurring as women felt a need to advance women in sport and/or physical education, and connect with others in their profession. IAPESGW was formed by Western physical educators wanting stability in response to emerging examples of women participating in competitive sport (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Petersen, 1975; see section 2.4.1). This however was precisely the focus of FSFI which was formed in direct response to barriers against women’s involvement in international track and field events. Both were different approaches but fundamentally involved supporting women’s engagement in physical activity; whether that was through physical education or competitive sport. As stated in chapter two, each SMO within a social movement will want different degrees of change (Crossley, 2002; Taylor, 1989). The extent to which an SMO is successful is based on the POS and the resources available (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Giugni, 1998). FSFI was ideologically radical, yet resource-poor, in a male-dominated sporting environment (Carpentier and Lefevre, 2006; Hargreaves,

1994; Leigh and Bonin, 1977). IAPESGW was also radical in forming an international women's physical activity organisation, but it was not directly challenging dominant attitudes of the period as Western women had been engaging in physical education and physical activity for some time (Fletcher, 1987; Park, 2010). These were all resources IAPESGW could use to lever change in the form of maintaining the dominance of women in physical education as opposed to the 'competitive evils' of sport (Cahn, 1994, p. 56).

IAPESGW's resources are reflected in the fact that it experienced a period of expansion in the 1950s. For example, Ainsworth had attended and presented at conferences in Latin America, Europe and Asia, as well as help to establish the International Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (ICHPER) and the International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE), before leaving the latter due to its focus away from school programmes and toward 'big time athletics' (Petersen, 1975, p. 377). After the 1957 congress in London, UK, every continent was represented on the executive board, a first attempt at a newsletter made, and journals in three languages facilitated greater networking and communication between increasing membership numbers (IAPESGW, 1993).

The next section will show how IAPESGW became disorganised and inefficient throughout the 1960s. Other physical activity and sport groups existed (ironically due in part to Ainsworth), and during its fourth congress in Washington, USA, in 1961, Ainsworth stepped down as president (Hall and Pfister, 1999). The loss of her ability to 'travel widely and freely…drawing heavily upon her own resources' (Petersen, 1975, p. 352) meant IAPESGW not only became isolated geographically from areas of the world, but it also forced the group to consider its position in a rapidly shifting environment which was increasingly influenced by the growth of sport.

5.2.3 Development and Issues

Financial issues and infrequent communication characterised the end of Ainsworth's IAPESGW presidency and were accelerated under her successor, Maria Thérèse Eyquem (1961-65). Eyquem struggled to balance the time she could give to IAPESGW and her job as a French government minister. Liselott Diem succeeded Eyquem at the Cologne conference in Germany in 1965 and both her contacts from her job at a German physical education institution and association with IAPESGW, ICSSPE, and ICHPER facilitated high-profile speakers and German government

funding. Diem continued the infrequent communication with IAPESGW members but was active in organising congresses and attempting to recruit new members (Hall and Pfister, 1999). An example was over six hundred delegates from 26 countries attending the 1969 congress in Tokyo, Japan; the first outside of Europe and North America.

Hall and Pfister (1999, p. 16) state that by the end of the 1960s, IAPESGW's membership was 'healthy, with over three hundred paid-up members from 41 countries. However, over 80% of the membership was from five nations: USA (152), Japan (41), Canada (31), Germany (13) and the UK (12)'. The majority of the executive board members, vice-presidents and presidents heralded from these countries, and despite women from Iran, Nigeria, Peru and the Philippines also serving on the executive board, IAPESGW was not representing women globally (Connell, 2007; Hargreaves, 2000).

The Tokyo congress can be directly traced to Ainsworth's previous networking. Interview data, archival documents and academic references correspond toward the physical education ethic at Smith College introducing Swedish gymnastics and 'Westernised values' to Japanese scholars who returned to Japan and 'had a big influence' on (albeit the relatively few but powerful) women who could afford higher education (Ikeda, 2010, p. 543). The Japan Association of Physical Education for Women (JAPEW) was formed in 1954 and joined IAPESGW in 1957. Ainsworth lobbied the Japanese government for their attendance at the Washington Congress in 1961. On their return, JAPEW organised a first national congress on physical education for women in 1965 before their 'strength was particularly felt when they so capably hosted the Congress in Tokyo in 1969' (Petersen, 1975, p. 454). Japan has continued to have strong links with IAPESGW because of dance's cultural significance in the country and importance within the Association (Talbot interview).

Over the next twenty years, IAPESGW was to hold congresses in Iran (1973), South Africa (1977), Argentina (1981), England (1985) and Indonesia (1989). Pre- and post-congress seminars originated from 1973 to allow for a greater understanding of cultures and information and have often been staged in neighbouring countries to expand IAPESGW's reach (Hall and Pfister, 1999). Through achieving this however, IAPESGW has had to interact with a myriad of cultural and political tensions. For example, South Africa was 'selected out of respect for [former executive board and current vice-president] Isabel Nel and her long association with the Association, and because a committee under her leadership would organise an excellent conference' (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 20). In doing so, IAPESGW broke a UN boycott on South Africa because of the apartheid regime. One interviewee anonymously stated:

> ‘One thing that really upset me was when IAPESGW broke the boycott and I was thinking of not going. I talked to [Helene] Tollich about this and she said to me, “this woman in South Africa who was organising the conference has done so much for women and black women and physical activity and sport in the country”, and I was thinking, “my god, you don’t get the point!” I mean in this situation starting to use individuals, it’s like you really haven’t seen the big picture’.

The Cape Town congress symbolised a major shift for IAPESGW as it directly interacted with the POS of South Africa and governments globally. IAPESGW up to this point had always claimed to be non-political, but ‘Nel’s intentions were clearly political, in that congress planning would provide opportunities for cooperation among women from various “national” groups (i.e. white, black, coloured, Indian, etc.) in South Africa’ (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 20). South African government support through a financial grant with ‘no political strings attached’ meant ‘there would be no restrictions on travel, and participants regardless of colour would have the same rights’ (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 21). Thus, IAPESGW were using physical education as a tool for peace and social inclusion; a prominent issue for contemporary sociology of sport and sport policy studies (Brackenridge interview; see Kidd, 2008).

Despite continued successful, well-attended non-Western congresses, the four years in between continued to be constrained by issues, such as a lack of communication. IAPESGW quite often did not aggregate, self-produce, or co-opt any resources during the four year period and criticism was growing. Hall and Pfister (1999, p. 23) acknowledge a letter written by the secretary of IAPESGW to Diem in 1980:

> ‘If we want to build an international association we cannot run a one woman show. In the past we have really not been an association, but rather a council or a club, with more or less handpicked leaders. You know that evil tongues have called us a club of old, rich women. Belonging myself – at least for the first part – to the category, I realise that just this type of persons are the ones who can put in a lot of work. But we cannot survive as an association with this image’.

The quote above is significant because of the recognition for an image change, but not a change in personnel. The secretary mentions how ‘the type of persons’ by which IAPESGW is stereotyped as containing are ‘the ones who can put in a lot of work’. IAPESGW’s core membership believed they shared a common hardworking trait and

were unwilling to allow others to lead the Association. This exclusive characteristic can be partly explained by the fact that although IAPESGW was more global, the countries it was visiting did not have the same resources and/or POS to facilitate the same level of interaction (e.g. creating and fostering resources) toward women in physical education and physical activity as the Western countries who predominantly constituted the Association (see Appendix 5).

An attempt at change was made after Tollich was elected as president at the 1981 Buenos Aires Congress. New statutes and guidelines were approved that focused on greater communication and networking, including regional seminars and in 1981 the production of a newsletter entitled the 'Bulletin' (Hall and Pfister, 1999). Originally produced just once a year, the Bulletin was an important mobilising resource which aggregated contact and shared experiences between members within this voluntary association (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Early editions were basic in content and acted more as a signposting tool for members to pursue further information on a topic. This was particularly so for 'News from the Nations', in which predominantly European and North American members briefed each other on events that were occurring from their country. The Bulletin highlights IAPESGW's mantra of continuing to push for forms of equality, but predominantly in physical education settings rather than sport, and often ended with a year-view calendar of events that would highlight conferences and events from every continent.

Tollich's push for greater communication is personified in ensuing Bulletins. Spanish translation of the Bulletin is advertised in 1983 (IAPESGW, 1983) and then undertaken in 1984. The 1983 and 1984 volumes show key IAPESGW personnel visiting Latin America, the USSR, and Eastern Bloc countries for conferences and events and Tollich explains how 'it would be interesting to hear what goes on in other parts of the world, in other continents, in this respect' (IAPESGW, 1984, p. 1). A year later, she further highlights the need to utilise the Bulletin because face-to-face communication was increasingly difficult due to the costs and resources needed (IAPESGW, 1985a). This is very important because at the end of the Bulletin is a reminder for membership fee payment and an acknowledgment that a country must have at least three members in current, paid-up membership if their representative is to be entitled to vote at the meeting of the Council of Representatives (IAPESGW, 1985a).

The last IAPESGW membership list before the 1990s – a decade of major expansion for women and sport activism (see chapter six onward) – includes names and some contact details of 394 members from 43 countries in 1985 (IAPESGW, 1985b). Table 2 outlines the number of countries and number of members per

continent, as well as show how many countries did not have enough members to be able to vote.

Continent	Number of Countries [% of total]	Number of IAPESGW members [% of total]	Number of countries with less than 3 members
Africa	5 [11.6%]	45 [11.4%]	3
Asia	11 [25.6%]	76 [19.3%]	4
Europe	13 [30.2%]	154 [39%]	5
North America	4 [9.3%]	83 [21.1%]	0
South (Latin) America	8 (10) [18.6%]	27 (32) [6.9%]	6 (7)
Oceania	2 [4.7%]	9 [2.3%]	1
TOTAL	**43 [100%]**	**394 [100%]**	**19**

Table 2. Breakdown of 1985 IAPESGW membership list (IAPESGW, 1985b).

Europe, North America, and Asia (predominantly Japan with 42 of the 76 members alone) portray the continued dominance of Western countries seen two decades before. Africa, South America and Oceania constitute a fifth of the membership but, more importantly, many of the countries in these continents do not have the three members needed in order to directly influence the decision making within IAPESGW. Thus, the way IAPESGW was structured further limited the input of non-Western countries, meaning the experiences of those from Western countries drove the direction of the Association. Indeed, Table 2 shows nearly half of the countries within IAPESGW could not vote, and so, the dominant nations in the Association were effectively speaking for them (Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999). Confusingly at the Warwick Congress the same year, Hall and Pfister (1999) state that there were representatives from 62 nations within IAPESGW; nineteen more than the membership list. Still, communication issues were a major problem for an 'international' group where 55% (n=217) of its membership was from the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Japan, UK, and USA. The editor of the Bulletin bemoans the fact she only received nineteen 'News from the Nations' reports from the 62 countries (IAPESGW, 1986). At the 1989 Indonesian Congress in Bali, Tollich handed her presidency to a British woman, Patricia Bowen-West, 'complaining that the

association's "inner life" was not lively enough, nor did the members take enough interest in the daily work of the association' (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 70).

5.2.4 Concluding comments

IAPESGW was formed of 'a series of visionary women who thought they ought to learn from each other across different countries. But they were from a particular social group. They were nearly all women with means who could travel and take time to travel' (Talbot interview). The 'private economy' (Fasting interview) of its members not only allowed the volunteer-based IAPESGW to expand its representation but more crucially, simply exist as a group. Interviewees on the whole stated that without the white, Western, elitist base of power, IAPESGW may not have been able to survive the length of time it has: 'I have to give it credit for lasting so long, I think it's one group that has done a lot of work without too much gratitude or much recognition' (Neill interview); 'the organisation was extremely viable in that it was the only conference that was on a regular basis' (Kluka interview); 'they were the only conferences in the world that was [sic] on women and sport, women and physical activity and education' (Fasting interview).

IAPESGW staged congresses in North America, South America, Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia, and the Middle East before the first World Conference on Women and Sport in 1994 and many of the IAPESGW presidents stated that learning from and celebrating difference with non-Western physical education and sport practice was an important objective (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Kluka, 2008). These quadrennial congresses were successful but, in-between, the Association suffered from poor communication and persistent financial constraints. IAPESGW 'were perceived as a group who put on a conference every four years and they advanced academic matters but they did not involve themselves in activism at all. They didn't intend to and it wasn't part of their DNA, it just wasn't going to happen' (Oglesby interview, 2012b). Indeed, in 1953 Ainsworth stated 'we gather and pass on information, we exchange ideas, but we are not a policy-forming group, save that we press hard for the place of physical education for girls and women' (Petersen, 1975, p. 329). Both Oglesby and Petersen deny IAPESGW engaged in any action activism (mobilising people to join the movement), but their comments do acknowledge how IAPESGW was engaging in consensus activism (mobilising people to adhere to the goals of the movement) through the educational messages about women's greater access and opportunities to

participate in physical education. By 1957, IAPESGW's aims were formulated as bringing women together via knowledge and person exchange, strengthening and cooperating with international contacts, and discussing and researching problems for women in physical education and sport (Petersen, 1975). These aims stayed the same for the next thirty years but the extent to which IAPESGW fulfilled them is subject to debate.

IAPESGW had members from all over the world, but Hargreaves (2000, p. 218) critiques it as holding 'a distinctly middle-class, elitist and very white Western educational and cultural hegemonic stance' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 218). Indeed, Ainsworth had taught Argentinian, Brazilian and Japanese women at Smith College before IAPESGW was formed and all returned to their countries to teach what they had learned (Shelton and Bourque interview). Additionally, the first five congresses were hosted by Western countries, its membership has been predominantly Western women, and leading in to the 1990s, the major decision-making roles had been occupied by Western women. In accordance to what Connell (2007) has highlighted through her four characteristics of the 'Northernness of general theory', Hargreaves (2000, p. 218, emphasis in original) claims that through IAPESGW, 'the West was at the centre of knowledge production and practices and those who came from *outside* the West celebrated *sameness with*, rather than *difference from*, the West'.

Hargreaves strengthens her critique (2000, p. 219) by stating 'in recent years, feminist writers from colonised countries have described relations such as those embodied in IAPESGW as "exploitative"'. Non-Westerners were, according to Hargreaves (2000, p. 218), seen as 'the Other' from former British Empire colonies. This criticism is unjustified. IAPESGW was the first international mechanism for collective, coordinated action in the W&SM. Postcolonial feminist discourse argues subordinated women should be listened and paid attention to. Since her teaching at Smith College, Ainsworth had wanted to learn from others both nationally and internationally about good practice toward women's physical education and physical activity. By forming national groups and then IAPESGW, she helped provide a platform for such knowledge exchange since the 1950s. The fact the leaders of IAPESGW were willing to expand and enhance its cultural borders should not be underestimated, for it would have been much easier and cheaper to stay contained in Northern Europe and North America. As reflected upon by an executive board member, the internationalisation IAPESGW was experiencing was apparent in Buenos Aires in 1981:

> ‘As with all conferences the opportunity to meet and to talk with colleagues from other countries made possible the exchange of ideas and the making of professional contacts. The opportunity to learn something of the history, folklore and friendliness of Argentinians made possible an experience that was professionally worthwhile and of great interest to all, especially those of us who came from other continents’ (IAPESGW, 1981, p. 6).

However, the attitudes and diversity of its membership were relatively slow to change. Its development was hindered by being a voluntary organisation with limited financial resources and influence in a largely patriarchal and increasingly sport-dominated world (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Petersen, 1975). IAPESGW members were often Western physical education professionals who were highly critical and resistant toward ‘“corrupt” sport in their teaching and philosophising’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 217-8). No more can this be seen than in an interview with Margaret Ann Hall, someone who has criticised IAPESGW for its conservatism but also co-wrote its commemorative history. She reflects on her interest in sport emerging in the 1960s and her thoughts on Canadian IAPESGW members:

> ‘To me they were just old fogies. There was just no movement at all. And yet, as the years went on, and I ignored IAPESGW and we began to develop our own more feminist-based organisations, I then began to re-look. When doing the commemorative book, I began to get a better sense, when you always do this historical work, of the hard work those women were doing and when you look now, it took them a week to go across the Atlantic because you couldn’t fly that often and they didn’t have email or social media, they were doing amazing work! … But my teeth for politicisation were really ground in reaction to those very same women who were still around because I saw them as dinosaurs. I saw them as, “god, we are never going to get anywhere with these kinds of attitudes”. But that is how these things work, you have this young generation coming up wanting to bring about change. My understanding of where they came from didn’t occur until decades later when I began to do all this research’ (Hall interview).

The generation critiqued by Hall were the very women attracted to Swedish gymnastics who broke down barriers for women’s role in early-1900s Western societies (Cahn,

1994; Fletcher, 1984; 1987; Hult, 1994; Park, 2010). But as time passed, they were defined as conservative by a new generation of young women who were growing up with greater knowledge and excitement about participating in sport, especially in the USA where major power battles existed between college and sport practitioners (Hult, 1994; Oglesby interview, 2012b; Schultz, 2014). This was not one movement stopping and another starting, but a diversification by members who felt marginalised by the direction that debates about physical education and sport participation were taking (Taylor, 1989). The new generation of women differed to the central values IAPESGW held. IAPESGW was already under pressure from the rapidly increasing professionalisation of sport (Hargreaves, 1986) and the growth of other international physical education and physical activity groups such as ICHPER and ICSSPE who were aligning themselves closer to UN agendas (Petersen, 1975).

The Association did try to work with these groups but, in Bulletins throughout the 1980s, Tollich expresses caution toward the growth of competitive sport as opposed to physical activity for education. Congress sessions mirrored this and reflected IAPESGW's history. For example, the sessions in Buenos Aires were predominantly focused on physical activity and physical education, with examples such as problem solving in dance, daily exercise periods and their influence on behaviour, and gymnastics (IAPESGW, 1981). Plenaries such as this were criticised for not including critical sport sessions by a new generation of women who, consistent with Hall's comments above, had 'began to perceive IAPESGW as too conservative and inward-looking' (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 30). These women began to move away from IAPESGW's core to form their own SMOs at national and international level to better reflect their subordinated experiences in sport (Taylor, 1989). After detailing the origins of some national groups in the following section, chapters six to eight illustrate the power relationships between all these groups during the 1990s.

5.3 Advances for Women and Sport towards the 1990s

5.3.1 Overview

Women's relationship to POSs shifted dramatically throughout the twentieth century. UN Conventions of Women for Political Rights (1952), Equal Rights (early-1960s), and Eliminations of Discrimination (1981) and Violence (1993); a dedicated Year (1975) and Decade (1976-85); and World Conferences (Mexico 1975, Denmark

1980 and Kenya 1985) had vast direct and indirect impacts on Commonwealth, continental and national equality policies. Sport was gradually pushed to the forefront of UN work with the first official inclusion of sport and physical activity as part of human rights positioned in a UNESCO Charter in 1978. This recognition prompted governments globally to increasingly address both 'women' and 'sport', although it was not until the mid-1990s that both terms were combined in official UN recognition (see chapter eight).

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, informal, separate collectives of American, Australian, British, Canadian, and Nordic women lobbied nationally against discrimination experienced by women in sport. Within these countries however, the importance of sport has varied in policy agendas, and has often been of low interest to governments. Moreover, sport was mostly viewed from an elite (male-dominated) performance orientation, as opposed to mass participation for all citizens (Green and Houlihan, 2005), leading to the growth of research critiquing the patriarchy of sport (Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Talbot, 1986; 1988; Theberge, 1985; White and Brackenridge, 1985). Over time, the informal collectives mobilised to stage major national conferences fuelled by requirements of gender equality and sex discrimination acts facilitated by UN decree. Positive consequences from these included the formation of national women and sport groups (W&SM SMOs) who were to directly influence regional and international groups in the 1990s. The central goals of these groups was change for women and sport.

Nordic countries have had a long history of political engagement with women and sport (Laine, 1998; Pfister, 2010b; Hovden, 2010). The timeline (see Appendix 1) highlights women and sport conferences from 1945 in Sweden and numerous women and sport committees in Norway, Finland and Denmark have existed. But leading into the 1990s, sporting confederations admitted that gender equality attempts in sport had to improve (Finnish Sports Federation, 2000; Norwegian Confederation of Sports, 1990; Swedish Sports Confederation, 1990).

In Australia, the first recognition of sport by the federal government was in the 1970s. However, the formation of infrastructure such as the Australian Institute of Sport to develop elite sport development meant that, 'at the end of the 1980s, sport policy developments were increasingly framed in the context and language of elite sports performance' (Green and Houlihan, 2005, p. 35). Much of the support for advocating women and sport in Australia emanated from the Federal Government Sex Discrimination Act of 1984. Numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs) across different states and territories were formed and in 1991 combined into Womensport Australia, which lobbied the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) – the government

authoritative body for sport – who had formulated the Australian Policy and Plan for Women in Sport in 1987. Elizabeth (Libby) Darlison had helped create Womensport Australia and played a key role in establishing a Women's Sport Promotion Unit within the ASC meaning that she was 'the only woman on an ASC board, and very much pushed all these issues to be put on the agenda' (Adriaanse interview). The ASC Women and Sport Unit (1992, p. iii) created the Australian Women in Sport and Recreation Strategy 1992-1994 which was the 'first nationally coordinated approach to women and sport'. Darlison's impact throughout the 1990s was crucial for influencing the direction of the W&SM (see chapter six onwards).

Academic literature has mostly focused on the origins and early work of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS) (Hall, 1995; 2002) and WSFUK (Clarke and Humberstone, 1997; Hall, 1995; Grace, 1995), with Hall (1995) also focusing on Australian SMOs and WSFUS. However, all are dated and predominantly critical of liberal engagement with governments. When revisited, it can be acknowledged that these liberal engagements were the first phases of greater SMO interaction with the agencies that can directly implement change and 'challenge social attitudes that uphold the patriarchal status quo' (Grace, 1995, p. 111) of sport. Furthermore, many of the works were written by women directly involved with the SMO. Comeau and Church (2010) engage with social movement literature in a recent analysis of the similarities and differences between CAAWS and WSFUS but do not position their analysis in relation to a broader social movement.

Sections 5.3.2-5.3.4 are not comprehensive overviews of WSFUS, CAAWS, and WSFUK but are crucial for identifying the similarities and differences in the way collective action has been mobilised, the resources accrued and utilised, and the interactions with POSs. In particular, the importance of national conferences, the issue of sexuality being central to strained relationships, and the strategies of engagement with political and sporting institutions are explored to provide a development of important SMOs within the W&SM leading into the 1990s.

5.3.2 USA

WSFUS was formed in response to a growing debate regarding amateur vs. professionalism sports (see section 2.4.1), and also the lack of progress seen from the National Association for Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS). NAGWS had, under various guises since the 1890s, been the organiser of women's physical education,

physical activity and sport. However, it was increasingly marginalised by the growing professionalisation and commercialisation of male-dominated sport to such an extent that after the enactment of Title IX federal legislation – which 'prohibits discrimination based on sex in education programs that receive federal money' (Acosta and Carpenter, 2013, p. iii) – it was no longer a controller of any form of women's sport but simply an advocator for it. The battles to control women's sport in the USA throughout the twentieth century have been well-documented and are beyond the scope of this thesis (Acosta and Carpenter, 2013; Cahn, 1994; Comeau and Church, 2010; Guttmann, 1991; Hult, 1994; O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007; Park, 2010; Petersen, 1975; Schultz, 2014). Fundamentally however, and much like IAPESGW internationally, NAGWS was regarded as conservative by some young women who were part of a new generation engaging in sporting practices. Snyder (interview) reflected that 'it was definitely a different generation of women and sport. I think there was a certain revolutionary spirit and these were different people from those in NAGWS. They were, if you will, the mothers and grandmothers and WSFUS were the daughters'. Despite competition for resources and credit for advances emanating from Title IX between NAGWS and WSFUS (Kluka interview; Oglesby interview, 2012b; Snyder interview), 'Title IX was WSFUS's calling card, it was our banner and we waved it long and hard. We hung all our marbles on it in many ways' (Snyder interview).

WSFUS originated after professional tennis player Billie-Jean King won a tournament and 'was given a cheque for herself, but also they were going to write a cheque for $5000 to the charity of her choice. She wanted to write it to a women's sports charity but there wasn't one so she decided to make one – it's kind of that simple' (Snyder interview). King invited a wealthy friend, Eva Auchincloss, to run WSFUS while she continued to compete.

Auchincloss was rebuffed by NAGWS when she asked them for help in expanding her limited knowledge of issues women were facing in sport and so, after being introduced through a mutual friend, Carole Oglesby offered to help Auchincloss. Oglesby had been proactive in interacting with dominant men's sport organisations and recognised Auchincloss's powerful social standing and lobbying resources. Their respect for each other grew after they unsuccessfully lobbied to have women and physical activity be included as part of the 1977 National Women's Conference final USA Report to the UN. Oglesby (interview 2012b) claims that 'for NAGWS to ostracise her, it was really cutting off our nose and numerous other parts of our body…and Eva was determined that this New Agenda was going to blow everything else off the water and it pretty much did'.

The New Agenda Conference in 1983 in Washington D.C. was organised by the WSFUS with involvement from NAGWS and the United States Olympic Committee and was sponsored by AT&T. Five hundred leaders in sport attended this 'huge event' (Shelton and Bourque interview) for women and sport which was over a decade before the first World Conference on Women and Sport and, unlike IAPESGW World Congresses, distinctly focussed on change. Oglesby (interview, 2012b) was given the role of organising the non-profit conference premised by King and Auchincloss in the late-1970s:

> 'We had almost all the accoutrements of a major conference today; poster sessions, workshops, keynotes, receptions and press conferences because the WSFUS being the WSFUS, all of the champion athletes were there. We had political people, Olympic level people, business and corporate types, academics, and a lot people who were everyday coaches and physical education teachers so it was a very, very comprehensive approach to develop this "New Agenda"'.

'A Blueprint for Change' was produced in response to presentations and discussions at the conference. The document was 'a whole bunch of things we would like to see changed in the USA in terms of sport for women. In some ways it was like the Brighton Declaration in that we were supposed to be using it and referring to it when we wanted to know what our priorities were' (Snyder interview).

WSFUS benefitted from financial and socio-organisational support since its inception. Celebrity sportswomen and wealthy, connected personnel enhanced its potential to accrue, use, and mobilise certain resources. This can be seen with the New Agenda Conference where corporate business and media networks were aggregated to pay greater attention to women and sport. The self-produced Blueprint for Change provided more legitimacy and guidance for an increasing membership-base (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Ferree and Mueller, 2004). Much of WSFUS's work was facilitated by the 'consciousness-raising' of the New Agenda Conference meaning 'all of a sudden, sport jumped out of the silo of being about sport and people's careers took wings' (Oglesby interview, 2012b).

WSFUS's progress soon faced an ideological clash. A prominent issue associated with the Conference was sexuality. Both Hall (1995) and Cahn (1994) criticise the Conference for silencing the issue, whereas Don Sabo (interview) stated that 'homophobia was a big issue that had previously been shunned and ignored, but now it was on a relatively more open platform for discussion. In fact, it became the

over-arching issue due to rarely being addressed at previous conferences'. Indeed, the fact Griffin's (1998) work on women, sport, and sexuality emanated from discussions at the Conference shows a gradual shift toward more open dialogue. However as Oglesby (interview, 2012b) reflected, this caused challenges for the conference:

> 'To my knowledge, never had the word "lesbian" and anything about sexual orientation and sport been dared to be addressed openly in the organisational framework of sport. I spent a year in manoeuvring the programme planning so that a handful of our workshops would deal with sexual orientation. I had a chance to make a keynote so we had made an agreement that we would talk about "homophobia" but not talk about "lesbians". As far as I was concerned that was fine, it advanced what I wanted to advance. In my keynote I used the word once and I felt like it was sort of claiming the space for this topic area and I felt it was very daring and it actually almost got us into a lot of trouble. So there was a lot of fallout from that'.

Oglesby (interview, 2012b) had to sensitively balance relationships between corporate and National Olympic Committee (NOC) personnel who were uneasy about such a topic, researchers pushing for greater acknowledgment of the issue, and WSFUS members on both sides of the argument (Cahn, 1994; Shelton and Bourque interview). Although she did not attend the Conference, from communications with many who did, Snyder (interview) believes people 'were afraid as this was a time when women's sport was just coming into its own and that if they were to decide on an issue that was so polarising, it would be to the detriment of the entire movement'. King had recently revealed her homosexuality, 'yet no one was talking about that, it was like it didn't happen' (Snyder interview), 'it was a nightmare' (Shelton and Bourque interview). Lesbian was a 'toxic' word not only for homosexuals but heterosexuals afraid of the label (Oglesby interview, 2012b) and was to be a fundamental issue to other W&SM groups for many years to come (Hall, 1995).

Many future key W&SM personnel attended the New Agenda Conference and the reputation of WSFUS was enhanced, although the impact of up to twelve regional New Agenda Conferences over the next four years is unknown (Oglesby interview, 2012b; Schultz 2014; Snyder interview). Its publication *Women's Sports Magazine* increased its circulation from 50,000 to 125,000 after the Conference (Auchincloss, 1983) and this was important because every person receiving the magazine were deemed a 'member' by WSFUS. This aided in attracting further corporate funding because the numeric

figure highlighted all the partnerships and people involved and not necessarily paid-up members of WSFUS. Sabo's (interview) summary 'was it a lie? No. Was it an exaggeration? Yes' accentuates the flexibility of memberships of social movements (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

The New Agenda Conference was 'very much a national effort' (DeFrantz interview) because 'there really were not networks to my knowledge' (Oglesby interview, 2012b) in Asia, Africa and Latin America, highlighting the limited impact of IAPESGW and NAGWS. WSFUS had established links with WSFUK (see section 5.3.4) and communications with the Japanese Women's Sport Foundation (WSFJ – established 1983). The formation of an International Relations Committee was a matter of debate amongst the interviewees. Snyder (interview) stated 'we were just focused on what we were doing in the USA and not really thinking globally', whereas Kluka (interview) claimed some members 'tried to come together and try to push the WSFUS which was national to have an international reach as well'. The Committee became more of an advisory board over time with Oglesby and Shelton (who were also part of IAPESGW and later IWG) relaying global information back to the WSFUS, although as chapters six and seven will illustrate, there were SMOs wary of the Committee's intention.

A key factor in WSFUS's development is that, unlike the majority of countries who have SMOs, sport is not funded by the American government. This has meant WSFUS has had to work very hard in corporate and business networks to raise funds and awareness. It reacted to growing corporate interest in women's fitness and health in the 1970s and 1980s to create partnerships over time with major sports and women's brands such as Reebok and Tampax (WSFUS, 1999) because there was no governmental support. This corporate ideology has continued to the present day and is a unique feature within the W&SM because it is tailored to the context and POS of the USA. The multi-million dollar investments and corporate ideology in the form of awards banquets, after-dinner speeches, advertising and commercial benefits 'was too expensive to be a good practice model for Canada' (Lay interview) but works for America. Furthermore, WSFUS's 'financial resources enable them to take a more critical stance toward government' (Comeau and Church, 2010, p. 469) because they are not dependent compared to other SMOs. All WSFUS personnel interviewed also stated that because there is so much to do in the USA, this limits the amount of resources the SMO can give to the wider W&SM and is a reason why Snyder (interview) admitted there was American insularity within WSFUS. Future research should examine WSFUS's collaborations with non-political institutions such as corporate business, and how they have influenced the ideology and decision-making of

the SMO, to advance the PPT approach to social movements (Crossley, 2002; Kriesi, 2004).

5.3.3 Canada

The formation of women and sport activism at a government level in Canada can be traced to the 1970s. In 1970, findings from a report by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (established 1967) highlighted how more boys participated in sport at school than girls (Sport Canada, 1986). Marion Lay (a CAAWS founder) comments that wider societal policy facilitated CAAWS's development, for 'one of the major reasons we got to create CAAWS was the Royal Commission recommendation funding [sic] to a number of government departments to start to right the wrongs facing women in society, and in sport we got money to do our first national conference in 1974' (Lay interview). This was not entirely straightforward. Growing dissatisfaction with IAPESGW, recognition of the recently formed WSFUS, and a growing yet uncoordinated research culture on women and sport was challenging traditional attitudes:

> 'There were a lot of critics who thought our numbers on the lack of women involved in sport were biased and they questioned why we would be so critical of sport. For me personally, they would say such things as, "Marion, swimming gave you so much and Canada supported you to attain your Olympic dreams. How dare you criticise our sport system. Why are you such a man-hater?"' (Lay interview).

The Royal Commission report and lobbyists' pressure led to Fitness and Amateur Sport (FAS) sponsoring the first National Conference on Women and Sport in Toronto in 1974. Strategies and actions were constructed and later measured at the second National Conference (also called the Female Athlete Conference, it was co-sponsored by a University and the federal government) in 1980, which 'indirectly also served as a catalyst for the founding of a women's national sport organisation – CAAWS – and for the establishment of the Women's Programme of FAS' (Sport Canada, 1986, p. 8).

A 'very good balance' (Lay interview) of interdisciplinary personnel from sporting and non-sporting spheres attended early CAAWS meetings. Hall (1995, p. 233) was another founder and writes that 'from the very beginning, CAAWS saw itself as a

feminist organisation'. She reflected on this in her interview, revealing that the founders had briefly flirted with the idea of calling it a Women's Sport Foundation before deciding they wanted a greater Canadian emphasis:

> 'I remember us having an incredible debate about whether or not it should be called the "Canadian Association for women *and* sport" or the "Canadian Association for women *in* sport". We decided on the "and sport" and again back to our original feminist perspectives that somehow in our naivety we would be able to change sport at the same time we were going to change women in sport, which made it necessary that we call this "women and sport"' (Hall interview).

By having these debates, women were claiming a space in a male-dominated world and acknowledging feminism and feminists could help make sense of issues in sport (Theberge, 1983). CAAWS women were forging a collective identity and goal. Hall (interview) recounted, 'we actually kicked them [men] out of the room and said, "you cannot be a part of these discussions any longer!"'.

In contrast to the USA, progress was facilitated by government sponsorship and over time, 'women often joked about the "federal udder" on which CAAWS seemed overly dependent' (Lenskyj, 1992, p. 132). The reliance was initially fruitful, for CAAWS was developed 'to get a network of voices talking about issues regarding women and sport and help develop a strategy on how to bring about positive change for girls and women in physical activity and sport' (Lay interview). In 1986, the Sport Canada Policy on Women and Sport was launched with a key focus on anti-discrimination and sex equality; themes emanating from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms established five years previously. The policy called for 'programmes to be designed to take account of, and to countervail, systematic limitations to female advancement in sport' (Sport Canada, 1986, p. 15). Structural injustices, resource allocation, traditional roles, the stratification of sport, development, research, education, and responsibilities of national sport organisations were also all focused upon, as well as critical examples of programmes that have faced difficulties and been unsuccessful (Sport Canada, 1986). In addition to this policy, different types of resources were mobilised throughout the 1980s, including the establishment of leadership programmes, government reports on youth and seniors, and extensive research bibliographies (Lenskyj, 1988) related to women and sport. Reports and research continued into the early 1990s, including Guiding Principles on Girls and Women and Physical Activity (Fitness Canada, 1990), a handbook on gender equity for national sports organisations (CAAWS, 1993), and a

Sport Forum in Quebec in 1992 at which gender equity was a heightened issue (Government of Canada, Undated).

During this period however, government control over CAAWS increased and its feminist advocacy was tapered. CAAWS was shifting its objectives in response to changeable governmental ideology associated with its location in the POS (Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). A weak economy and the election of a cost-cutting government meant sport was 'forced down the policy agenda and federal funding was reduced' (Green and Houlihan, 2005, p. 46). Governmental cuts drastically hit FAS, which meant CAAWS had to downsize and realign itself within Sport Canada, and 'remove all references to feminism from its mission statements and goals' (Hall, 2002, p. 204). This example highlights the constraints of relying on resources from institutions which themselves are part of broader POSs controlled by governments (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Kriesi, 2004). The original CAAWS identity had to be renegotiated in order for the SMO to continue. Hall (1995; 1996; 2002) criticises CAAWS, and many other SMOs, for taking this liberal and institutionalised approach. This was seen to start in the late-1980s when CAAWS was silent on issues of sexuality, for State funding would be cut to groups that had it as a centralised focus, despite the fact it had always tried to make 'a serious effort to be both anti-homophobic and lesbian-positive' (Hall, 1995, p. 232).

5.3.4 UK

The history of WSFUK is another example of how difficult it is to attribute 'start-points' in social movement analysis. In 1978, six years before WSFUK was formed, there was the '1st International Conference on Women and Sport' (CCPR, 1978). The conference was organised by the umbrella organisation of two hundred national sport and recreation groups for the UK – the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR) – and was sponsored by Langham Life. Sixteen years before the IWG Brighton Conference and five years before the New Agenda in the USA, 163 delegates from 28 countries on every continent as well as representatives from the IOC, the Council of Europe, and the Equal Opportunities Commission were given the opportunity to 'provide an almost complete understanding of the way in which contemporary sport treats women' (CCPR, 1978, p. 15). HRH Princess Anne and the UK Minister for Sport and Recreation opened and closed the conference. Keynote presentations were followed by discussion workshops – a conference structure that has continued for

women and sport ever since – and key figures in the W&SM such as Brackenridge, Fasting, Hargreaves, Oglesby, Talbot, and White all attended. Oglesby outlined the power battles between American women and sport SMOs in the USA, before reflecting on these battles by arguing 'we must create means whereby the baton of effort may be passed from this generation to another and another' (CCPR, 1978, p. 40). In addition, presentations were delivered on sport in society, sport and the media, sport and law, sports medicine, and women and the IOC (including FSFI). These themes continue to be seen in conferences ever since. Surprisingly however, this conference has received no academic attention before and is an anomaly in the context of this thesis because women and sport did not receive such powerful focus in the UK until WSFUK members influenced policy change in the early-1990s. It is assumed that the limited recommendations and no attempt at conference legacy mean any impact is difficult to trace.

Sport has increasingly been recognised as a 'policy tool for the UK government to achieve wider social goals' (Bloyce and Smith, 2010, p. 54). Indeed, the first approach to coordinate sport in the UK was the formation of the Advisory Sports Council in 1965 in response to alleviating urban disorder, the expansion of sport facilities' provision, and attempts to achieve international success (Green and Houlihan, 2005). Seven years later, the Council became the GB Sports Council and its focus turned to the improvement of sports facilities and mass participation via a target approach toward groups not participating in sport, such as women and people with disabilities. The inclusion-oriented approach assumed there was nothing wrong with sport and that the under-participating target groups were at fault. Throughout the 1980s however, the majority of funding had been directed to elite level sport because of a lack of clearly-defined policy and competing strategic interests by the CCPR, the GB Sports Council, and the British Olympic Association. The defining feature of this period was that 'sport languished in the margins of government interest' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 60).

The GB Sports Council identified British women as a 'target group' in the early 1980s because of their lack of participation. Increasing social inclusion directives in sport such as 'sport for all' provision, and wider equality legislation such as the 1974 Sex Discrimination Act, meant 'women' and 'sport' were slowly being drawn together for the first time. However, the 'catalyst' in establishing WSFUK was contact with WSFUS (Grace, 1995, p. 31). Derek Wyatt wanted to publish a book on women and sport and met WSFUS. He was confused why such a group did not exist in the UK and met with Anita White at the then West Sussex Institute of Higher Education (WSIHE), now the University of Chichester (Brackenridge interview). White was part of an

informal network of women and sport researchers looking at themes such as the continued dominance of men in the power structures of sport (Hargreaves 1994; Talbot, 1986; 1988; White and Brackenridge, 1985). An embryonic meeting in London in 1984 was staged by Wyatt and shared parallels with the founding meetings of CAAWS. Wyatt was asked to leave by the women in attendance who debated what to call themselves. They rejected the idea of being 'a satellite to our sisters across the Atlantic', and positioned WSFUK as aiming 'to promote the interests of all women in and through sport, and to enable equal opportunities and options for women' (Grace, 1995, p. 31).

In addition to the informal network of researchers, the first WSFUK annual general meeting in October 1985 was attended by over one hundred women with black, disabled, young, and older women all presenting. This symbolised early attempts to be inclusive of all women. Indeed, White (interview, 2013) stated she drove a minibus of WSIHE students to the meeting, including Tina Slade who was to become a future chairwoman. There were new experiences for all participants. Brackenridge (interview) reflected on the 'fantastic' experience where 'I remember someone sending a note round in a meeting saying, "why are you talking with long words? Don't be a poncy academic", because there were women there who were leisure centre operatives who had no higher education'. An organising committee and an executive committee were formalised from the informal network but this structure masked the true identity of the group:

> 'We were what the organisational and management literature calls a "kitchen-table organisation" and we literally did sit there at a kitchen table licking stamps to stick on envelopes to send out newsletters. We were very small so to say "was I part of a coordinated movement?", well, ideologically certainly I felt that but organisationally it was pretty small. It was a lot of passionate individuals from disparate backgrounds who got together around a shared interest and tried to recruit other women into that cause, if you want to call it a cause' (Brackenridge, interview).

Above, Brackenridge (interview) describes the ideological connection between uncoordinated, informal networks of women who shared subordinating experiences in and through sport. Unlike WSFUS, the origins of WSFUK can be traced to academics working from home because, similar to WSFUS, the state did not afford them resources or support. However, both SMOs had a favourable lobbying resource in the form of gender equality legislation – Title IX in the USA and the Sex Discrimination Act

(1974) in the UK. This interaction with networks outside of sport was recognised as Brackenridge (interview), who was the informal chair of the executive committee, stated 'we wouldn't just be interested in what was going on in sport but we were interested in sport as a wider mechanism for achieving social change and for me that is the absolutely crucial phrase'.

However, in opposition to Safai's (2014) claim that Western SMOs benefitted from the assistance of Women's Movements in their countries, Brackenridge (interview) revealed there was a disconnection:

> 'We got pretty short shrift from the wider women's movement. They were not really interested in us … We were seen as lightweight feminists if we were seen at all as feminists. And because I think we ourselves had come through largely a physical education and/or sport background, we hadn't been as politicised about these general feminist issues as we should have been and therefore we hadn't made the connections with the Women's Movement more generally'.

A lack of recognition toward the health benefits of sport for women, coupled with its male-dominated structure, meant sport was not seen as an important battleground for a Women's Movement that was continuing to lobby about broader issues such as equal rights and abortion (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008). White (interview, 2013) agreed that Title IX influenced American sport much more than the Sex Discrimination Act did in Britain, and Williams (2014, p. 27) notes how 'sport was a notably absent feature of most women's rights journals that emerged out of feminism's so-called second-wave in the 1970s'.

Other issues WSFUK had to deal with were its stance toward sexuality, and the inclusion of men (Hall, 1995). In 1988, the Conservative Government had introduced Clause 28 which banned any group from advocating homosexuality. This caused tension between members of the lesbian-positive WSFUK, as Brackenridge (interview) explains:

> 'There were many women who were frightened by feminism and even the "F word", let alone sexuality and lesbianism and that was never discussed. One woman in her seventies who wrote to me had done lots and lots of advocacy on women's rights said, "I want to help, I want to be involved but not in the Greenham way"… which was code for, "I'm not radical, I'm not feminist, I'm certainly not lesbian"'.

Archival analysis complements these reflections. In a letter from Brackenridge (1991a) to another WSFUK member about launching a regional Sports Council's women and sport policy, she reveals 'I have been asked not to mention sssh (s-e-x-u-a-l-i-t-y) but have told them I either do it my way or not at all'. Similar to Oglesby's efforts at the New Agenda Conference, Brackenridge also had to balance the constraints associated between acknowledging and supporting homosexuality. Women and sport SMOs had to coordinate various expectations of their activism very early in their development, and negotiate barriers resulting from this. The label of being a feminist and lesbian organisation within a conservative society and sports structure was one that some heterosexual women were uncomfortable with because, quite often, they would face accusations of being homosexual simply for supporting the SMO.

The tensions were further exacerbated because WSFUK was for its first half-decade women-only. Renewed calls about whether helpful men could join were met with disdain amongst some members: 'the suggestion that men are allowed to join is an abrogation of the initial need for the Foundation and must be a joke' (Grimshaw, 1991). The fear amongst all W&SM SMOs was that 'men have been so accustomed to having power that if they get in to an organisation at the early stages, they are going to try to set the agenda in a disproportionate way' (Coakley interview). For a women-only SMO to have strong feminist values, as well as some members advocating homosexuality, was very radical in 1980s Britain. To the sports establishment they were attempting to lobby, they were seen as anti-men: 'the Sports Council wouldn't speak to us. I think we were seen as a bunch of radical screamy-shouty feminists. Some of us were but I thought we were quite moderate. They wouldn't even meet us' (Brackenridge interview). Coupled with very limited resources leading to a faltering organisational core and a women-only membership rule limiting its ability to form working relationships with men (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004), WSFUK toward the end of the 1980s was struggling (Grace, 1995). Some members realised a more liberal approach was needed if women were to stand any chance of getting into sporting structures, let alone change them (Clarke and Humberstone, 1997).

Anita White became Chair in the late-1980s and was the 'acceptable face of feminism' (Brackenridge interview) as she was heterosexual and advocated a liberal approach to sport by 'working within the system for change' (Clarke and Humberstone, 1997, p. 7). Furthermore through staff exchanges with WSFUS, WSFUK had recognised corporate success by focusing on companies who wanted to invest in women's health. This was at a time when the commercial UK leisure industry was moving 'rapidly into the mass participation market' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 55).

Leaving radical sporting issues behind, the WSFUK produced a *Women and Sport Magazine* in 1991. It was an insert for *Sports Teacher*, which was distributed to over 20,000 people in every English Secondary School physical education department. Similar to Tampax in America, Tambrands invested in WSFUK due to the influence of the magazine on girls – a market they were keen to attract. A subsequent sports award event occurred with celebrity and Olympian attendees, facilitating WSFUK's growing influence in the early 1990s. Although both Western nations, 'the relationship between the two associations has been characterised by WSFUK taking ideas from their American sisters and attempting to rework them in their own cultural and organisational context' (Grace, 1995, p. 81). As Nash (2002) had found with the Women's Movement in the UK and USA, there were differences between WSFUK and WSFUS but both were learning from each other to advance women and sport in alternative ways according to their differing POSs (Ashcroft, 2001; Kriesi, 2004; Spivak, 1999).

A seminar organised by the Council of Europe and aided by WSFUK at Bisham Abbey in 1989 was a major turning point as it 'helped to raise the visibility (and credibility) of the organisation considerably' (Grace, 1995, p. 59). Meetings became more professionalised and structured and its aims shifted away from issues such as sexuality and towards drugs in sport to suit the objectives of the GB Sports Council and the European Sports Conference (ESC). WSFUK was catering to the requirements of the dominant organisations within its POS to influence change (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Scholars such as Hall (1995) criticise this as the start of the liberal approach which is indeed true, but it was also the beginning of a process that initiated policy change for women and sport in the UK. The shift in focus White helped to create within WSFUK was accepted by Brackenridge (interview):

> 'You can scream and shout all you like from outside the establishment but all you do is get a sore throat. Sooner or later you have to work with the agencies of power in order to change them. Of course, not long after that Anita got a job in the Sports Council and became very senior so we had our Trojan horse. We were inside the corridors of power and by 1993 the Sports Council had its first policy on women and sport. It never had one before'.

At the end of the 1980s, the GB Sports Council (1987) was again under increasing pressure to deal with women and sport as an issue after research found 'there is clear evidence of sex discrimination' in sports organisations. White had grown increasingly aware of the subordination of women in sport and political structures

through her roles at WSIHE, WSFUK and the Bisham Abbey seminar and 'felt I should stand up and be counted' (White interview, 2013). Her appointment to the GB Sports Council was to be monumental for women and sport globally (see chapter 7). This was during a period when the GB Sports Council had moved briefly from the Department of Environment – in the process losing its connections to Local Authority service provision for its 'target group' objectives – to the Department of Education and Science, where sport was treated with 'neglect, disdain and incomprehension in almost equal measure' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 62). However, this was also a time when the GB Sports Council was focusing toward performance and excellence, and developing the concept of sports equity because 'insufficient attention paid to the ways in which the structures and institutions of sport needed to change to meet the needs of the people being targeted, rather than the other way round' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p.63). Thus, the call for 'sport for all' was matched with awareness that the barriers to participation in sport for some groups were not being recognised.

The Bisham Abbey seminar was crucial to the development of a regional women and sport group and will be examined further in the next chapter. The seminar also impacted at national level with a GB Sports Council Policy Working Group (led by White) producing and disseminating a draft paper on women and sport to invited experts to comment in 1990 in accordance with the GB Sports Council's focus on developing the concept of sports equity. Two years and three drafts later a consultation document was produced in line with equality and anti-discrimination documents as well as a vision to be the Chair of ESC women and sport work (GB Sports Council, 1992; White, 1995a). The following year, with frameworks for action for Young People and Sport, People with Disabilities, and Black and Ethnic Minorities in Sport (all of which White had been heavily involved with in her prominent Sports Council role), Women and Sport (GB Sports Council, 1993a) was published. So after being rejected initially, a first for the GB Sports Council, the policy:

> 'got through at the second attempt, brilliant, but it was very deficient when we look back now, it was so wishy-washy liberal, it was hardly worth having but of course we needed it because it was the first step. You have to go through the liberal steps to achieve radical ends' (Brackenridge interview).

The Policy Frameworks had little immediate impact because of the weak position of the GB Sports Council, which had just been relocated from the Department of Education and Science to the Department of National Heritage by recently elected Conservative

Prime Minister John Major, and also because the Frameworks did not fit with the immediate intentions of national governing bodies or Local Authorities (Houlihan and White, 2002).

The institutionalisation of SMOs such as WSFUK has been criticised (Hall, 1995; Grace, 1995). But in keeping with social movement literature, SMOs have to interact with decision-making institutions within their POS in order to influence change (Giugni, 1998; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Kriesi, 2004). While according to Brackenridge the policy was 'hardly worth having', it is another practical example of women claiming space in a dominant male sphere. The previous sub-sections have provided similar examples, such as Oglesby saying 'lesbian' at the New Agenda conference and CAAWS incorporating itself into Sport Canada. In the UK, over nearly a decade of WSFUK organising and advocacy had led to concrete action aimed to improve women's experiences in sport. It was 'wishy-washy liberal', but it was also the first to incorporate sexuality issues, albeit in 'a very low-key way' (Brackenridge interview; Pike and Matthews, 2014). WSFUK had shifted from its original objectives and in doing so it had directly influenced change against the subordination of women in sport in the UK.

5.4 Non-Western Women and Sport Advances

The history of women and sport activism in non-Western countries before 1990 is beyond the limits of this thesis. However, it is important to acknowledge important features of these histories to make sense of both the constraints IAPESGW faced when it undertook its global expansion, and also why some Western SMOs have been accused of ignoring the experiences of non-Western women (Hargreaves, 2000). More consideration is needed with regard to their interaction with non-Western SMOs, especially leading up to the first World Conference on Women and Sport in 1994. In order to do this, we need to know more about the contexts in which non-Western SMOs developed (Pelak et al., 1999). The complex and rich interplay of a POS with cultural, religious, revolutionary, geographical, and class differences that affect women and sport mean accounting for the mobilisation of collective action is a difficult challenge to undertake.

There is a contemporary growth in the socio-historical analysis of non-Western women's participation and involvement in sport, as well as emerging engagement in understanding the activism of women and sport groups over time (Al-Sinani, 2012;

Bhattacharya, 2004; Benn et al., 2011; Brownfoot, 2003; Chehabi, 2003; Dong, 2003; 2005; Guedes, 2010; Guttmann, 2005; Goellner et al., 2011; Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003; Hedenborg and Pfister, 2012; Ikeda, 2010; Nanayakkara, 2012; Ramirez-Macias, 2012; Riordan and Dong, 1999; Vertinsky et al., 2005; see Appendix 1), but this is by no means complete. For example in Japan, Kietlinski (2011) has provided the most in-depth overview of Japanese women's involvement in sport but fails to acknowledge the formation of the Japanese Women's Sport Federation in 1926, the work of JAPEW and WSFJ, and hugely influential groups formed after 1990 such as Japanese Women and Sport (JWS). Indeed, the last five entries in her chronology account for the last 25 years. This ignores the work being undertaken by these organisations and assumes women and sport advances happened without any activism or lobbying, for section 5.2 and section 5.3.2 showed how JAPEW and WSFJ were coordinating internationally with other SMOs.

The most pertinent example of the lack of socio-historical work undertaken is the timeline found in Appendix 1. Data from archival documents demonstrate the formation of a number of women and sport SMOs which have had very little, if any, research or literature based on them available to an English-speaking reader. Excluding these histories because they are unknown to English readers is another example of the Northernness of academia (Connell, 2007). For example, the Korean Association for Advancement of Female Sports was established in 1935, the Indonesian Association in Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women (PERWOSI) was formed in 1967, the Bangladesh Women Sport Federation launched in 1971, and in 1991 the Islamic Countries' Women's Sport Solidarity Council (ICWSC) was approved at the second session of the Iranian NOC executive board. Later that year, the first ICWSC International Congress for Women was staged and by 1993 had become the Islamic Federation of Women's Sport (IFWS) which was to organise the IFWS Games until 2005 (Jahromi, 2011; Chehabi, 2003). Furthermore, IAPESGW Bulletins reference work taking place in Latin America, including a conference in Guatemala which attracted attention from an 'Interamerican Commission of Sports for Girls and Women', for which it is stated, 'if the main goal was to promote participation of girls and women in sport, they got double value since men came too in a nonstop flow and with great enthusiasm' (IAPESGW, 1988, p. 11). This is just one of many groups that existed in Latin America.

The breadth of research that could be undertaken on non-Western women and sport SMOs is tremendous and exciting. Crucially however, the research must be undertaken with an acknowledgment of the POS in which each SMO developed (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Kriesi, 2004). Ignoring the cultural and

structural differences integral to the development of each SMO would adhere to Connell's (2007) characteristics which critique the Northernness of general theory. Instead of Western scholars applying social movement understanding to non-Western countries, links should be forged between domestic and non-domestic scholars to enhance understanding (Connell, 2007). The recent collection of edited works by Benn et al. (2011) from countries in the Arab peninsula such as Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and the UAE demonstrates the dangers of homogenising nations in terms of religion, culture, and development of sport for women. Different countries have different views of women participating in sport. Work such as this allows a greater understanding of both the barriers which have challenged the development of non-Western SMOs, and the ability of Western SMOs to interact with non-Western women in sport. If a POS is not welcoming to an SMO being able to mobilise collective action, the opportunity for Western SMOs to interact with them is significantly reduced, no matter how intense their attempts are. These considerations will be highlighted throughout the forthcoming chapters to show that Western SMOs made regular attempts to connect with non-Western SMOs, but for a number of reasons they were unsuccessful.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has shown the W&SM developed from ideologically connected but structurally disparate collectives of people working rationally in order to mobilise resources to affect change for women in sport (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Collective behaviour, RMT, and PPT approaches have been identified within the development of national and international SMOs toward the 1990s.

IAPESGW was formed in 1949 with the aid of personal resources and contacts accrued over many years by Dorothy Ainsworth who belonged to a generation of physical educators who denounced competition for girls and women. Over time, these values became stereotyped as dated because of the growing development of sport in predominantly Western societies throughout the twentieth century. IAPESGW had 'lots of countries as members, they had been established for many decades and you can't knock it, it has survived. But I just felt it was too cosy, there was no edge to that organisation' (Brackenridge interview). Thus, IAPESGW 'benefited and was cursed' by their identity as women and physical education-based but crucially 'kept the flame ticking-over' (Oglesby interview, 2012a) for women and sport. The end of the 1980s

saw a number of Western national SMOs being able to wield significant power compared to IAPESGW because of growing sport and non-sport institutional involvement and enhanced legislation for women in society.

A new generation of uncoordinated, and for the most part, unconnected groups of women from Australia, Canada, the Nordic countries, the UK and the USA shared collective strain in response to their subordinate experiences within patriarchal structures of sport. Once formalised, these SMOs were often made up of different people with different financial, material, and cultural resources who also had different beliefs and objectives but crucially, one similar aim (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). During their development, liberal strategies were gradually prioritised over radical agendas in order to continue to raise consciousness, aggregate experiences, and produce further resources. Much like Ainsworth for IAPESGW, this was predominantly undertaken by women who were able and prepared to wage personal and financial costs in order to benefit the development of the movement (Johnston, 2014; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Taylor, 1989).

For other countries around the world, the lack of governmental focus partnered with wider cultural, religious, and revolutionary impacts have provided considerable barriers for women and sport SMOs to interact with each other. But as the following chapters will show, Nordic networks and WSFUK in particular quickly understood how catering to POSs could yield further progress. Rather than continue to only focus nationally, domestic SMOs reacted to new opportunities, turning their attention to regional and global change for women in sport; something IAPESGW was receiving staunch criticism for not undertaking.

6. Early-1990s emergence of Women and Sport Social Movement Organisations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is comprised of two parts and builds upon the work of Hargreaves (2000) by analysing the emergence of women and sport SMOs in the early 1990s. The first part analyses the origins and development of the European Sport Conference Working Group on Women and Sport (ESCWGWS). This was to evolve into the first continental group dedicated to women and sport – the European Women and Sport group (EWS). The second part of this chapter analyses the origins and development of the Women's International Sport Coalition (WISC) and its later form, WomenSport International (WSI). The chapter details how these SMOs emerged from a series of women and sport networks and disenchanted perceptions of IAPESGW's conservatism.

6.2 European Sport Conference Working Group on Women and Sport (ESCWGWS)/European Women and Sport Group (EWS)

6.2.1 Introduction

Throughout the 1980s, SMOs and individuals engaged in collective action to lobby governments and organisations in recognition that aspects of sport discriminated against women, and thus in turn, against wider social gender equity and sex discrimination laws. For example, the European Parliament (1987) Committee on Women's Rights tabled and adopted a motion for a resolution on Women's Rights in Sport.

However, the major stimulus for European women and sport advocacy was the Council of Europe seminar at Bisham Abbey, UK, in 1989. A working group (eventually called ESCWGWS) emanated from this seminar and lobbied within the structure of the ESC – 'a consultative conference organised every two years and constituted of leading

representatives of national government and non-governmental sports organisations from most European countries' (ESC, 1993a). ESCWGWS became EWS in the early-1990s and 'provided significant opportunities for women to gain the kind of international experiences which are required for further development and advancement' (Talbot, 1993a, p. 8). Experiencing and understanding the politicisation processes to gradually change dominant governmental sport structures in favour of women was crucial for the future of the W&SM. The following section analyses EWS's origins and development.

6.2.2 Bisham Abbey Seminar (1989) Impact

The Bisham Abbey seminar was the culmination of a series of seminars throughout Europe in the 1980s that shifted focus for women and sport away from discussing how to increase general participation rates towards action in aiding women's progression into positions of power. This included previously unsuccessful attempts such as the Council of Europe seminar 'for Increased Participation of Women in Sport', in Dublin, Ireland, in 1980. The Dublin seminar recommendations did 'not have much impact on national sports policies' (Council of Europe, 1989, p. 47) despite greater awareness that 'decisions concerning women are taken by men without any real knowledge of women's true needs' (Council of Europe Clearing House, 1989, p. 3).

Most of Bisham Abbey's sixty delegates were from North-Western European countries, with two Canadians and a small number of organisational representatives also attending. The seminar was organised under the auspices of the Council of Europe but hosted by the GB Sports Council, which was in the process of developing the concept of sports equity (see section 5.3.4), and the CCPR, which had previously organised a large women and sport conference in the UK in 1978 (Barker interview; Talbot interview; see section 5.3.4). Topics included women's leadership in sport, coaching and officiating, physical and sport education and research, voluntary positions in sport, paid employment in sport, and the sports media.

Margaret Talbot (interview) acknowledged shared experiences but limited connections across Europe and internationally when stating:

> 'Women for the first time realised they were not alone. They weren't the only ones feeling marginalised and banging their heads against brick walls in their own countries. There were lots of women from different countries feeling exactly the same'.

As explored in chapter five, disconnected national SMOs had been mobilising in their countries and Bisham Abbey was one of the first regional opportunities people had to discuss similar issues in powerful institutional environments. This was not by chance and was instead rational coordination of research and evidence of women's experiences in sport in accordance with wider societal legislation to lever change for women and sport (Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002).

The final plenary offered direction toward an international strategy and was led by the Head of International Affairs at the GB Sports Council, Iain Reddish. Reddish mentions 'a certain ambivalence' to being the only male speaker at the seminar, but also how:

> 'Maybe a man addressing a women's conference is symbolic of a necessary cooperation between women and those men who identify with your aims. Such an alliance will probably be necessary if you are to realise your goals. Inside information from a near all-male bastion could have its uses' (Council of Europe, 1989, p. 53).

Talbot (interview) reflected that 'having that kind of informed mentorship meant a lot of cul-de-sacs were avoided and we could just get on - and if he thought that we were heading in the wrong direction he would tell us. That was very useful [and] effective because we were very politically naïve'. Some attendees at Bisham were involved with WSFUK and would have experienced the early constraints the SMO faced by distancing itself from men. There are many examples throughout the W&SM where it has been recognised that 'if you can push collectively with men and women you have a much better chance' (Kluka interview) when influencing sporting establishments. Reddish went on to highlight the 'targets' SMOs should try to systematically lobby, including the Council of Europe Committee for the Development of Sport, the European Parliament, UNESCO, and the IOC because they all had women in positions of power. The moral, cultural and socio-organisational resources ESCWGWS received from male allies who they were willing to accept as adherents to their cause, certainly aided their progression (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

The most crucial outcome of the Bisham Abbey seminar was the lobbying of the ESC by seminar delegates that resulted in a two-year women and sport project. An interim Working Group was formed to encourage governments to send more women representatives to conferences and seminars, establish national action plans, and

highlight good practice examples (Council of Europe, 1989), albeit from predominantly North-Western European countries meaning their application to non-Western contexts can be critiqued (Hargreaves, 2000; Mohanty, 1995; Connell, 2007).

6.2.3 European Sport Conference Working Group on Women and Sport (ESCWGWS)

Bisham Abbey had a very positive impact on the ESC. The ESC (1989, p. 186) amended its Charter to state 'Requirement 3.4: Women should be encouraged to become more actively involved in sport, including its administration and organisation. They must enjoy equal opportunity'. The ESC chose women and sport as its biennial theme to further debate and understand. The interim working group formed at Bisham Abbey was to become an official working group on women and sport (ESCWGWS) later in 1989 at the 9th ESC in Sofia, Bulgaria.

ESCWGWS was the first continental SMO to have official government and organisational backing because it was located within the structure of the ESC. The main role of ESCWGWS was 'to bring forward recommendations on how to increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles', using the ESC Charter as a 'frame of reference for their work' (Fasting, 1993a, p. 5). Its members constituted many of those who attended Bisham Abbey and for the first time were sponsored to attend regular ESCWGWS meetings 'by their respective national sports agencies for travel and subsistence costs' (Talbot, 1997, p. 1). This was a crucial financial resource allowing women to lobby within governmental environments. The financial aid continued throughout the existence of ESCWGWS, often with the GB Sports Council underwriting costs for members from different countries (Talbot, 1993a).

Led by a Swedish chairwoman, the twelve female members in ESCWGWS met three times a year and aimed to study measures, analyse contributions, and bring forward women and sport recommendations. To strategise their main role, they produced three goals (Fasting, 1993a, p. 5-6):

- Increase the numbers of women coaches and women in advisory, decision and administrative bodies at all levels.
- The knowledge, experience and values of both women and men should be used to enrich and influence the development of sport.
- Increase scientific knowledge about women and sport.

The goals do not insist on transformative change but instead focus more liberally toward enhancing sport using women's experiences, leadership, and research. Many of the women had by now a decade of lobbying experience within domestic SMOs using research and reports to signify women's continued subordinating experiences in sport. With this experience came knowledge that, similar to Brackenridge's WSFUK reflections in the previous chapter, radical agendas would be ignored by dominant organisations. ESCWGWS was an embryonic SMO growing within a highly-politicised structure and so to advance it had to pertain to the needs of the institutional surroundings in which it was ensconced (Kriesi, 2004; Krook and Mackay, 2011; Talbot, 2002). As such, the key to success was 'the extent to which the various providers of sporting opportunities have "ownership" of the policy, believe it is right for *them* and how well the policy fits with their other agenda priorities' (White, 1995a, p. 213, emphasis in original).

Indeed, the three goals led to the formation of eleven recommendations to the ESC and a further twelve to national sport organisations, which were presented and adopted at the subsequent 10th ESC in Oslo, Norway, in 1991. Furthermore, the group's remit was extended by two years to monitor their implementation in part because the Council of Europe (1991, p. 1827) recognised a 'positive trend in all participating countries to improve the situation of women in sport', but concluded 'equality still remains a long way off'. In response to the extension of ESCWGWS's remit, its members were 'convinced that this was partly because many members of national delegations did not understand the implications of the recommendations they were adopting' (Talbot, 1993a, p. 4); a signifier of the SMOs' increasing politicisation. Other working groups focused on sport for development, sport assistance globally, and youth (ESC, 1993b).

The ESCWGWS secretariat moved from Sweden to the UK in 1991, with Talbot becoming chairwoman and White joining due to her role at the GB Sports Council – which was developing the concept of sports equity (see section 5.3.4). Talbot (interview) believes there was 'some sort of insider dealing' between Sweden, who wanted the Youth group chairship, and Derek Casey (Director of the GB Sports Council) who secured the Women and Sport group chair. Reddish became a secretary for the group but crucially, was also attending ESC executive board meetings as an associate member (ESC, 1993b). Thus ESCWGWS had powerful men as established institutional figures who could influence proceedings; an example of an enabling relationship resulting from the way the SMO originated (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

From the W&SM timeline (see Appendix 1), ESCWGWS can be seen to have met regularly between 1991 and 1993 to aid and guide women and sport-related

events, while Icelandic, Polish and Romanian representatives joined after Czechoslovakian, Finnish and Soviet Union members left. By completing these duties, ESCWGWS were reacting to their new remit put forward at the Oslo conference (Fasting, 1993a, p. 7):

- Monitor implementation of the recommendations adopted by the ESC in 1991.
- Encourage contacts and support among people developing sports opportunities for women in Europe.
- Provide advice and help to national organisations on developing sport for women.

The core focus of these aims was still the under-representation of women in leadership roles (ESC, 1993a). In order to achieve the aims, a number of resources were self-produced (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). An inventory was made because 'we kept being told that conferences had no female keynotes because there weren't any qualified female women – and we knew there were, so we did a whole directory of women who were capable of speaking' (Talbot interview). Also, a European survey was conducted to address the first aim (Fasting, 1993a), as well as a directory of good practice that was produced as a result of the survey (ESC, Undated). The directory 'provides examples of successful action plans and strategies in the areas of information, leadership, participation, policies and programmes, research and training and education' (ESC, Undated). These self-produced resources gave ESCWGWS further credence within the ESC.

Moreover, the group had 'decided that it should be critical of its own performance' (Talbot, 1993a, p. 8) throughout. One recommendation that was not achieved was to have at least one-third of the group membership made up of men (Talbot, 1993a).

6.2.4 Birth of European Women and Sport (EWS)

ESCWGWS met three times in 1992, twice in the opening six months of 1993, and formed a sub-group in order to draft its final report for the 11th ESC in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in 1993 (ESC, 1993c). The final report was very important and much preparation was undertaken so 'everyone could contribute something' from their area of Europe (Talbot interview). The ESCWGWS had existed for four years but the

likelihood of securing another two years was unlikely because the cyclical direction of ESC agendas meant a new 'theme', such as drugs in sport which was receiving enhanced media attention, gained precedence.

Talbot (interview) reflected, 'we were very aware of the impermanence of those groups, so that's why we decided EWS was the way forward'. Four years of involvement within the POS provided awareness of the ideological reasons why some groups did and did not continue (Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). Talbot (1993a, p. 6) acknowledged that 'we had become different kinds of political operators through our involvement in this arena: we had learned to shape arguments to make them more acceptable and less threatening to those in power'. The politicisation of experiences at a national level (see chapter five) was being applied at a regional level to make sense of the formal and informal constraints affecting the group.

This sense of urgency is reflected in the evaluation section of the ESCWGWS final report. The group outline how they have established 'a sound foundation, but for sustained change to take place, it is essential that the work should continue after the life of the current working group as there remain many barriers to change and progress, at both European and national level' (ESC, 1993d). The group also outlined achievements made toward the three aims set in 1991 and provided numerous recommendations that European sport organisations could address. One of the achievements for aim two (to encourage contacts and support among people developing sports opportunities for women in Europe) was a planned conference and was to eventually become the first World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton in 1994 (see chapter seven). Other achievements included producing thousands of reports in different languages and aiding national confederations on sport in addressing women and sport as an issue (ESC, 1993d).

At the end of their self-evaluation is a strong mandate not only to the ESC but also to the Council of Europe:

> 'In order to ensure that the work is followed up and that appropriate organisations take on responsibility for specific aspects of the work, it is recommended that a steering group should be set up. The role of this group would not be to continue the work itself, but to agree with the ESC and other appropriate organisations, including the Council of Europe, how the tasks should be carried out. The group should include experienced members of the current ESCWGWS and those involved in the planning of European Conferences' (ESC, 1993d).

The ESCWGWS rationale was professionally constructed to highlight what the group had done and more importantly, what still needed to be achieved. Personal time and resources would also be needed and was evidenced using Eastern European experiences where actions had decreased significantly when resources were constrained (Talbot, 1993a).

The call was accepted by the ESC for ESCWGWS to become a European Women and Sport Group (shortened to EWS). The group was still under the auspices of ESC but wielded more power and influence because it was elected to the ESC executive board. This was not a straightforward process. Talbot (interview) described how she 'unashamedly used the old [Leeds] Carnegie network, because there were a lot of men in Europe' who could influence the vote. The networks created over time had worked in ESCWGWS' favour. However, minutes before the decision was enacted, Talbot (interview) was told by a UK male insider that the originally-accepted document had been changed by the ESC board:

> 'I was really quite cross about this because the constituency had said yes, and I decided to resist it. I argued with Kari [Fasting] who said, "oh no we shouldn't, we shouldn't, we shouldn't, we should take what we have got", and I said, "no, I'm going to resist it". … We were resisting the fact that they had unilaterally changed that document. This surely is not democratic. And bless them, the floor insisted on a vote, and we won, so it was changed back. That institutionalised and structured the representation of ESCWGWS in the Executive Board and it also gave ESCWGWS a structure of its own, and that's when it ceased being a working group and became EWS'.

6.2.5 Summary

The formation of EWS did not take place at one conference. Increased pressure by European national SMOs led to a women and sport leadership seminar at Bisham Abbey. The 'inspiring, ground-breaking and pretty influential event … was the beginnings of what has proved to be an enduring European network' (White interview, 2013).

ESCWGWS emanated from Bisham Abbey and constantly negotiated its place within the formal and informal constraints of the political structure. The rules of the

game (Krook and Mackay, 2011) had to be understood, for Talbot (1993a, p. 9) reflected that the group often felt '"on trial" until it demonstrated its capacity to manage the political and ideological tensions in European sport. It has therefore been essential to learn their [men's] rules, their conventions, their prejudices, before being able to steer our agenda through the inherent resistance to change'. This political manoeuvring was achieved through meeting more often than any other working group to show their intention for change (Talbot interview), networking with powerful male contacts, and producing resources to meet achievable aims and objectives.

On reflection, its chairwoman stated that being in the ESC was 'a safe place to be, in a sense that you weren't on the outside looking in, you were actually an accepted part of the structure' (Talbot interview). Similar to Brackenridge's comment in chapter five about working with the agencies of power in order to change them, SMOs understood that interacting with the dominant structure needed to occur in order to start negotiating change for women in sport. Over its four years, ESCWGWS had positioned itself in regional governmental structure to such an extent that it could successfully provide a rationale for its continued existence as a free-standing body called EWS.

Action continued throughout 1994 and, in 1995, EWS was officially confirmed as a free-standing body by the ESC. Thus it became the first continental group solely focused on advancing women and sport and 'consisting of representatives and contact persons related to or interested in gender equality work of non-governmental or governmental sports organisations and bodies in their respective countries' (EWS, 2012).

Interestingly however, EWS was not the first women and sport group to be formed in the early 1990s, although with its continued links and established base within governmental and non-governmental bodies, it certainly had the most influence. The following sections focus on the development of WSI which was officially launched in the same month EWS held its first meeting in 1994.

6.3 Women's International Sports Coalition (WISC) / WomenSport International (WSI)

6.3.1 Introduction

At the start of the 1990s, SMOs such as Western national groups, IAPESGW, and the emerging EWS were lobbying in different ways to advance women and sport.

Over time, these differences led to worries regarding disconnection between each SMO. IAPESGW was led by a more proactive President and was positioned as the mechanism to add cohesiveness to SMO advances. However, the restless determination of a network of disenchanted women eventually resulted in WISC being formed at the 1992 WSFUS Annual Conference in Denver, USA. IAPESGW's conservatism was confronted at its 12th Congress in Melbourne, Australia, but did not quell the advance of activism that was to culminate in the formations of WSI. This section signifies the complex relationships existing between similar SMOs working toward a common goal, and, how their formative characteristics influence the direction of their work.

6.3.2 Commonwealth Women and Sport Network

The origins of WISC are found within the Commonwealth Heads of Government Ministers (CHOGM). Women from Australia, New Zealand, Bermuda, Canada, and the UK noticed a lack of female presenters and women-and-sport-based research at the pre-Commonwealth Games conference in January 1990, as well as less women competing at the 1990 Auckland Games. It was during these events that an informal network of women interested in promoting women's sport on an international basis was formed (Brackenridge, 1990; Talbot, 1997).

Members of the informal network argued greater inclusion and participation of women was an objective of CHOGM, so 'accepted the responsibility of preparing recommendations to achieve that objective' (CHOGM, 1990, p. 2). Recommendations were grounded in research acknowledging the stereotypes and barriers women encounter when participating in sport. Throughout their report, members of the informal network acknowledge that women and sport is addressed differently in different parts of the world, but utilise a political resource in that ultimately the UN 'does not support the continuation of those customs that differentially and unfavourably affect females only' (CHOGM, 1990, p. 7).

Despite a recognition 'that we do not have yet among our members women who represent the developing countries' (CHOGM, 1990, p. 7), the key contacts within the informal network ranged from governmental sport department and council officials to IAPESGW, WSFUS and WSFUK members, academics, researchers, and consultants. Diane Palmason, a Sport Canada employee and CAAWS member, took on the secretarial work of the network and circulated a final report to major Commonwealth

officials and contacts (Palmason, 1990a; Brackenridge, 1990). In response, Commonwealth Ministers 'requested the Working Party on the Commonwealth Games to consider the question of gender equity in Commonwealth Sport, and noted that the Commonwealth Women and Sport Network has made specific recommendations in this regard' (Embrey, 1990). Embrey (1990) warned Brackenridge (a leader in the informal network) that 'in terms of strategy for the network it seems to me that we need to get ourselves organised to the point of becoming a key NGO aiming for observer status by the next meeting'. Thus, this informal network wanted to mobilise its collective activism in order to further influence 'women' and 'sport' agendas at important Commonwealth meetings.

6.3.3 Cooperation and Co-existence Issues amongst Emerging SMOs

A number of SMOs were in operation in the early-1990s. The confusion and complexities associated with social movements is illustrated through correspondence in 1990 among the informal Commonwealth network (Crossley 2002; Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Not only does Palmason (1990b) seem unsure as to how 'the European group' (presumably ESCWGWS) were progressing, the Bisham Abbey report (Council of Europe, 1989) had stated the IOC had scrapped plans to organise a women and sport conference. Instead, the International Olympic Academy was giving special emphasis to women in 1990, which in turn became an 'international alliance' created by an informal group of women associated with the Olympic movement who were unhappy that women and sport was not discussed enough at conferences (Palmason, 1990c). This 'alliance' had full continental representation but appears sporadically in archived documents before the 1994 Brighton Conference and has not been seen since. Indeed, Anita DeFrantz (IOC member since 1986 and Vice-President in 1997) admitted (interview), 'I have never heard of that from our documents'.

IAPESGW's new President – Patricia Bowen-West (1990a) – welcomes the Commonwealth network's existence in a letter to Palmason and says how IAPESGW would be interested in working with them. According to Bowen-West, joining IAPESGW's network would benefit the Commonwealth group because of IAPESGW's membership, as she was increasingly proactive in tackling the stigmas associated with the SMO (Hall and Pfister, 1999). Bowen-West (1990a) notes the criticism of 'some of your members that whilst IAPESGW Congresses may have provided opportunities for professional exchange and personal development for its members, they had not

particularly contributed to political action to improve opportunities for girls and for women in sport'. She concluded her letter by stating 'it may well be that the time is ripe to appraise our policies and we shall take the opportunity to do so' (Bowen-West, 1990a).

The Commonwealth network initially turned down IAPESGW cooperation because it was, rather ironically when its membership issues are considered, too international, too low on members, and had failed to be 'an active force for change in international sports policy' (Brackenridge, 1990). However, Brackenridge (1990) was also very aware that the Commonwealth network was institutionally the least powerful of all known SMOs. Palmason (1990c) agreed and in reference to the international alliance reflected, 'my only concern now is that we do not confuse the international scene – and ourselves – by setting up two separate entities. Obviously, we need to work together'. Furthermore, the key contacts within the Commonwealth network were all aware that multiple entities with different agendas attempting to lobby and pressurise powerful sporting and non-sporting organisations would reflect the disorganised collective of SMOs (Crossley, 2002; Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). Palmason (1990d, emphasis in original) is alert to this stating 'there are already steps in progress toward international action; and that we must not only be working together but must be *seen* to be working together if we are to attain any credibility on the international scene'.

IAPESGW was thus 'the best opportunity to be coordinated and effective in our approaches to the present sport establishment' (Palmason, 1990b), and with others stating that 'there can only be one effective international organisation and basically we in Australia are behind the moves to update IAPESGW' (Embrey, 1991), the Commonwealth network supported IAPESGW. Bowen-West (1990b) knew that 'the time is ripe for development' and offered IAPESGW resources for the network to circulate globally, as well as details regarding IAPESGW's next Congress in Australia in 1993.

However, the Commonwealth network support was fragile. Brackenridge (1990) stated that 'if policy initiatives and action plans for lobbying in the international sports arena are not agreed at Melbourne, then it may be time to think again about the possible formation of an International Alliance/Federation of Women's Sport Foundations which could promote such action'. IAPESGW was given a chance to prove it could change and be an international mechanism for women and sport at the start of the 1990s but as the following sections show, this was not enough for some who decided to break away.

6.3.4 Women's International Sport Coalition (WISC) foundations

WISC was formed at the WSFUS 1992 Annual Conference in Denver, USA, and was born out of an idea incorporating the strengths and diversities of existing organisations. It was premised on the idea that one women and sport group would not be marginalised in favour of another, so giving both real and 'illusory' power for the many different women and sport agendas represented (WISC, 1992a). The following section outlines the reasons why it was an American women and sport conference that facilitated the birth of WISC, even though WISC was not part of WSFUS.

Commonwealth network correspondence slowed in 1991, primarily because Palmason (1991a) was attempting to secure staging the 1992 WSFUS annual conference in Denver; an area she moved to after working for Sport Canada and being active in CAAWS during the 1980s. At the WSFUS annual conference in February 1991, she conducted a workshop entitled 'Women and Sport: An International Network' and was able 'to learn a great deal about the background and involvement that American women have had – and continue to have – on the international scene' (Palmason, 1991b). WSFUS and NAGWS expressed interest in supporting the development of an international agenda for women and sport (Palmason, 1991a), and after Palmason had secured the Denver Conference, Brackenridge (1991b) contacted WSFUS:

> 'I have been networking with a number of international bodies for women's sports and my personal ambition is to see IAPESGW become an International Women's Sport Foundation; if they do not, then I intend to work towards setting up an International Women's Sport Foundation post-1993. I hope that you share my ambitions and would like to discuss them in Denver'.

The fact that Brackenridge was offering a discussion with WSFUS regarding a potential International Women's Sport Foundation highlights the lack of support for IAPESGW, and adds credence to questions about the agenda of WSFUS's International Relations Committee (see section 5.3.2). Palmason (1992a) was the conference organiser and her memo to its participants includes many references to 'an international agenda/structure/organisation' throughout, whereas a WSFUS (1992) newsletter highlights the chance to produce action because 'no other women's sport conference has as great a potential to reach so wide an audience or to serve as so effective a

catalyst for the growth of women's sports' (WSFUS, 1992). Despite staging multiple quadrennial international conferences for over forty years and having the original backing of the network, IAPESGW were gradually being superseded by the network which was utilising WSFUS's resources.

The aims for the conference included strengthening advocacy and networking, but also 'to provide models and resources for the development of women and sport foundations/organisations/alliances in those countries without such structures' (Palmason, 1992a). Furthermore, Palmason (1992b) informs Brackenridge that 'several leaders in WSFUS are interested in putting some resources into developing a "how-to" package based on experiences from the UK, Australia, Canada etc'. The predominantly Western-based memberships of WSFUS and the Commonwealth network were preparing women and sport guidelines based on Western contexts, much like ESCWGWS. However, the women were aware of issues accompanying this. Oglesby (1992b, emphasis in original) reflects on NAGWS work in Latin America to state:

> 'We "Americanos" are, I fear, given to believe that we are *ahead* in anything that has to do with women's sport. We go to other areas of the world *to help*. This is a good intent but not helpful, not accurate and not possible. We need one another to do the job!!! If we are truly going to proceed on a mutual and cooperative basis, then we must proceed by talking to each other'.

By critiquing previous beliefs about being 'ahead' on women and sport issues, Oglesby recognises the need to listen to other experiences and to learn from them, rather than impart an ideology that may not necessarily be of benefit to the host country (Connell, 2007; Spivak, 1999). Oglesby (1992b, emphasis in original) concludes that a network of '"Brits", the "Kiwis", the "Aussies" and we WSFUS-types … may "do OK" because of so much common ground, but we *cannot* (I believe) always expect to proceed with business as usual *in English*'. This is one of many examples to be detailed in the remaining chapters illustrating that the white, Western leaders of the movement were aware of the significance of their discourse.

Throughout the Conference, Brackenridge was aware of difference. She first outlined the similarities and differences between the WSFUK and WSFUS (Brackenridge, 1992a; see chapter five) and after participation in other workshops, Brackenridge (1992b) argues 'cultural connection' is needed because of the 'different cultural challenges'. Disability, class, age, and ethnicity are also all mentioned. Her final comment is simply 'not to reinvent the wheel, but share information' (Brackenridge,

1992b). This claim is very similar to those made forty years beforehand by Ainsworth to IAPESGW. Chapter five outlined how Ainsworth's calls for networking mirrored postcolonial feminist theorising in attempts to learn from others and not speak for subordinated women from non-dominant areas of the world (Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999). IAPESGW was created to achieve this but had failed to include difference up to this point because of the communication, financial and structural reasons mentioned in the previous chapter.

Crucially however, Brackenridge had created a new construct which included difference as a central component to influence change. From her draft report to the plenary session, Brackenridge (1992c) outlines how 'the purpose of our international meetings this weekend was to recognise the value of working together across nations and to capitalise on the collective power that we have'. Accompanying her draft report is a diagram of a wheel of structural characteristics reflecting the different SMOs in operation in 1992 (see Appendix 6), as well as their different missions and core values (see Appendix 7). Brackenridge wanted to coordinate the collective power women and sport SMOs had established over the previous two decades. This was challenging because it would be difficult to adhere fully and fairly to all missions outlined (see Appendices 6 and 7). Brackenridge (interview) did not want to marginalise one SMO over another, so instead premised that 'they could keep their identity but they would lend their support and ideological energy' to the new construct. This was another method of aggregating the opportunities to obtain resources. Brackenridge was centralising the work of the SMOs so they could coordinate actions through intra-movement diffusion (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Johnston, 2014).

The result was WISC – a mechanism that synchronised and rationalised the collective action of previously uncoordinated resources and ideologies of all the SMOs whose representatives were in attendance. Similar to WSFUS's 'memberships' actually being recipients of the *Women's Sports Magazine* to make the SMO seem larger than what it really was (Sabo interview; see section 5.3.2), WISC (1992a) gave itself an 'illusory power' because it could claim it was representing the different needs of millions of women globally. Moreover, because WISC's central mission was 'equity for women in and through sport and physical activity' (Brackenridge, 1992c), it had attached itself to powerful ideological and governmental discourse. Not all SMOs neatly suited this mission. Oglesby (1992a) was 'upset' when she wrote to Brackenridge claiming 'transformation' should be focused upon rather than equity. Brackenridge's political experiences through WSFUK and the Commonwealth network made her realise radical feminist approaches toward an issue such as women and sport, which itself was a radical issue in many countries around the world (see section 5.4), was not

sustainable. An example is commendation by a senior national high school representative of Brackenridge's insistence to debate issues such as homophobia, a continuing issue since the New Agenda Conference, meaning 'it was healthy for all of us who at least attempted to discuss some tough issues because you wouldn't let us avoid them this year … as you so eloquently put it in the international report, we must respect each other's differences' (True, 1992).

WISCs objectives (Brackenridge, 1992c) were predominantly consciousness-raising:

- to raise awareness of the need for equitable opportunities for all women in sport at all levels in all societies.
- to facilitate communication and build a network of support amongst national and international sport organisations for women
- to develop and maintain a database which details state/provincial, national and international women's sports organisations
- to facilitate the sharing of information about good practices and programmes and resources that concern/target women.

The initial WISC members were predominantly white, Western-based female representatives of seven countries and fifteen organisations including SMOs such as CAAWS, IAPESGW, WomenSport Australia, WSFJ, WSFUK and WSFUS. Invitations were later sent to all known national and international sport organisations for women inviting them to become a partner in WISC so that 'by sharing new ideas, programmes and policies we can save time, money and effort and hopefully be even more effective' (WISC, 1992b).

An initial lack of finances meant an idea of a newsletter failed (Palmason, 1992c) but by June 1992, WISC representation had grown with a further fourteen European countries (including many Eastern Bloc nations) and six sport-specific organisations (Brackenridge, 1992d). With increasing numbers came language issues (Takahashi, 1992), but Brackenridge states 'we need lots more before we can claim to have a comprehensive constituency, in particular for women's sports organisations in South American, African and Asian countries' (Brackenridge, 1992e). This is another acknowledgement of the importance placed upon interacting with non-Westerners, which is developed throughout the rest of this chapter and chapter seven.

6.3.5 The impact of IAPESGWs 12th Congress, Melbourne, Australia, 1992

The work of ESCWGWS (IAPESGW, 1990; 1993; 1994), the Commonwealth network (IAPESGW, 1991), and the formative stages of WISC (IAPESGW, 1993) were all included in IAPESGW Bulletins in the early 1990s. There is certainly no attempt in these Bulletins to discredit or disapprove the foundations of these groups (Bowen-West, 1992; 1993a). Rather, they are generally supportive of these breakthroughs for women and sport activism, going so far as describing the Denver Conference as an event of 'major significance for the international future of women's sport' (IAPESGW, 1993, p. 5).

IAPESGW (1994) itself was suffering from falling membership. A number of countries which previously had below five members now had none, even though pleas were made by Bowen-West to encourage new members (IAPESGW, 1993). Furthermore, some members admitted they were struggling to secure finances for IAPESGW's next Congress in Australia. As early as 1991, a Colombian woman stated 'this is a crazy idea, but how good it would be if we could find some way to enable us to attend events such as this?' (IAPESGW, 1991, p. 15). This did not occur, for a Brazilian woman in Melbourne claimed to being 'the only participant from South America' but that 'it was an important event where academics and professionals could exchange experience and knowledge' (IAPESGW, 1994, p. 2).

Over five hundred delegates from 27 countries (of which 23 presented) attended the Congress in August 1993. It had six strands: physical education, dance and aesthetics, sport, recreation, sport medicine and science, health and activity (IAPESGW, 1994). The four keynote presentations continued the dominance of Western women, but caused much debate due to the more radical issues they addressed (Wetton, 1993). Barbara Drinkwater introduced what was to be pioneering work regarding the Female Athlete Triad and Brackenridge critiqued the increasing politicisation of women and sport.

Brackenridge's (1993a) keynote questioned whether there was a community for women and sport, whether there was a social movement for women and sport, and whether there was a feminist community/social movement for women and sport. The answer to all of these was negative. In her keynote, she critically reflected why 'the history of women's sport and physical education organisations is, by and large, one of failure' (1993a). She claimed that greater representation has not necessarily meant equality. Even though there were now many more women from numerous backgrounds not only interested in women and sport, but dedicated to changing it, they had not

‘penetrated the “corridors of power”’ (Faderman, 1991, cited in Brackenridge, 1993a) and used these powerful positions to their advantage. Women and sport as an issue was not politicised or institutionalised enough for Brackenridge.

Brackenridge was aware of the difficulties SMOs encountered when interacting with POSs, and, between each other (Freeman and Johnson, 1999; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). She states how the ‘complex layering of multiple communities at local, regional, national and international levels [and how] the interconnections between these communities are only tenuously, if at all, defined, make concerted community action across them unlikely and very difficult to coordinate’ (Brackenridge, 1993a). The range of collective actions were the challenges she, and others, faced when creating WISC, for ‘we are all moving in different directions and at different rates’ (Brackenridge, 1993a). Her keynote culminated in a challenge to other IAPESGW members to work with some of the Western women’s liberation movements and their objectives, including equality and an end to discrimination against lesbians. Brackenridge (1993a, emphasis in original) argued:

> ‘If we, women in sport, cannot subscribe to these basic objectives as women then we cannot claim to be feminists, cannot claim to be part of the women’s movement and cannot claim to be working for women’s rights in sport and physical education. We may be IN SPORT but we are not FOR WOMEN’.

This call clashed with members who wanted to keep IAPESGW politics-free, but Brackenridge was increasingly aware of the politicisation of women and sport through co-WSFUK founder Anita White’s work for the GB Sports Council and Margaret Talbot’s experiences in ESCWGWS, which was accepted to become EWS one month after the Congress.

Talbot’s keynote (presented on her behalf by GB Sports Council’s Sallie Barker) did not contain as radical language as Brackenridge’s but still served as a warning to IAPESGW that it would have to adapt to the changing world it was part of or face increased segregation (Kriesi, 2004; Taylor, 1989). In contrast to its formative years, IAPESGW now existed within a context where women and sport activism was increasingly politicised (Hall and Pfister, 1999; Talbot, 2002; White, 1995a). Talbot highlighted the unrealised potential IAPESGW had such as its network, its increasing exposure at pre-Olympic congresses where growing scientific research was giving them increasing support from ICSSPE, and how the vast experience of its members could be harnessed through work with groups like ESCWGWS (Talbot, 1993a).

Correspondence between Talbot (1993b) and Brackenridge acknowledge a common goal, for the former writes, 'I hope your paper will kick-start some of the more reactionary members into realisation that a cosy IAPESGW can't survive'. Indeed throughout 1993, there is evidence IAPESGW was attempting to re-position itself to focus more toward physical education and physical activity. The 'World Women's Association of Physical Activity', 'World Association of Physical Activity for Women' and 'Women's International Network – Physical Education and Sport' are all mentioned as new names for the SMO (IAPESGW, 1993, p. 20). These names symbolise attempts to both safeguard its position toward physical education and move away from the politics and harder issues such as abuse and sexuality that were emerging in sport discourse. The names are also all global in scope, despite the faltering diversity in membership and examples of limited communication with areas of the world such as Latin America (IAPESGW, 1993).

Reflections by key IAPESGW members in the next Bulletin show the messages from Melbourne were listened to. Bowen-West realises the need for a 'more dynamic action-orientated approach to the tasks ahead' (IAPESGW, 1994, p. 1) and a determination 'during the next four years to make the internal structures of IAPESGW work more effectively – this is crucial to increasing membership (i.e. survival!)' (Bowen-West, 1993b).

In contrast, by the time of the 12th conference in Melbourne, other women and sport groups were 'developing momentum [and] it must have been difficult for IAPESGW's leadership to stand by and watch the new initiatives, often funded by governments, as they were left behind in the dust so to speak' (Hall and Pfister, 1999, p. 33). The 'spirit for change had been swirling around for some time' (Wetton, 1993) and despite considerable efforts by IAPESGWs proactive president for change, Taylor's (1989) understanding of the diversification of the women's movement can be applied to women and sport SMOs who were diversifying in reaction to pursuing the advance of more defined women and sport issues. The following section will show how a number of women broke away from IAPESGW because they had grown tired of the conservatism that was constraining activism.

6.3.6 WomenSport International (WSI)

WSI was formed in 1993 from the foundations of WISC, continued dissatisfaction with IAPESGW, and a growing scientific women and sport research network in the

USA. It was officially launched at the Brighton Conference in May 1994 to allow time to refine itself because of the ever-shifting women and sport environment leading toward the conference.

IAPESGW's 'continuing failure to address important issues that have a detrimental effect on females in sport was of growing concern amongst women who were working in various roles in higher education, sports medicine, government and voluntary sports agencies, and national organisations' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 220). Correspondence from the early-1990s support Hargreaves' comments:

> 'Barbara [Drinkwater] has come to the conclusion that IAPESGW will never change, or change so slowly, that some actions have to be taken now. She thinks the best idea is to start an international interdisciplinary group, and she wants to have a meeting to discuss this with women from the social sciences' (Fasting, 1993b).

> 'Drinkwater thinks IAPESGW is "not worth her time and effort anymore"' (Brackenridge, 1993b).

A task force for women in the American College of Sports Medicine (ACSM) was aiming to join with other SMOs 'to form a single all-inclusive organisation to address issues of concern for women participating in physical activity, from the elite athlete to the recreational sportswoman' (Drinkwater, 1993a). This focus on 'harder' issues in sport by WSI, such as injury prevention and eating disorders, was the catalyst in forming another SMO from the original IAPESGW network (Taylor, 1989). Drinkwater's work on the Female Athlete Triad was central to the ACSM group, and she had gained much respect in the wider (and more patriarchal) physical sciences community; a feat that was rarely achieved by women emanating from the social sciences. She contacted numerous women who were interested in adding their expertise to this network and they met at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS) conference in Ottawa, Canada, in November 1993.

Drinkwater formed an organising committee with Fasting, Darlison, Hall, and Lay in Ottawa. They promulgated that WSI would be a 'coordinating forum for the activities and interests of all international women's sports organisations that would either replace the current plan for WISC or leave WISC as simply an information exchange system' (Brackenridge, 1993d). The first draft of notes detail discussions over the name and structure of WSI. 'Women', 'Sport', 'International', 'Coalition', 'Alliance' and 'Women's World Sports Foundation' are given as potential names (Hall,

1993). Early queries were raised about how non-governmental the upcoming Brighton Conference would be, as well as 'how to get into the existing power structure?' answered tentatively with 'formalising the informal network?' (Hall, 1993). Hall (interview) soon left the early group to allow Lay to be the Canadian representative due to her role in CAAWS.

These women were headhunting Brackenridge due to her work with WISC. They certainly impacted upon Brackenridge (1993e) because she proclaimed, 'it's very inspiring to talk to Barbara…this is the most excited I have been for years!!'. Leading into the NASSS Conference, Brackenridge had grown increasingly frustrated at the lack of progress in achieving WISC's aim of information exchange. In particular, she felt alienated by the GB Sports Council who failed to produce a database at her request (Brackenridge, 1993c).

A few days after the NASSS conference and after many phone calls to the UK, Brackenridge was part of the embryonic WSI to which Drinkwater responded enthusiastically: 'great that you are joining the rest of us "troublemakers" on the organising committee!' (Drinkwater, 1993b). From this document is an outline of what was premised at the NASSS conference meeting:

> 'It has become apparent, as improved communication render our world an even smaller global village, that the problems girls and women in one country experience in their sports and recreational participation are not unique to that country, or indeed to any one group anywhere, but are in fact universal' (Drinkwater, 1993b).

Despite a range of physiological, sociological, psychological, economical, and political perspectives from many different organisations and individuals, WSI felt communication between actors was 'poor', with change resulting from explorations often being 'slow and haphazard' (Drinkwater, 1993b). Thus, WSI was formed as an umbrella organisation to bring all aspects (such as research, networking, and lobbying) together to advocate positive change for women and girls in sport at all levels of involvement.

Brackenridge had been informed 'WSI is well overdue and would not supersede WISC but indeed complement it and, I suspect, provide assistance and support' (Darlison, 1994a). Brackenridge (1994a) was happy for WISC to be an information and good practice 'arm', with WSI becoming the 'active and lobbying for real change arm'. In March 1994, WISC participants received a message entitled 'STOP PRESS: WISC IS TRANSFORMED INTO WSI' (Brackenridge, 1994e). WSI information and an

application form was included, as well as the reason for the change. Brackenridge (1994e, emphasis in original) stated that 'a number of women from different countries have expressed the view that a network or coalition can only ever achieve an *exchange* of information and views and is too weak to achieve *change*, improvement and transformation'. She had realised WISC was increasingly similar to IAPESGW and lacked the impact she wanted for change to occur for women in sport (Hargreaves, 2000). A new group was needed to have a greater influence. WSI was still ideologically similar to IAPESGW in wanting to address issues women encountered in sport, but they now crucially had dissimilar objectives to achieve this because WSI focused its attention toward change. They thus became distinct SMOs within the W&SM because WSI was formed by a network of women 'finding a niche for themselves' (Taylor, 1989, p. 762).

WSI's five original aims below signify an addition to the promotion and encouragement of women and sport activism by actually *doing* something in the form of lobbying specific sport structures:

- to encourage networking and communication between member groups and countries.
- to serve as an advocacy group promoting equal opportunity for girls and women in sport.
- to promote strategic research into problems and issues relating to the female athlete.
- to identify issues of importance to girls and women in sport and physical activity and recommend, or where appropriate, design strategies for change.
- to lobby specific sports governing bodies in order to promote girls' and women's involvement in sport at all levels of participation, including coaching, administration, and decision-making (Drinkwater, 1993b).

Of course, national SMOs had undertaken these endeavours and ESCWGWS had successfully gained access to European sport structures, but all of these had gradually negotiated space within their specific political environments (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Kriesi, 2004). WSI was different in the fact it did not belong to a country or region, and unlike IAPESGW and WISC, had a much more change-oriented vision. The following chapters will show it did utilise governmental rhetoric such as UN

decree throughout its work but, crucially, it was the first international NGO within the W&SM that would directly lobby government.

WSI's structure was to change throughout its existence. During its first couple of years there was a fifteen member advisory board, which would deal with research questions and vote on the direction of the organisation, and a five-member organising committee, which would undertake the main decision-making and direction. It was hoped the advisory board would be constituted of women from as many countries as possible to enable closer working relationships and 'improve opportunities and practice' (Drinkwater, 1993b). The next chapter reveals why this failed to materialise.

Over time, the organising committee became a fairly exclusive executive committee. Darlison became executive vice-president, and thus the 'leader' (in name) of WSI, partly because she was 'the last to say no!' (Darlison, 1994b) but also so the group could have a recognised person for sponsorship and financial purposes. In order to be accepted onto the advisory board, prerequisites included having recognised expertise to aid women and sport, already being a member of an SMO, and being female. Like ESCWGWS, the irony that being female-only was a breach of UN Human Rights was not lost on the executive who decided to 'be very selective about the male membership we seek', eventually choosing Don Sabo due to his previous research on gender and sport (Darlison, 1994g).

An issue that was to continually plague WSI over time was resources. Initial funding seems to be based on hopes of a partnership with Reebok for Drinkwater was in talks with the company president regarding a possible joint-launch (Brackenridge, 1993e), although this never materialised. Similar to IAPESGW, WSI was built on volunteerism and was an NGO, meaning its ability to accrue and mobilise resources was constrained compared to the professional sporting and non-sporting organisations they were lobbying against (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Communications between the executive members had to occur every couple of days because of their full-time jobs as academics, researchers, and/or government officers. The advisory board also struggled to meet. Moreover, one of the founding women was non-contactable until mid-1994 because of personal tragedy.

Notwithstanding, WSI was well-prepared for the Brighton Conference because Darlison (1994f) remarked she had 'over-planned' for it. The executive members realised the political importance, power, and influence of Brighton not only to women and sport issues, but also for the groups who were addressing these issues worldwide. They admit that WSI may face some 'sensitivity and resistance' (Darlison, 1994f) at Brighton, but that it was an opportunity to expand further.

6.3.7 Summary

An informal Commonwealth network formed in response to growing research on issues and examples of discrimination affecting women in sport. After further refinement, the establishment of WISC was ‘a seminal moment’ (Snyder interview) designed to ‘shake things up’ (Brackenridge interview). WISC brought together ‘the different intellectual and political approaches of the national and international organisations in existence at the time in order to create a more active, interventionist stance for women in sport’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 220). However, WISC suffered from poor resources and was somewhat restricted by IAPESGW’s vow to change.

WSI comprised four hard-working white, Western women committed to addressing the radical issues in sport which impacted upon women that IAPESGW would not address: ‘We did not want to be a splinter group that started causing more problems than being helpful. So that was definitely how we tried to position WSI around issue committees such as abuse, sexual harassment, homophobia, Muslim women’s rights, etc.’ (Lay interview). Coupled with greater SMO interaction with political institutions throughout the late-1980s and early-1990s, IAPESGW was considered to be too conservative by a new generation of researchers and evidence-based practitioners calling for change.

Talbot (interview) reflected ‘I still think it’s regrettable that it happened … because together they could have been quite formidable’; supporting Taylor’s (1989) argument that SMOs may enhance their opportunities to effect change if they were more cohesive. However, ‘not all organisations were ready to be interconnected or interdependent; they were still busy trying to be independent to see what they could accomplish’ (Kluka interview).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has added to the limited academic literature on a crucial period in the development of the W&SM, namely the origins of a regional, highly institutionalised network called EWS, and international women and sport NGOs titled WISC and WSI.

Similar to chapter five, the collective behaviour, RMT and PPT approaches were applied to show how seminars and conferences at regional level, as well as the work being completed by some national SMOs, eventually resulted in a collective

network of professional women with political experiences of national sports structures. The Council of Europe Bisham Abbey Women in Sports Leadership seminar was a key political process and facilitated an ESC working group which, after four years of lobbying and pressure within their POS (Giugni, 1998; Kriesi, 2004), became established as a steering group entitled EWS. This SMO was formed as part of increasing governmental reaction to inequality in wider society and in sport in Europe.

WSI emerged from a number of sources: an American sport science research group, a dissatisfaction with IAPESGW, and a faltering coordinating mechanism for information exchange called WISC. Formed in rather ad hoc circumstances at a North American academic conference, WSI was a voluntary NGO which aimed to be the main SMO internationally for women in sport. Despite this global objective, WSI illustrated a general pattern amongst women and sport SMOs during this time because it initially struggled with resources and diversifying its predominantly Western demographic (Hargreaves, 2000).

All the SMOs in this chapter were dominated by white, Western women but these were women with expertise, resources, and power to interact with dominant sport and governmental structures. Chapter five showed how different groups have advanced at different rates all over the world and during WSI's formative period, there simply were not the networks in place to be as international as they wanted, despite valiant communication attempts. The next chapter explains how the Brighton Conference became the mechanism by which all the SMOs outlined so far managed to network with non-Western women.

7. The Brighton Conference on Women and Sport, 1994

7.1 Introduction

'I think that in 1994 at the Brighton Conference is where most people will point to and say that was really the "moment" if you will' (Snyder interview).

This chapter is the first detailed academic analysis of the background, organisation, content, and outcomes of the first World Conference on Women and Sport which took place in Brighton, UK, between 5-8th May, 1994. Titled 'Women, Sport, and the Challenge of Change', the Brighton Conference was planned as the logical conclusion to the second term of the ESCWGWS who would share their work with a wider audience (Brackenridge, 1992f; UK Organising Committee, 1994; White interview, 2013). However, the UK was able to 'seize the day' (White interview, 2011) and utilise its 'very special position in both Europe and the Commonwealth' (Talbot interview) to facilitate the conference. Yet this both challenged EWS preconceptions about when their work would be internationalised and constrained the initial work of WSI, IAPESGW and WSFUS. Section 7.2 addresses the various power battles pre-Brighton.

Brighton aimed to 'break new ground as the first conference to specifically address the issue of how to accelerate the process of change to bring about equality for women in sport' (GB Sports Council, 1993b, p. 2). Attendees included policy and decision-makers, as well as representatives of major organisations and governments globally, and the conference resulted in a number of crucial self-produced resources located within an International Strategy for Women and Sport (see section 7.4).

This chapter also incorporates Hargreaves's (2000, p. 221) claim that the conference originated due to momentum caused by 'self-consciousness about white, Western domination of women's international sport during the 1990s'. Section 7.3 acknowledges how the structure of the conference was used to address growing concerns in the early-1990s about the dominance of white, Western discourse throughout women and sport work.

7.2 Planning

7.2.1 SMO Power Battles pre-Brighton

Planning meetings for Brighton took place as early as November 1992 (Brackenridge, 1992f) and by January 1994 the conference programme was in draft form, speaker invitations were sent, and infrastructure, logistics, and first delegate payments had been secured (Naylor, 1994; White, 1993). An invitational brochure for Brighton circulated in 1993 included details of an international consultative group on women and sport comprised of women in sport leadership positions: Sue Baker-Finch (Australian Sports Commission), Kari Fasting (Norwegian Confederation of Sport), Marion Lay (Sport Canada), Kereyn Smith (Hillary Commission, New Zealand) and Kristina Thuree (Swedish Sport Confederation). This executive group was aided by a supporting committee of representatives from the IOC, ESCWGWS, the GB Sports Council, WSFUK, and other disability sport, coaching, and sports science organisations (GB Sports Council, 1993b). Five key objectives for the conference were outlined, including: exchanging best practice to bring about change at national and international level; wider sharing of ESCWGWS work; agreement on international strategies for the development of women and sport; development of an international network for women and sport; and, establishing a biennial international women and sport conference (GB Sports Council, 1993b).

These objectives signify an underlying problem leading into the Conference. There were still limited connections between many of the SMOs in existence. The disconnection is portrayed in separate EWS, Brighton planning, and international women and sport meetings in February 1994 which demonstrated competing ideas underpinning the planning of the conference. For example, EWS (1994) had met the day before the international meeting to clarify its role and plan for expansion, for it had long-intended that a conference similar to Brighton would signify its progress:

> ‘Brighton was to be the first EWS Conference and at a meeting in London, the people from the UK asked if it was OK to make it international because they had just had a meeting with this Commonwealth organisation so we had people coming in and participating in the meeting from New Zealand and Australia so that was the way it was made international’ (Fasting interview).

White (interview, 2013) was a leading figure behind the international meeting and claimed it ‘was the right time to bring together’ EWS’s achievements in coordinating European advances (of which she was now Chair), GB Sports Council attempts to have an international influence in the development of sport and sports equity (see section 5.3.4), and strategies from other Commonwealth countries to be a catalyst for international women and sport work (UK Organising Committee, 1994). This included women like Lay (interview), who claimed:

> ‘Through many of our own personal networks, we started to hear more and more of other women who were doing women in sport work around the world. I think because we were creating networks of women doing positive change work in Canada, I was seen as being one of the early leaders’.

The next day, an international women and sport meeting discussed ‘how international strategies on women and sport could best be developed’ (International Women and Sport Group, 1994). Baker-Finch circulated a draft International Women and Sport Strategy, claiming:

> ‘There has been considerable progress made in giving an international focus to women and sport issues through the work of ESCWGWS. However, other international women and sport developments have been less coordinated. The next step is to achieve a more coordinated and purposeful international strategy which encompasses all regions and which will be endorsed by a range of government and non-government groups involved in sport development’ (Brackenridge, 1994b).

The Strategy recognised interaction with POSs worldwide was needed because the processes involved with mobilising women’s collective action had predominantly been located in North-Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand (Giugni, 1998; Hargreaves, 2000; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002; Neill interview; Oglesby interview, 2012a; White interview, 2011; Williams, 2004). Western SMOs were aware of their demographic constitution throughout their existence but struggled to enhance their diversity. Indeed, Oglesby (interview, 2012a) remarked there was ‘always a wish to be inclusive’, but the networks were simply not in place to achieve this.

Therefore, the Strategy recognised a number of issues which needed to be addressed, including the potential contributions of government and non-governmental agencies to women and sport; the importance of stimulating awareness and commitment to women and sport issues; the value in extending the strategy across developed and developing countries; moving from policy to action; and formalising a working group (Brackenridge, 1994b). Most of these focused on the politicisation of women and sport issues, and are further emphasised in the selection of bodies acknowledged under 'possible strategies' located at the end of the document (Brackenridge, 1994b). These included the UN, CHOGM, international forums, governments, international sports umbrella organisations, international and national sport federations, and international women's organisations. The Strategy was a new stage in the development of the W&SM, and two mechanisms were proposed to facilitate the transition from disconnected national SMOs to a coordinated, politicised, global approach.

The first was a Women and Sport Charter which was the base for what was to become the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport. It was a self-produced resource that could hold the aforementioned organisations to account for the work they were, or were not, undertaking on women in sport (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Baker-Finch circulated the draft version which was based on documents she had come across through her job and claimed it 'be not more than one page, ten statements in length' (International Women and Sport Group, 1994). The Charter was to be presented at the start, amended during, and finalised and presented at the end of the Brighton conference. In order to ensure the implementation and follow-up of the Strategy and any Charter which might accompany it, the second mechanism proposed was a steering committee (International Women and Sport Group, 1994). This was to eventually become the IWG. The steering committee was based on a similar doping in sport group within the ESC, which initially caused confusion for how it would benefit women in sport. EWS representatives recounted how the ESC doping Working Group had become a steering group and enacted measures to the executive of the ESC, which meant each member-country in turn had to show they were addressing or be held accountable (Brackenridge, 1994b). Furthermore, the GB Sports Council had been 'quite visionary' (White interview, 2013) when leading on doping control at the same time. These examples provided crucial political and structural expertise based on the POS experience by EWS and GB Sports Council members that was being shared to acknowledge how women's issues in sport could be advanced (Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). Thus, the steering committee could use the Charter and the Strategy to begin to hold major organisations to account for addressing issues affecting women in sport.

The next sub-section will outline how those who attended the February meetings were aware of the impact that an emerging steering committee would have on the objectives of existing SMOs (Grey and Sawer, 2008; Taylor, 1989). Moreover, the sub-section reveals for the first time how the Strategy caused the start of major power battles between the SMOs for at least the next half-decade.

The Fallout from the February Meetings

Both before and after the February meetings, White (1994a; International Women and Sport Group, 1994) stated the SMOs needed to be 'well-coordinated' because it was 'vital' to avoid any confusion that it looked like more organisations were being added to 'an already crowded organisational list'. At Brighton the steering committee, a Strategy, a Charter, and WSI were all going to be launched. These developments caused significant reactions from EWS, WSI, and WSFUS. This section shows the tense relationships between the SMOs leading into Brighton.

Documents following the February meetings indicated that Scandinavians were feeling the London EWS meeting was 'hijacked' (Unspecified, 1994) by the Strategy which was not endorsed by the ESC. Indeed, fears about internationalising EWS work appear in the international meeting when Kristina Thuree argues for further regional expansion and monitoring until 1996, when her home-nation Sweden could then host an expanded 'international' conference (International Women and Sport Group, 1994). Talbot (interview) reflected:

> 'It was fascinating because there was actually reluctance, particularly from the Nordic countries to have this international conference…There was quite a lot of, "well why do we want to do this, shouldn't we be good enough?", that sort of stuff. It was the Commonwealth women working with the UK particularly that pushed Brighton through and some good leadership from within those Commonwealth countries'.

Fasting, Lay, and Brackenridge (1994b) attended the international meeting and the latter's report to WSI colleagues portrays a frank acknowledgement of the tensions between the SMOs, including the emerging working group. For example, IAPESGW were surmised as 'intensely conservative, incestuous, aging and unwilling to notice that the world has changed around it' (Brackenridge, 1994b).

WSI was positioned throughout the international meeting as the SMO that would address radical issues such as abuse and harassment. In doing so, a 'pincer

movement' was drafted at the meeting whereby government-oriented sport organisations and an NGO-oriented WSI could both apply pressure on international sporting organisations regarding women and sport. Brackenridge (1994d) was 'convinced' that the diversity of the Strategy was useful and the liberal and radical activity within the pincer movement 'can bring benefits for women in sport'; acknowledging the advantages different SMO orientations may bring (Johnston, 2014; Minkoff, 2002). However, Darlison (1994c) responded with concerns 'about the direction and nature of the way I understand things to be moving with respect to the international scene for women and sport and physical activity', in particular how she perceived the steering committee was 'becoming another organisation' (Darlison, 1994d). She was not prepared for WSI – which formed a month after the February meetings – to 'act as a handmaiden' to the Strategy (Darlison, 1994c).

Darlison's concerns were principally grounded in the ideologies both WSI and the working group were based upon. She bemoaned the overtly government-driven, top-heavy approach throughout the international meeting as 'unrepresentative of women generally' (Darlison, 1994c). Indeed, social movement literature has criticised the PPT approach because women have much less frequently occupied such positions of power (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005; True, 2010). At this time, Darlison (1994c) was co-President of WomenSport Australia and expresses disbelief that none of what Baker-Finch proposed 'has had any airing outside Federal Government circles in Australia and certainly not with any NGO'. In particular, she is critical of over-reliance on governments which often change so that new ideologies need to be accommodated, and she questioned whether the GB Sports Council was staging Brighton for international kudos or genuinely attempting to initiate change.

Instead of the steering committee, Darlison argued that WSI's idea of a structure of task forces built around an advisory board, but with the power of an executive board, was 'a very effective mechanism for real representation and involvement'. The task forces would be populated by experts from countries 'where that particular problem is located – far better than a "let us show you how to fix it approach" – after all what is best practice in one country is not necessarily so in another' (Darlison, 1994c). It is clear Darlison (1994b) is aware of the assumptions that result when women are homogenised (Ashcroft et al, 2007; Spivak, 1999), so wanted to ensure WSI could impact upon many different and influential women from various countries because of the opportunity Brighton provided. She continued 'I would hate to think that we were once again placing ourselves in the situation where a small group of middle-class feminists, albeit some of them black, decide what was best for the rest of the women and girls in the world' (Darlison, 1994c).

In response, Baker-Finch told Darlison (1994d) that no other groups had a concept for moving forward; the Europeans in particular were 'proprietorial and did not want to give any ground'; and overtly male-dominated international groups such as the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) and the IOC were 'just begging to be led'. For example, the CGF had recognised that 'Brighton offers a chance to "in a safe way" address change' (Brackenridge, 1994b) because the conference, and its outcomes, could be used as a political lobbying mechanism for change.

WSI was the only SMO not to have officially launched, it did not have plans to hold its own conferences, and its early financial struggles meant it was immediately constrained in its attempts to mobilise such task forces and lead major sporting organisations (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Giugni, 1998; see chapter six). It was crucial for Darlison that Brighton did not come across as aiding WSI, and that WSI was the proactive force. Brackenridge (1994c) revealed she would forego introducing WSI in her Brighton keynote for 'I would not be thanked by some and anyway I believe that we must (and will) go our own way and not assume we can piggy-back on the conference'. In correspondence to Brackenridge alone, Darlison (1994c) reveals 'I am also sensitive that WSI is already being perceived as an unforeseen problem to the development of the Strategy that most of us knew little or nothing about' and if it was not for Brackenridge's and Fasting's careful balancing of WSI, IAPESGW, and EWS group responsibilities, WSI would be going into Brighton unaware of work that was occurring. Darlison was correct in her sensitivities. Barker (interview) was part of Brighton's organising group and admitted there was 'big suspicion towards WSI' leading up to the meetings but later praised WSI's input and ideas because it was a 'different perspective and vision … it was great'. Indeed despite her critique, Darlison (1994d) believed that the governmental links in the Strategy were so strong that there was room for an NGO to exist in the same space.

IAPESGW had also received the invitational conference brochure and realised Brighton's importance (Bowen-West, 1993c). Throughout March 1994 (when WSI was formed), correspondence between WSI and IAPESGW illustrates the shifting leverage of power between two international NGOs at a time when the issue of women and sport was increasingly politicised. WSI are the dominant group offering opportunities to IAPESGW to 'bring them on side' (Darlison, 1994e), 'join us' to become a physical education-wing of WSI (Darlison, 1994g), and that there 'would be real advantages for IAPESGW in joining an organisation which would actually do many of the things IAPESGW has talked about doing for a long time … their contacts would be invaluable and they will eventually go the way of the Dodo anyway' (Darlison, 1994d). Notwithstanding the benefits, IAPESGW themselves felt 'quite upset' (Darlison, 1994d)

at the lack of communication about the progress WSI had made in the year since the 1993 Melbourne Congress and Darlison received a 'rather cold reception' when she spoke to Bowen-West (Brackenridge, 1994g). Just two weeks before Brighton, WSI tapered their request to IAPESGW from a complete merger to 'a formal invitation to work with us on any project where you may wish to contribute your expertise' (Darlison, 1994h) to which Bowen-West responded positively soon after Brighton (see chapter eight).

The final complexity to emerge from the February meetings was how WSFUS felt 'a snub from the rest of world regarding its successful work' (Oglesby interview, 2012a). Darlison (1994c) had critiqued why American groups were not included in Brighton's planning because 'their inclusion and cooperation is incredibly important in any strategy designed to bring about change for women and girls in sport'. European and Commonwealth sport development was overseen by governmental structures, unlike American activism which was different because of how sport is located within its POS (Kriesi, 2004; see section 5.3.2). Oglesby (interview, 2012b) did not attend Brighton, yet acknowledges that 'people who were part of the Commonwealth system had a huge advantage', but that American insularity also contributed. The focus and strength of domestic WSFUS work meant internationally 'we weren't really talking with one another that much' (Snyder interview).

Darlison (1994g) hypothesised in March 1994 that WSFUS 'seem to have next to no information about what is going on at Brighton' and that WSI's progress had 'thwarted their international ambitions'. Later that month, Brackenridge (1994f) informed WSFUK chair Tina Slade to expect 'an approach fairly soon from WSFUS to join them in forming a global Women's Sport Foundation'. Brackenridge (1994f, emphasis in original) lauds the idea – one she had previously presented to WSFUS – but is worried its execution would be 'an imperialist takeover by the USA whose value base is *totally* different from the UK, Scandinavia, Australia, Canada etc… The liaison *could* be fruitful but I'd suggest that they have as much, if not more, to learn from us as we from them'. Indeed, the threat of legal proceedings (Atkin, 1994) was presented by WSFUS to WSFUK less than one month before Brighton. Shelton and Bourque (interview) reflected 'it was ridiculous, stupid and had no business being at the conference … I think they kept it as quiet as they could. It was just a "take this and deliver it". It was the most insensitive totally American thing'. But the legal proceedings were simply an attempt to commercially protect the 'Women's Sport Foundation' name (Slade, 1994) for potential use in a 'Women's Global Games' – an event strikingly similar in ideology to the FSFI Games – which did not materialise (Snyder interview). A nominal fee of $10USD would allow WSFUK to acquire a license for the Women's

Sport Foundation name and access to WSFUS's extensive research library and materials, including sponsorship details (Lopiano, 1994). Snyder (interview) reflected:

> 'Whatever it was we said, what we intended was that they just acknowledged that we granted permission to them to use the name. That was what we wanted and there was never any legal papers filed. And I am guessing that this came up at Brighton because we didn't really have an opportunity to see each other face to face very often. That is just way blown out of proportion'.

The threat of legal action is an important aspect to consider because of how the relationships between SMOs pre-Brighton would have appeared to outsiders. It is clear from this section that many people were committed to ensuring Brighton was a success. However, what is also clear are the battles for power leading into Brighton because of the disparate ideologies pursued (Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Grey and Sawer, 2008). Crucially, it was vital the taut relationships were not known to outsiders. Brighton was supported by the IOC through $15,000USD of Olympic Solidarity funding (IWG, 1994a) and this legitimacy was crucial for attracting organisations and governmental representatives (White interview, 2013; Fasting interview). Should outside groups be aware of in-fighting, disagreements, and lawsuits between SMOs associated to Brighton, it would have severely damaged the conference's reputation before it had begun. Instead, the tensions were contained:

> 'It is very easy for people to write things off if they feel it is "just those women fighting again", you know, "those women can't get their act together", "forget it, they are never going to succeed". I think it was pretty important that [the tensions] didn't become public because it could have easily have just undermined the whole thing' (Neill interview).

The global reach and perceived cohesiveness of these networks should not be over-exaggerated for Abdulrahman (interview) claimed that 'before the Brighton Conference I had no idea who they were, however, their good working relationships and successes were made very clear'. Chapter eight will detail the continuing tensions between these groups which occurred after Brighton.

7.2.2 Attendees

It is often quoted 280 delegates from just over eighty countries attended Brighton (Hancock et al, 2013; Hargreaves, 2000; Kluka, 2008; Scraton and Flintoff, 2002) but no delegate attendance data was ever collected during or after the conference. The best insight is a pre-conference delegate list to determine the extent the conference was white, Western-dominated. Overall the organising team were 'pretty happy with the attendance, [but] it was biased towards Commonwealth countries' (White interview, 2013).

The list (GB Sports Council, 1994b) shows 266 people from 81 countries were to attend Brighton. The UK had the highest majority of attendees with 89 delegates making up 33.5% of total attendees. The USA (12/4.5%), Canada (11/4%), Norway (9/3.5%), Finland and Sweden (both 6/2%) followed to account for the dominance of North America and North-Western Europe. Every continent was represented and Europe had the largest presence with 29 of the 81 (35.8%) countries in attendance. A further quarter (21 countries/25.9%) of the countries attending were from Africa. Oceania (5/6.2%) and South America (3/3.7%) had the least number of countries participating (GB Sports Council, 1994b).

Over half (149 delegates/56%) of the attendees were from Commonwealth countries (GB Sports Council, 1994b). This was partly facilitated through contacts within the British Council (Barker interview), and combined GB Sports Council and IOC Solidarity funding to pay for some delegates' attendance (White interview, 2013). Reflecting on her role in the invitation process, Talbot (interview) commented:

> 'I wrote to every British Council representative across the world to get them to send somebody to Brighton, and we got 31 countries. I remember writing back to Pakistan because they wrote, "there's no point sending anyone because there aren't any women playing sport", and I remember writing back saying, "that's the point!"' but I never got a response. We got a lot of people who wouldn't have otherwise been there and Nabilah [Abdulrahman] was a fantastic example of that'.

When interviewed, Abdulrahman (interview) confirmed she received an invitation from the British Council of Alexandria who sponsored her attendance to Brighton. Examples such as this were to have far-reaching consequences for women and sport globally because women such as Abdulrahman, the Dean of Women's Physical Education at

the University of Alexandria, Egypt, managed to meet at Brighton, often for the first time, and discuss formations of regional groups (see section 7.4.3; chapter eight onward).

The financial, cultural, and political barriers were too challenging for many South Asian and South American people to attend (Kluka interview). The difficulties recognised through attempts to network with these areas of the world showed 'there were no women at the inn – the invitation would go to the Minister of Sport [who] were only men at the time and they didn't see any reason to go' (Shelton and Bourque interview). The disparities were further heightened when Snyder (interview) identified very quickly during Brighton that the USA 'had enough money for people to go because they were interested and see what was going on'. The conference itself cost just under £600 and would have been more if Brighton was not chosen as a cheaper alternative to London with close major transport links and comparable conference facilities (Barker interview). Darlison (1994c) was very critical and stated 'the very cost of getting to and registering at Brighton makes the whole Conference extremely elitist, available virtually only to those women who work for large bureaucracies'. The intention of the conference can be seen in the tiered approach to those invited to attend the conference. As the following passage from the invitational brochure shows (GB Sports Council, 1993b, p. 2, emphasis added), the conference targeted decision-makers to attend over merely 'welcoming' the general public in order to have maximum influence:

> 'The conference *will bring* together policy and decision-makers, at national and international level. Individuals who hold influential positions on national and international sports boards, committees and council, or who represent government ministries dealing with sport *are encouraged to attend*. The conference *welcomes* males and female delegates who are committed to the development of women's sport.'

Indeed, Hargreaves (2000, p. 227) critiqued those who attended the conference as unrepresentative because they were 'mostly paid administrators linked to local, national, government or inter-government agencies', rather than general representatives of organisations. However, as the next section will outline, the structure and content of the conference allowed women and sport networks to connect with these powerful agencies, often for the first time.

7.3 Content

White (GB Sports Council, 1994c) officially welcomed the conference delegates by outlining the International Strategy and introducing the international consultative group first acknowledged at the February meeting earlier in the year. The group was now formed of nine white, Western women who were 'aware that the ad-hoc group which met in February was not fully representative of international sport' (GB Sports Council, 1994c, p. 9) and included Lay (interview) who admitted she had some knowledge of cultural differences but 'no contacts and no practical experience of what it would be like in those countries'. The previous chapters have highlighted how networking with non-Westerners had been a constant challenge for Western SMOs. This section reveals how Brighton's structure facilitated a 'new field of international work' (GB Sports Council, 1994c, p. 2) to be undertaken because similar experiences of subordination in sport were being shared by previously disconnected women globally.

Conferences have been ignored in social movement literature but have been important for women's movements as they offer an opportunity for subordinated experiences to be aired in important settings (Ferree and Mueller, 2004). For Brighton, there was a deliberate focus on discussion and interaction over keynotes, presentations, and document templates in order to allow an 'organic' conference where 'the delegates were to be the activists' (White interview, 2011). This allowed greater networking and sharing of values via long breaks between sessions and smaller seminar groups to allow listening to, and understanding of, what was happening in different parts of the world (Abdulrahman interview; Lay interview; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1999; Talbot interview; White interview, 2013). For example, two hours were designated for lunch to allow as much discussion as possible between delegates who were representing major organisations but speaking on behalf of women who experienced barriers to inclusion in sport (GB Sports Council, 1993b; White interview, 2013). Fasting (interview) reflected:

> 'We had a lot of time for discussion because if you open up for that you can really get dialogue and I think we did that. I remember there was research I was talking about and an African woman stood up and said, "In my country girls don't have physical education, that's the problem!"'

Brighton was made up of four keynote lectures, three thematic workshops, eleven issues seminars, seven skills workshops, and a plenary which amalgamated the recommendations made from each of the previous sessions. Thirty-one women and three men undertook presenting/chairing duties and over two-thirds were Western institution-based, white women; again accounting for the dominant base of women and sport expertise and discourse in North America, North-Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand (GB Sports Council, 1994c). French and Spanish translators were available but when interviewed, Kluka, Lay, and Shelton and Bourque all highlighted how language was an issue for some throughout the conference.

The issues seminars occurred three times to allow delegates to attend a number of sessions which covered: equal opportunities; integration or segregation; cross cultural themes; women, sport and Islam; challenging sexism; marketing; gender verification; sexual harassment; challenging homophobia; working in a male environment; and integrating women with disabilities. Some of the more sensitive issues such as sexual harassment and gender verification were being raised in public for the first time at Brighton (Hall, 1996). The expertise of SMOs and individuals facilitated these discussions and the seminars were chaired by eight white, Western women, one white, Western man and one Malaysian woman because:

> 'Countries in different parts of the world, and at different stages of development, face many different issues related to women and sport. These seminars will explore some of these issues and will be led by people who have the knowledge and experience of how they may be tackled' (GB Sports Council, 1994c, p. 4).

For example, just before Brighton CAAWS (1994a) had published work on eating disorders, and just after Brighton a guide on harassment in sport (CAAWS, 1994b). Crucially, the 'self-consciousness' argued by Hargreaves (2000) is recognised by Brackenridge (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 120) who stated 'it is all too easy for those of us from white, wealthy, academic traditions to assume that we know best, to act as if we have a monopoly on sports science knowledge, on policy and best practice in sport for women'. The following examples from the issues seminars outline how different women openly *shared* their own oppressive experiences in and through sport, instead of being *spoken at* because of patriarchal conference structures dominated by men, such as continuous keynote lectures (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999; Stanley and Wise, 1993; White interview, 2013).

Brackenridge (interview) chaired the sexual harassment seminar and recounted:

> ‘My abiding memory is a Tanzanian man who came up to me saying people had never heard of or thought about it before and I have had a number of African delegates at conferences over the years come up to me and say, “of course it happens, a woman can’t get on a team in my country if they have not slept with a coach” and this anecdotal evidence was amassing. This was at a time when I couldn’t get really good research access to data so it was very important for me to get contacts like that who would spill the beans’.

The ‘Challenging Sexism’ seminar was the only one led by a man, mainly because Coakley (interview) knew ‘some of the strategies men used to exclude women and maintain the forms of exclusion that had been institutionalised over many years’. He had worked with White for a decade but claimed some of the organisers did not want to allow the opportunity for a male to dominate the proceedings. Coakley (interview) also thought this was the major reason why no one attended the first of his three sessions. Colleagues helped fill his second session and by the third he had over twenty delegates. This included many people from Africa and three veiled Egyptian women who placed their issues of dealing with institutionalised exclusion from sport by law at the centre of the seminar, meaning Coakley (interview) was able to listen to previously unheard experiences (Minh-ha, 1989; Reinharz, 1992; Spivak, 1999). Coakley (interview) recounted:

> ‘As a result I was in a position I had never been in in my life to have women speaking spontaneously, women I would have never been able to talk to individually, about the issues they were confronting and I learned more in that hour listening to those women than I had ever known about women in certain, especially Muslim, countries in my entire life. After being a little disappointed in certain ways after the first session, this third one made up for any kind of disappointment because I remembered it in very distinct ways ever since’.

The ‘Women, Sport and Islam’ seminar was led by Shahizah Daiman who had held a number of key roles regarding women’s sport in Malaysia. The seminar outlined the main characteristics of Islam and the beliefs of most Muslim men and women.

Daiman (GB Sports Council, 1994e, p. 14) expressed concern that 'many beliefs and practices have been labelled "Muslim" or "Islamic" without warranting those names … [with] … certain alien ideological intrusions on our societies, ignorance and distortion of the true Islam, or exploitation by individuals within the society' forming damaging and false stereotypes of many Islamic and Muslim women (Benn et al., 2011; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999).

The 'Cross Cultural Themes' seminar 'drew attention to the ways in which broader cultural issues affect the participation and leadership of women in sport in Latin America, the Caribbean and Eastern Europe' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 71). Kluka led the session with assistance from Shelton and delegates gave examples of urbanisation, economic class, biological reductionism and the support that men's sport receives as major barriers to women's involvement in sport. Shelton's Spanish-language proficiency, and contacts with the few Latin American delegates who attended Brighton, was beneficial for the seminar:

> 'There was a young attendee from Colombia who was trying to work with one of the ladies that Chris knew and unfortunately there were beatings and things of that nature because she was the only one in her particular local area and of course if you are the only one, then usually you get all of the attention directed to you, whether that's good or bad' (Kluka interview).

The examples above show reciprocity between experts in their topics sharing their knowledge with a diverse room of people who in turn, relayed their personal experiences to add to general understanding of the seminar topic (Connell, 2007; Ashcroft, 2001). Moreover, Western women were meeting and talking to each other for the first time. Snyder (interview) reflected, 'what became really clear was that this was the first time that so many of these people from different continents had ever met each other, heard of each other, or knew that they were on the same continent so that was really incredibly exciting'. Moreover, American delegates (Snyder interview; Oglesby interview, 2012a) were experiencing the governmental and Commonwealth-oriented approach to sport for the first time.

Thus, the main trend emanating from the workshop and seminar interactions were 'common denominators' (Kluka interview) between women from all over the world. The 'strength of feeling and sense of solidarity with women from different parts of the world' surprised White (interview, 2013) and many of those interviewed who attended Brighton. Despite cultural differences, similar issues were recognised by all

attending as affecting globally disparate women and creating barriers to their involvement in sport (Crossley, 2002; Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Snow et al, 2004; Williams, 2004). The conference was a collective gathering and acted as an 'emotionally charged site where participants develop a shared sense of time, place, and common purpose that is central to the protest experience, and common identities' (Johnston, 2014, p. 159).

Crucially, these collective experiences had been aggregated and shared in a political environment (Edwards and McCarthy 2004; Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). The conference was organised by the GB Sports Council, supported by the IOC, and many of its attendees were representatives of sports organisations and groups around the world. Brighton has been criticised for the low numbers of researchers in attendance (Hall, 1996), but the powerful delegates who attended facilitated further politicisation of lobbying for women and sport. Indeed, Pfister (interview) stated it was a chance for practitioners, politicians, and academics to meet on a levelled field, and White (interview, 2013) added that the conference was doing something different by not being overly-academic. The politicisation element was explored in the opening conference keynotes. Another GB Sports Council Commonwealth contact was Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana (Minister of Youth and Sport for Namibia). She focused on the impact on gender equity away from patriarchal control in her native Namibia and applied this to sport by calling for democratic principles to be adopted as there had been little breakthrough in the UN agenda on gender equality and women's emancipation (GB Sports Council, 1994f). Additionally, Talbot (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 43) reflected on the successes and challenges EWS had faced since it originated, including 'learning about other cultures and other sports structures and legislative systems', and the tactics employed in order to get women into those spheres. The Conference therefore acted as a mechanism to share various experiences and understanding between diverse attendees. Chapter nine explains how conferences should be used to understand the development of social movements more.

Calls to mobilise and politicise collective activism for women and sport continued in the plenary sessions. Brackenridge utilised her decade of SMO experience to state how networks of volunteers could exercise a 'freedom of association' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 122) to exert pressure for social change as opposed to vested interests by those within government seeking to maintain their elected position. WSI is introduced at the end of her speech, but is positioned within her own vision of an international strategy which indicated 'the diversity of approaches which we take to addressing shared concerns' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 124). Her work encompassed all the potential actors who could bring about positive change for women

in sport, potentially men in sport, and long-term, women in general. Echoing both Brackenridge and tenets of social movement literature, Casey claimed the International Strategy White was soon to reveal was 'designed to represent and harness the views of very differing people. It will not represent every view which every individual holds but let us hope it represents our collective view of the way ahead' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 127). The International Strategy was a resource mobilised in a politicalised environment to legitimise the 'collective view'.

7.4 Outcomes

7.4.1 The International Strategy for Women and Sport

The Brighton Conference had a number of important outcomes to address issues women encountered in sport. White closed the conference by introducing the finalised version of an International Strategy comprised of a Declaration, international co-ordinating mechanisms (an added element requested by the delegates), regular conferences, and a small working group to 'communicate, monitor progress, and advise' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 131). All had been heavily influenced by the recommendations put forward from each conference session and by the thoughts of the steering group who wanted better coordination in future work (White interview, 2011; see section 7.2.1).

The strategy was aimed at all governments, NGOs, groups and agencies in the hope that 'through the development of such an internationally strategic approach, model programmes and successful developments can be shared between nations and sporting federations, so accelerating change towards a more gender equitable sports culture' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 147). In doing so, the Strategy was a self-produced mobilising resource for the W&SM aimed at generating coordinated lobbying at governments and sports organisations globally (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The Declaration would be the first central pillar to the Strategy and it was hoped the principles would be endorsed by governments and organisations quickly, although a target number was never considered (White interview, 2013). For monitoring of the Declaration to occur, a working group was established to continue the work of the steering committee from the draft Strategy. There was no formal advice to follow within the Strategy, rather, a series of points that when followed would exert pressure on

dominant sporting and non-sporting organisations in favour of women (White interview, 2013).

7.4.2 The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport

The idea of a Charter of principles had been premised at the February 1994 meeting by Baker-Finch who 'was very keen that there was some kind of outcome from Brighton and not just a sort of feel-good factor of getting people together and then all going away again' (White interview, 2013; see section 7.2.1). The content for the initial draft came from a plethora of sources. Recurrent women and sport issues had been well-known to North-Western Europeans, North Americans, Australians and New Zealanders for over twenty years (Talbot interview; Neill interview; GB Sports Council, 1994a). At the same time Brighton was being planned, the UK Policy Frameworks for Action were being formalised by White and GB Sports Council colleagues. When asked if the Brighton Declaration was based on the Women and Sport Policy Framework for Action, White (interview, 2013) responded, 'yes, to a certain extent'. As section 5.3.4 briefly showed, the Policy Framework had been developed over a long consultation process so there was overlap between it and planning for Brighton. Yet there was also an acknowledgement that in the year between the Policy Frameworks being published and the hosting of the Brighton Conference, there had been limited immediate impact in the UK (Houlihan and White, 2002; see section 5.3.4). However, White's colleagues such as Casey and Julia Bracewell at the GB Sports Council had wider national and international policy understanding so could draft the Declaration with an 'emphasis on universal principles' and not necessarily action strategies more suitable to Policy Frameworks (Barker interview; White interview, 2013). They evaded the informal institutional constraints because the draft 'had to be phrased in a certain way by people who knew how to' (Pfister interview). This was key experience of the attributes and usefulness needed to politicise such a document (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Krook and Mackay, 2011; Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005).

The white Westerners who were formulating the document were conscious of the need for wider contributions and collaboration (Hargreaves, 2000; Barker interview). The Brighton Conference, and in particular its structure (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Stanley and Wise, 1993; White interview, 2013) offered the perfect vehicle to achieve this for every delegate was given a printed version to critique over the three days and feedback to members of the drafting group:

> ‘It was really, really cool for me to be able to add something to that document. Then when it got to the upper levels, they went, “oh we forgot this!”, and they put it in. That for me was a personal delight because what I was asking for was something that other people had not thought of’ (Kluka interview).

For example, handwritten notes on original declarations question why girls, as well as women, are not mentioned throughout (Webb, 1994). Bracewell revealed the final Declaration was deliberately kept universal and generic in its language to adhere to the UN Forward Looking Strategies (see section 8.4) and the Olympic Agenda, in particular toward women’s health (GB Sports Council, 1994f).

Thus, although produced by the GB Sports Council, informed heavily by white, Western-dominated women and sport ideology and originally first produced in English, the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport had been ‘internationalised by discussion’ between over eighty countries at the Brighton Conference (White interview, 2013). White (interview, 2013) believed there had been no ‘new’ women and sport issue which emerged from discussion that had not previously been known before Brighton. It was approved by the delegates during the closing session after brief discussion, with the overriding aim being ‘to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport’ (GB Sports Council, 1994d).

The Brighton Declaration resulted in a universally agreed central document containing ten guiding principles that could be used to inform positive policy change for women and sport (see Appendix 8). It could not yield any direct power because it was not a legislative document, but it was an important political document because of the ‘illusory power’ a group or organisation could use to acknowledge their awareness of the issues that affected women in sport (Brackenridge interview). This was crucial because when referring to Latin American delegates, Shelton (Shelton and Bourque interview) said ‘I remember going to Anita and saying “they can’t speak English but this is what they are thinking, this is what they need”. They needed a letter, something they could take back with them’. In addition, Lay (interview) commended how it was written ‘through a women in sport lens… by women in sport, for women in sport’. She continued that it allowed the women to ‘stop being labelled as the complainers that are constantly talking about women in sport. We can now present from quite a different position’. Women had power in the form of a professional, presentable resource that had tangible links to powerful UN rhetoric (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

However, the Declaration's impact was seen as less influential by some. Different countries and organisations were in different positions when it came to dealing with women and sport as an issue:

> 'Some of the Nordic countries had already done most of it but not everything of course, and you can always do things better' (Fasting interview).

> 'I don't think it was as important a document for us [WSFUS]. We already had our Blueprint [for Change], we already had a pretty well-formulated advocacy platform, we had Title IX and the Amateur Sports Act. So we already had some legal things in place and because we weren't government funded, there wasn't going to be anything like trying to get our government to sign onto the Brighton Declaration. So we were already acting upon a lot of those things' (Snyder interview).

> 'The Brighton Declaration was a very positive thing because it woke up government to the importance of having women have access to sport… it was a government-based organisation and the IOC is basically an association which is non-governmental' (DeFrantz interview).

Both Fasting and Snyder do not deny the importance of the Declaration, mainly because in 1994 no single group in the world had addressed all ten principles, but they felt that it was not as important for their region of the world as it was for other places. Chapter five outlined the POSs of some areas of the world and how SMOs had benefitted from gender equality and sex discrimination policies to gradually lobby for change. Up to twenty years of activism had yielded positive results toward some of the principles formulated. However, there were substantially more countries in the world that could be lobbied using the Declaration. DeFrantz also recognised its importance but not for the IOC initially because it is an NGO and she believed the Declaration was primarily government-oriented. However, the Declaration was to have a major impact on the IOC the following year, due in part to the way it exerted pressure (see chapter eight).

For others, the Declaration did not go far enough. Brackenridge (interview) echoed comments she made about the UK Policy Framework for Women and Sport in stating that 'none of those principles were too radical…they are all nice liberal objectives aren't they?... There is nothing in there about sexual violence as I recall' –

an issue she was researching at the time. Hall (1996, p. 102) argued ‘very little of the research and scholarship readily available was incorporated into the conference programme, although several recommendations vaguely addressed the need for more research’. The Declaration was a liberal feminist approach laced with a radical agenda. For those in attendance, it was a starting point to lever change. For Hall (1996) it was not radical enough and she both critiqued this progressive step and somewhat distanced herself from future activism that was being conducted; providing an example of the complexities experienced between scholars and activists in social movements (Bevington and Dixon, 2005).

7.4.3 International Co-ordinating Mechanisms and Regular Conferences

International co-ordinating mechanisms were regional or continental groups that could continue to pressurise and lobby for the advancement of women in all aspects of sport. For the CGF and EWS, this was continuation of work they were already conducting but as was clear to all delegates, these were the only regional groups. During the course of the conference, the long breaks and helpful organising team led by Barker facilitated meetings between countries and with groups. From the conference proceedings (GB Sports Council, 1994f), three continental groups were informally established: the African Women in Sport Association (AWISA), a Pan-American Women and Sport Group, and Asian Women and Sport (AWS).

Daiman and Mien Gondowidjojo (a senior IAPESGW figure) led AWS from Brighton, but its work did not start until later in the decade. The Pan-American group, led by Shelton and consisting of eleven people from ten countries, committed to disseminate information acquired from Brighton throughout the region and to meet the following year. The next chapter will provide an example of how some of this work was collaborated.

The foundations of AWISA are directly linked to Brighton’s structure. A group of African delegates led by the ‘phenomenal’ Iivula-Ithana (Talbot interview) had previously struggled to be able to meet together (Kluka interview). The conference programme was slightly amended, a room and time were secured, and delegates were notified of the meeting details. The meeting established a network which aimed to bring about positive change in the participation of women in sport and the development of women sports coaches, administrators, leaders, and decision makers at national and international level (GB Sports Council, 1994f). These unplanned consequences

facilitated the third part of the Strategy. Conference organiser Barker (interview) reflected:

> 'I think we had hoped it would continue and I remember us discussing and I know what the people round the table were thinking, including myself, "well wouldn't it be nice to go to a non-Western and non-European country?" And Pendukeni was part of it … so it was natural we were looking to her and there may well have been conversations'.

During Brighton's closing session, Iivula-Ithana announced the 'notable achievement' that AWISA had been formed which was 'enthusiastically received' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 152) by the delegates. She then announced Namibia would like to host the next World Conference on Women and Sport – an unexpected but welcome surprise to all in the room (Barker interview; White interview, 2013).

The original Strategy idea was to have a world conference every two years. This was seconded by many of the Brighton delegates. But the steering committee believed this was too often because of the increasing focus academic and non-academic conferences were placing on women and sport as a theme (GB Sports Council, 1994f). In the final Strategy, it was proposed a world conference would occur every four years and with Iivula-Ithana's offer, Namibia was to be the next host.

7.4.4 The International Working Group on Women and Sport

The fourth part of the strategy was to establish a working group to coordinate and monitor the aforementioned three strands of the International Strategy and make sure it 'did not fade from consciousness after the conference' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 65). How and why the IWG was formed was a point of disagreement among the interviewees. One interviewee anonymously stated the working group idea had been cooled in favour of working on the Declaration during the conference. But as the collective feeling among delegates grew, 'a man from the GB Sports Council suggested [the group] and that came as a shock to some of us and of course that was very well received'. White (interview, 2013) also admitted that 'the idea [for IWG] may have come up just before the conference in a meeting, but it was certainly only worked out at the conference itself' because the Strategy needed guidance.

Due to increased delegate calls for something to be formed, the working group idea was resurrected. In the conference proceedings, it is stated that for 'continuity, some of the individuals [from the international women and sport group] involved might serve on the group' but that others were needed, preferably a more diverse mix with 'appropriate governmental backing and support' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 136). Previously, Iivula-Ithana and Daiman had been two of four non-Western women suggested to be invited to the consultation group to determine the Strategy during the conference (White, 1994b). Iivula-Ithana was to become 'very involved' (Talbot interview) but due to time constraints, the working group was unable to be formalised at Brighton so future contact would be made with interested parties.

As for its initial role, it is admitted the working group 'goes some way beyond the functions which were outlined at the beginning of the conference' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 136). The following is dialogue with White (interview, 2013) as to why the IWG was formed:

AW To work on the strategy and to monitor the implementation of the Brighton Declaration, and to keep the momentum going, we felt that a working group was needed. We weren't trying to form another organisation because we knew the organisations were already there, but it needed to be a group of activists and people who would make it happen who were also to a point representative of different parts of the world and different organisations.

JM Did you not think that maybe one of the other groups at the time could have taken it on and done that role?

AW Yes they possibly could have done but I think we thought it needed state funding in order to be viable. So it was a working group, not an organisation, I think that is an important point, we weren't trying to turn it into an organisation.

JM And having that financial and huge resource background was a major part.

AW Yes.

White (interview, 2013) seemed unaware of WSI's intentions to be a major SMO post-Brighton, although she did acknowledge WSI's official launch at the conference. Conference delegates also knew that the international women and sport meeting group would not exist after Brighton and that 'a new organisation, WSI, will be announced'

(GB Sports Council, 1994c, p. 9). Despite Brackenridge, Darlison, Drinkwater, Fasting and Lay all attending and even chairing sessions at Brighton, it is unclear how much promotion of WSI there was. Fundamentally however, WSI did not have a resource as advanced as the Declaration, did not have the powerful base of resources and finances like the GB Sports Council, and did not have as strong governmental links as the working group. WSI's benefit was that it was an NGO and could be more radical in its aims and objectives because it was not institutionalised (Kriesi, 2004; Taylor, 1989; True, 2010). But when compared to the emerging IWG, it is understandable that tensions arose regarding the perceived intention of the newly-formed group on the international stage for women and sport (see chapter eight).

The role of IWG is positioned under the section entitled 'Co-ordinating and Monitoring the Strategy' in the International Strategy and had five aims paraphrased below (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 149):

- Continue developing the International Strategy and provide a focus for international women and sport work;
- Provide advice and coordination to conferences addressing the issue of women and sport;
- To act as a contact and reference point;
- To coordinate with international and regional coordination groups, organisations and governments;
- To monitor progress on women and sport issues internationally and the application of the principles in the Brighton Declaration.

Its immediate tasks were to establish representatives to sit on the group; approach the IOC, the IPC, the UN, and the CGF to adopt the Brighton Declaration; coordinate initial planning for Namibia; and most crucially when relating to other SMOs highlighted thus far: 'undertake work at the international level (e.g. with international sports federations) to secure the adoption and implementation of the strategy at the international level; and liaise with other multi-national governmental and NGO bodies which share common concerns and interests with respect to women, and women and sport' (GB Sports Council, 1994f, p. 149-150). As the following chapter will analyse, this advance for women and sport caused further tensions between the SMOs (Della Porta and Diani, 2006).

7.5 Summary

The Brighton Conference on Women and Sport was ‘a pivotal point in our women and sport strategy’ (Lay interview). The conference resulted in the ‘landmark’ (Talbot interview) Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport – a set of ten principles aimed to address and highlight issues affecting women in sport – and also the first international organising and monitoring committee that would act as a reference point for networking organisations. A greater focus on discussion and interaction throughout the conference assisted approximately 280 delegates from over eighty countries to help establish new continental women and sport SMOs and generally learn new experiences and values regarding women and sport from each other. Consequently, Brighton was an organic conference with emergent positive intended and unintended consequences.

A plethora of issues relating to women and sport highlighted over the previous twenty years were discussed at Brighton. Despite the fact that the majority of the planning, content, and discourse for Brighton was white, Western dominated, it was soon realised by those at the conference that more similarities than differences existed between women who participated or were involved in sport: ‘We were so many and so different and had come from so many different places of the world and we had something in common, it was very enthusiastic there at the end’ (Fasting interview). The opportunity to experience the diversity of women and sport issues was working as a mechanism to both give voice and form a collective identity among the delegates in response to the common struggles encountered. Essentially, in relation to NSMs’ impact on the PPT approach, the conference was a form of institutionalised protest that was aiding the formation of identity for the movement. This also included the white, Western researchers who were advancing their understanding too. To address these issues going forward, the Declaration and (what would become) the IWG were encompassed under an International Strategy aiming for greater collaboration and coordination for women and sport work. Therefore, ‘the Conference and Declaration facilitated the transition from private reaffirmation to public reaffirmation of these identities. … Instead of taking covert actions, now you could take overt actions and that is a major change in any social movement, when you make that transition’ (Coakley interview).

The conference was not a linear process however. Up to a year before Brighton occurred, W&SM SMOs were engaged in conflictual relations with each other in order to position themselves favourably in a context undergoing ‘very rapid development’

(Brackenridge interview; Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Neill (interview) agreed with Hargreaves' (2000) claim that SMOs were self-conscious, and how middle-class white, Westerners wanted to 'reach out' to non-white, non-Westerners (Marchand, 1995; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999). But Neill (interview) also highlights how these women now had the resources and political opportunities to be able to reach out and establish communication with more global contacts for women and sport than ever before:

> 'it was the right credentials and the right resources. I don't think it's fair to be critical of that group at that time. I mean it's true it was white, Western women but what else could they do? They were who they were! They were a bunch of colleagues who thought it might be interesting to do something' (Neill interview).

The following chapter illustrates the difficulty in tracing the impact of the conference (IWG, 2014a; Matthews, 2012; Pelak et al., 1999; Tilly, 1999). Instead, the chapter focuses on the direct and indirect impact of the emergent International Strategy within and outside sport, including the immediate effect on the existing relationship between SMOs.

8. Mid-1990s – The Development of the Movement

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explained how both WSI and the International Strategy working group were launched at the Brighton Conference. Immediately after the Conference, both groups worked to establish themselves as part of the growing W&SM, and elsewhere in sporting and non-sporting sectors. WSI was a membership-based, NGO coordinated by four women (Elizabeth 'Libby' Darlison, Celia Brackenridge, Kari Fasting, Barbara Drinkwater) with a constitution, sub-structure (including an advisory board), aims, and objectives determined before Brighton. The International Strategy working group (soon to be known as the IWG) was different in that it was to be made up of chosen representatives of identified organisations and regions globally who worked to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the International Strategy. The working group was not an NGO, nor was it a government organisation. Section 8.2 explores how these structural characteristics were to impact upon each SMO's trajectory within the continued development of the W&SM, including the confusions and tensions this caused.

This rest of the chapter explains how both the working group and WSI made significant breakthroughs for the status of women and sport throughout the mid-1990s. This included directly influencing the UN to include women, sport, and physical activity in official discourse (section 8.4); the IOC to introduce targets and create its own Working Group and Conference (section 8.5); and every continent to initiate a range of actions to address women's subordination in sport and physical activity (e.g. section 8.3). These advances were the culmination of decades of activism which had gradually built as a collective to the extent that W&SM SMOs were now directly influencing the most powerful sporting and non-sporting organisations in the world to change sport's patriarchal features.

8.2 Tense Relationships

The relationship between the International Strategy working group and WSI during the years between the Brighton and Windhoek Conferences was characterised by confusion, tension, and to a degree, competition. WSI believed IWG was expanding beyond the remit agreed by delegates at Brighton which was, in turn, impacting upon its own work. This section highlights how the foundations of each SMO began to direct their own development in response to each other, and in relation to the growing politicisation of women and sport as an issue.

The 'IWG' as a name for the working group first appears in correspondence in July 1994, when White (1994c) tells Darlison that its rationale is to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the Strategy agreed at Brighton, including communicating with a range of sporting and non-sporting organisations. White (1994c) notes how the IWG's lifespan depended upon its effectiveness leading up to the next World Conference in Namibia and that the 'crucial and important difference' to WSI was that the IWG was not a membership-based organisation.

However, WSI were perturbed 'when it was suggested [by White] that we appoint a member of the working group onto our [WSI] Board' (Darlison, 1994k). WSI had already accepted an invitation straight after the conference to be part of the working group to develop the Strategy (Darlison, 1994i), but cross-group membership raised WSI suspicions that there was to be expansion beyond that objective. IAPESGW were not asked because 'we felt IAPESGW was more of a membership organisation for physical educators and that WSI was more modern and more radical and had more to contribute' (White interview, 2013). It was not until 1997 that IAPESGW became an IWG representative.

WSI's executive board felt they had stated their position and aims strongly before, during, and after Brighton and that the emerging IWG was disrupting their progress (Darlison, 1994l). Brackenridge (interview) believed that because both groups formed in the same year, the IWG 'hijacked a little bit the foundation of WSI because women who had never heard of either got confused and thought, "oh, which one should I join?" and didn't understand the differences or the objectives'. This scenario occurred with Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana. Darlison (1994j) wanted to ensure WSI was not comprised of 'the usual component of middle-class Western feminists' due to the opportunities Brighton had presented and growing critique of the SMO's representation (Hargreaves, 2000; Kurian, 2001; Marchand and Parpart, 1995), so invited Iivula-Ithana onto WSI's advisory board. Unbeknownst to Darlison, Iivula-Ithana had also accepted

co-Chairship of the IWG in preparation for the Windhoek Conference. White (1994c) revealed to Darlison that Iivula-Ithana 'did not realise that WSI was a different organisation and her comment is, "Anyway the difference is almost the same isn't it?"'.

Worries that the Iivula-Ithana example was being replicated elsewhere, as well as the uncertain objectives and undetermined timeframe for IWG's existence, concerned WSI. The $15-150USD annual membership fees were a key financial resource to WSI and were used to pay for Darlison's travel, office space, and communication costs. Despite making new contacts at Brighton, Darlison (1995c) stated that 'without a strong membership we will simply not survive beyond June [1995] and we will be criticised for being elitist and non-representative'. In contrast, IWG was financed by the GB Sports Council, which was very significant for a number of reasons.

Firstly, an international women and sport SMO had been professionalised. Hall (interview) acknowledged this was an example of 'whole-change in sport; we basically moved from a volunteer kitchen-table type organisation to organisations that are now fully-funded and hire professional staff'. Unlike the origins of groups such as WSFUK and IAPESGW, from its inception the IWG immediately had paid staff and office space to enhance its activities.

Secondly however, Darlison (1994k) recognised that this substantial resource meant that White carried 'baggage…In other words she has her political masters and must be seen to be doing certain things if the group is to get secretariat funding and ongoing support'. The SMO had not *become* institutionalised but existed *because of* the politicisation of women and sport issues. Therefore its remit did not necessarily move away from any original goal, but the IWG did have to subscribe to the increasing international excellence and performance discourse of the GB Sports Council (Houlihan and White, 2002; Johnston, 2014; Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). As such, the IWG was receiving criticism that it was not going to 'challenge the male-dominated and male-defined nature of sport' (Hall, 1996, p. 102). Indeed, it would not be until the end of the decade that the Brighton Declaration had a direct impact on UK Government sport policy (Sport England, 1999), despite progress made internationally. The complex and challenging POS for women and sport in the UK was symbolised in the fact that although the GB Sports Council had shifted focus toward sports equity a year beforehand, the Brighton Declaration was originally described in the House of Commons in 1994 by the then UK Minister for Sport as 'political correctness in excelsis' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 65). WSI (1995a) openly stated that they were 'simply not interested in "adding more women and stirring", but in working to change sport itself so it becomes more "female friendly" and responsive to women's needs and interests'. The statement immediately positioned WSI as more radical than the 'quasi-

governmental' IWG, meaning the latter was more likely to be regarded favourably by powerful organisations such as the IOC and the UN because of its more moderate objectives (Johnston, 2014). Despite originally criticising the IWG in 1996, Hall (interview) recognised the 'trade-off' between enviable resources and the constraints of institutionalism by surmising; 'being given the world we had before and having the one we have now, I would choose the one we have now for sure'.

WSI's concerns with IWG's development heightened in March 1995. The first of a series of carefully prepared faxes between Darlison (1995i) and White centre on a concern of WSI's executive board (Brackenridge, 1995a; 1995b; Darlison, 1995f; 1995h; Fasting, 1995) that the IWG was expanding beyond its original role of implementing the Brighton Declaration – something that White had stated at Brighton was not necessary (Darlison, 1995j). Darlison (1995i) argued that decisions taken at the IWG's first annual meeting in Ottawa, Canada, in November 1994 meant the IWG was looking 'much more like another international women and sport "organisation" than an interim Working Group', and was competing for similar resources to WSI. This was at a time when Darlison had made assured progress with the IOC (see section 8.5) and been in New York at the UN Commission for the Status of Women (see section 8.4).

Compared to those premised after the Brighton Conference (see section 7.4.4), IWG's (1994b) aims resulting from the Ottawa meeting are more detailed:

1. To monitor the adoption of the Brighton Declaration by countries and national/international organisations worldwide
2. To act as a contact and reference point, focusing on international developments on women and sport and facilitating the exchange of information
3. To liaise with international federations and multi-sport organisations
4. To assist in the development and coordination of regional groupings on women and sport
5. To act as a forum for these regional groupings and international women and sport organisations to review status reports and strategies and disseminate information
6. To seek the inclusion of issues relating to women and sport on the agendas of major international conferences and to provide advice on the content of international conferences that address the issue of women and sport

The aims had changed in order, and some had been combined since Brighton, but of particular note is that aims three and five are new and signify greater interaction with sporting networks. WSI interpreted this as a threat to its own operations because

Darlison (1995j) argued aims two and three from the IWG (above) were the same as WSI's (1995b) aims below:

1. To identify issues of importance to girls and women in sport and physical activity.
2. Serve as an international contact point providing and exchanging info, expertise and support.
3. Operate as an effective international advocacy group to increase the participation and advancement of girls and women in sport and physical activity at all levels.
4. Work to ensure that sport becomes a more female-friendly institution.

Revisions were to be expected once the Brighton Conference had passed. However, when combined with Darlison's (1995j) 'knowledge deficit' because the WSI representative in Ottawa was ill for some of the meeting, the result was a confusing and tense period between the SMOs.

The next IWG annual meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia, in July 1995 confirmed the initial thoughts of WSI's executive board that the IWG was untrustworthy (Darlison, 1995k). White (1995c) had previously acknowledged WSI's continued dialogue with the IOC, offered support, and agreed 'not to compete for resources' (see section 8.5). Yet during the meeting, the IWG stated they would approach the IOC and International Sport Federations (IFs) to become members which not only 'frustrated' Darlison (1995l) because of her previous correspondence with White, but also because of her continuing uncertainty as to what exactly the IWG was. She relayed her thoughts and experiences of the Jakarta meeting to the WSI Executive Board and Brackenridge (1995d) responded:

> 'You appear to be fighting a lonely battle against an ever-expanding and well-resourced IWG. I fully agree with you that the situation of the IWG status is hopelessly muddled. I think they are progressing on the basis of optimistic pragmatism – in other words, they'll keep going "til the bubble bursts and/or the money runs out"'.

The impact of resources was becoming ever-greater in the relationship between WSI and IWG. Darlison (1995l), who in her role as WSI representative was one of the few representatives attending IWG meetings not to have expenses paid for, gradually became aware that 'having those sorts of resources makes a big difference'. Over the

next year, the NGO element of WSI was both a blessing and a curse. The following sections will show how WSI managed to directly impact both the UN and IOC and create task forces on issues such as the female athlete triad, drug testing and sexual harassment. But in doing so, it spread its initiatives so wide that in November, Darlison (1995o) claimed ‘the workload has been full-time for much of the time, but the pay well below the poverty line’. Conversely, the IWG was able to advance the status of women and sport globally because of their representational links. They were certainly not rich, but simply having the option of the GB Sports Council funding White to attend and present a keynote lecture at an upcoming Women and Sport Conference in Egypt was indicative of IWG’s development and WSI’s problems (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

Both WSI and IWG had similar objectives towards a similar overarching goal. Thus, delineating different agendas while approaching similar resources was challenging and frustrating (Coakley interview; Kluka interview). The relationship between the two during this time was ‘difficult’ (Brackenridge interview) and ‘delicate’ (Neill interview), but is indicative of how social movement development is not linear and involves challenges and tensions between SMOs. Despite White (interview, 2013) being ‘unsure as to how great the tensions were’, it is clear WSI were unhappy at IWG’s shift during its initial development. Brackenridge (interview) believes the clash of statuses between the NGO and governmental organisations was ‘fuzzy’, and still exists currently. But, she was also aware that (some) governments had started to provide funding for such endeavours and admitted ‘we couldn’t have done the scale of events they [IWG] did’. The structural organisation of each SMO both enabled and constrained them in various ways. Both WSI and IWG had socio-organisational resources through their networks and contacts, but crucially IWG had greater material resources through its financial dependency on the GB Sports Council (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). However, this also meant IWG had to cater to the Sports Council’s ideology and direction. Finally, an overall observation is that this tense relationship was again kept private. Both Barker (interview) and Neill (interview) believed that despite the different views of each group, there was a strong mutual respect for the work each was achieving. The following sections outline the significance of the work both SMOs were undertaking.

8.3 IWG Progress

This section explores how the IWG utilised its network and financial resources, via regional and organisational representatives, to focus on regional and national lobbying for women and sport. A major facilitator for this work was the Brighton Declaration which symbolically 'belonged' to the IWG because it emanated from the Brighton Conference (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The following three major examples from Egypt, the Philippines, and Colombia highlight how the IWG was progressing toward its own objectives, while also developing the W&SM globally through increased interactions with non-Western women. This section is not a definitive attempt to provide socio-historical developments for women and sport in these countries. Section 5.4 outlined how these histories are gradually emerging in contemporary scholarship, but much more needs to be undertaken. The section ends with considerations about elements of colonial discourse resulting from these countries engaging with the Declaration.

Egypt

Section 7.4.3 identified that an unintended consequence of the Brighton Conference was the informal networks created by groups of women who had previously never had the opportunity to meet their peers in one location. Nabilah Abdulrahman attended Brighton as Dean of Women's Physical Education at the University of Alexandria, Egypt. She claims that after Brighton, 'everybody was encouraged to think and work towards changing women and sport in their countries' (Abdulrahman interview). Crucially for White (interview, 2013), Abdulrahman had the 'authority to put on such a conference on women and sport' in Egypt. Countries from North Africa and the Middle East attended the International Conference for Women and Sports at the University of Alexandria in October 1995 with the aim being to 'discuss the situation of women and sport conditions in the Arab world' (Abdulrahman interview). Therefore it was not an IWG-led conference, but it did begin the foundations for what was to become the Sports Association of Arab Women (SAAW) (Abdulrahman interview; White interview, 2013). According to Abdulrahman (interview), the conference was also a catalyst for greater NOC and IOC involvement in the Arab States.

The Brighton Declaration had previously been translated into Arabic and White (interview, 2013), who had been invited by Abdulrahman to present a keynote about

the Brighton Conference and the IWG, thought it 'absolutely amazing' that it was politically debated by Arab countries. Abdulrahman (interview) was crucial during this process and claimed 'we worked hard with Syria (Mrs. Nour El Houda Karfool) and the Minister of Sports to approve SAAW so that it would fall under the umbrella of the Arab League and the Council of Ministries for Youth and Sports'. In March 1996, the Council not only approved the formation of both SAAW and the Egyptian Women's Sport Association (IWG, 1998a), but also endorsed the Brighton Declaration which was 'sent to all the Faculties of Physical Education in Egypt and the Arab countries' (Abdulrahman interview). SAAW was an independent group and not an IWG regional Arab network, but SAAW's origins link directly with the IWG. Future work needs to consider and examine the impact that the Brighton Declaration – constructed and formed in the West – had on the education system of non-Western countries (Ashcroft, 2001; Connell, 2007; Marchand and Parpart, 1995). Biennial conferences for women and sport followed until 1999, with representatives from countries such as Algeria, Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, and Syria all attending, so the Declaration could have had a wide influence but research has yet to be published. Moreover for the W&SM, under the presidency of Margaret Talbot from 1997, IAPESGW hosted their 2001 Congress at Abdulrahman's University and have since enhanced their links with Arab women.

Philippines

There is disagreement about when the first Asian Conference for Women and Sport occurred (Kluka interview). From the late-1990s, JWS was directly influenced by the IWG in its origins, development, and assistance in hosting national and regional conferences, as well as the fourth IWG World Conference in Kumamoto in 2006. Yet in March 1996, the International Council for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance (ICHPER-SD), the Philippines Sports Commission, and Women's Sports Foundation Philippines organised the ICHPER-SD Asian Conference on Women and Sport in Manila, Indonesia (Ogasawara, 2011). Representatives from Bangladesh, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines and Vietnam all participated (IWG, 1998a). Similarly to Abdulrahman at the Brighton Conference, White (interview, 2013) stated that Josefina Vibar-Bauzon, Commissioner of the Philippine Sports Commission, 'had gone back and said, "this is something we want to do"'.

Darlene Kluka had led one of the sessions at Brighton and was also involved with ICHPER-SD. After Brighton, she asked the IWG whether the Brighton Declaration could be taken and 'tailored to wherever' (Kluka interview). White (interview, 2013)

confirmed this by saying ‘we were pretty happy, relaxed, and very pleased’ that countries were using the Brighton Declaration as the basis of discussion, awareness raising and commitment to women and sport; ‘that was exactly the whole purpose of it’. In Manila, there was recognition of the challenges in adequately reflecting the range of different cultures and needs throughout the countries represented. Kluka (interview) believes all in attendance agreed ‘something is better than nothing’, and so, ‘we got everybody in a room and said, “alright, here is the mother organisation piece, what is it we need to tweak or do a little differently in order to make it work for Asia?”’ (Kluka interview). The result meant:

> ‘The Brighton Declaration was modified to the Manila Declaration. The basic principles of the Brighton Declaration remained within the Manila Declaration, with the principle amendments to respect cultural matters, and a covenant was designed whereby the document was signed by representatives from sixteen Asian nations’ (IWG, 1998a, p. 8).

Under the auspices of ICHPER-SD, the Manila Conference had helped create a Brighton Declaration for Asia (Kluka interview). The Manila Declaration was the first example of the homogenous language within the Brighton Declaration being amended to be culturally specific to the needs of Asian women (Ashcroft, 2001; Spivak, 1999). The particular (Asian women’s needs within their political context) had been located in the general (the grand narrative of the Brighton Declaration). There was ‘no formal advice’ (White interview, 2013) on how to achieve this, and so the Manila Declaration attempted to link Asian rhetoric with universally-agreed principles to reduce ‘claims of universality, gestures of exclusion, reading from the centre, and grand erasure’ (Connell, 2007, p. 45-7; see section 3.2). Unfortunately once again, there is very little available reference to its impact.

Colombia

Latin America has been acknowledged throughout this thesis as a region of the world with which the W&SM had struggled to connect. Sue Neill had been made the IWG representative for the Americas after Brighton because of her job in Sport Canada and expressed during the 1996 Annual Meeting the inappropriateness of her role. Instead, she thought it more beneficial to have Caribbean, South American, and North American representatives to account for the differences across the regions. For the 1997 Annual Meeting, Clemencia Anaya Maya (Colombia) and Anra Bobb (Trinidad)

were invited but only Anaya Maya could attend. White (interview, 2013) acknowledged the representatives' model 'did not work perfectly by any means' but was useful in attempting to achieve the IWG's objectives.

Anaya Maya had a crucial impact for women and sport in Colombia. A country report filed by Christine Shelton (undated) – who had for so long been 'the' contact point between the W&SM and Latin America – reveals the Colombian National Sport Federation ('Coldeportes') and the NOC sent the male President of a national sport federation to the Brighton Conference. Sending only one man to a women and sport conference was deemed 'more the norm than the exception for Latin America' by Shelton (undated) but he returned and encouraged the NOC and Coldeportes to organise a women and sport meeting. When interviewed, Shelton claimed the male-dominated sports structures 'looked to their right and then to their left and they saw their secretaries … and they would tap these people and say, "you are making the coffee, so why don't you go ahead and do the women's sport?"' (Shelton and Bourque interview). Moreover, the IOC announcement on women's leadership quotas (see section 8.5) meant women in some countries were thrust into positions without support (Shelton and Bourque interview). Anaya Maya was a 'well-educated' Director of the NOC Education Academy who had been unable to attend Brighton but believed in the work being undertaken; so was assigned the job of organising the first women and sport conference (Shelton and Bourque interview).

Both November 1995 and November 1996 have been provided as dates for the conference in Bogota and the formation of the Colombian Women and Sport Association (Anaya Maya, 2010; Shelton, undated; Shelton and Bourque interview). The conference focused on finding ways to make women more integral to the culture of sport. The first topic of the conference – which also included prevalent topics such as women in sports leadership and stereotypes about masculinisation though participation – was how Colombia could implement the Brighton Declaration principles (Shelton, undated). The outcome was the official establishment of the Colombian Women and Sport Association, meetings with the Ministry of Education, a presentation at an IOC meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, and an invitation for Anaya Maya to represent the Americas and the Caribbean with Neill.

Gradually however, resistance grew to the Association. Leaders of Coldeportes and the NOC 'declared the Bogota Conference a meeting of "feministas" who were trying to form a "syndicato" (union) to make trouble. This challenge was very severe and I believe it put many of the participating women and the Association in an awkward position' (Shelton, undated). The meeting may have been viewed as a threat to changing the masculine values entrenched within the male-dominated political sporting

landscape (Dunning, 1999; Lavrin, 2005). Indeed, the strength of gendered opposition was further illustrated when a prominent male figure who attended the conference 'was too drunk to even say his name, that's how mortified he was that he was connected with us' (Shelton and Bourque interview).

Across Latin America, further developments were occurring. Neill and Talbot had both presented at a conference in Venezuela (IWG, 1997) where the Brighton Declaration was 'recommended to be considered as a model for development in countries in South America'. At the IOC World Conference for Women and Sport (see section 8.5) in Lausanne, a group of women created an informal contact group. By May 1997 the group had expanded, met with the umbrella group of South American NOCs (ODESUR), and helped to facilitate 'the Olympic Committees of fifteen countries to endorse the Brighton Declaration' as well as set up seminars to explore its development (IWG, 1998a). Moreover, the second Colombian National Conference on Women and Sport was staged in Medellin, Colombia, in March 1998. The topics were culturally specific to the country and included masculinity, labour, and nutrition, yet the main summary of the conference was that 'the concerns for women in sport, physical activity and recreation in Colombia are similar to those of other countries around the world' (Shelton, undated). However, Colombia's heterosexual patriarchy (Lavrin, 2005) was brought into sharp reality when 'one reporter during the question and answer period maintained that women football players were all lesbians and that the public did not want to hear about them' (Shelton, undated). What was more unfortunate was that this was said in front of the attending NOC President which left all wondering whether the conference had been positive (Shelton, undated).

Despite the work undertaken by Anaya Maya, cultural beliefs were still constraining progress for women and sport. Yet the growing influence of the IWG can be recognised when Anaya Maya hosted a meeting in December 1998. She combined the IWG visit with meetings with NOC senior representatives and newly-elected governmental officials and ministers. By this point, both Talbot – who had convinced White (interview, 2013) of IAPESGW's importance and shift in direction since she had become President to allow them to forward a representative – Oglesby as the newly elected WSI President, and a representative from EWS, had joined the IWG so were in attendance. Talbot (interview) claims the meeting 'opened doors' for Anaya Maya:

> 'The NOC had clearly given a very bad impression and doors were opened for Clemencia which had never been opened before; and for the first time the Department for Women's Affairs and the Department for Education actually talked to each other'.

White, Western, middle-class women such as Oglesby, Shelton, Talbot, and White were enabling a non-Western woman access to lever political change for women and sport. The comparisons to colonialism can be easily perceived but instead, it should be considered that the women were using up to thirty years of political knowledge and expertise to position and partner the benefits of sport and physical activity with women's development and signify how Colombia had the opportunity to lead the region with regard to women and sport and physical activity (IWG, 1998b; Talbot interview; Kriesi, 2004; Tilly, 1995). Following the RMT and PPT approaches to social movements, the development of the W&SM had, up to this point, been able to mobilise and control resources to the extent that a women and sport SMO was directly engaging with the political institution at the core of the POS in Colombia (Kriesi, 2004, McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Over the next two days, the Brighton Declaration was briefed to the Colombian President and then signed by the Government of Colombia. Once more however, its impact is undetermined.

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A common theme running through the examples from Egypt, the Philippines, and Colombia is that they were not hosted, but facilitated, by the IWG. Hargreaves (2000, p. 227) offers a strong critique that after emerging from Brighton, the IWG was 'the same women, with the same interests, the same ideas and the same connections reproducing their influence in many and different situations. They comprise a new elite – in effect, a "women's international sport establishment"'. The comparative wealth of resources compared to WSI did mean that the IWG could attend more meetings, conferences, and seminars globally (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Furthermore, regional and organisational representatives lobbied on behalf of their affiliation and the IWG to engage in dialogue.

However, the activism after Brighton was not as straightforward as Hargreaves' (2000) comment assumes. For example, Fasting (interview) stated how some parts of the world did not have 'umbrella organisations so it was a bit difficult' to connect. This barrier was, in some cases, overcome by another theme seen from the examples in this section because the main contacts were non-Western women in positions of power. Abdulrahman, Vibar-Bauzon, and Anaya Maya all occupied senior roles within sport or physical education establishments, so there was a common identity amongst women who were in relatively powerful positions in sport but still encountered

significant constraints because of their identity (Ashcroft et al., 1995; Dunning, 1999; Johnston, 2014).

Another theme was the influence of the Brighton Declaration. It can easily be perceived as a Western-based, politically-oriented document being taken around the world to help the homogenous 'woman'. But this section has shown the way this was achieved was more complex than simply privileging a Western discourse (Hargreaves, 2000; Marchand and Parpart, 1995; Mohanty, 1995) and reproducing a dominant influence. Rather than 'reading from the centre' (i.e. West) and overlooking non-Western ideas (Connell, 2007), the Declaration was agreed upon by a diverse cohort of global delegates with expertise of specific sporting issues women encountered in their countries or regions (see chapter seven). The examples in the section showcase how the Declaration was a powerful mechanism to mobilise 'action activism' (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004) because women recognised it afforded them a powerful resource to use within patriarchal sport structures. For example, senior personnel from the 2010-2014 IWG Secretariat had previously held roles in the Finnish government, and they claimed the Brighton Declaration was 'the initiator' to go ahead and speak in national meetings and in front of decision makers because 'when they saw that there were so many countries, ministries, and sport organisations who had signed it, everybody wanted to be part of it in that sense' (IWG interview).

The Declaration was not forced upon these countries. Rather, it was tailored to the culturally-specific societal issues and POSs which influenced sport in that country (Ashcroft, 2001; Giugni, 1998; Minh-ha, 1989; Spivak, 1999). However, because it is a lobbying document with predominantly subjective outcomes, it is particularly difficult to analyse the direct impact of the Declaration (Matthews, 2012; IWG, 2014a). Examples such as those provided above give an indication of its utility as a powerful political resource, rather than just a text-based cultural artefact (Johnston, 2014).

The Declaration's traceability to the IWG was not lost on Darlison (1995l) who believed IWG were '"playing smart" and getting a great deal of publicity and recognition by "monitoring and coordinating" and getting others (e.g. regional governments) to do the actual work'. Indeed, the IWG can be seen as addressing almost all of its aims by utilising the Declaration – a point White (1995c) used to explain to Darlison how, in her opinion, the IWG was not expanding organisationally. The next sections will show how WSI's approach, with the assistance of other SMOs, was much more direct in order to reach its objective of change for women and sport.

8.4 The United Nations Beijing Platform for Action (1995)

There were three UN Conferences for Women from 1975 to 1985 (Mexico City, Mexico, 1975; Copenhagen, Denmark, 1980; Nairobi, Kenya, 1985). Before these, conventions and resolutions had been passed since the 1950s (see section 5.3.1). The Conferences recognised the worldwide oppression of women by focusing on certain themes; equality, development, and peace were chosen in 1975; education, employment, and health were added as sub-themes in 1980; and measures to overcome obstacles to women's equality and development in 1985.

The themes emerged from discussions about women's role in development. Prior to the 1970s, women were argued to be marginalised as economic development progressed and their role in making economic contributions ignored (Saavedra, 2012). Broadly entitled a Women in Development (WID) approach, its liberal intention did not challenge gender relations and patriarchy. During the 1970s, 'a new approach to the development of women, one that built on and celebrated women's culture, and emphasised women-only projects' (Marchand and Parpart, 1995, p. 13) was theorised. Women and Development (WAD) was a more radical approach aimed at limiting women's oppression in patriarchal projects. The approach soon faced criticism for ignoring difference amongst women and this critical scholarship added to the considerations for postcolonial feminism (see section 3.3) and women's activism in the non-West. In accordance with the UN Decade for Women and UN World Conferences for Women, a new approach, Gender and Development (GAD), was premised. Greater intersections with race, class and empowerment ideology shifted attention from 'women' to 'the social construction of gender roles and relations' (Marchand and Parpart, 1995, p. 14). The connections between power, gender relations, and development have been focused upon ever since (Saavedra, 2012).

In addition to the UN Conferences for Women have been parallel NGO Forums where thousands of people, the majority women, have discussed, amended, and redefined the Conference themes, as well as suggest others to be debated such as wages, law, and research.

The 4th UN Conference for Women in Beijing, China, in September 1995, allowed for a decade of reflection since the Nairobi Conference, and identify critical areas for concern which would form the base of a Platform for Action – 'an agenda for women's empowerment…requiring a strong commitment on the part of governments, international organisations and institutions at all levels' (UN, 1995). WSI and IWG recognised the importance of the UN Conference for Women and accompanying NGO

Forum in Beijing as a major opportunity to acknowledge in its own right 'the importance of sport and physical activity to women's lives in all parts of the world' (Darlison, 1994n). Previously, sport and physical activity were subsumed under women's health and generally considered 'somewhat tangential to the "serious" concerns of women's lives' (Darlison, 1995h), such as poverty, literacy, war, genital mutilation, and human trafficking. This section outlines how WSI in particular, but also IWG and national SMOs, manoeuvred women and sport into major non-sporting discourse; another key milestone in the development of the W&SM yet to be examined in scholarly literature.

Background

In November 1994, Darlison wrote a comprehensive report to the UN for WSI to have NGO official status and accreditation, allowing it to be eligible to attend the NGO Forum which ran parallel to the Conference. At the same time, the IWG had staged its first annual meeting in Ottawa, Canada, and was advised by the GB Sports Council that 'the greatest chance for success comes through a concerted international approach' (IWG, 1994a) before also looking at both Observer and NGO Forum status (IWG, 1994b). Due to the WSI representative being ill and unable to attend all of the IWG meeting (see section 8.2), the detailed account of the minutes from this meeting did not reach Darlison until at least April 1995; a period of strained communications between the two SMOs and a month after the draft Beijing Platform for Action was being written in New York, USA.

Darlison's reflections on the NGO Forum in New York in March 1995 provide a unique perspective on the political manoeuvrings undertaken to get three references to sport and physical activity into the Draft Platform for Action. CAAWS and Womensport Australia had included sport and physical activity in their government's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) reports. For CAAWS, this resulted in a sentence getting through the regional Forum and into the Draft NGO Platform as a strategic objective under health; the third of ten critical areas identified. This is an example of the gradual impact national women and sport SMOs were facilitating through institutionalism (Kriesi, 2004; Krook and Mackay, 2011). The barriers women faced in sport were recognised nationally and redefined under broader objectives to suit global discourse for women generally (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Grey and Sawer, 2008; see chapter five).

Darlison was joined by CAAWS executive-director Marg McGregor, and later, Orie Rogo-Manduli from Kenya, at the NGO Forum in New York and they soon realised that sport was regarded as a luxury in many countries, whereas physical activity could

be linked to empowerment, human rights, and health which were much more easily understood despite not being a reality for many. Moreover, there was an impetus for action rather than words from previous conferences. Darlison (1995h) admitted that utilising her governmental (Womensport Australia) and NGO (WSI) expertise was 'an advantage'. She also reflected that lobbying with McGregor had, 'at the risk of sounding unduly modest (Joke!!!) worked miracles and we ended up managing to get two more statements in the Draft NGO Platform for Action before it went up' (Darlison, 1995h). Submitting statements into the Draft Platform for Action was just the first obstacle because it then had to be accepted by the NGO Forum, by the Commission for the Status of Women (CSW), and then pass through discussions to determine whether any amendments, revisions, or additions were to be included in the governmental Platform for Action.

The majority of NGOs did not have consultative status to influence CSW but were given accreditation to attend as observers, including WSI. However, Darlison managed to secure a pass so shared the draft NGO document with people 'on the floor', including Iivula-Ithana who was representing the Namibian government in one capacity and IWG in another. Iivula-Ithana amended the document but Darlison did not believe all the strategic objectives had been addressed. Thus, Darlison (1995h) used UN computers to amend the document and get it photocopied onto letter-headed Namibian government paper (as Iivula-Ithana had to leave the next day), so that it would be placed on the desks of all government delegates the following Monday. Darlison (1995f) had learnt that the amendments would have more chance of being accepted if they were tabled by a non-Western country – an example of the informal constraints of political institutions (Krook and Mackay, 2011). Namibia's increasing focus on the girl child as an issue meant Rogo-Manduli nearly raised the amendments from Kenya's delegation, but eventually Namibia successfully tabled two new statements (Health and Education) and added a sentence to one other (Health). Additionally, the Brighton Declaration is mentioned in correspondence but it is uncertain what influence it had.

Darlison (1995f) reflected the conference in New York was 'crazy' and that, despite creating the wording for much of the document Iivula-Ithana helped put forward, 'you can be sure that WSI will receive absolutely no credit for all of this and at one level it doesn't matter as long as the issue gets up but it's not a very cooperative working environment'. Her comment is indicative of the work SMOs may individually undertake toward the ultimate 'end-goal' of the movement, yet for which they receive little recognition (Johnston, 2014).

Darlison's comment also belies the continuingly strained relationship between WSI and IWG at this time. She had been surprised to hear the IWG described as an 'intergovernmental group' after Iivula-Ithana was given special dispensation, meaning she had to 'sit in a special place on the floor and not with her government delegation' (Darlison, 1995h). The description enhanced WSI concerns that the IWG's role was expanding (see section 8.1). Moreover, White's (1995b) commendation of how WSI and IWG had worked together also made WSI sense that people were not grasping just how important Darlison's and McGregor's political manoeuvrings had been to ensure either Namibia or Kenya tabled the statements (Brackenridge, 1995c).

Beijing UN Women Conference and NGO Forum

According to Darlison (1995m), over 20,000 women attended the NGO Forum in Beijing which provided fantastic opportunities once more for networking. A number of W&SM SMO personnel were in attendance and Darlison (1995m) managed to meet with Anita DeFrantz (see section 8.5), take Shelton (WSFUS) 'under her wing', and network with non-sport-oriented organisations and many key influential women who were gradually becoming aware of the benefits of physical activity and sport for women and girls.

However, the UN Women Conference itself was 'a different ball game' (Darlison, 1995m) predominantly affected by complex bureaucracy and formal constraints which meant that any lobbying and amendments to the final Platform for Action were very challenging (Krook and Mackay, 2011). Despite being unsuccessful in late revisions, Darlison (1995m) was pleased that the following statements were part of the final Beijing Platform for Action (UN, 1995):

> Strategic objective – Education and Training of Women
> B.4. Develop non-discriminatory education and training.
> Paragraph 83 (m): Provide accessible recreational and sports facilities and establish and strengthen gender-sensitive programmes for girls and women of all ages in education and community institutions and support the advancement of women in all areas of athletics and physical activity, including coaching, training and administration, and as participants at the national, regional and international levels;
>
> Strategic objective – Women and Health
> C.2. Strengthen preventive programmes that promote women's health.

> Paragraph 108 (f): Create and support programmes in the educational system, in the workplace and in the community to make opportunities to participate in sport, physical activity and recreation available to girls and women of all ages on the same basis as they are made available to men and boys;
>
> Strategic Objective – The Girl Child
> L.4. Eliminate discrimination against girls in education, skills development and training.
> Paragraph 280 (d): Promote the full and equal participation of girls in extracurricular activities, such as sports, drama and cultural activities.

The statement paragraphs echo the different development approaches described at the start of this section. The WID approach is seen in the second and third statement paragraphs above, where greater opportunities and access to sport and physical activity for women and girls were called for in equal measure to those for men and boys. The first statement paragraph followed a WAD approach, for 'gender-sensitive programmes for girls and women' are stated to be strengthened in order to support the advancement of women in male-dominated roles. In addition to the statement paragraphs, there was also recognition under the *Women in Power and Decision-making* strategic objective that the 'underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions in the areas of art, culture, sports, the media, education, religion and the law have prevented women from having a significant impact on many key institutions' (UN, 1995, para. 183). This was symbolic of the GAD approach and how the relations of power within different institutions had worked to deny women fair representation (Connell, 1987). Overall, the strategic objectives further demonstrated how sport and physical activity for women were being re-negotiated in global POSs to suit broader trends to develop and strengthen educational programmes and eliminate discrimination against women. The impact of these statements for development, women, and sport continues to facilitate much contemporary scholarship (see Chawansky, 2008; Hayhurst et al., 2011; Saavedra, 2012).

Similar to the Brighton Declaration, the Platform for Action was a globally agreed document that was not a legally binding treaty or convention. However, it was 'something concrete' (Darlison, 1995h) for women and sport, and a 'very strong moral imperative used in conjunction with a range of other treaties' (Darlison, 1995m). It was another key material resource for the movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Unlike the relationship between IWG and the Brighton Declaration though, WSI's

activism is harder to trace to the Platform for Action because their input was part of a wide-ranging document regarding women in general, rather than being located in the domain of sport. A number of internal communications show Darlison's frustrations at other SMOs who were present in Beijing (including IWG) associating themselves with the Platform for Action. However, WSI were quick to recognise that the statements were another resource to maintain sustained collective action for the W&SM (Crossley, 2002; Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Freeman and Johnson, 1999). IWG had the W&SM's self-produced resource in the form of the Brighton Declaration, whereas WSI played a major role in making sure the UN Platform for Action was an aggregated resource for the W&SM (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; see section 2.2.2.2). September 1995 was also the same month that, after a period of sustained lobbying, the IOC made definitive progress for women and sport by introducing leadership targets, as will be explored in the next section.

8.5 IOC Developments

8.5.1 Background and Context

Women's subordination and exclusion from the Olympic Movement had long been known to women and sport SMOs (Hargreaves, 1994; Fasting, 1993a; 2000; Talbot, 2000). The institutionalism of sport *by* men *for* men had been well-established within the Olympic Movement and women struggled to make any impact. For example, it was not until nearly nine decades after the IOC was formed that Flor Isava Fonseca and Pirjo Häggman became the first two women to be co-opted as members of the IOC in 1981, with the former also becoming the first woman elected to the IOC Executive Board in 1990. The first women's team sport, women's volleyball, was added in 1964 with synchronised swimming and rhythmic gymnastics becoming the first female-only sports in 1984. Such marginal advances toward equal Olympic opportunities are often seen as inflated determinants of women's progress in sport (Lenskyj, 2013). But these advances are difficult to address because 'there are relatively few documented and analysed records of women's experiences within the system' (Talbot, 2000, p. 4). This sub-section is one of the few accounts to make sense of how the W&SM aided in influencing the IOC to establish an IOC Women and Sport Working Group, a World Conference on Women and Sport, and leadership quotas for women within the IOC, during the mid-1990s.

The IOC had its Centennial Congress in September 1994 in Paris, France, where its membership met in 'session' with the NOCs, IFs, and invited others, to discuss prominent issues for the Olympic Movement globally. Bruce Kidd, a sociologist of sport, had accepted his invitation to the advisory board of WSI and with Fasting, represented the SMO in Paris. Fasting (1994a, emphasis in original) reflected that the Congress was a male-dominated, 'extremely depressive environment' with few women speakers, and women were 'very seldom mentioned in any of the speeches. *If* they are it is by male journalists or male athletes'. In reaction to the 'gender-blind conference' occurring in front of them, Fasting (1994a) and Kidd made 'fun' for themselves by lobbying potential future Olympic host city parties toward a greater representation of women as directors.

Indeed, similar to other conferences mentioned in this thesis thus far, there were tremendous opportunities for networking (Ferree and Mueller, 2004). Fasting (1994a) notes how she learnt about a women and sport conference occurring in China the following year, and in speaking to female IOC members such as Mary Glen-Haig and Häggman and Norway's national newspaper, suggested a women and sport commission. In the plenary session of the Congress, Fasting (1994a) claims IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch 'mentioned in particular, women (very interesting – he is smart)', and found it 'quite interesting' that one of the 61 points included in the final Congress Report concerned women because, 'this wasn't said very much during those four days but perhaps "someone" in the programme-committee thought it was important'. Within the sub-theme titled *High-Level Competitive Sport and its Organisation*, point 26 of the Congress Report states that 'women's accession to positions as sports leaders must be encouraged and accelerated' (IOC, 1994, p. 5). Additionally, under the *Sport and the Mass Media* theme, point 59 states 'men's and women's performances should be given the same consideration and respect' (IOC, 1994, p. 10).

Over the following months, Darlison (1994n; 1995a) continued to lobby the IOC and position WSI as a group which, despite being a representative on the IWG was also a distinct separate organisation, could aid the IOC with regard to its enhanced focus on women and sport. In February 1995, she states she was called by her former boss at the Australian NOC, Kevan Gosper. Gosper was a former IOC Vice-President (1990-94) and told Darlison (1995d) that her correspondence was received 'extremely positively' and that a 'very "high powered" Commission has been set up to study and follow up the outcomes of the Paris Congress, (so perhaps Kari your words did not fall on deaf ears), and I believe that out of this, it is just possible that a Commission of Women may be set up'.

In further correspondence, Darlison (1995e) bemoaned to senior IOC advisor Fekrou Kidane that many women had 'given up in frustration at what they see as the IOC's intransigence and lack of action when it comes to promoting the advancement of women in sport'. Indeed, during the preceding months WSI had distanced itself from a radical women and sport SMO called Atlanta Plus who were a group of French lawyers that 'ridiculed Muslim women who chose to cover' for the upcoming Olympic Games in Atlanta, USA, in 1996 (Talbot interview). Darlison (1995b) dismissed the group as a 'flea on the elephants back', providing an example of the complexity of SMOs in operation. WSI had been characterised as the radical SMO in the W&SM until now, but believed Atlanta Plus' arguments were too radical and were harming the development of the W&SM as a whole (Johnston, 2014). Instead, her straightforward, constructive lobbying appealed to the IOC and after acknowledging the existence of groups such as Atlanta Plus, Kidane (1995) told Darlison 'the only concerned and very constructive organisation on women and sport is yours'. He also recommended to the IOC Executive Board that it should cooperate with WSI. Moreover, Darlison (1995g) used the wealth of knowledge she accrued at the NGO Forum in New York to alert Kidane to the 'both overwhelming and basic' issues non-Western women in sport encountered. Particularly, Darlison (1995g) states that 'the sorts of programmes which would be of assistance to women in Europe or North America would not necessarily be appropriate for women in Africa, Asia or South America', and there 'is an enormous opportunity' for the IOC to act in regard to development programmes (Hirshman, 1995; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999). Due in part once more to Gosper, Darlison was offered an expenses-paid meeting with Kidane.

This 'long and a sensitive process' (Darlison, 1995i) took place during Darlison's preparation and involvement in the NGO Forum in New York, and the strained relations with IWG. These became more tense when a few months after White (1995c) had said 'we should not compete for [IOC] resources', the IWG stated it would continue to approach the IOC about having a representative attend its next meeting (Darlison, 1995l).

8.5.2 Leadership Quotas

A number of important meetings had occurred within the IOC since its Centennial Congress and details predominantly come from Talbot (2000; interview). She was at an IOC Sport for All Conference in the late-1990s and on display were

some reports which included meeting minutes portraying the process of the resultant minimum percentage quotas for women in leadership roles being set by the IOC. Talbot (interview) said 'a lot of people wouldn't go through them because they are not interested … but I got riveted because it actually showed how tough it was for Anita DeFrantz and how leading people were quite resistant'. DeFrantz competed in the Montreal Olympics in 1976, was involved with the Organising Committee of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, and was elected as a member of the IOC in 1986. Her reflection that she was 'an outsider and once I got inside I worked on making sure there was sports for women' (DeFrantz interview) symbolises the gendered impact of political practice so inherent to the informal political constraints of institutions (Krook and Mackay, 2011). This section provides one of the first indications of the processes involved with securing the leadership quotas.

The minutes 'revealed a range of forms of resistance aiming to protect the status quo' (Talbot, 2000) within the IOC. One recorded dismissal by an IOC Member of the potential targets was because 'a quota of 10% women was not possible for developing countries … It was difficult to find women who were able or willing to take up positions in African countries'. Such examples have since been re-examined as mechanisms to prohibit women's advancement in patriarchal institutions (Fasting, 2000; Henry et al., 2004; Henry and Robinson, 2010; Hovden, 2010; Pfister, 2010b; Talbot, 2000). However, patriarchy was not always expressed solely by men. Isava Fonseca is recorded as saying women 'were merely not interested in playing a role in sports leadership because of other demands placed upon them' (Talbot, 2000). Indeed, Fasting (1994b) had previously told Darlison, 'I think that system is so "touchy" and "dangerous", or the women believe that it is so. I believe it is very difficult for them, particularly if they are interested in making an IOC career'. The power of gendered and cultural hegemonies ensconced in the POS of the IOC was strong enough that it constrained women from speaking out against the patriarchy for fear of separation and exclusion (Talbot, 2000; Krook and Mackay, 2011). Due to the strength of opposition by vocal IOC Members, at a meeting in April 1995 DeFrantz 'agreed to drop the call for quotas' (Talbot, 2000). Gosper, who was in contact with Darlison throughout this period, re-proposed the idea but it was rejected and 'the issue appeared to be closed' (Talbot, 2000).

It is not until September that the issue re-appeared. Talbot (2000) states that the IOC President personally intervened in a meeting and completely redirected discussions toward women's participation in sports governing bodies. Samaranch suggested the Olympic Movement introduce a progressive quota that 'at least 10% of seats on decision-making bodies were occupied by women in the year 2000 and 20%

by the year 2005 and hoped a proposal could be with him by the end of the week'. In subsequent discussions, DeFrantz focussed on the importance of the 'at least' part of Samaranch's statement, there was reference to the Brighton Declaration but it is undetermined to what extent, and other constructive suggestions about developing women's leadership. Talbot (2000) surmises:

> 'It was very clear that the IOC President's personal intervention had been crucial. What is not known, however, is how he was informed of the lack of support for the issue being shown by the Commission, or the ways in which it was decided that his intervention should be made'.

It is interesting to note that September 1995 is both the same month that the IOC endorsed the Brighton Declaration (IWG, 1998a) and the UN published the Beijing Platform for Action (UN, 1995). White (interview, 2013) said she was 'surprised but very pleased' at the IOC endorsement of the Brighton Declaration and although there is no evidence from archival documents of the IWG directly lobbying the IOC, the POS for sport was shifting toward greater acceptance for women's inclusion. When interviewed, Talbot (interview) stated 'I think Samaranch knew the time was now, you know, that if the IOC didn't show some kind of commitment they would be even more criticised'. The Brighton Conference (which was supported by the IOC) and the Brighton Declaration had been used by all W&SM SMOs to enhance the status of women and sport to groups such as international and regional governmental organisations and sport federations (IWG, 1998a). Moreover, the UN (1995) had by now referenced women's sport and physical activity in the Beijing Platform for Action. The POS of sport was beginning to gradually move away from patriarchal domination (Giugni, 1998; Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). Organisations were increasingly being made to be held accountable for their actions regarding women and sport. Thus the structure of sport, including Samaranch and the IOC, *had* to start changing.

The proposal for quotas to be introduced by the IOC was announced in October 1995. The most powerful organisation in sport had, in principle, committed to making sure that at least a tenth of all leadership roles would be staffed by women. Upon hearing the news, Brackenridge (1995e) admitted to 'nearly falling off her breakfast stool'. Darlison (1995n) confirmed the news in more detail after receiving information from Kidane and speaking to Gosper, who told her 'the fight was long and hard to get this modest increase and that the attitude and the work of WSI has been instrumental in getting them this far'. In a sign of the positivity toward WSI, Darlison is advised to submit a proposal for an upcoming conference and Fasting would be nominated as an

IOC Member should she wish. Additionally, a few weeks later Drinkwater (1995) and Brackenridge celebrated an accepted proposal for a joint IOC Medical Commission and WSI Task Force regarding work on the Female Athlete Triad. WSI were increasingly well-connected within the IOC, primarily because of the purposive commitment shown to the SMO by its core women (Taylor, 1989), including Darlison (1995o) who was by this point working 'below the poverty line'.

There is a general sense through correspondence that the targets were 'lower than what we would have liked' (Darlison, 1995p), and even 'paltry' (Darlison, 1995n), but that they could have considerable impact and very positive consequences. Indeed, White (interview, 2013) recognised them as an important first step in stating 'the IOC are a very, very powerful voice in international sport so to have them singing from the same hymn-sheet so to speak was absolutely great'. Still however, there was vocal resistance within the IOC at subsequent meetings but 'DeFrantz stood by her proposal, supported by Gosper' (Talbot, 2000). Talbot (interview) added that DeFrantz 'was actually quite brave to push it through … you have to admire her tenacity and bravery in pushing it'. DeFrantz (interview) herself was 'delighted' that the quotas were passed but was reserved with regard to her role in the process:

> 'You know, from time to time because it is an organisation where people can speak their mind we have met with some resistance and again sometimes we move backwards instead of forwards but over time I think the IOC has become very comfortable with the notion that we have to do more for women'.

Her statement complements Talbot's (2000) assertions that DeFrantz's 'public presentation of the targets has (to my knowledge) never reflected these dynamics, or her own part in them; they are presented as unproblematic in their production, if not in their achievement'. DeFrantz's lack of public engagement signifies the general lack of public engagement by people significantly involved in the policy-making process, as well as masking the range of informal cultural politics encountered when attempting to pursue structural change (Krook and Mackay, 2011).

8.5.3 Working Group and Conference

The internal politics outlined above continued with respect to the formation of the IOC Women and Sport Working Group and an IOC Women and Sport Conference from September 1995. According to Darlison (1995m; 1996c), who had met DeFrantz in Beijing during the UN Conference for Women the same month, DeFrantz did not want an IOC Women and Sport Commission because she thought it further marginalised women in the IOC and would lead to 'all issues to do with women only ever being dumped in its lap'. Darlison (1996c) surmised that DeFrantz was 'quite forthright in her views but still suffers from the disease all female members of the IOC experience – putting the boys offside'. But DeFrantz (interview) echoed similar sentiments when interviewed twenty years later: 'I didn't believe ever that it should be a Commission exclusively to work on women's promotion because I believe that the IOC needed to always be working for the promotion of all humanity'. She got her wish in December 1995 when a Working Group was established 'to advise the IOC Executive Board and its President on the measures which should be taken to enhance women's participation in sport and in its administrative structures' (IWG, 1998a, p. 16). The W&SM had another SMO working toward a similar end-goal but located within a structure very different to other SMOs outlined thus far. Its first meeting was in Lausanne in March 1996.

Darlison (1996a) was invited by Samaranch in early-1996 to become a member of the Working Group chaired by DeFrantz and relayed its structural debates to Brackenridge:

> 'The IOC has been very resistant to establishing this Commission [sic] arguing that this "ghettoises" women's issues. They of course want women's issues to be made as important as men's so they don't need a special Commission [sic]. While the theory is terrific, when applied to the IOC this simply means they will continue to do nothing so I have been lobbying on behalf of WSI everyone I know on the IOC or anyone who has any influence with them arguing that they need to set up a special body. Maybe all those letters and phone calls do get somewhere after all!!!'

A few days later, Darlison (1996b) informed WSI's Executive Board of the other Working Group members; acknowledging the list is 'fascinating – obviously very

carefully picked to suit several IOC purposes', despite the fact DeFrantz did not know most of the members appointed (Darlison, 1996c). One of the members was Nawal el Moutawakel; a former Olympian who was also a representative of the IWG. It is not known how el Moutawakel was selected for the Working Group but her inclusion causes consternation for Darlison (1996b) who states, 'we need to have an influence on this body so if you know anyone, let's do some lobbying – fast because you can bet the IWG and other bodies will do the same'. This is further evidence for the strained relations between WSI and IWG throughout the IOC developments, at a time when WSI was 'simply out of funds' (Darlison, 1996c) and IWG were positively affecting global progress.

Planning for the first IOC World Conference on Women and Sport in Lausanne occurred from February 1996 and included session proposals developed by a range of women and sport SMOs eager to influence the IOC (Darlison, 1996c). The Conference had five themes: Women and the Olympic Movement, Women's role in Administration and Coaching, Culture and Women's Sport, Women's Education through Sport and Physical Education, and Governmental and Non-Governmental Support for Women's Sport. Darlison, DeFrantz, Fasting, and White were all among the speakers, while Kidane was the Conference Director. There was dialogue with regard to deliberately staggering the IWG and IOC World Conferences on Women and Sport:

> 'Originally we were going to have our conferences every two years but in deference to the other organisation we chose not to' (DeFrantz, interview).

> 'There was a negotiation between the IWG and the IOC about the timing of the conferences and we agreed to coordinate our dates' (White, interview 2013).

What is apparent from Darlison's (1996e) thoughts before the Conference is a sense of cohesiveness toward women and sport SMOs to make sure they utilise the 'pivotal' moment. There is an inherent collective identity in her calls for a carefully picked, trustworthy, supportive critical mass 'to stand by their principles and not be either frightened, or seduced by, their association with the IOC' (Darlison, 1996e). The Conference was to be a major opportunity to raise consciousness about women throughout the most powerful and dominant sport structures globally, but among the interviewees was a feeling that the IOC was reacting to the work of *their* movement rather than being proactive toward the issue:

> ‘I think our hosting of one [Brighton] prompted them to host one … so I think it is almost like we did this and they suddenly thought, “oh, we should be doing this”’ (Barker interview).

> ‘If the IOC had stepped up in the beginning, there probably wouldn’t have been the momentum to get the IWG going. But they didn’t, they waited until they were actually forced into it before they did anything’ (Snyder interview)

> ‘There had been so much good done by the IWG, the fact [was] that the IOC totally didn’t recognise that work and the world of women and sport began when the IOC decided to do something about it’ (Neill interview).

The pace of progress by the IOC was also not lost on Darlison (1996e) who stated that in just over one year, the IOC had managed to ‘somehow be able to elect more women than they have since women were first on the IOC. Amazing what you can do if you try – or if you have to’. As mentioned previously, the IOC *had* to because of the shifting POS facilitated by the W&SM.

Darlison (1996e) wondered whether White would ‘stick her neck out a bit’ in terms of showing leadership, before complementing her as one of the few speakers who could pressure the IOC to actions over words; an example of the respect shown between the SMOs despite their disagreements (Barker interview; Neill interview). However, Darlison (1996f) still believed that WSI was ‘the only’ SMO able to offer leadership and guidance at the international level, despite its critical lack of resources.

A further concern before the Conference resonates with Hargreaves’ (2000) claim of representing difference amongst women within the movement and postcolonial feminist arguments regarding the production of knowledge (Connell, 2007; Spivak, 1999). WSI feared that non-Westerners’ poor access to resources and power was magnified because the IOC was not financially supporting the attendance of non-Western participants. Darlison (1996f) feared ‘it would be a tragedy if we were a bunch of middle-class mainly white women’ but again, these were the women who had the resources to be able to influence change. Fasting (2000, p. 446) typifies this by stating that ‘one cannot put into practice a plan of action to try to increase female leadership in sports without resources, both time and money…the work itself has to be taken seriously and must be given status and power’. The delegates in attendance called for actions coupled with strong, regular monitoring and evaluation. As explained by White

(1996), 'it is easy to say "we've done our bit for women and sport". With many groups recently set up and proposing action, it is important that monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are put in place as part of the plan'.

The Resolution produced from the Conference (IOC, 1996; see Appendix nine) contains seventeen points which range from requesting that women and sport commissions be formed at national and international level to urging the IOC to discontinue the process of gender verification during the Olympic Games. Most importantly, the document served as another important recognition that women were subordinated in sport and that change needed to occur. One of the more immediate changes was that DeFrantz became an IOC Vice-President in 1997.

The IOC Women and Sport Working Group continued to keep statistics and monitor change (Henry et al., 2004; Henry and Robinson, 2010; IOC, 2004; 2008; 2012); host leadership seminars nationally, regionally, and continentally (IOC, 2009); advise the Executive Board; and make recommendations for how Olympic Solidarity funding was spent, up until the third IOC World Conference on Women and Sport in Marrakech, Morocco, in March 2004, when it eventually became the Commission for Women and Sport (DeFrantz interview). DeFrantz (interview) blames herself for the length of time this transformation took:

> 'I kind of stuck with having it called a Working Group until finally I realised that was just my silliness and it needed to be called a Commission because in-house at the IOC, Commissions have more stature. So for too long it was called a Working Group but again, that was all me! It always had the stature and structure of a Commission but it was called something different'.

Future work should analyse the direct impact of the IOC Working Group and Commission on Women and Sport, and also the IPC Women and Sport Commission (established 2002) which became a Committee in November 2004 (IPC, 2014; Teilmann, personal communication).

8.6 Summary

IWG and WSI both wanted to advance the status of women in sport and through utilising the RMT approach to social movements, this chapter has analysed the impact of how each SMO was structured effected their potential to accrue, use, and mobilise certain resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The IWG was constituted of predominantly government-backed officials and funding, yet also wanted NGO representatives at its meetings. Meanwhile, WSI was predominantly four female academics with some strong contacts to NOCs and other major organisations.

WSI felt aggrieved at the growing development of the IWG during both SMOs' formative period. Correspondence at the time and interviews conducted two decades afterward acknowledge strained relations between two SMOs conducting similar work with major sporting and non-sporting organisations.

But both SMOs' lobbying during the two years after the Brighton Conference had contributed to three major pieces of documentation that could be used as evidence to advance the status of women in sport: the Brighton Declaration, the UN Beijing Platform Action, and the Resolutions of the first IOC World Conference on Women and Sport. WSI (1996) heralded the fact that women's previously marginal voice in sport was now a central core of policy and social change going forward in sport. Yet WSI (1996) also recognised that not all women were being listened to. However, the IWG was beginning to make sustained progress by networking globally with regional representatives. For example, the Brighton Declaration was being amended to suit cultural specificities.

Such progress had been achieved because women and sport as an issue had been politicised by being entwined with governmental and institutional discourse. This was not straightforward. The chapter has added to emerging institutionalism, social movement, and sociology of sport literature by showing how informal constraints such as the culture and ideology of institutions acted as barriers to structural change (Johnston, 2014; Krook and Mackay, 2011; Kriesi, 2004). However, the shifting POS of global discourse toward both 'women', and 'women in sport' added significant credence to these lobbying efforts because it provided SMOs with politically legitimised resources for activism. This was the culmination of up to twenty years of disparate, but collective and sustained activism within national and regional SMOs.

The next chapter is the final chapter of this thesis and provides conclusions to the aims of this project, as well as recommendations for future research on women, sport, and social movements.

9. Conclusion

This chapter will summarise how this thesis has achieved the four aims stated in section 1.1: to critically analyse the origins, developments, and relationships of the women and sport groups that form a social movement for women and sport, particularly during the period 1949-1997; to critically analyse the organisation, development, and outcomes of the first IWG World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton, UK, in 1994; to examine the influence of white, Western dominance on the development and outcomes of the movement, and; aim to provide a foundation of work towards, and framework for, future analysis of subsequent developments and outcomes from the movement, in particular post-1997.

Section 9.1 encompasses the first three aims of this thesis to provide evidence to argue there has been a social movement for women and sport. Sections 9.2 (what the thesis has added to knowledge) and 9.3 (future work) focus on the fourth aim and how the understanding of the W&SM within this thesis can be continued.

9.1 A Social Movement for Women and Sport

There is a general lack of understanding, and in some cases, an array of assumptions, regarding how 'women and sport' as an issue has become central to contemporary sports activism, lobbying, and policy inclusion (Pelak, 2002; Safai, 2014; Talbot, 2000). The dearth of women's sport history texts have yet to cast attention to such structural and organisational advances, meaning current knowledge is predominantly based upon decade(s)-old texts which were overly-critical of the direction and mechanisms the advances for women and sport seemed to be heading.

To make sense of the complexities above, this thesis has argued that a social movement for women and sport has existed. It was defined in section 2.4.2 as a complex and fluid set of relations between collective, yet not necessarily connected, SMOs who mobilise resources within shifting POSs in order to achieve their overriding objective of sustained activism to change women's subordinating experiences in sport.

Social movement literature was utilised to make sense of how the W&SM originated and developed and what outcomes and impact it generated with regard to its main goal mentioned above. For the first time, an extensive archival documentary analysis was teamed with semi-structured interviews of some key W&SM personnel. Chapter five provided national and international examples of how individuals and

informal networks of people dissatisfied with women's experiences in the patriarchal institution of sport joined together, mobilised resources, formalised SMOs, and attempted to affect their POS which, in some Western countries during the 1970s and 1980s, was gradually changing favourably toward women because of gender equality and sexual discrimination legislation (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005). Generally however, W&SM SMOs were cast aside by the wider women's movement who did not recognise how sport and physical activity affected the lives of women (Brackenridge interview; Oglesby interview, 2012b; Williams, 2014). Moreover, the SMOs had unequal distribution of resources compared to male-dominated sports structures in their countries (Birrell and Cole, 1994; Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1992; Theberge, 1983; White and Brackenridge, 1985). The SMOs were 'under-resourced and under-staffed yet over-worked; a typical women's advocacy group' (Sabo interview).

This was partly amended through institutionalised forms of protest such as conferences (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Grey and Sawer, 2008; Tarrow 1994 cited in Koopmans 2004; Wang and Soule, 2012). National conferences were mechanisms to aggregate resources, further develop identities, and raise consciousness politically and non-politically (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Johnston, 2014). Networks of governmental, corporate, and health professionals were lobbied with self-produced resources such as research, reports, good practice, and personal experience of oppression in sport by the SMOs (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). The themes and issues raised were very similar and were to form the basis of policies and declarations for the next twenty years. Crucially though, this was undertaken in a professionalised manner akin to the environments the powerful networks usually worked in. For example, WSFUS often did not engage as directly with government because sport is governed differently in the USA (Comeau and Church, 2010; Hall, 1995). The creation of policies or strategies for women and sport symbolised acknowledgment by governments that barriers to women's involvement existed, and were further used as raison d'être by the SMOs.

Despite interacting with political institutions at the centre of their own POS (Kriesi, 2004), the SMOs were criticised as *becoming* institutionalised and moving away from their original objectives (Hall, 1995). For example, as CAAWS and WSFUK became more aligned with governmental ideology, they depoliticised their overtly-feminist and women-only construction (Hall, 1995). This caused tension between the collective of different women as some wanted an inherently feminist influence on sport, whereas others realised the benefits of liberal engagement. Balancing difficult issues such as sexuality has led to emotional cost (Clarke and Humberstone, 1997; Grace, 1995; Hall 1995; 1996). In later reflective work, Grace (1997, p. 32) comments 'one of

the most difficult things to reconcile emotionally is what I perceive as the great sense of disappointment felt by [WSFUK] women drawn together for a common cause only to find that their differences divide them more than their commonalities unite them'. But social movement literature acknowledges how SMOs need to interact with dominant institutions and that often, moderate SMOs will be seen as more favourable points of contact than confrontational organisations (Johnston, 2014; Minkoff, 2002). Indeed, Brackenridge (interview) was pragmatic in her reflection as a WSFUK decision-maker lobbying against dominant institutions by stating 'it is better to be inside the organisation chipping away at change than outside and never get anywhere'. The SMOs wanted change, and a more liberalised approach allowed greater access to mechanisms which could influence change.

Chapter six provided one of the first analysis of how this activism was politicised in the form of the establishment of EWS. Primarily North Western-European activism was galvanised at the Council of Europe Bisham Abbey Women in Sports Leadership seminar in the late-1980s. The resultant working group learned the 'rules of the game' with regard to the formal and informal institutional constraints of their political surroundings (Giugni, 1998; Kriesi, 2004; Krook and Mackay, 2011) to the extent that four years later, they had successfully secured the establishment of a body to be represented on the executive board of the European Sports Conference (Talbot interview).

The chapter also provided further examples of ideological diversity within the W&SM (Taylor, 1989). IAPESGW had, since 1949, been the only international SMO. However, its intermittent focus on raising consciousness through knowledge exchange did not suit an emergent politically-charged generation of women and sport activists (Brackenridge interview; Fasting interview; Hall interview; Hall and Pfister, 1999; Hargreaves, 2000; White interview, 2013). Subsequent NGO SMOs such as WISC and WSI formed out of this dissatisfaction to directly focus on change for women and sport.

This all meant that in the early-1990s, there were a number of SMOs operating within the W&SM. Confusion and competition between the SMOs due to lack of communications was outlined in the lead up to the first World Conference on Women and Sport in Brighton in 1994. The conference utilised EWS, Commonwealth, and GB Sports Council contacts and resources to bring together approximately 280 delegates from over eighty countries. The structure of the conference allowed the opportunity for many in attendance to network with their peers for the first time, rather than be spoken at by those controlling the content (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Stanley and Wise, 1993; White interview, 2013). A question asked of all interviewees was whether they thought Brighton assumed a new identity for the W&SM. Those who attended outlined an

energy, excitement and atmosphere (Brackenridge interview; Fasting interview; Neill interview) to the conference and how 'we felt we were on the cusp of something new' (Kluka interview; Barker interview). Lay (interview) stated Brighton gave women a voice in a professional and respected environment as usually 'if we speak out … we are the complainers, we are the screamers, we are not rational' but stopped short of claiming a new identity. Neill (interview) agreed before stating the conference 'really set things going in a proper and accelerated direction'. Talbot (interview) argued the issue of women and sport gained 'legitimacy…an identity and a position that it hadn't had before'. Coakley (interview) and White (interview, 2013) also believed the W&SMs identity changed from Brighton, with the latter stating 'I am not sure anyone really talked about it as a movement before then, I think it was a focal point'. Interviewees who did not attend Brighton also heralded the event (Oglesby interview, 2012b; Rodgers and Chroni interview), including future IWG Chair Johanna Adriaanse (interview) who described Brighton 'a vitally important and instrumental…ground-breaking….milestone' which started the W&SM.

Although it is claimed that attributing a start-point to social movements is unhelpful and masks previous example of activism (Taylor, 1989), the responses above all signify that Brighton was a mechanism in which collective identity was itself, mobilised. Similar to national conferences previously, Brighton afforded the diverse attendees opportunities to exchange experiences and information. The fact that many of the stories were surprisingly similar in content, despite being from different parts of the world, helped to affirm a cohesive common bond of women's subordinate position in various aspects of sport (Johnston, 2014; Kluka interview; White interview, 2013). This was then further legitimised in the production of the Brighton Declaration – a set of ten principles which when addressed would help to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport – which was one part of an International Strategy for Women and Sport to emanate from Brighton (GB Sports Council, 1994f). The Declaration served as a powerful symbolic tool women could wield through their activism.

However, a common characteristic of white, Western dominance had emerged within the W&SM up to this point (Hargreaves, 2000). Therefore, the different approaches to social movements were combined with postcolonial feminist theorising to address critiques that the W&SM has not acknowledged difference and represented marginal women because it had been predominantly constituted by, and privileged discourse originating from, white, Western, middle-class females. But postcolonial feminism was identified in chapter three as lacking in opportunities to apply its theorising and production of knowledge to practical examples. Thus, terms and

concepts affording structure to elements of social movements, such as SMOs and POSs, have been used throughout the thesis to make sense of how and, crucially, why the W&SM originated and continued to develop in the West. Chapters five to eight provided many examples where W&SM SMOs actively tried to engage with non-Westerners but an array of factors such as limited access to/amount of variable resources, lack of communication and networking opportunities, and political and socio-cultural constraints to the advancement of women in societies, meant that often the barriers were too difficult to surpass (e.g. section 5.4). This meant the Brighton Conference was planned and organised by predominantly white, Western females using discourse and content from twenty years-worth of white, Western-oriented research and experience. This was essentially because these were networks of activists who could mobilise material, human, and socio-organisational resources available to them, and were both able and willing to lever them, in response to the favourable POS which was shifting toward facilitating the goals of the movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004; Giugni, 1998; Johnston, 2014; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Thus in accordance with contemporary scholarship which criticises the W&SM for developing in the West under a Western dominance (Hargreaves, 2000; Hayhurst et al., 2011; Safai, 2014), this thesis has instead critiqued *why* this has happened. Additionally elements of broader scholarship, such as Hargreaves (2000), have been critiqued in this thesis because she both homogenised white, Western discourse and the skills of the white, Western women within the W&SM.

Measuring the impact of the Brighton Conference is very challenging (IWG, 2014a; Matthews, 2012). Chapter eight provided the first detailed analysis of the W&SM's immediate outcomes post-Brighton. Correspondence between WSI and the newly formed IWG reflected how both negotiated new opportunities facilitated by the growing focus on women and sport as an issue. Privately, these communications were conflictual. Publically, both SMOs were lobbying the UN, the IOC, and networks globally toward the common goal of the W&SM. This lobbying resulted in the recognition by some of the most powerful sporting and non-sporting organisations in the world that work needed to be done to stop the barriers women were encountering in sport.

Thus, this thesis has charted the array of origins, the multiple relationships between agents who have taken the purposive and strategic decisions to shape the various forms of its development, and the different impacts of the W&SM. The following sections will outline what this thesis has added to knowledge and where future work on the W&SM can depart from.

9.2 Additions to Knowledge

This section will outline a number of ways in which this thesis has added to knowledge, particularly because of bringing together sport, social movement literature, and postcolonial feminist theorising. Generally, the focus on women has added to the previously predominant male-focused postcolonial (Midgley, 1998; Mills, 1998) and social movement discourse (Crossley, 2002; Ferree and Mueller, 2004, Krook and Mackay, 2011). Furthermore, sport has had rare engagement with postcolonial feminism (Caudwell, 2012) and social movements (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008; Harvey et al., 2014), despite the latter's growing focus on cultural influences in societies such as music, television, and film.

Structural and rational elements of social movement approaches helped to make sense of how the W&SM unintentionally developed with a white, Western dominance because the majority of available resources were located within favourable Western POSs. Postcolonial feminism was used to understand that this dominant discourse throughout the W&SM was white, Western dominated, but also crucially, acknowledge that W&SM SMOs were aware of difference and marginality of some women but struggled to connect with them.

Fundamentally, this thesis has revised and added to elements of activism within women's history in sport. Both planned and unplanned developments in response to shifting POSs and W&SM outcomes have been analysed in depth for the first time. Women's sport history has been symbolically ignored (Williams, 2014), 'ghettoised … and within the minority of our collective scholarship' (Schultz, 2014, p. 9) but this thesis has provided a woman-centred case study of a social movement which has directly influenced global sporting policy and development. This history should not be ignored because the W&SM has a degree of influence, and thus power. Moreover, the W&SM undertook its activism without substantial direct assistance from the wider Women's Movement. Thus, the latter has arguably been given further credence by the former because of the outcomes manifested by the W&SM. Additionally, Hall's (1995) and Hargreaves' (2000) previous work has been added to and critiqued. Not only have SMOs such as IAPESGW, WISC, WSI, CAAWS, WSFUK and WSFUS had their histories enriched, but EWS, the IWG, the Brighton Conference and the developments within the IOC and the UN have been analysed for the first time.

The research was completed by conducting both the first academically-oriented interviews with important personnel from many of the SMOs (apart from some WSFUK personnel who had previously been interviewed by Clark and Humberstone (1997) and

Grace (1995)) and the first mapping of their histories (apart from IAPESGW (Hall and Pfister, 1999) and CAAWS (Hall, 2002)) through a documentary analysis of a dedicated archive. In doing so, the W&SM is outlined more holistically than before to the extent that participants, and even some of the personnel interviewed, may learn new aspects about the W&SM (Blee and Taylor, 2002; Reinharz, 1992). Undertaking such a detailed analysis also addresses criticisms of the lack of longitudinal social movement studies (Crossley, 2002; Klandermans et al., 2002) and those which do not place women or gender relations at the centre of analysis (Ferree and Mueller, 2004; Talbot, 2000), including how identity is forged and negotiated over time through interpersonal communications between activists (Della Porta and Diani, 2008; Johnston, 2014; Williams, 2014).

Importantly for social movement literature, this study has also provided outcomes and consequences for the W&SM (Giugni et al., 1999). Declarations, legislations, quotas, targets, reports, and research from the SMOs and powerful sporting and non-sporting organisations have been examined. Yet one of the most powerful mechanisms to achieve these have been conferences. National and international women and sport conferences are sites to exchange knowledge (i.e. research, projects, programmes) and personal experiences (e.g. discrimination, progress, structure and context of sport). These are important spaces for activism and have allowed for aggregating such knowledge and experiences to form collective meanings and identities going forward. They do not involve violence but are an example of (moderate) protest and mass mobilisation. Thus conferences are one factor of social movement work which needs further engagement.

Other additions to social movement literature has been an agreement that identifying a 'start-date' for a movement is very difficult (Taylor, 1989). This is enhanced further when the term 'sport' has itself developed over time meaning early advances in physical education and recreation for women may or may not be recognised as examples of activism. This thesis has also attempted to humanise the movement throughout by providing as much data from those who *did* the activism. The relationships within and between SMOs have been apparent throughout the chapters, as well as SMO's interactions with dominant institutions they were lobbying. Indeed, the growing area of feminist institutionalism was utilised to make sense of the gendered impact of political practice so inherent to the informal political constraints of institutions (Krook and Mackay, 2011; Talbot, 2000).

Finally, the thesis provided a new term for critique within the sociology of sport; the W&SM. The term is important for it encapsulates how women and sport activism developed within sport-based networks, rather than previous considerations that the

women's movement had a direct impact on sport (Harvey et al., 1996). The following section illustrates many points of departure (Williams, 2014) where further analysis of the W&SM can begin.

9.3 Points of Departure

There are a number of avenues for which work on the W&SM can progress. Due to space constraints, the first aim of the thesis was limited to making sense of the period 1949-1997. Thus there is plenty of scope to further refine the understanding of the W&SM. For example, in May 1998, the second IWG World Conference on Women and Sport was staged in Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary analysis reveals WSI's increasingly scarce resources, leading Darlison (1996c; 1996d) to claim she was 'loath to see WSI just die' and did not want other SMOs to know the dire situation. Brackenridge (1996) agreed and stated, 'we must avoid being laughed at by the snipers who are waiting for a fall'; once more signifying the ongoing relationships within the W&SM. Moreover, the planning and organising of Windhoek offers a fascinating insight into how the predominantly white, Western leadership of the W&SM interacted with a newly-independent African nation with limited experience of hosting major conferences.

Post-Windhoek, a number of trends and patterns have already been identified (Matthews, 2012). Analysis of IWG Progress Reports show Windhoek facilitated many African networks and organisations, as well as the formations of JWS which itself was to be a significant SMO in Asia. Indeed, parallels to the IOC and FSFI relationship (see chapter two) have been uncovered where an Asian Group for Women and Sport – a regional version of the IWG – was eventually subjugated by an IOC Asian Women and Sport Working Group. The power battles between individuals within SMOs about the structural governance and power of major sports organisations is rife. Other personal dynamics which will add emotive elements to the humanising of social movements are sexuality, being a man, career trajectories, family, personal tragedy, children, whether academics of a more critical standpoint such as Hargreaves and Hall saw themselves as activists (Bevington and Dixon, 2005), and relationships with other institutions and how it effects contemporary interactions (Connell, 1987; Roy, 2010).

Away from international SMO development, the wealth of research to be undertaken on women and sport organisations globally is both daunting and exciting (see chapter 5.4). Western scholars simply do not know whether countries have

women and sport organisations, let alone how they formed and what challenges or progress have been encountered. However, utilising a social movement lens to their development will help to make sense of power battles in POSs, over time, globally. Only then can postcolonial feminism be applied to understand whether their development has been influenced by Western discourse, and what impact this may have had. A potential concept for such an understanding is postcolonial transformation (Ashcroft, 2001). Cultural influences are claimed not to conform to a 'downward' movement from the dominant to the dominated, but instead to circulate and transform. Thus, dominant cultural influences are not passed to less powerful groups unwillingly, but are subject to change, diversity and the possibility of resistance, rendering categorising groups in dichotomies as obsolete. Ashcroft (2001, p. 1) uses postcolonial transformation to describe 'the ways in which dominated and colonised societies have transformed the very nature of the cultural power that has dominated them …[to]… service of their own self-empowerment'. An example of how post-colonial transformation may inform future study is how the diverse groups and individuals who attended the Brighton Conference interpreted its outcomes and adapted them for their own relevance. When linked into Connell's (2007) third characteristic of the 'Northernness of general theory' – gestures of exclusion – post-colonial transformation can be used to explain how ideas may be 'transformed' in the periphery, but then may be rarely reinterpreted, and more importantly acknowledged, by the dominant group as *originating* from the periphery. The first stitches of this rich tapestry have been formed through this thesis, but further threads need to be woven together to avoid patches of information being generalised to the whole movement (Connell, 2007).

Moreover, this thesis has only paid attention to women and sport SMOs. There are a wealth of protests, campaigns, programmes, interest groups, events, research teams/centres, charities, social media fora, NGOs, magazines, government committees, and individuals who have all engaged with the W&SM from health, education, sport, academic, media, business, development, leadership, and women's empowerment angles over time (Johnston, 2014, Minkoff, 2002; Safai, 2014). Including particular focuses (e.g. disability), areas of the world (e.g. Latin America), other social movements (Safai, 2014), the growth of digital and social media leading to 'five minute activism' (e.g. livestreaming conference proceedings, engagement with digital forums, signing online e-petitions), and even countermovements and counter-activism which have manifested in response to the W&SM, all signify the density and interconnectedness of social movement agents globally (Johnston, 2014; Wilson, 2007). Moreover, this thesis has not focused on grassroots activism and its connection to influencing institutionalised decisions, or provided examples of failed activism and

reasons why. A focus on any part of this matrix would benefit understanding (Morris and Staggenborg, 2004).

For example in the UK, there now exists the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (previously WSFUK), the Women's Sport Trust, and the Muslim Women's Sport Foundation. In addition to these SMOs is a dedicated All Party Parliamentary Group on Women and Sport, separate Women and Sport Conferences predominantly based on increasing participation and involvement, and a plethora of social media websites and online magazines and forums born predominantly in response to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. All of these agents focus on a particular feature of women's involvement in sport, which is fuel for reaching the W&SM's goal, but also raises important questions about whether the mass of activism becomes a benefit or hindrance, echoing features of the collective behaviour approach. Are these agents all coordinating their work for maximum effectiveness or is there cross-over and repetition? Are the same issues women encounter in sport being endlessly recycled or are breakthroughs being made and shared? Are resources being adequately collated and logged for wider understanding, or is their existence regarded as finite to the issue in that specific context? Is the agent that receives the most widespread attention necessarily the one which speaks for the majority?

From a more culture-oriented and agency-centred standpoint, emotions, collective identities, subcultures, symbols, narratives, images, and stories are all important but under-researched areas of social movements. Indeed, sporting costume, equipment, and rules have all been influenced by sportswomen, and in turn have 'initiated strife, backlash, and regression' (Schultz, 2014, p. 9) by those wishing to keep an established order. Johnston (2014) groups these elements together as cultural artefacts of social movements for they portray an ever-evolving identity and history. Artefacts such as the Brighton Declaration have strong meanings attached to them by participants who may have been involved in the process of constructing them (see section 9.1). Although contemporary research means we are becoming more aware of how widespread women's historical contribution to sport has been (Williams, 2014), mixing physical activity and political activism has been found to have positively shifted stereotypes of what women could do in twentieth-century American society (Schultz, 2010), for example. The growing focus on cultural interactions and objects will also mean somewhat of a return to tenets of the collective behaviour approach because they 'produce solidarity, motivate participants and maintain collective action' (Williams, 2004, p. 94).

All of the above considerations will also help to make sense of the overall impact of the W&SM. The thesis has deliberately focused on material outcomes as measures

of change (e.g. lobbying documents of the IWG, IOC and UN) simply because 'it is quite difficult to unpack and unpick exactly what influence each group had' (White interview, 2013). It is tricky to analyse the direct and indirect impacts of W&SM legacies (Kluka, 2008; Matthews, 2012; Talbot, 2000). Both the IWG (1998; 2002; 2006; 2010; 2014a) and the IOC (2004; 2008; 2012) have attempted to monitor and evaluate action for advancing women and sport issues, developments, and awareness globally through Progress Reports but these are fraught with analytical dilemmas. For example, many of the recorded reports do not account for whether the action was a success or had any impact. The Brighton Declaration itself is a subjective commitment by organisations who can choose not to undertake actions because of the lack of enforcement attached to it (Matthews, 2012). Future research should also analyse the individual legacies and unintended outcomes of the third (Montreal, Canada), fourth (Kumamoto, Japan), fifth (Sydney, Australia), sixth (Helsinki, Finland) and forthcoming seventh (Gaborone, Botswana) IWG World Conferences on Women and Sport and also the quadrennial IOC Women and Sport World Conferences. Thus, monitoring and evaluation within the W&SM should be a central concern to future study because it would help to answer whether there has been 'change' for women in sport. Critique has continued (Lenskyj, 2013; Pfister, 2010c; Safai, 2012) since Hall's (1995; 1996) and Hargreaves' (2000) work that the W&SM has not engaged in transforming sport away from its male-dominated hegemonic patriarchy. But there is no alternative raised within these critiques apart from 'changing' an institution which itself has grown exponentially more powerful during the development of the W&SM in accordance with professionalisation and commercialisation. 'Other' sports systems have emerged (e.g. the Gay Games, Indigenous Games) but remove difference from the existing structure of sport rather than challenge it. Instead, examples such as WSI's joint task force with the IOC Medical Commission regarding issues such as the female athlete triad, drug testing, and sexual harassment are examples of direct changes to sport's practice.

Instead of relatively instant change, this thesis has posited that change has occurred over time. Up until the 1970s in Western contexts, women and sport issues were discussed around kitchen tables by informal networks of passionate women. Today, women and sport issues are debated at the highest levels of sport by professional organisations and throughout the media as topics of interest amongst the general public. Admittedly, similar issues are still being debated decades later but they are not the *same* issues because they have manifested over time in accordance with societal change, the development of sport, and greater research. For example, the legacy from the 6th IWG Conference for Women and Sport in Helsinki was a text document called 'Brighton Plus Helsinki 2014 Declaration on Women and Sport' (IWG,

2014c). It was titled this because ‘as the developments during the twenty years were evaluated, a need for an update emerged’ (IWG, 2014d) with regard to certain principles of the Brighton Declaration. Nuanced complexities associated with safety and childcare in sport, for example, were acknowledged because they have been the subject of concentrated research efforts over the previous two decades. Indeed, it can be argued that similar issues faced by the Women’s and Civil Rights Movements of the mid-twentieth century continue to exist in different forms.

The focus on how to measure change can continue with large-scale, global research projects but these are expensive and time-consuming. An alternative approach may be to examine how women who enter sporting organisations work to change their culture, values, and norms (Fasting, 2000; Krook and Mackay, 2011; Pfister, 2010c; Talbot, 2000; Taylor, 2005). These informal political practices first need to be understood before work can be undertaken to change them. Despite the fact that women in sports leadership has been highlighted as a core legacy theme by the last two IWG World Conferences (IWG, 2014b; 2014c), such informal practices have long been negotiated by W&SM personnel throughout their activism:

> ‘We don’t have to be at the microphone, we don’t have to be the chair of the meeting, at the beginning you are just in the room and so it becomes more difficult for men for example to tell off-colour jokes. I have seen examples of how the discourse changes and becomes more civil in relation to women’ (Oglesby interview, 2012b)

W&SM participants have previously expressed a desire to transform sport but recognise that in order to do so, they had to work with those in charge of sport. This is a liberal strategy laced with a radical agenda. Essentially, in order to measure and evaluate the core goal of change resulting from the W&SM, we first need to understand what exactly ‘change’ is, and also how it manifests itself within dominant institutions. By analysing the origins and development of the movement, this thesis has provided the foundations from where this enquiry can progress.

Appendices

1. W&SM Timeline
2. Interviewee's Information
3. Core set of Interview Questions
4. Ethics Form
5. Chronological timeline of the development of women and sport/physical education groups and organisations in the USA, and the Formations of IAPESGW timeline
6. Structural characteristics collated by Brackenridge (1992c) for WISC
7. Mission interests collated by Brackenridge (1992c) for WISC
8. The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport
9. Resolution of the 1st IOC World Conference on Women and Sport

Appendix 1 – W&SM Timeline

Pre-1900

-1865	Vassar Female College, USA, opened "to accomplish for young women what our colleges are accomplishing for young men'. From the beginning students engaged in 'light gymnastics' and 'healthful female sports in the open air' under the direction of an experienced female instructor' (Park, 2010: 1253).
-1870s	British women reported in media playing cricket at schools and for teams (Guttmann, 1991).
-1876	First women's gymnastics club in Scandinavia founded, Helsinki, Finland (Laine, 1998).
-1878	London School Board appoints Madame Bergman-Österberg, who followed the Ling method of gymnastics. This appointment may be regarded as the crucial factor in launching a new career for women (Fletcher, 1984: 4).
-1884	First National Tennis Championship for women at Wimbledon, UK (Guttmann, 1991).
-1885	American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (APEA) created.
-1888	American Amateur Athletics Union (AAU) established.
-1889	Boston philanthropist Mary Hemenway founded the all-female Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (BNSG) and appointed Amy Morris Homans as its director. All had major impacts for the next 40yrs as a significant proportion of future leaders graduated through this course (Park, 2010).
-1889	Madame Bergman-Österberg launches her own UK college for the purpose of 'training gymnastic teachers for new high schools for middle-class girls' (Fletcher, 1987, p. 147).
-1890s	Competitive women's basketball (Smith College, USA), golf, volleyball and cycling in North America occurs.
-1890	Swedish gymnastics introduced at Cheltenham Ladies' College and its female principal was against competition. Also in the USA, Boston School votes to adopt Ling's system (Guttmann, 1991).
-1890	First secondary schools open for girls in Portugal (Allowed to attend boys secondary schools in 1920).
-1893	British women established the Ladies Golf Union 'with the help of men' (Guttmann, 1991: 121). Reports of prizes offered to women golfers in Scotland as early as 1810.
-1894	First Australian Women's Golf championship (Guttmann, 1991)
-1895	Dartford Physical Training College established; the UK version of Vassar College (see 1865) (Fletcher, 1984).
-1895	All-England Women's Field Hockey Association established after women were refused entry to the England Hockey Association (Guttmann, 1991).
-1895 Sep	Vassar College students organised what is believed to have been the first track competitions for college women in the USA (Park, 2010).
-1896	First modern Olympic Games, Athens, Greece. Women not allowed to compete.
-1896	Finnish Women's Gymnastics Assoc established. Made of Finnish and Swedish groups, it was formed before any male gymnastic organisation. Split into national chapters in 1921.

-1896 Apr The first intercollegiate game between University of California and Stanford played in Berkeley (Guttmann, 1991).

-1899 US National Association for Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS) very first incarnation formed; the APEA Commission on Women's Athletics (CWA).

-1899 In Japan, the Higher Girls' School Law was to significantly increase the number of girls' secondary schools until 1940. The influx of European women from 1900 allowed Western PE to be taught, including gymnastics (Ikeda, 2010).

1900s

-Early 1900s Finnish female physical educators attend the prominent Society for Outdoor Play Institute in Gothenburg, Sweden. Two of these women play a crucial role in future Finnish women and sport, PE and physical activity work (Laine, 2006)

-1900 (Western) Women compete for first time in the 2nd Olympic Games.

-1905 Sep First Women's Golf Tournament in Japan.

-1905 Dec USA Intercollegiate Athletic Association (later renamed NCAA) formed in part due a reaction over number of deaths in football and was a rule-governing body of sports which at the time had nothing to do with PE (Park, 2010). It was to eventually have a major impact on women's sport and PE in the USA.

-1906 Finnish women obtain the right to vote.

-1909 Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation organised the first national sports competition for women (Laine, 2006).

1910s

-1910s Competitive female basketball occurs in Brazil.

-1910 Monarchy replaced by Republican Political System in Portugal. New divorce, marriage and adultery laws and recriminations come to effect for men and women (many revert back during the 30s and 40s rule of Salazar).

-1910-15 Homans (see 1889) invites directors from several USA New England women's colleges to meet annually to discuss matters of concern and interest regarding and women in PE and physical activity (see 1915) (Park, 2010: 1260).

-1911 Fémina Sport established in Paris, France. Goes on to play a major role in FSFI.

-1911 Women compete in the first cross-country skiing championships in Finland and Sweden (1916) (Laine, 1998).

-1912 French Union of Women's Gymnastics (UFGF) formed in Lyon (Terret, 2010).

-1912 United Kingdom Ladies Lacrosse Association formed (Guttmann, 1991).

-1913 Norwegian women gain the right to vote.

-1913 First Oriental Olympic Games (pre-cursor to Asian Games) held in Manila. Unknown if women took part.

-1913 Women compete in the first athletics championship in Finland (Laine, 1998).

-1914-1918 WWI

-1915 'Academia' established in Paris, France. Similar to Fémina Sport (see 1911).

-1915 The directors from several USA New England women's colleges (see 1910) organise to become the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women (ADPEW).

-1915 Women first represented in the Danish Sports Federation executive board, although they were a minority (Pfister, 2010).

-1915 Finnish Women's Sports Association formally established (Laine, 2006) (see 1917).

-1917 The American PE Association (APEA) forms a Committee on Women's Athletics to draft standardised, separate rules for women's collegiate field hockey, swimming, track and field, and soccer (O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007).

-1917 The USA Mid-West Society of College Directors of Physical Education for Women is established.

-1917 First competitive track meeting held for women in Japan (Osaka).

-1917 Finnish Women's Sports Association (see 1915) turns into Women's Federation of PE (Laine, 2006).

-1917 Jul The first French championship of athletics for women was held between the three major Parisian women's sport clubs (Terret, 2010).

-1918 Jan The Fédération des Sociétés Féminines Sportives de France (FSFSF) is officially founded by two men, one of whom founded Fémina-Sport (see 1911) who offers Alice Milliat the Fémina-Sport presidency and FSFSF treasurer position. In June 1918 she became General Secretary of FSFSF and by March 1919 was its President (Terret, 2010).

1920s

-1920's Korean women participate in national athletic championships and basketball matches hosted by national newspapers.

-1920s Japanese Women given the opportunity for a political voice through formation of unions and ability to speak at political meetings.

-1920s The workers' sports movement, which was strong in Norway and Finland, accepted women's competitions in the 1920s and 1930s (Laine, 1998: 199).

-1920 Women in the USA granted the right to vote.

-1920 ADPEW renamed the Eastern Society of College Directors of Physical Education for Women.

-1920 German National Women's Championships inaugurated (In 1922, 600 women took part in Berlin at the same time American women were first moving away from 'Play Days') (Guttmann, 1991).

-1921 Venezuelan Ministry of Public Instruction (later retitled Ministry of Education) established physical education as a compulsory element of the school curriculum for boys and girls which had the effect of making sport more accessible to a broader population (López de D'Amico, 2012: 139).

-1921 The USA Western Society of College Directors of Physical Education for Women is established.

-1921 Danish sports women represented on the board of the central sports union (DIF) (Laine, 1998).

-1921 May President of the socially exclusive Intl Sporting Club of Monaco gathers an eight-man organising committee to organise a women and sport championship which later becomes FSFI (Guttmann, 1991). NOTE – This conflicts with all other evidence found on FSFI!

-1921 Oct Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI) founding congress in Paris, France, of many national women and sport groups due to the successful 'Women's World Games' in Monte Carlo, hosted by Alice

Milliat, the founder of the French Women's Sports Federation and President of the FSFSF.

-1921-1936 Milliat heavily involved with nine international conferences on women's sports (Paris, Gothenburg, Amsterdam, Prague, Vienna, London and Berlin) (Guttmann, 1991).

-1922 USA National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) established and creates a Women's Division (WD) in 1923.

-1922 Women debut at the 'Old China' National Games (Dong, 2003).

-1922 Chinese 'Decree of the Reformation of the School System drew heavily on American educational ideas and promoted an enlarged system of physical education for boys and girls' (Vertinsky et al., 2005, p. 828).

-1922 Women's College of Physical Education established in Tokyo, Japan.

-1922 Aug First Women's Olympic Games, Paris, France, hosted by FSFI.

-1923/1925/1927/1928 were subsequent FSFI congresses.

-1923 Apr Conference on Athletics and Physical Recreation for Women and Girls, Washington DC, USA. Led to the formation of the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation. May have later formed part of AAHPER. In 1960s.

-1923 First USA AAU Women's National Track and Field Championship (Guttmann, 1991). Cahn (1994) states it was 1924. (1914 swimming and 1926 basketball championships also occur).

-1924[-1940] Norwegian Workers' Sports Confederation more allowing of female involvement in some sports than the National Confederation during the same period. (WS/I/2/F-T, Norway).

-1924 Thirteen women participate in the first Winter Olympics, Chamonix, France.

-1924 First Japanese Women's Olympics, Tokyo, with 1,800 athletes.

-1924 Chinese Third National Games contains three exhibition sports for women (Riordan and Dong, 1999).

-1924 USA female physical educators (see 1915, 1917, 1920, 1921) formed the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities (Park, 2010).

-1924 New education system enacted and men and women received the same education rights in Turkey.

-1925 Swedish Women's Sports Federation formed and would host the 2nd FSFI Games (see 1926) but was disbanded in 1928 it was disbanded as the Swedish Sports Federation set up a women's commission of its own in the wake of the 1926 success (Laine, 1998).

-1926 Japan Women Sport Foundation established with approaches from the government, the media, and PE. Taken over by Japanese Amateur Athletics Federation in 1936.

-1926 2nd FSFI Women's World Games, Gothenburg, Sweden.

-1926 New Civil Code in Turkey replaces Sharia giving women the right to divorce and inherit among other things.

-1926 May IOC Olympic Session, Lisbon, Portugal, allows for a small amount of women to compete at the following Olympic Games in 1928.

-1927 APEA CWA renamed to Section on Women's Athletics (until 1931).

-1927 Intl Federation of Women's Hockey Associations established. Joined Federation Internationale de Hockey in 1982 (Hofmann and Trangbaek, 2005).

-1928 Women in UK gain same voting rights as men.

-1928 Olympic Games, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Female 800m runners collapse and questions over female ability to compete in races are debated and used as a barrier against future participation.

-1928 Norway Central Sports Federation forms a women's commission but growing discontent leads to formation of lobby groups until WWII (Laine, 1998).
-1928 Girls get same education as boys in Bahrain.
-[late 1920s] Global economic depression.

1930s

-1930s In Brazil, the Vargas government create Ministries and National Departments to implement many actions related to physical education and sport (Goellner et al, 2011).
-1930s In Iran, PE became compulsory in public girls' schools (Chehabi, in Mangan and Hong, 2003).
-1930 In Turkey, women receive the right to vote, and from 1934 they could be elected to municipal, state and federal levels.
-1930 3rd FSFI Women's World Games, Prague, Czech Republic.
-1930 First official and public basketball tournament for women in Sao Paolo, Brazil (Guedes, 2010).
-1930 Chinese Fourth National Games adds four sports for women (track and field, volleyball, basketball and tennis). Further sports added over time (Riordan and Dong, 1999).
-1931 Highly-qualified women given right to vote in Portugal (all men could though; law weakened in the 40s).
-1931 Women compete in the First Malayan All Chinese Olympiad (Brownfoot, in Mangan and Hong, 2003).
-1931 Section on Women's Athletics (previously APEA CWA) renamed to Rules and Editorial Committee (until 1932).
-1931 Mabel Lee is first woman president of the APEA and by 1942-3, four other women had held the position which was unheard of in other professional fields (Park, 2010).
-1931 Norwegian girls gain obligatory right to do PE, but had been allowed since 1899.
-1932/1936 Final two FSFI congresses before it was disbanded.
-1932 Rules and Editorial Committee (previously APEA CWA Section on Women's Athletics) renamed National Section on Women's Athletics (NWSA) of the APEA (until 1953).
-1932 First Finnish women's athletics club founded by women. It was to go on and join the male-dominated federation (Laine, 1998).
-1933 Women gain the right to vote in Brazil (Guedes, 2010)
-1933 In Denmark, a women's committee of the Central Sports Federation was founded (Laine, 1998).
-1934 4th and final FSFI Women's World Games, London, UK.
-1934 The Iranian National Association of PE and Scouting is the first organisation responsible for all PE and sports affairs for men and women (Jahromi, 2011).
-1935 First Korean Assoc for Advancement of Female Sports established, and becomes part of the Association of Korean Athletes.
-1936 Aug FSFI disbands at the same time as the Berlin Olympic Games, Germany.
-1939-45 WWII

1940s

-1940s Latin American Women's Basketball participation and championships

-1940s/50s A gymnastics movement for housewives was very popular in Sweden and Norway (Laine, 1998).

-1940 In Norway, the women and sport committees of the Central Sports Federation and the Workers' Sports Federation were temporarily unified (see 1946) (Laine, 1998).

-1940 Dec In Spain, the Youth Section and the Women Section 'took charge of the physical education of its members and all non-affiliated youth – this is, the Spanish youth as a whole, which included students of First and Secondary education' (Ramírez-Macías, 2012: 1522); important because women were treated very unequally in society until new equality laws in 1977.

-1945 Swedish Women and Sport Conference. The next few years saw some women rise through the Central Sports Federation and training courses were also provided (Laine, 1998).

-1945 DPR Korea establishes a Department of Women and Sport Promotion Central Committee (see 1969).

-1946 Commission on the Status of Women (CWS) established by UN to monitor women's situation and promote women's rights.

-1946 Japanese women given right to vote, but Japan did not join the UN for another ten years.

-1946 Korean Assoc of PE and Sport for Women (KAPESW) first established but Korean War hampered progress. Re-structured in 1969.

-1946 The Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities (see 1924) has by now had its name changed to National Association of Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW) (Park, 2010).

-1946 Norwegian Confederation of Sports re-established and appoints different committees, including a Women's Committee (WS/I/2/F-T, Norway). Declined and disbanded by 1953 (Laine, 1998).

-1947 Japanese women given full equality to men.

-1947 Syria establishes the Ministry of Information which aimed to 'ensure the provision of sporting activities in all schools for boys and girls and was the was the beginning of girls' engagement with sport clubs' (El-Houda Karfoul, 2011: 140).

-1947 Women's Commission of the Federation Internationale Catholique d'Education Physique (FICEP) is formed and its first President was a Marie-Therese Eyquem – a future IAPESGW (see 1949) President.

-1947 Apr NAPECW approves the 'project' of an international congress for PE. This was to become the first IAPESGW congress.

-1948 Universal declaration of human rights

-1948 Two Finnish committees for women's sport established as the gymnastics organisation did not favour competitive sport, meaning sportswomen decided to create their own committee alongside the gymnastics organisation within the Central Sports Federation (see 1973) (Laine, 1998).

-1949 International Congress on Physical Education for Girls and Women – Copenhagen, Denmark. International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) formed.

-1949 Establishment of People's Republic of China after Chinese Communist Party (CCP) accedes power (Dong, 2003).

1950s

-1950 ICHPER formed after a variety of health, PE, and recreation groups from the USA and regional representatives meet in the USA.

-1950 Chinese Marriage Law and Land Law protect women's rights within the household and establish women's right to own property. Education was now widely available meaning women obtained equal rights with men in the spheres of law, family and education (Dong, 2003).

-1951 Both the Pan-American Games and the Asian Games are launched (Henry and Al-Tauqi, 2008).

-1952 UN Convention of the Political Rights of Women, the first global mandate to grant women equal political rights under the law – the right to vote and hold office.

-1952 Syria's 'most significant milestone in the evolution of sport' occurs with the issue of Decree Number 199. This decree 'formalised the Sports Federation and the interrelationship between the Ministry of Information, National Sports Federations and Sports Clubs. Most importantly, the decree did not indicate any differentiation between males and females; rather, it was inclusive of all members of society' (El-Houda Karfoul, 2011: 143).

-1953 2nd IAPESGW World Conference, Paris, France.

-1953 Korean Sports Council establishes a Women and Sport Committee. Later disbanded in 1960.

-1953 Norwegian Confederation of Sports Women's Committee eliminated due to weakening links with regional networks (WS/I/2/F-T, Norway).

-1953 APEA NWSA renamed National Section on Girls' and Women's Sports (NSGWS) (until 1957).

-1953 The Pan-Arab Games are launched (Henry and Al-Tauqi, 2008).

-1954 Korean Physical Education for Girls and Women (KPEAW) established.

-1954 Japan Association for Physical Education for Women (JAPEW) established.

-1955 Syria stages National School Championships for Girls in netball, volleyball, athletics and badminton.

-1956 Pakistan Charter of Women's Rights established.

-1956 DGWS and NAPECW form the National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women (NJCESCW) – the first time women physical educators controlled intercollegiate competition (Schultz, forthcoming).

-1957 UN 1st Convention on the equal rights of married women.

-1957 3rd IAPESGW World Conference, London, UK. JAPEW had joined IAPESGW and attended this conference [THEY HAVE ATTENDED EVERY IAPESGW ONE SINCE!].

-1957 NSGWS becomes the Division for Girls and Women's Sports (DGWS) of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER) (until 1974). [In Hall, 2007:349; Park, 2010]

-1958 NAPECW stages the National Conference on Social Changes and Implications for Physical Education and Sports Programs.

-1958 International Council of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance (ICHPERSD) formed

-1958 [renamed 1982] International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE) formed.

-1959 Both men and women participate in the 'New China' First National Games (Dong, 2003).

1960s

-'Liberal feminism developed as a wave of theory reflecting and influencing women's experiences at a certain point in history in the 1960s and 1970s' (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002, p. 31).

-[early 1960s] USA President Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act, which included Title VII that banned discrimination in employment on the basis of sex, race, colour, religion, or national origin. More women entered college than ever before (Schultz, forthcoming).

-1960 First Paralympics, Rome, Italy. Females participate.

-1961 4th IAPESGW World Conference, Washington, USA.

-1962 UN 2nd Convention on the equal rights of married women.

-1962 JAPEW publishes monthly magazine entitled "Physical Education for Women".

-1963 Iranian women take part in the first elections. However, since the Revolution [late 70s], the percentage in decision-making roles has rarely increased (Jahromi, 2011).

-1963 Moroccan women win right to vote and be elected to parliament positions; was not until late-1990s that numbers really started to increase. The 1960s also saw a growth in the creation of sport federations and ministries in the country (El Faquir, 2011).

-1963 US Olympic Committee forms a Women's Advisory Board that includes DGWS and establishes five (1963, 1965, 1966 (x2) and 1969) Institutes on Girls Sports (Schultz, forthcoming).

-1965 5th IAPESGW World Conference, Cologne, Germany.

-1965 JAPEW organises first Japanese National Congress on Physical Education for Women (still exists) and a Summer Seminar (until 1985) for Physical Education for Women.

-1965 Donna de Verona (1964 Olympic swimmer) becomes the first woman sports broadcaster on American TV, working for ABC (O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007).

-1965 The African Games launched (Henry and Al-Tauqi, 2008).

-1966 Council of Europe first formulate and emphasise the concept of 'Sport for All'.

-1967 The Indonesian Assoc in PE and Sports for Girls and Women (PERWOSI) formed.

-1967 DGWS creates within its sub-structure a competition 'arm' – the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW). This soon becomes the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) (see 1972).

-1968 In Portugal, equal political rights for men and women regardless of marital status introduced.

-1968 Nov JAPEW structure is expanded and authorized. [Ms.Chiyoe Matsumoto was appointed President until 1994]

-1969 6th IAPESGW World Conference, Tokyo, Japan.

-1969 Syria starts its own Sport Education Institute for young women in Aleppo, the first being in Damascus for young men the year before (El-Houda Karfoul, 2011).

-1969 DPR Korea Department of Women and Sport Promotion Central Committee (see 1945) becomes a Section.

-late-1960s General Associations for National Olympic Committee's and International Federations established in reaction to a perceived lack of power in the Olympic Movement (Henry and Al-Tauqi, 2008).

1970s

-[1970s] United Nations (UN) impact

-[1970s] In Belgium, the Flemish Community set up many national campaigns for women, including greater integration into sports.

-[1970s] Increasing academic work in the sociology of sport, including the position of women in sport.

-1970 A Report by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (est. 1967) included the fact that fewer girls than boys participated on sports in Canadian schools, and drew up guidelines for future action by government and women's organisations (see 1974).

-1970 JAPEW establishes an Instructor Training Course (until 1985)

-1970 In Germany, Deutscher Sportbund decides to officially sponsor women's soccer teams. This had a huge impact of the sport over the next couple of decades (Guttmann, 1991).

-1970 UK Equal Pay Act.

-1971 American AIAW formed to govern and promote intercollegiate sports and championship tournaments for female athletes (see also 1981).

-1971 Bangladesh Women Sport Federation formed from the East Pakistan Women Amateur Sport Association.

-1971 JAPEW publishes its Bulletin (still exists) and the first Japanese meeting for the Presentation of Practices on PE for Women (until 1988).

-1971 China re-takes seat at UN; National sports competitions restored (Dong, 2003).

-1972 UN Gen Assembly proclaimed 1975 as Intl Women's Year (IWY). UNIFEM (Voluntary fund for women) and INSTRAW (research and training institute for women) also both established.

-1972 In Japan, a Working Women's Welfare Law is passed to 'improve the status of working women' (Kietlinski, 2011).

-1972 GB Sports Council set up by the Royal Chater as an independent organisation. It launches a Sport For All Campaign.

-1972 AIAW begins as a division of AAHPER, in 1979 it became an autonomous governing body and ceased in 1984 after control was taken under the NCAA.

-1972 The first South African multiracial PE committee for girls was formed, but academic subjects took precedence (Essa, 2011).

-1972 Jun US Congress enacts Title IX of the Educational Amendments.

-1973 7th IAPESGW World Conference, Tehran, Iran.

-1973 First European Sports Conference (ESC) organised by the Austrian Sport Federation.

-1973 The Finnish Central Sports Federation Women's Sport Committee renamed the Women's Activity Group; was not until 1990s that further work progressed (Laine, 1998).

-1973 The US Tennis Open equalised its awards for men's and women's singles to receive $25,000 (Guttmann, 1991).

-1973 First Women's Cricket World Cup hosted and won by England (WSFF, 2009).

-1973 Sep Billie-Jean King beats Bobby Riggs in a 'comic-opera match' in front of 30,000 spectators and an estimated television audience of 40 million that impacted on some attitudes towards women in sport (Guttmann, 1991: 210).

-1974 UK White Paper on 'Equality for Women' set the groundwork for the Sex Discrimination Act introduced the following year.

-1974 Canadian Fitness and Amateur Sport (FAS), in response to Report in 1970, sponsors the first National Conference on Women and Sport, Toronto, Canada.

-1974 Apr Portuguese Revolution means greater democracy and rights for women.

-1974 Jun Women's Sport Foundation in the USA (WSFUS) launched. womenSports magazine published. Donna de Verona serves as the organisations first President from 1979-1984.

-1975 UN Intl Year for Women.

-1975 1st UN Global Conf for Women, Mexico City (Pendukini says Women and Sport isn't mentioned). Equality, development, and peace were main themes. Global review showed oppression worldwide. Decade for women: Equality, Development Peace 1976-1985 then declared. At the parallel IWY Tribune, thousands of people networked and new possibilities for action were formed.

-1975 Norwegian Confederation of Sports training division organises a seminar on women and sport, Gol, Norway.

-1975 Greek 'Woman in Sport Campaign for Equality' started.

-1975 Sports Authority of India organised the National Sport Festival for Women (Nanayakkara, 2012).

-1975 Romanian Shot Putter Valentina Cioltan is first woman to be caught after steroid tests were checked in European Cup Finals. Over the next 20 years many more were to be caught (Guttmann, 1991).

-1975 Dec UK Sex Discrimination Act. Equal Opportunities Commission established. However, competitive sport is excluded by Section 44 and it is not until 1998 that this is amended.

-[1976-85] UN Decade for Women

-1976 Northern Irish Sex Discrimination Order.

-1976 Equal Pay Act in Denmark. The Equal Treatment Act followed in 1978.

-1976 Apr MINEPS I, Paris, France.

-1976 Sep Council of Europe establishes permanent committee for the further development of sport. European Sport For All Charter adopted.

-1977 8th IAPESGW World Conference, Cape Town, South Africa.

-1977 The King of Spain drafts new laws and legislation after Franco dies. Greater opportunities for women follow.

-1977 Swedish Sports Federation gives support to 'Sports Together: for equal conditions for men and women, boys and girls' campaign.

-1978 UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport and the establishment of the Intergovernmental Committee for PE and Sport (CIGEPS).

-1978 Norwegian Parliament passed a Gender Equality Act, which went into force in 1979 (Hovden, 2010).

-1978 3 Booklets on Women and Sport produced in Norway.

-1978 US Congress passes the Amateur Sports Act of 1978, which prohibits gender discrimination in amateur sports and requires the USOC to encourage and promote amateur athletic activity for individuals with disabilities. Amended in 1996. (O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007).

-1978 2nd Conference of Ministers Responsible for Sport, London, UK. 'Irish delegation agreed to carry out, at the request of the Directing Committee for the Development of Sport, a survey on the role of women in sport, and to organise a seminar on the subject' (WS/I/5/1/1-7). [UNSURE IF SAME AS BELOW ENTRY]

-1978 Dec UK CCPR organises the 'first' international conference on women and sport. 160+ delegates from nearly 30 countries attend and discuss women in sport and sports medicine; sports media; and sports society.

-1978-9 NAPECW (see 1946) joins with the National College Physical Education Association for Men to form the National Association for Physical Education in Higher Education (Park, 2010).

-1979 Decision to appoint an Advisor to the Commonwealth Secretary-General on women and development.

-1979 At the 79th Session in Prague, the IOC amends Rule 31 on women's participation. Women now allowed to compete according to rules of International Federations and after IOC approval.

-1979 China re-takes seat on IOC (Dong, 2003).
-1979 NAGWS Latin American Project (LAP) started.
-1979 AIAW becomes autonomous governing body for women's intercollegiate sport. (Ceased in 1984 when the NCAA controlled both men and women's sport)
-1979 JAPEW starts to conduct joint-research between itself and member organizations was started (still exists).
-1979 Jan WSFUS womenSports magazine replaced by Women Sports Magazine.
-[late 1970s/early 1980s] When the first UK sports development projects were emerging, 'gender' had yet to achieve real profile in sports policy (Kay, 2003, p.107).

1980s

-[1980s-ish?] 'Out of [liberal feminism] developed radical and socialist feminism, each of which incorporated some of the arguments from liberal feminism but provided explanations centred on very different understandings and concerns' (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002, p. 31).

-1980s Bahrain General Organisation for Youth and Sports had a specialised section on women's sports. It was to be reorganised in 1990s but women from all walks of Bahrain life took part in seminars and sports in sex-segregated areas.
-1980 2nd UN Global Conference for Women, Copenhagen, Denmark. (Pendukini says Women and Sport isn't mentioned) Govts met to assess the progress made since the 1st World Conf and to outline actions for the second half of the decade for Women. Education, employment and health were added as sub-themes. A Programme of Action was produced and endorsed followed by a document in 1981 called CEDAW. At the concurrent Copenhagen NGO Forum 8,000 women and some men met to discuss the conf themes but discussions also included wages for housework, appropriate technology and women's studies.
-1980 Commonwealth Women and Development Programme established.
-1980 Council of Europe Directing Committee for the Development of Sport seminar 'for Increased Participation of Women in Sport', Dublin, Ireland.
-1980 Israel Organization for Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women formed (Bandya et al, 2012)
-1980 JAPEW stages a Commemorative Congress on Research for its 25th Anniversary.
-1980 Mar 2nd Canadian National Conference on Women and Sport had a multi-disciplinary approach and provided the basis for CAAWS and the Women's Programme of FAS, Burnaby, Canada.
-1981 UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
-1981 First two women are co-opted as members of the IOC.
-1981 3rd Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Sport meeting, Majorca, Spain. Ministers decided 'to take all necessary measures to ensure an active policy of increased participation of women in sport' (WS/I/5/1/1-7).
-1981or83 Women's Sport Foundation Japan launched [2 different references found]
-1981 9th IAPESGW World Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
-1981 Women's Sports Assoc in Korea (WSAK) established and in mid-1990s was composed of mainly retired international athletes.
-1981 The US AIAW ceases operations and the NCAA takes over college women's sports. The long-term effect of this change is a reduction in the

number of women coaches and administrators (O'Reilly and Cahn, 2007).

-1981 Iranian Women Sports Committee established under supervision of the National Sports Federation, a few years after the Islamic Revolution. However, Chehabi (in Mangan and Hong, 2003; Jahromi, 2011) has found evidence of media specials that shows so little was being done (see also 1985, 1989, 1992).

-1981 Pakistan Women's Action Forum was established in 1981 and in 1986 'discussed the possible opportunities for Pakistani females to compete in international sports' (Nanayakkara, 2012, p.1895).

-1981 Mar Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS) founded.

-1982 GB Sports Council aims to attract more women into active leisure pursuits in its 'Sport in the Community: The Next Ten Years' strategy report. First time women are mentioned as a target group related to sport by the Sports Council.

-1982 Ireland 'Year of Women and Sport'. For the next decade at least, women and sport awards were presented across three categories.

-1982 Indian Ministry of Sport established and aids promotion of women's sport (Nanayakkara, 2012)

-1982 Northern Ireland Women and Sport Campaign launched, including guides, radio broadcasts and participation days.

-1982 Canada publishes 'Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport' by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

-1983 The New Agenda Conference hosted by WSFUS.

-1983 CAAWS National Conference 'Understanding the System'.

-1983 CAAWS National Leadership Seminar on issues affecting women in sport. Booklet produced to help the development of strategies for greater availability of sport for women and girls.

-1983 JAPEW stages first Workshop for Training Women Instructors of Public PE (still exists)

-1983 First woman is elected to be Secretary General of the Syrian NOC. It was not until 2008 that another woman in Asia held this office in an NOC (see El-Houda Karfoul, 2011).

-1983 Dutch Women and Sport Advisory Committee established to advise the Netherlands Sport Federation.

-1984 Australian Sex Discrimination Act

-1984 CAAWS National Conference 'Sport and the Empowerment of Women'.

-1984 China participates in first (proper – due to only competing in one event in 1952) Olympics in Los Angeles winning 15 gold's (Dong, 2003).

-1984 JAPEW stages a Commemorative Congress on Research for its 30th Anniversary. An Asian Congress on PE for Women was also held.

-1984 The First Official Tour de France feminine is held on the same days and matching itinerary over the final two weeks of the men's tour (WSFF, 2009).

-1984 May Norwegian Confederation of Sport appoints a Working Group relating to women and sport.

-1984 Jun Women's Sport Foundation in the UK launched during first meeting, London. Early newsletter also produced.

-1984 Nov Norwegian Seminar on Women and Sport. It includes the Confederation of Sport Working Group presenting on plans formulated in May. A central Women's Committee on Sport was established.

-1985 Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs (WAMM) 'met for the first time, on the eve of the UN 3rd Conf on Women in Nairobi, Kenya. They recommended that the Women and Development

programme shift emphasis from advocacy to 'integration' and requested the development of a Plan of Action, later adopted by WAMM in 1987 (and renewed in Cyprus in 1993), to guide the work of governments and the Secretariat' (WS/I/4/001/1-2).

-1985 3rd UN Global Conf for Women, Nairobi, Kenya. Decade for Women and its themes reviewed and countries agreed to The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women – comprehensive strategies to overcome obstacles to women's equality and development and defined a range of measures to be taken to implement the strategies. At the parallel NGO Forum, conference themes were discussed as well as women in law, women and development, research issues and women in arts and music. (Pendukini says Women and Sport isn't mentioned)

-1985 Japanese Equal Employment Opportunity Law passed

-1985 JAPEW renames its Summer Seminar to the Seminar of PE for School (still exists) and also stages its first Dance Seminar (until 1996).

-1985 CAAWS National Conference 'Sport and Politic – Playing the Game'.

-1985 [8th?] ESC, Cardiff, UK.

-1985 The Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development was set up with the objective of integrating efforts for development of human potential in the areas of Education, Women & Child Development, Arts and culture, Youth Affairs & Sports through its constituent departments.

-1985 Iranian Sports Committee for Women becomes the Directorate of Women's Sports Affairs (see 1981, 1989, 1992).

-1985 Denmark Act of Equal Opportunities for Men and Women on the Appointment of Members of Public Committees and Commissions introduced.

-1985 Sep GB Sports Council brings together a small group of interested men and women who produce a statement on women and sport guiding future strategy.

-1985 Oct WSFUK officially inaugurated at first AGM (Grace, 1995).

-1985 Dec IOC 'Olympic Message' magazine devoted to women and sport.

-1985-7 Norwegian Confederation of Sports Women's Committee project entitled 'More Sport for More Women'

-1986 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development.

-1986 Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission Act and Equal Opportunity for Women Act are enacted.

-1986 Sport Canada Women and Sport Policy published.

-1986 CAAWS National Conference 'Sport and Feminism'.

-1986 Report entitled 'Physical Activity and Aging: A Focus on Women' submitted to Canadian Government.

-1986 Iranian Women Sports Committee moves under authority of Deputy President for Culture and Education of the PE Organisation.

-1986 ICSSPE 12th General Assembly, Gdansk, Poland

-1986 UK stages its first international women's rugby union match (WSFF, 2009).

-1986 Mar European Ministerial Conference on Equality between Men and Women, Strasbourg, France. Resolutions passed and Declaration adopted.

-1986 Mar GB Sports Council and CCPR enquiry into lack of women at top level of sport. WSFUK had lobbied and were included in the final report where government blamed a shortage of women and not the structure as the issue.

-1986 Nov UK Ministers in the Departments of Education and Science and the Environment stage a seminar to address growing unrest regarding the state of sport and PE in UK schools (see 1987 Apr).

-1987 5th Conferencia Interamericana de Deporte para la Nina y la Mujer – Guatemala. [Seemed to be important, see 1988 IAPESGW Bulletin for more]

-1987 Commonwealth Heads of Govt Ministers (CHOGM) set up a Division of Women and Youth to begin to address gender equity. (see 1989)

-1987 Australian Policy and Plan for Women in Sport formulated by ASC in response to recommendations made in a 'Women, Sport and the Media' report published by the Working Group on Women and Sport established by the Federal Govt.

-1987 CAAWS National Conference 'Legislating for Social Change'.

-1987 CAAWS National Coaching School for Women established.

-1987 WSFUK receives a £40,000 grant from the UK Sports Council to fund two full-time staff.

-1987 UK Local Government Training Board pilots a management development programme for women managers in leisure and recreation.

-1987 Jan GB Sports Council paper reveals 'there is clear evidence of sex discrimination relating to membership, committees and playing and social facilities in mixed sports organisations grant-aided by the Sports Council' and puts forward recommendations to address this (WS/UK/2/001/3).

-1987 Feb USA National Women and Girls in Sports Day held annually from this point (Comeau and Church, 2010).

-1987 Apr European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights adopts and tables a motion for a resolution on Women's Rights in Sport.

-1987 Apr UK School Sport Forum established by the Sports Council in response to a seminar by UK Ministries (see 1986 Nov).

-1987 May Norwegian Confederation of Sports general meeting agrees to continue the Women's Committee project entitled 'More Sport for More Women', and offers greater investment, structure and management.

-1987 Oct WSFUK Annual Meeting, Leicester.

-1987 Oct European Parliament Resolution on Women and Sport.

-1987 Nov New central Norwegian Confederation of Sports Women's Committee is formed.

-1988-91 Five WSFUK regional groups established during this period thanks to a more structured approach of work (Grace, 1995).

-1988 New Brazilian Federal Constitution established equality of sexes by law (Guedes, 2010).

-1988 UK Local Government Act Section 28 amendment passed which inhibits intentional promotion of homosexuality by local authorities and thus negatively effects gay and lesbians in the UK.

-1988 CAAWS National Conference 'Provincial/Regional Policy Development and Implementation'.

-1988 Canadian Report of the 'National Task Force on Young Females and Physical Activity: The Status Quo and Strategies for Change' submitted to Government.

-1988 Government of Canada publishes (although written by H. Lenskyj) an extensive research and bibliography on 'Women, Sport and Physical Activity'. 2nd Edition published in 1991.

-1988 JAPEW registered as a research organization by the Science Council of Japan. Also stages the first All Japan Dance Festival for High School and College Students (still exists).

-1988 Denmark Sex Discrimination Act enacted.

-1988 Netherlands 'Year for Women and Sport'.

-1988 The International Association of Women Sports Photographers is established.

-1988 Jan[-1990] Norwegian Confederation of Sports Women's Committee 'More Sport Activity for More Women' project re-launched.

-1988 Mar UK Equal Opportunities Commission proposes amendments to the Sex Discrimination Act which would further women's rights in some aspects of sport (e.g. club membership). However, these are in abeyance due to forthcoming Equal Pay Act considerations.

-1988 Oct WSFUK Annual General Meeting, London.

-1988 Nov MINEPS II, Moscow, Russia.

-1988 Nov WSFUK meets with the GB Sports Council – 'The significance of this venture was that it established a pilot working relationship between the two organisations (Grace, 1995, p.56)

-1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child [provided support for the concept of sport and physical education as a human right for children]

-1989 Norway's Equal Status Act extended to include sport.

-1989 CHOGM identified sport as an issue with area of recommendation being gender equity in sport and that commonwealth countries should give priority to female participation. This was brought to the attention of the Commonwealth Games Federation. CHOGM Division of Women and Youth changed to Division of Women, Youth and Sport.

-1989 11th IAPESGW World Conference, Bali, Indonesia.

-1989 JAPEW stages IAPESGW Post Congress Seminar. It also expands its structure, stages a Commemorative Congress on Research for its 35th Anniversary, and stages the first Preschool Education Seminar (still exists).

-1989 Hillary Commission in New Zealand Women and Girls Involvement in Sport and Physical Recreation Policy.

-1989 Report entitled 'Physical Activity and Women with Disabilities: A National Survey' submitted to Canadian Government.

-1989 Iranian Directorate of Women's Sports Affairs becomes the Deputy of PE and Women's Sports Affairs (see 1981, 1985, 1992) under the umbrella PE organisation Iran for both sexes.

-1989 The Swedish Working Group for Equality in Sport Plan for Equality is adopted by the Swedish Sports Confederation General Assembly.

-1989 Northern Ireland seminar on Women in Sport and the Media staged.

-1989 GB Sports Council targets women 20-34 years old in its £10m 'What's on Women' (WOW) Campaign.

-1989 Japan Women's Soccer League established

-1989 Apr UK Privatisation of leisure through Compulsory Competitive Tendering. WSF worried that not everyone would have access to sport and leisure (and thus the Sports Council 'sport for all slogan') (Grace, 1995).

-1989 Apr WSFUK and CCPR host a seminar on 'Developing Women's Sport'.

-1989 May Swedish Sports Confederation 'Forum for Women', whereby regional and district women sport leaders discussed the future for women and sport.

-1989 Jul Dutch Sports Federation produced a booklet entitled 'Our Chairman is a Woman', which focuses on women in leadership roles and managing sports organisations.

-1989 Aug WSFUS Report on 'Minorities in Sports: The effect of varsity sports participation on the social, educational, and career mobility of minority students'.

-1989 Sep Council of Europe 'Women and Sport: Taking the Lead' Seminar, Bisham Abbey, UK.

-1989 Sep[-Sep 1991] Dutch Sports Federation organises nearly 100 courses related to women and sport leadership at various levels.

-1989 Oct 9th ESC, Sofia, Bulgaria. European Sports Conference Working Group on Women and Sport formed.
-1989 Oct WSFUK Annual General Meeting, Coventry.
-1989 Oct WSFUK and CCPR hold joint coaching workshop and seminar with the British Institute of Sports Coaches.
-1989 Nov Swedish Sports Federation General Assembly passes a Plan of Action for Equality in Sport.
-1989 Dec German Sports Federation 36th Meeting of Main Committee passes a scheme for the promotion of women in sport.

1990s

-[early 1990s] UK Sports Council impact
-1991 DES, Sport and Active Recreation policy review
Sports Council strategy document, New Horizons.
-1993 The Women and Sport Policy seven 'Frameworks For Action' [led to B.CONF]

-1990s 'Post-structuralist feminist theory once again building from and challenging what has gone before. However, at no point is one feminism totally replaced by another' (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002, p. 31).

-1990 First woman elected to the IOC Exec Board (Flor Isava Fonseca)
-1990 Yemini Women Sport General Administration founded.
-1990 In Turkey, a General Directorate on the Status of Women, attached to the Turkish Prime Ministry, was founded and later in the year women are given right to work without the permission of their husbands.
-1990 First Intl Women and Sport Seminar, Chiangmai, Thailand.
-1990 Denmark Act on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women on the Appointment of Members of certain Executive Committees or Governing Bodies enacted.
-1990 Finnish Central Sports Federation accepts a project entitled 'Women and Sport in the 1990s' as part of its official strategies for the year.
-1990 Swedish 'Leadership for Women in Sport' course has 200 participants.
-1990 Women and Sport seminar staged at the GB Sports Council's annual national conference.
-1990 International Triathlon Union forms a Women's Commission and introduces principles of equality and progressiveness.
-1990 Jan Commonwealth Women and Sport Network formed after Auckland Commonwealth Games and ICHPER-SD Conference meetings.
-1990 Mar In Germany, the Deutsche Turn und Sport Bund sets up a Commission of Women's Sports. German Sports Federation produced 6-monthly documents regarding issues and events for 'sports of girls and women'. According to the Women's Sports Calendar of the Sports Federation, over 100 seminars, congresses and meetings were held on women and sport in 1990 (WS/1/5/001/1-7).
-1990 May 'Women and Sport: Taking the Lead' national seminar, Finland.
-1990 May 'Women and Sport' Seminar, Madrid, Spain. 500 delegates.
-1990 Jun Women and Sport 'Alliance' formed as the result of women meeting at the Olympic Academy, Greece.
-1990 Jun Dutch Sports Federation organises a seminar entitled 'More Women in Sport Organisations'. A newsletter ('Feminale') is produced twice a year until at least 1993.
-1990 Jul GB Sports Council magazine dedicates an entire issue to women and sport.
-1990 Aug Report on 'The Gender Structure of National Sports Organisations' submitted to Canadian Government.

-1990 Aug First Nordic Conference on Coaching Top Women Athletes, Sweden.

-1990 Aug Scottish Sports Council and National Coaching Centre organise a 'Women in Sports Coaching' seminar.

-1990 [Autumn] Finnish Ministry of Education publishes report on 'Women in Physical Culture in Finland'. Women and sport participation and involvement issues feature heavily.

-1990 Oct Third Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs meeting in Ottawa, Canada. Commonwealth Women and Sport Network report discussed and criteria adopted.

-1990 Oct WSFUK Annual General Meeting, London.

-1990 Nov WSFUK submission for national Sports Council recognition approved allowing it to apply for national funding; approved early-1991.

-1990 Dec In Spain, the Consejo Superior de Deportes highlights its research on the situation and participation of women in sport in the country.

-1990 Dec GB Sports Council Policy Working Group (led by Anita White) produce a draft paper on Women and Sport and disseminates to invited experts for comment (see 1991 Feb).

-1991 8th PanAmerican Congress of PE (not necessarily to do with women all the time) in Columbia, started in 1943.

-1991 Islamic Countries' Women's Sport Solidarity Council approved at the second session of the Iranian NOC exec board, Tehran.

-1991 Australian Sports Commission (ASC) produces 'Strategies for Change: Creating New Opportunities for Girls in Sport' resource pack made available for schools, as part of its 'Sport: Everyone's Game' programme.

-1991 WomenSport Australia Alliance formed from discussions between the WSF of Western Australia and the Australian Association of Women's Sport and Rec (SA Division)

-1991 2nd Women and Sport Seminar sponsored by Thailand NOC.

-1991 WSFUK press and publicity group negotiate a contract with a publisher to launch a Women and Sport Magazine.

-1991 JAPEW granted a Sports Promotion Subsidy and stages a Movement Festival and National Congress on Public PE.

-1991 The US Women's Soccer team wins the first-ever women's World Cup (61 years after the first men's World Cup). The US Women's Rugby team also wins the first ever World Cup competition.

-1991 Jan WSFUS Annual Conference, Indianapolis, USA.

-1991 Feb Joint seminar held by the House of Reps Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs and the ASC on 'a chance to have a say on Equity for Women in Sport', Australia.

-1991 Feb GB Sports Council Policy Working Group produces a second draft paper on Women and Sport and disseminates to Sports Council regions and units and outside-experts and policy makers (see 1991 Autumn).

-1991 Mar Joint WSFUK, Sports Council, and British Institute of Sports Coaches Women in Coaching Workshop organised in Sheffield.

-1991 Apr American branch of IAPESGW annual meeting, San Francisco, USA. Unsure whether this happened in other countries/regions.

-1991 Jun 10th ESC, Oslo, Norway. ESC agrees to the recommendations of the Working Group on Women and Sport and extends it by two years to monitor their implementation. UK to chair up to 1993.

-1991 Jun 'Sportswomen Step Forward' Conference, Sydney, Australia. Organised by ASC, it aimed to motivate women to achieve excellence and equity in sport management and coaching.

-1991 Jul Working Party on Strengthening Commonwealth Sport final report highlights concerns over women in sport in the Commonwealth Games.

-1991 Autumn GB Sports Council Policy Working Group draft policy considered by Sports Council but recommended for further dissemination and consultation (see 1992 Jan).

-1991 Sep WSFUK stage the 'Women, Get Set, Go!' women and sport leadership course.

-1991 Oct Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Congress convened by the Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Council. Name changed soon after to Islamic Federation of Women's Sport and stages international Islamic Women Sports Solidarity Games' (see 1993 and 1997). It has become 'a major women's sports organisation in the Muslim world' (Chehabi, in Mangan and Hong, 2003: 287).

-1991 Oct WSFUK Annual General Meeting, Wakefield.

-1991 Nov ESC Working Group on Women and Sport Meeting, London, UK.

-1991 Dec IAPESGW Exec Board Meeting, Bisham Abbey, UK.

-1991 Dec GB Sports Council produces a directory of women in the sports media.

-1992 The 2nd LatinoAmerican Conference of PE, Culture and Society occurred in Colombia. [stuff was going on, but regarding women's issues?]

-1992 Women's Desk formed after South Africa National Sport Congress, with financial help from the ASC.

-1992 Iranian Deputy of PE and Women's Sports Affairs replaced by a Women's Sport Office and most of its responsibility for governing women's affairs was given to federations (sports governing bodies) (Jahromi, 2011) (see also 1981, 1985, 1989).

-1992 Iraqi Women's Sport Federation founded and initiated by the Iraqi Sports Council with the approval of the Iraqi NOC (Al-Wattar et al. 2011).

-1992 3rd Women and Sport Seminar sponsored by Thailand NOC.

-1992 In the Netherlands, a network of women in national sports federations is established under the supervision of the Sport Federation.

-1992 China passes a new Women's Law to prevent commercial discrimination (Dong, 2003).

-1992 Norway presents first ever white paper on sport. It has a large focus on inclusion.

-1992 GB Sports Council produces an information pack on women and sport to be distributed.

-1992 Jan GB Sports Council publishes a Consultation Paper on Women and Sport that forms the foundations for a future policy (see 1993 Jan). It also produces one on Young People and Sport, People with Disabilities, and Black and Ethnic Minorities in Sport at various points throughout the year.

-1992 Jan WSFUK become sponsored by Tambrands (owner of Tampax) for two years. A magazine and awards ceremonies follow.

-1992 Feb USA National Girls and Women in Sports Day (Feb 6th)

-1992 Mar ASC produces a practical guide for sporting organisations to develop gender equity plans entitled 'Towards Gender Equity in Sport'.

-1992 Mar ESC Working Group on Women and Sport Meeting, Copenhagen, Denmark.

-1992 Mar GB Sports Council forms a Women and Sport Media Group.

-1992 Apr WSFUS Annual Conference, Denver, USA. Formations of WISC established.

-1992 May 7th Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Sport, Rhodes, Greece. The 1975 Sport for All Charter is revised and updated into a new European Sport Charter.

-1992 Jun American College of Sports Medicine 40th Annual Meeting, Seattle, Washington. There was a focus on the Female Athlete Triad and a Call to Action was produced.

-1992 [Summer?] Womensport Australia Alliance formed.

-1992 Sep Intl Symposium 'World of Women – World of Sport', Frankfurt, Germany.

-1992 Sep ESC Working Group on Women and Sport Meeting, Athens, Greece.

-1992 Oct Mauritian 'Commission Nationale du Sport Féminin' established by the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

-1992 Nov Women in Sport Leadership Conference, Denmark.

-1992 Dec WSFUK Annual General Meeting, London.

-1993 Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights at UN World Conference, Vienna, Austria. Makes women's human rights a priority.

-1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

-1993 Islamic Federation of Women's Sport hosts the International Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games, Tehran, Iran.

-1993 Morocco National Association for Women's Physical Activity and Sport (ANFAPS) established with the aim of 'disseminating PE as an integral part of women's development, promotion and emancipation' (El Faquir, 2011: 242).

-1993 Canadian Sports Council incorporates gender equity into its guiding principles.

-1993 Canadian Association for Health, PE, Recreation and Dance (CAHPERD) launch the Gender Equity Schools Initiative.

-1993 GB Sports Council provides base funding of £105,000 for a WSFUK National Development Project

-1993 ASC launches its 'Active Girls Campaign' – a resource for schools about girls, physical activity, and sport in Australia.

-1993 Danish Sports Federation announces equal opportunities for women as part of its policy. It was dropped in 1998 for a number of reasons, and then was changed again in 2007 due to research on management (Pfister, 2010).

-1993 Female golfer Annika Sorenstam becomes the first woman in over fifty years to play in a men's PGA Tour event, Texas, USA (WSFF, 2009).

-1993 Jan Women and Sport Conference 'Collecting and Sharing Good Practice', Arnhem, Netherlands, Ntl Sports Confederation and ESC WG on women and sport.

-1993 Jan ESC Working Group on Women and Sport Meeting, Arnhem, Netherlands.

-1993 Jan UK Sports Council brought together 65 reps from all areas of sport to discuss the implementation of their Women and Sport Policy. This was to eventually inform the production of the National Framework for Action on Women and Sport.

-1993 Mar ESC Sub-Group of the Working Group on Women and Sport meet to discuss the format of the Final Report to be submitted to ESC, London, UK.

-1993 Mar Scottish Sports Council organises a women and sport conference entitled 'A Sporting Chance'.

-1993 Jun ESC Working Group on Women and Sport Meeting, Constanta, Romania.

-1993 Jul 12th IAPESGW World Conference, Melbourne, Australia.

-1993 Aug ICHPER Conf, Special Interest Group on Women, Japan.

-1993 Sep ESC, Bratislava, (now) Slovakia. The Women and Sport Working Group gets elected to the exec council/board and European Group on Women and Sport (EWS) is formed. All countries present agreed to collect info and data from their countries. 'A result of special working group activities which the European Sports Conference (ESC) had devised during 1989 – 1993' (Kluka, 2008, p. 98).

-1993 Nov WomenSport International (WSI) discussed and formulated at NASSS Conference, Ottawa, Canada. WISC to be WSI.

-1993 Nov WSFUK Annual General Meeting, London.

[WSF in the Philippines formed by now]

-1994 Polish Association for Women and Sport formed.

-1994 Israeli Unit for the Advancement of Women in Sport established as part of the Sports and PE Authority of the Ministry of Education.

-1994 The Hellenic Union for Promoting Women in Sport and Physical Activity formed (Bandya et al, 2012)

-1994 Mexico's 4th Women World Conference Committee sponsors a study on women's leisure and sports.

-1994 EWS have three meetings since Bratislava Conference, and the final one includes a two-day national seminar on women and sport in Athens, Greece.

-1994 Feb Intl Women and Sport Meeting, UK Sports Council, London, UK. Ad-hoc Brighton Conference group meet to discuss plans and brainstorm ideas on an international strategy for women and sport work.

-1994 Feb EWS 1st Meeting, UK Sports Council, London, UK.

-1994 Feb WSI formally established.

-1994 Mar South African National Conference forms the South African Sportswomen's Foundation.

-1994 Mar JAPEW stages a Commemorative one-year Project for its 40th Anniversary was implemented

-1994 Apr Legal challenge over name rights by WSF in USA toward WSF in UK. Previously done to WSF in Japan a few years earlier.

-1994 May Brighton Conference.

-Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport

-International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG)

-International Strategy on Women and Sport (1994-1998) 'A period of gaining awareness and acceptance of the gender equality and equity that was the focus of the Brighton Declaration' (Kluka, 2008, p. 82).

-African Women in Sport Association (AWSA) [now AWISA] drafted

-[1994 onwards] International Olympic Committee (IOC) impact

-'Prior to the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, the IOC (1994) requested that the Olympic charter be revised to overtly state that women and sport were important parts of the Olympic Charter' [certainly due to B.DEC involvement?] (Kluka, 2008, p. 91).

-1994 May IAPESGW Exec Board Meeting. Shift toward investigating and utilising the strengths of those involved with the Association.

-1994 [Summer] Asian Women's Sports Congress prior to Asian Games.

-1994 Jun UN Jakarta Declaration for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific.

-1994 Aug WSI First Newsletter 'The Starting Line' published. Also created Task Forces by now on Physical Activity and Women's Health, the Female

Athlete Triad, Masters Athletes, Sexual Harassment of Young Athletes, and Gender Verification.

-1994 Sep Centennial Olympic Congress 'Congress of Unity', Paris, France. Women in sport mentioned throughout final document. However, Fasting who was in attendance, says it was very male-dominated and anything about women was said by male journalists or male athletes. (WS/I/1/011/2 May1994-Dec1994, Sep 1994).

-1994 Sep CAAWS produces 'Harassment in Sport: A Guide to Policies, Procedures and Resources' with a range of sporting and coaching partners across Canada.

-1994 Oct WSFUK celebrate 10th anniversary.

-1994 Nov IWG First Meeting, Ottawa, Canada.

-1994 Dec Deutsche SportBund (DSB – main sports org in Germany) votes through historic constitution changes including women's voting, quotas and enhanced opportunities and powers.

-1994/5 IOC adopts Brighton Declaration and establishes own working group called the Women and Sport Working Group [some confusion – IOC says 95, Kluka and scholars say 94...]

-1995 Egyptian Women's Sport Association established.

-1995 Pan-American Sports Organisation (PASO) forms a Working Group on Women and Sport [but also said it was established in 1998?]

-1995 Africa Association for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance (AFAHPER–S.D.) formally inaugurated in Botswana.

-1995 Finland enacts an Equal Opportunities Act.

-1995 EWS confirmed as a free-standing body by the ESC. 1st Open Meeting hosted by the Norwegian Confederation of Sports.

-1995 South Africa National Sports Council Women's Standing Committee convened.

-1995 Malaysian Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation founded.

-1995 The '1995 Plan of Action: A Commonwealth Vision towards the Year 2000' launched by Commonwealth Heads of Government and is fundamentally based on democracy and good governance, respect for human rights, and equality regardless of gender or race.

-1995 WSFUK launches 'Women, Get Set, Go!' to encourage women to get involved in sport and sport leadership.

-1995 ASC produces a guide for women titled 'Don't Stop for Menopause'.

-1995 UK Royal Automobile Club Motor Sports Association (RACMSA) creates 'Women in Motorsport' working group who present report findings the next year.

-1995-2000 Norwegian Women Project to increase the number of top level female athletes and female leaders in sport.

-1995 Jan Atlanta Plus founded in Paris. It aimed 'at eliminating discrimination against women in sports and preventing the exclusion of women from the Olympic Games' (Icken, in Hofmann and Trangbaek, 2005: 216) although it has been criticised heavily for the way it attempts to do this.

-1995 Feb Finnish initiative called Spikes formed and reported to the Ministry of Education five recommendations. Aided by revision of national Equality Act and impact of B.Conf.

-1995 Mar-Apr 39th Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, NY, USA. Both Darlison and Pendukeni attend, with women and sport and physical activity mentioned in the draft Platform for Acton. Also the UN NGO Forum on Women, New York, USA, and WSI presents a workshop entitled 'Key Issues and Intl Strategies in Women's Physical Activity and Sport'.

-1995 May World Forum on Physical Activity and Sport, Quebec, Canada. Heavy lobbying by WSI and IWG to get women and sport and physical activity better coverage.

-1995 May 8th European Ministers of Sports Conference, Lisbon, Portugal. CDDS press for B.Dec to be mentioned in the texts adopted. In the 'Declaration of the role of sports in the society', recommendation (95) 17 states that 'young girls should have more opportunities to participate and become involved in athletic activities'.

-1995 Jun WSI Exec Committee Meeting, Minneapolis, USA.

-1995 Jul IWG Annual Meeting, Jakarta, Indonesia.

-1995 Jul WSFUK becomes a company limited by guarantee.

-1995 Sep 4th UN Global Conference for Women, Beijing, China. 'Beijing platform for action' – first educational and community opportunities for women and girls. How does this link into the B.Dec, if at all, 1 year earlier? Opportunity to review Forward Looking Strategies too.

-1995 Sep IOC Exec Board agrees to recommend to next General Meeting that it 'intensify without delay the promotion of the presence of women within sport and its technical and administrative structures' by introducing gender targets for national federations (WSI Newsletter Vol 2.3, 1995). B.Dec also supported.

-1995 Sep WSI convenes Intl Forum on the Female Athlete Triad just prior to 4th Olympic Scientific Congress, Atlanta, USA. Joins IOC Medical Commission on a Joint Task Force.

-1995 Sep An extensive UK review of women and sport research is conducted by Tess Kay at Loughborough University on behalf on the GB Sports Council.

-1995 Oct First international conference on 'Women and Sport', Alexandria, Egypt.

-1995 Oct WSFUK Annual General Meeting, London.

-1995 Dec Working Group on Women and Sport set up to advise IOC Exec Board. Chaired by Anita DeFrantz.

-1995 Dec National Seminar on Women and Sport in Israel in cooperation with NOC and National Sports Federation.

-1995 Dec IAPESGW Boarding Meeting, Israel.

-1995 Dec EWS Board Meeting, Natanya, Israel.

[Increased focus in UK on sexual abuse and sexual harassment work in sport]

-1996 Council of Europe Committee on equality between men and women meeting, Strasbourg, France. They discuss the 1995 UN Conference for Women outcomes and implement basic priorities to which all future programmes must consider regarding women. The CDDS incorporates these into its future programmes.

-1996 Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly approve a resolution about discrimination against women in sports and especially during the Olympic Games.

-1996 National Committee of Australian Sports Ministers, through its special Sub-Committee on Women in Sport in Recreation develops the 'Australian Women in Sport and Recreation Strategy 1996-2001'. The strategy is nationally coordinated to improve sporting and recreational opportunities and is consistent with B.Dec principles. (WSI Newsletter, Vol 3.1, 1996).

-1996 Palestine Ministry of Sport and Youth, Women Committee Sport Affairs established.

-1996 In the USA, the National Basketball Association approves the creation of the Women's NBA and the WNBA season starts in 1997 (WSFF, 2009).

-1996 Mar IOC Women and Sport Working Group first meeting, Lausanne, Switzerland.

-1996 Mar 1st Asian Conference on women and sport, Manila, Philippines organised by ICHPER-SD and the Philippines Sports Commission and Women's Sports Foundation. Manila Declaration on Women and Sport created and signed by 16 Asian nations. Adapted from B.Dec.

-1996 Mar Council of Arab Ministers of Youth and Sport endorse the Brighton Declaration and approve the creation and launch of the Sports Association of Arab Women (SAAW). This was direct result of the previous year's Alexandria Conference.

-1996 Mar Women in Sport seminar held in Australia as part of the Sydney 2000 development programme in Oceania.

-1996 Mar National Sports Seminar on Women and Sport in Northern Ireland entitled 'Clearing the Hurdles'.

-1996 Mar EWS Board Meeting, Belfast, Northern Ireland.

-1996 May IWG Annual Meeting. Sydney, Australia.

-1996 May First IOC working group on women and sport 'developing nations' seminar on leadership for women in sport in the Oceania region was held in Suva, Fiji. A seminar was also held in Mexico for women sports journalists from central and Latin America and the Caribbean.

-1996 Jul WSI Exec Committee Meeting, Dallas, USA.

-1996 Aug 2nd EWS Conference, Stockholm, Sweden. 'Women, Sport and Health'.

-1996 Oct 1st IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Lausanne, Switzerland. Resolution on women and sport passed. 17 points that need to be realised before the Olympic Ideal can be recognised in the Resolution that was produced. Also, informal South American W+S group formed.

-1996 Oct Islamic Women's International Mini Games. Islamabad, Pakistan.

-1996 Oct EWS Board Meeting, Athens, Greece.

-1996 Nov Congreso Panamericano de Educacion Fisica – Congress on Women and Sport, Barquisimeto, Venezuela. The first international C.P.E.F (Spanish bit!) Convention on PE, Sports and Recreation for Women – 700 participants, 13 countries. [Some confusion, was it a main conference for women, or was women in sport a convention theme?]

-1996 Nov National Conference on Women and Sport in Colombia. National Association of Women and Sport formed with Clemencia Anaya Maya as President.

-1996 Nov 1st Portuguese Congress on Women and Sport, Lisbon. Over 300 participants. Portuguese Association of Women and Sports may have been formed from this.

-1997 Anita DeFrantz becomes IOC Vice President.

-1997 Olympic Solidarity Funding launches a Women and Sport Programme (IOC, 2008).

-1997 IAAF Development Sub-Committee prepares a series of strategies to promote women in all aspects of athletics.

-1997 WSI Sexual Harassment Task Force produce brochure of info and recommendations on the issue.

-1997 Iran Sport for All Association formed.

-1997 WSFUK becomes a registered charity.

-1997 Czech Republic NOC establishes a Women and Sport Committee.

-1997 Seminar on Women and Sports in Asia staged in coordination with the OCA and IOC, Beirut, Lebanon.

-1997 JAPEW starts a project for a Dance Movement Instructors License

-1997 UK Health Education Authority produces guidelines to promote physical activity with young women.

-1997 'Active Australia': A National Participation Framework launched; later influences women and sport policy (see 1999).
-1997 ASC report on media coverage and portrayal of women's sport in Australia in 1996 produced titled 'An Illusory Image'; poor coverage overall compared to men's sport.
-1997 Feb IWG Annual Meeting. Auckland, New Zealand
-1997 Feb Commonwealth Games Federation first sub-committee on women and sport, London.
-1997 Mar IOC Working Group on Women and Sport meeting, Casablanca, Morocco.
-1997 Mar New National Council and National Strategy for Women in Sport South Africa.
-1997 Mar EWS Board Meeting, Nicosia, Italy.
-1997 Mar-Apr Intl Women's Sports Festival, Sydney Australia. Organised by Womensport Australia, there were events, seminars and workshops for over 800 female participants.
-1997 Apr Iberoamerican Olympic Academies Assoc meeting, Guatemala. 5 Central and South American countries adopt B.Dec.
-1997 Apr IOC W+S WG meeting, Casablanca, Morocco.
-1997 Apr-May ODESUR meeting in Medellin, Columbia. 16 Central and South American countries adopt B.Dec.
-1997 May IAAF/Asian Athletic Federation symposium on women and sport. Jakarta, Indonesia. Representatives from 18 countries attended.
-1997 May USA President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports produces a report on Physical Activity and Sport in the Lives of Girls.
-1997 Jun 'Sport for All' debated in the UK House of Commons – women and sport feature strongly.
-1997 Jul 13th IAPESGW World Conference, Lahti, Finland.
-1997 Jul EWS Board Meeting, London, UK.
-1997 Aug Asian Women and Sport Conference [MAY BE THE ONE ABOVE], Jakarta, Indonesia.
-1997 Sep Australian Olympic Committee Women Sports Leaders Task Force and ASC both produce women in sport leadership documents.
-1997 Oct Islamic Federation of Women's Sport hosts the second International Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games, Islamabad, Pakistan.
-1997 Oct WSFUK Annual Conference, Brighton.

[By late 1998, WASSA had been formed]

-1998 'It is interesting that while the UK's leadership on gender equity policy was extremely effective internationally, it was not welcomed by the government of the day in the UK. It was not until May 1998, on the eve of the second World Conference in...[pg66]...Namibia, that the Labour government adopted it' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 65-6).
-1998 1st MERCOSUR Conference on Women and Sport, Mar Del Plata, Argentina.
-1998 IOC Women and Sport Bulletin first published. Was to be produced every 3 months.
-1998 Sports Association of Arab Women (SAAW) established.
-1998 UK stages its first professional boxing bout which included its first officially licensed female boxer (WSFF, 2009).
-1998 Women are allowed to be voted in as members of the influential Marylebone Cricket Club, UK, after 200 years of exclusivity (WSFF, 2009).

-1998 Feb IWG Annual Meeting, Windhoek, Namibia.

-1998 Mar France NOC and Sports Committee organised a debate entitled 'The Role of Women in Sport'.

-1998 Mar Togo NOC organises first national seminar for women in sport.

-1998 Mar 2nd Colombian National Conference on Women and Sport, Medellin, Colombia.

-1998 Apr 'No Limits, No Barriers' Trinidad and Tobago Women and Sport Conference attended by over 200 women from the islands and other Caribbean nations.

-1998 May 2nd World Conference on Women and Sport, Windhoek, Namibia - "Reaching Out for Change"

-Windhoek Call for Action

-1998-2002 International Women and Sport Strategy

-Linkages with the Beijing platform for action and the United Nations CEDAW documents called for.

-1998 May AWISA officially launched right before the Windhoek conference

-1998 May WSFUK reveals results of a vote concerning opening up its membership to men. Votes for 55, against 6, abstentions 8.

-1998 May WSFUS produces a report on Sport and Teen Pregnancy.

-1998 Jun IOC encourages NOCs to work more consistently to reach women in leadership position targets at a joint IOC and ANOC meeting, Seville, Spain.

-1998 Jun Australian NOC workshop 'The Changing Face of Leadership', Sydney, Australia.

-1998 Jul Mauritania NOC has 'women and sport' as a leading theme in its traditional Olympic Day sports activities.

-1998 Jul 4th Latin American Congress, ICHPERSD, Ecuador.

-1998 Aug Council of Europe CDDS Seminar on Women and Sport, Kaunas, Lithuania

-1998 Aug Peru NOC organises the first seminar on Pan-American Women in Sport, Lima.

-1998 Aug Albanian Women and Sport Foundation founded.

-1998 Aug CAAWS produces an extensive media guide for athletes and their coaches.

-1998 Sep EWS 3rd Conference 'Women Sport Partnership', Athens, Greece.

-1998 Sep 1st IOC regional seminar on Women and Sport in Europe, Zagreb. [10 yrs after EWS formed…] 54 women representing 37 European countries attend.

-1998 Sep Somalia NOC holds national seminar entitled 'Women's Participation in Sport'.

-1998 Sep Iran Women's Mountaineering Fed hosts British climbers as part of planned exchange.

-1998 Oct Gambia NOC and Sports Committee organised national seminar on women and sport

-1998 Oct PASO W+S Working Committee established by PASO Gen Assembly [according to PASO progress report]

-1998 Oct WSFUK Annual Conference, Gateshead.

-1998 Nov Many key members from the Women and Sport Movement meet UNESCO in Paris regarding women's sport and physical activity.

-1998 Nov IOC Regional Seminar for French- and Portuguese-speaking African NOCs, Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Resolutions on women and sport adopted.

-1998 Nov Albanian NOC held 1st Ntnl Conf on Women and Sport in Tirana

-1998 Nov Benin NOC organises national seminar on women and sport in Cotonou

-1998 Nov Czech Republic NOC organises a Women and Sport seminar.

-1998 Dec Ethiopia NOC organises 3-day national symposium on Women and Sport in Addis Ababa.
-1998 Dec IWG Meeting, Bogota, Colombia
-1998 Dec JWS (Japanese Women in Sport Foundation) founded.

-1999 NAGWS (current name) celebrates 100-year anniversary.
-1999 [Early] NAWIS created.
-1999 Jan International Handball Federation organised a symposium on Women and Handball in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.
-1999 Feb The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; review of the Beijing platform – acknowledges women and sport and physical activity in its recommendations.
-1999 Feb EWS Steering Group meeting, Vilnius, Lithuania.
-1999 Feb Research project financially assisted by the IOC examines the experience and meaning of sport and exercise in the lives of women in some European countries. Scholars from Norway, Germany, Spain and the UK contribute.
-1999 Mar UN CSW Meetings. WSI continue to push for women and sport and physical activity inclusion in key documents.
-1999 Mar Singapore Sports Council (SSC) organises 1st Women and Sport Conference 'Women and Sport: New Horizons', the formation of the Women and Sport Group follows in November.
-1999 Mar IOC WG on Women and Sport Annual meeting (Hong Kong, China).
-1999 Mar IOC Regional Seminar for North America and the Caribbean NOCs, Kingston, Jamaica. Resolutions on women and sport adopted.
-1999 Mar Albanian NOC stages Women and Sport Day
-1999 Mar Cyprus NOC organised a national seminar on women and sport.
-1999 Mar Sport England commissions research on Women-friendly sports facilities.
-1999 [Spring] WomenSport Australia host WomenSport Festival and unveil strategies [such as Harassment-free strategy].
-1999 Apr WSF Israel organises annual sporting event in Tel Aviv.
-1999 Apr WSFUS annual summit – 'Beyond our Barriers'.
-1999 Apr CAHPERD Gender Equity Schools Initiative produces a Resource Kit on Gender Equity in PE with CAAWS.
-1999 May IOC Seminar for African (English Speaking) NOCs in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, including a workshop in barriers and means of overcoming them for women leaders. Resolutions on women and sport adopted.
-1999 May French Women and Sport National Conference, Paris, France. National Conferences also occurred in 2000 and 2001.
-1999 May Gender Equity in the Administration and Govt of Ntnl and Intl Sport Feds seminar, Leeds Metropolitan University, UK.
-1999 May EWS Steering Group meeting, Prague, Czech Republic.
-1999 Jun IOC abandons genetic-based screening to an extent (as they leave the final decision with the Organising Committees) for gender verification by a team of specialists (inc. female gynaecologist) for the Sydney Games.
-1999 Jun Liberian Women and Sports Association established.
-1999 Jul 2nd FIFA Symposium on Women's Football, Los Angeles. Coincides with Women's World Cup
-1999 Jul Informal Pan-American Meeting of Women and Sport, Winnipeg, Canada.
-1999 Jul Burundi NOC Women in Sport Commission initiates project and workshops and action plan.
-1999 Jul WSFUS produces a report titled 'Addressing the needs of female professional and amateur athletes'.

-1999 Aug 1st Oceania/Melanesian Women and Sport Workshop, Port Vila, Vanuatu.
-1999 Sep Sport England and WSFUK launch the National Action Plan for Women's and Girls' Sport and Physical Activity (five years after the Brighton Conference).
-1999 Sep EWS Open Meeting 'Women's Fair Play', Malta.
-1999 Oct 3rd International Scientific Conference – 'Women Sport and Future Science: Affecting and Being Affected', Alexandria, Egypt.
-1999 Oct IWG Annual Meeting, Alexandria, Egypt.
-1999 Oct National Women and Sport Conf, Austria.
-1999 Oct WSFUK Annual Conference
-1999 Oct Sport England, Government Women's Unit, and the WSFUK stage a one-day seminar attended by 200 delegates from relevant sectors on 'Developing women's lives through sport and physical activity', Lords Cricket Ground, London.
-1999 Oct-Nov 5th IOC World Congress on Sport Science, Sydney, is encouraging female researchers and have a seminar on women and sport.
-1999 Nov Singapore Women and Sports Working Group established.
-1999 Nov IOC Sub-Regional Seminar on Women and Sport, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
-1999 Nov III Olympic Forum – 'Women and the Olympic Movement: Present and Future', Barcelona, Spain.
-1999 Nov World Summit on PE, Berlin, Germany. The 'Berlin Agenda' supported the Windhoek CFA.
-1999 Nov EWS Steering Group meeting, Helsinki, Finland.
-1999 Dec MINEPS III, Punta del Este, Uruguay.

-[BY 2000 there was also Associations in Namibia (early 1999?), Uganda, South Africa, …..find out when they were formed]

2000s

-2000 UN Beijing+5
-2000 JWS study leads to release of first White Paper on women's sport in Japan entitled 'Data on Women in Sport'.
-2000 Women in Sports/Nepal (WINS) formed as Nepal's first NGO.
-2000 Hong Kong Sports Federation and NOC establishes a Women and Sport Commission.
-2000 IOC launches the Women and Sport Awards consisting of six trophies.
-2000 The Canadian Olympic Association has formed a Women and Sport Working Group to help forge stronger relationships with women and sport groups in the lead-up to the 2002 Montreal Conference. [Pat Reid selected as Chair]
-2000 3rd Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Federation Muslim Women World Games.
-2000 Bangladesh Women's Sport Federation founded (Nanayakkara, 2012).
-2000 First woman appointed to Bahrain Supreme Council for Youth and Sports. This appointment was seen as 'a breakthrough by the women's movement' (Al-Ansari, 2011: 85).
-2000 ASC produces Harassment-free sport guidelines to address homophobia, sexuality discrimination, women in leadership, and child abuse and protection.
-2000 French Women and Sports Media Prize created; one to a journalist, one to another story regarding women and sport.

-2000 Sandra Baldwin elected as the first female president of the US Olympic Committee in its 106-year history

-2000 Jan French National Sports Commission for Top Athletics eliminate distinction between men and women in terms of recognition for high-level disciplines.

-2000 Feb First seminar on Muslim women and sport - The Berea Round – takes place. Asia. [THIS MAY BE THE SAME AS BELOW]

-2000 Feb First executive Bureau of the Sport Association of Arab Women (SAAW), Bahrain.

-2000 Feb 2nd Oceania/Polynesian Women and Sport Workshop, Auckland, New Zealand.

-2000 Feb EWS Steering Group meeting, Oslo, Norway.

-2000 Mar 2nd IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Paris, France.

-2000 Mar First-ever women and sport conference, "Equity and Equality in Sports and Society", was held in Guyana

-2000 Mar Trinidad and Tobago hold first-ever Women's Games

-2000 Mar Informal IWG meeting, Paris, France.

-2000 Mar First South American Women Sport Conference, Cali, Colombia.

-2000 Apr Following MINEPS III, five working groups are formed at a meeting in Olympia, Greece; one being on Women and Sport.

-2000 Apr EWS Steering Group meeting and national seminar, Cyprus.

-2000 Apr PASO General Assembly. W+S Working Committee give 1st progress report. San Jose, Costa Rica.

-2000 May Indigenous Women's Sport Summit, Sydney, Australia.

-2000 May WSFUS Annual Conference titled 'Summit 2000: Brave New World…of Women's Sports.

-2000 Jun Femmes-Mixite-Sports formed in France.

-2000 Jun 4th EWS Conference 'Women, Sport and Culture: How to change sports culture', Helsinki, Finland. 222 delegates from 48 countries. Cumulated in the 'Helsinki Spirit 2000'.

-2000 Jun IWG Annual Meeting, Helsinki, Finland.

-2000 Jun National Association for the Promotion and Development of Women's Sport established in Algeria. Hosted its first conference 'Dimensions and the Future of Women's Sport in the Third Millennium'.

-2000 Jul 2nd MERCOSUR Conference on Women and Sport, Mendoza, Argentina.

-2000 Oct 1st meeting of CONFEJES Committee responsible for the promotion of women in sport and youth activities (GTCF) (Belgium, Canada, France, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Morocco, Senegal and Chad), Antananarivo, Madagascar.

-2000 Oct WSFUK Annual Conference, Leicester.

-2000 Nov Korean Association of PE for Girls and Women stages Seoul symposium. 10 Asian countries were invited to discuss PE for girls and women.

-2000 Nov First Guatemalan Forum on Women and Sport. 150 people participated, including representatives from sport federations, national sport associations and the army.

-2000 Nov PanAmerican Conference on Women and Sport, Mexico City, Mexico.

-2000 Nov Euromediterranean Conference on Women and Sport in Mediterranean Countries, Antibes-Juan Les Pins, France. 430 participants from 18 countries attended.

-2000 Nov 1st Hungarian Conference on Women's Sport, Budapest.

-2000 Nov Barbados Women and Sport National Conference.

-2000 Nov Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) sponsored a Sub-Regional 'Women in Sport' Symposium in Lome, Togo. AWISA was represented.

-2000 Nov German NOC plan a campaign for the promotion of women in sports.
-2000 Nov Qatar Women Sport Committee initially founded.
-2000 Dec 3rd PanAmerican Congress of PE, Sports and Recreation 'Perspectives of Women in PE, Sport and Recreation at the start of the 21st Century', Caracas, Venezuela.
-2000 Dec NAWISA 2nd National Seminar (and review of 1st year of existence), Swakopmund, Namibia.
-2000 Dec Czech Republic National Conference on Women and Sport, Prague.

-2001 IPC establishes Women in Sport Commission.
-2001 Guyana Women and Sport Working Group is created by the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports as an advisory body. It plays a strong role in celebrations for International Women's Day across the country.
-2001 3rd Muslim Women World Games.
-2001 2nd meeting of CONFEJES GTCF, Senegal.
-2001 Muslim Women's Sport Foundation (MWSF) founded in the UK.
-2001 Jordanian Women and Sport Committee established.
-2001 Supreme Council for Women established in Bahrain to assist the government in drawing up policies on women's issues and to encourage women's participation in commercial and public life (Al-Ansari, 2011).
-2001-05 'Women taking the Lead' project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth.
-2001 Feb EWS 'Women in Decision-making positions in sport' meeting, Vienna, Austria.
-2001 Mar Egyptian Supreme Committee of Women and Sport formed by Egyptian Minister of Youth.
-2001 Mar Qatar Women Sport Committee fully established as part of Qatar NOC.
-2001 Mar Intl Workshop on Women and Sport, Curacao, Netherlands Antilles.
-2001 Apr Third Summit of the Americas. Even though the first was in 1994, this was the first to include sport, under the umbrella of cultural diversity.
-2001 Apr Thailand Women and Sport Assoc and Women and Sport Commission both established.
-2001 May 'Investment in Women's Sport – Pays off' Conference, Lillehammer, Norway. 162 delegates from over 20 countries discuss projects, policies, strategies and leadership.
-2001 May Pan American Conference on Women and Sport, Cartagena, Colombia.
-2001 Jun First Asian Women and Sport Conference, Osaka, Japan. JWS-organised, at this conference the Asian Women and Sport network (AWS) was established and an interim Asian Working Group on women and sport (AWG) set up. Women's Sport Forum also conducted.
-2001 Jun IWG Annual Meeting, Kumamoto, Japan.
-2001 Jun IOC Sub-Regional Seminar for Women in Sport, Manama, Bahrain.
-2001 Jun 3rd Oceania Women and Sport Workshop, Suva, Fiji.
-2001 Jun EWS Open Meeting, Tallinn, Estonia.
-2001 Jul ICHPER-SD Conference, Brazil.
-2001 Jul International Black Women in Sport Conference, Barbados.
-2001 Jul Commonwealth Games Federation meeting includes a 'Women in Sport Package', Manchester, UK.
-2001 Aug CIGEPS (see 2000 Apr) organises an International Conference on Women and Sport, Athens, Greece.
-2001 Aug PASO General Assembly. W+S Working Committee give 2nd progress report. Dominican Republic.
-2001 Aug ASC and Sport Industry Australia host a National Forum on Pregnancy in Sport, Sydney. A set of guidelines were produced as a result.

-2001 Sep Council of Europe CDDS seminar on 'The protection of children, young people and women in sport: How to guarantee human dignity and equal rights for these groups', Espoo, Finland.
-2001 Oct 14th IAPESGW Congress, Alexandria, Egypt. Pre-Congress in Greece a few days earlier.
-2001 Oct Women from the German Sports federation celebrate their 50 Year Anniversary of involvement.
-2001 Oct WSFUK Annual Conference, Leeds.
-2001 Nov Turkish Civil Code amended: women gain greater legal and property rights.
-2001 Nov UK Co-ordinating Group on Women's Sport formed by UK Sport and starts planning the UK Strategy for Women's Sport.
-2001 Nov Women, Sport and the Media Conference, Prague, Czech Republic.

[By 2002 'special committees on women and sport have been formed in: Bahrain, Yemen, Oman, Sudan, Kuwait, Iraq, Algeria, Morocco and Egypt' (IWG Update, July 2002 archive = WS/I/1/007/3/4…not sure when they started exactly. Additionally, a Women's Sport Foundation in Burma had been established as it won an IOC Women and Sport Trophy in 2002!]

-2002 Council of Europe Resolution. European Parliament Resolution on Women and Sport [based on almost every conference/meeting since CEDAW 1979]
-2002 African Sports Confederation of Disabled (ASCOD) policy on disabled women's and girls' participation in sport
-2002 UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace – *Sport as a tool for development and peace: Towards achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals* report on a 'sport for all' model. 8 goals linked into the UN are the 'sport and development millennium goals' in 2005.
-2002 Women receive the right to vote in Bahrain.
-2002 International Paralympic Committee Women and Sport Commission becomes active (see Nov 2004 also).
-2002 Symposium on Women and Sport held in the United Arab Emirates for the first time.
-2002 Oceania Women in Sport Committee formed but not officially formalised.
-2002 Chinese Taipei NOC created a Women and Sport Committee.
-2002 ASC produces guidelines for Harassment-free sport
-2002 WSFUK is awarded the Investor in People award and gets a 50% in grant aid.
-2002 3rd meeting of CONFEJES GTCF, Canada.
-2002 French Federation of Golf create a national strategy for better participation of girls and women in golf.
-2002 JAPEW stages the 36th National Congress on PE for Women and also stages the first Winter Seminar.
-2002 Japanese Society for Sport and Gender Studies established (Bandya et al, 2012).
-2002 Jan IAPESGW exec board meeting, Cape Town, South Africa.
-2002 Feb Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) formed.
-2002 Feb USA celebrates 30 years of Title IX with a National Girls and Women in Sports Day.
-2002 Apr WHO stage World Health Day, with a special focus on physical activity. Factsheet for women and physical activity produced.
-2002 Apr 5th EWS Conference, Berlin, Germany. 200 delegates from 36 countries on the theme of 'Women, Sport and Innovation'.

-2002 Apr	Japanese Olympic Committee Exec Board establish a 'women's project' to promote women and sport. It had adopted the B.Dec at the 1st Asian Conference on Women and Sport.
-2002	3rd IWG World Conference on Women and Sport, Montreal, Canada - "Investing in Change". The Montreal Toolkit and Montreal Communique produced.
-2002-2006	International Women and Sport Strategy
-2002 May	1st PASO Conference on Women and Sport, Montreal, Canada.
-2002 May	1st planned meeting of IPC Women in Sport Commission.
-2002 Jun	Women's Games held in the Caribbean.
-2002 Jun	4th Oceania Women and Sport Workshop/IOC regional seminar, Rarotonga, Cook Islands.
-2002 Jun	Multi-Regional Voluntary Visitors Project, Women in Sports and Gender Equity Issues in the USA.
-2002 Jun	Olympic Council of Asia seminar on women's leadership, Doha, Qatar. 39 NOCs out of 44 affiliated to OCA attend. Plans revealed for a Women and Sport Committee (Ogasawara, 2011).
-2002 Jun	FIFA meeting regarding the 2nd Asian Conference, Seoul, Korea.
-2002 Jun	Japan Society for Sport and Gender Studies Conference, Osaka.
-2002 Jun	Physical Activity and Health Guidelines for Women: Ntl and Intl Considerations related to Ethnicity and Race, Missouri, USA. Organised by WSI and satellite conference to ACSM.
-2002 Jul	Pre-Commonwealth Games Conference plenary closing session. Princess Royal's closing speech refers to influential mothers on children sports careers. Manchester, UK. Government Ministers Responsible for Sport in the Commonwealth reaffirm their commitment to three key areas, one being women in sport.
-2002 Jul	Female Athlete Triad Summit, Chicago, USA.
-2002 Aug	Singapore Sports Council W+S WG meet with some IWG members.
-2002 Sep	FIFA meeting regarding the 2nd Asian Conference, Zurich, Austria.
-2002 Oct	OCA General Assembly in Pusan, South Korea, officially announces that the OCA would establish a Women and Sport Committee in January 2003.
-2002 Nov	1st Philippine International Congress on Women and Sport, Tagaytay. Philippine Association of W+S formed. Tagaytay Call for Action produced.
-2002 Nov	IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the European Olympic Movement', Rome, Italy.
-2002 Nov	2nd Meeting of 'Women and Sport in Mediterranean Countries', Tunis, Tunisia.
-2002 Nov	Portugal Olympic Committee Women and Sport Commission symposium. Lisbon, Portugal.
-2002 Nov	IWG Annual Meeting, Paris, France.
-2002 Nov	Malta NOC seminar on women and sports leadership.
-2002 Nov	IV Congreso PanAmericano Educacion Fisica, Deporte y Recreacion para la Mujer. Lima, Peru.
-2002 Nov	CAAWS National Conference on Women, Sport and Physical Activity, Hamilton, Canada. Theme was 'Expanding the Horizon: Taking Action through Partnerships' and the tagline relates to being the first conference for 21 years.
-2002 Dec	SAAW organises 1st Arab Forum on Women and Sport. 11 countries attend.
-2002 Dec	Qatar National Olympic Committee (QNOC) organised Qatar Sport International (QSi) at which one day was dedicated to a women and sport conference. Qatar.

-2002 Dec Dusseldorf Conference on developing sport for women, Germany.

-2003 The International Paralympic Committee General Assembly adopt a gender equity policy.
-2003 World Health Organisation publishes a report titled 'Health and Development Through Physical Activity and Sport'.
-2003 UK Strategy Framework for Women and Girls Sport launched by UK Sport.
-2003 Bahrain Women's Sport Committee approved by NOC.
-2003 Syrian General Sport Foundation creates a Sport Feminine Office.
-2003 Yemeni Ministry of Youth and Sports creates a General Directorate for Women.
-2003 Sri Lanka Women and Sport WG formed.
-2003 ASC produces a comprehensive good practice guide and web tool for women and girls in sport called 'Towards Better Sport'.
-2003 In Iraq, 'a great period of advancement for women in sport disintegrated after 2003' due to the war (Al-Wattar et al, 2011: 251).
-2003 4th meeting of CONFEJES GTCF, Belgium.
-2003 Jan Olympic Council of Asia Women and Sport Committee created.
-2003 Jan CAAWS conducts a workshop in Singapore. The Women and Sport Working Group and the Singapore Sport Council may have become more aligned due to this workshop.
-2003 Feb SAAW sets the 18th as 'Arab Women and Sport Day'
-2003 Feb AWISA Exec Board meeting, Abuja, Nigeria.
-2003 Feb Research to establish baseline data into current sport activities for females in the Oceania region starts to be conducted by the ASC.
-2003 Feb Federated States of Micronesia Women in Sport Conf.
-2003 Mar Interim AWG meeting, Bangkok, Thailand.
-2003 Mar 'Women and Sports: Old and New Stereotypes' Conference, Thessaloniki, Greece.
-2003 Mar EWS Steering Group Meeting, Prague, Czech Republic. [Fraisse invited to discuss contents of European Resolution]
-2003 Mar Scotland national strategy for sport 'Sport 21' launched with a particular focus on girls.
-2003 Apr International Congress – Face to Face: Gender Equity in Sport, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Hosted by the Department of Recreation and Sports of Puerto Rico.
-2003 Apr IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the European Olympic Movement', Warsaw, Poland.
-2003 Apr IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the African Olympic Movement', Dakar, Senegal (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Apr EWS becomes corresponding member of the European Women's Lobby.
-2003 Apr Change in name = [changed to] Singapore W+S Group.
-2003 May ASC stages a 'Sport needs more women' National forum on women and sport, Sydney, Australia. Participation across all sectors is the major theme; 140 delegates.
-2003 May 1st Costa Rican Women and Sport Commission Conference.
-2003 May Moroccan National Association Women, Physical Activity and Sport (ANFAPS) organises seminar on the access of women to the sport movement: a human right.
-2003 May Women's Forum at Table Tennis World Individual Championships, Paris, France. First major concerted attempt by an international federation to do this; working group formed two days after.

-2003 Jun European Parliament Resolution adopted on Women and Sport. Original report drawn up by the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities. EU support for EWS network.
-2003 Jun 1st United Arab Emirates Women and Sport Forum: 'Women Sport, Reality and Ambition', Dubai, UAE.
-2003 Jun IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the African Olympic Movement', Nairobi, Kenya (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Jun IAPESGW exec board meeting, Bern, Switzerland.
-2003 Jun JAPEW expands its structure and is authorised as a member of the Japan Sports Association
-2003 Jul Meeting to discuss establishment of Oceania Women in Sport Committee, Fiji.
-2003 Jul WSI Exec Board meeting, Copenhagen, Denmark.
-2003 Aug South Africa Sports Commission Women and Sport Seminar, Technikon Pretoria.
-2003 Sep IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the Americas Olympic Movement', La Paz, Bolivia (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Sep IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the Americas Olympic Movement', Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Sep EWS Open Meeting and Steering Group meeting, Dubrovnik, Croatia.
-2003 Sep EWS becomes associate partner of ENGSO.
-2003 Sep-Oct FIFA Women's World Cup and FIFA Workshops on Women's football. Shanghai, China.
-2003 Oct IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the Asian Olympic Movement', Bangkok, Thailand (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Oct 'Women in decision making in Sport' Intl Seminar, Prague, Czech Republic.
-2003 Oct New Zealand Ntnl forum for women and sport 'Motivation to Leadership'.
-2003 Nov IWG Annual Meeting, Bisham Abbey, UK.
-2003 Nov UN General Assembly 58th Session adopts 'Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace' Resolution. No direct reference to women but it is very 'sport for all' in its recommendations.
-2003 Nov Intl Congress on Women and Sport, Porto, Portugal. The week before, O Norte Desportivo (National Newspaper) devotes an entire day purely to women and sport.
-2003 Nov IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the European Olympic Movement', Lausanne, Switzerland (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Dec Olympic Council of Asia Women and Sport Committee first meeting
-2003 Dec IOC Sub-regional seminar 'Women in the Asian Olympic Movement', Beirut, Lebanon (IOC, 2004).
-2003 Dec SAAW organise the first course on sport administration, Cairo, Egypt.
-2003 Dec Tunisian Ministry of Sport hosts 2nd Meeting on Women, Sport and the Mediterranean Cultures, Safakis, Tunisia.
-2003 Dec 2nd Asian Conf on Women and Sport, Doha, Qatar. Doha Resolutions produced. The first OCA Women and Sport Committee meeting was also held in conjunction with the Conference.

[Sudan, Somalia and Mauritius have W+S Assoc's by now, Zimbabwe WSF too]

-2004 UNESCO MINEPS IV Commission III Women and Sport Recommendations
-2004 In Turkey, a new Penal Code ranges from rape to abortion in favour of women.
-2004 Sri Lanka NOC forms Women's Sports Committee.

-2004 2nd woman in its history (after DeFrantz), Gunilla Lindberg, elected to be IOC V-P.
-2004 ITTF Women's Working Group created.
-2004 Intl Ice Hockey Fed (IIHF) introduces first ever club competition for women's ice hockey in Europe.
-2004 Two World Confederation of Billiard Sports World Championships for Women launched.
-2004 German Sports Federation campaign 'Sports are good for women – women are good for sports', with best practice examples from the 'Women taking the Lead' project.
-2004 5th meeting of CONFEJES GTCF, Senegal.
-2004 Loughborough University is commissioned by the IOC to produce a report on Women's Leadership within the IOC structure (Henry et al, 2004).
-2004 Jan 2nd ANFAPS National Symposium on Women, Physical Activity and Sport: 'lever of sustainable development in underprivileged zones'.
-2004 Jan JWS organises Women and Sport Summit. Results from Ntnl Survey highlighted. Greater networking among sport federations. Japanese W+S Network formed.
-2004 Mar 3rd IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Marrakech, Morocco 'New strategies, New Commitments'. IOC Morocco Resolution produced. IOC W+S WG 'promoted' to full IOC Commission status. Continental Group seminars facilitated work.
-2004 Mar IWG Informal Meeting, Marrakech, Morocco.
-2004 Mar Hong Kong Women and Sport Commission host Women and Sport Conference regarding volunteers.
-2004 Mar FIFA Women Football and Competition Committee, Zurich, Switzerland.
-2004 Mar WSI Position Statement on Sexual Harassment in Sport launched.
-2004 Mar ANFAPS organises 'Development Policies of Sport and PE', Sale, Morocco.
-2004 Mar ITTF 2nd Women's International Forum, Doha, Qatar.
-2004 Apr 6th EWS Conference, Paris, France. 'Women Sport and Democracy: Sport a Challenge for Women, Women a Challenge for Sport'. Steering Group Meeting too. EWS Paris Call for Action
-2004 Apr Oceania NOC establishes Oceania Women in Sports Commission (OWIS). Palau.
-2004 Apr JOC organises Women and the Olympics Sport Forum.
-2004 Apr QSi Women in Sport Session, Doha, Qatar.
-2004 Apr Development Conference for Women Sport, Kuwait.
-2004 Apr 1st Jordanian Women's Football Championship, Amman.
-2004 Apr WSI Board Meeting, California, USA.
-2004 May Women and Sport Course, Dubai, UAE.
-2004 May Seminar for Development for people in charge of women's football, Suzho, China.
-2004 [Summer] IIHF holds 1st all-women development camp, Viermäki, Finland.
-2004 Jun Women and Sport Seminar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
-2004 Jun OCA W+S Committee Meeting, Doha, Qatar.
-2004 Jun IAPESGW Annual Meeting, London, UK.
-2004 Jul 5th PanAmerican Congress of PE, Sport and Recreation for Women. Quito, Ecuador. 500 participants from 14 countries.
-2004 Aug OWIS Working Group formed after meetings between athletes, coaches and support staff at the Athens Olympics.
-2004 Aug Commonwealth Sports Ministers Conference focus on drug-free sport, women in sport and hosting major events, Athens, Greece.

-2004 Aug SportScotland commissions research on women in sport leadership and finds significant inequalities and suggestions of complacency.

-2004 Sep Sport England introduce 'The Equality Standard: A Framework for Sport'. It develops from work on the 'Race Standard', and is adopted by all home nations and UK Sport and is endorsed by the CCPR and WSFUK among others.

-2004 Sep Bangladesh Women Sport Leaders Association formed.

-2004 Sep AWG annual meeting. Situation of Women and Sport in Asia reviewed. Seoul, South Korea.

-2004 Sep EWS Steering Group Meeting, Vienna, Austria.

-2004 Sep 50th Anniversary of the Korean PE for Girls and Women (KPEAW)

-2004 Oct OWIS WG meeting with ASC assistance to develop action plan and budget.

-2004 Oct IWG Annual Meeting, Smith College, USA.

-2004 Nov International Paralympic Committee Women and Sport Commission changes from a Commission to a Committee.

-2004 Nov First UK National Equality in Sport Conference entitled 'Taking Action' staged. 'Equality Standard: A Framework for Sport' is the outcome.

-2004 Nov 2nd Congress on Women and Sport in Portugal.

-2004 Nov Intl Women Sports Festival for Peace and Development, Kathmandu, Nepal.

-2004 Nov Women and Sport Seminar for South-East Asia Region, Bangkok, Thailand.

-2004 Nov SAAW organises the 2nd course on Women and Sport Management, Alexandria, Egypt.

-2004 Dec 2nd Arab Symposium on Women and Sport, Alexandria, Egypt.

-2004 Dec International Congress 'Sport, Women and Leadership'. Berlin, Germany.

-2004 Dec MINEPS IV, Athens, Greece. Sport and Women one of three main strands.

-2005 UN International Year of Sport and Physical Education

-2005-2015 Commonwealth Gender Plan of Action

-2005 SCSA General Assembly 20th Session passes important resolutions and mechanisms on Women and Sport.

-2005 Olympic Solidarity Funding is increased for the Women and Sport Programme until 2008 (IOC, 2008).

-2005 Congo launches National Women and Sport Organisation.

-2005 Taiwan Assoc for Women and Sport formed.

-2005 New Zealand NOC creates Women and Sport advisory group.

-2005 IOC Regional Women and Sport Workshop, Istanbul, Turkey.

-2005 Malaysian National Sports Council creates a Women and Sport Division.

-2005 Women Sports and Fitness Foundation Malaysia (WSFFM) organises the South East Asia Women in Sports Conference in Kuala Lumpur. 350 participants from all ten countries in the region attend.

-2005 Intl Summit 'Affecting Social Change through Women's Leadership in Sport', Atlanta, USA.

-2005 IRB Women's Rugby Working Party held in Dublin, Ireland with the aim of establishing a strategic plan for developing for women's game globally.

-2005 Northern Ireland 'Women in Sports Leadership' research report produced.

-2005 Intl Cricket Council (ICC) Women's Committee established and replaces Intl Women's Cricket Council.

-2005 ICC supports the Women's Cricket World Cup

-2005 UEFA 6th Conf on women's football, Oslo, Norway. Discussions and reviews of structures.

-2005 Union Intl Motonautique (Powerboating) 1st all-female Aqaubike World Championship.

-2005 Sony Ericsson Mobile Communications 'signs a landmark USD 88 million global sponsorship deal with the WTA Tour, making it the worldwide title sponsor. The six-year deal is the largest and most comprehensive sponsorship in the history of tennis and of women's professional sport' (IOC, 2008: 30).

-2005 SportScotland and WSFUK launch 'Making Women and Girls More Active: A good practice guide'.

-2005 WSFUK launches 'Women into Coaching' – the first of two projects in London that created greater links with National Governing Bodies of nine sports.

-2005 Feb-Mar 49th UN Commission on the Status of Women Session, New York, USA. Two thematic issues to be looked at: Review of Beijing Platform for Action, and current strategies and forward-looking strategies for the advancement and empowerment of women and girls.

-2005 Feb JAPEW stages a Commemorative Forum for its 50th Anniversary

-2005 Apr WISO meet to continue to develop the network and its role at ONOC General Assembly, Brisbane, Australia.

-2005 Apr WSI Exec Board meeting, Toronto, Canada.

-2005 May 3rd Asian Conference on Women and Sport, Sanaa, Yemen. Yemen Challenge produced.

-2005 Jun IWG Oceania Rep and ASC reps host meeting with Sport Wellington to discuss greater W+S work, networks and opportunities in New Zealand.

-2005 Jun IOC Regional Women and Sport Workshop, Auckland, NZ. WISO meet again to continue to develop the network and its role. Progress reviewed since previous Cook Islands seminar.

-2005 Aug 15th IAPESGW Congress, Edmonton, Canada. 'Learning and Leaders'.

-2005 Aug IWG Informal Meeting, Edmonton, Canada.

-2005 Aug WSI Exec Board meeting, Edmonton, Canada.

-2005 Aug IPC Women and Sport Leadership Summit for French-Speaking African nations, Niamey, Niger.

-2005 Sep OCA National Seminar on Women and Sport, Lahore, Pakistan.

-2005 Oct IWG Annual Meeting, Singapore.

-2005 Oct 1st Pakistan national women's football championship tournament

-2005 Oct OCA National Seminar on Women and Sport, Laos.

-2005 Oct 4th Women Islamic Games, Tehran, Iran.

-2005 Nov IPC Women and Sport Leadership Summit for English-Speaking African nations, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

-2005 Nov Bangladesh Women Sport Leaders Association stages a workshop entitled 'The Role of Women Leadership in the Olympic Movement'.

-2005 Nov 6th meeting of CONFEJES GTCF, Rabat, Morocco.

-2006 UN Action Plan on Sport for Development and Peace as part of a report on Sport for Development (United Nations, 2006a). The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities included.

-2006 Zambian National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation (NOWSPAR) established.

-2006 Australian Government Sports Leadership Grants for Women scheme run through the ASC.

-2006 IOC Women in Leadership regional African seminar, Cairo, Egypt.

-2006 SportScotland launches a National Strategy on Women, Girls and Sport.

-2006 SportScotland produces a research report exploring barriers regarding participation in sport and physical activity by girls.

-2006 Jan EWS Steering Group Meeting

-2006 Mar 7th EWS Conference, Vienna, Austria. 'Good governance' was the theme.

-2006 May 4th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport, Kumamoto, Japan. 'Kumamoto Commitment to Collaboration' produced.

-2006-2010 International Women and Sport Strategy produced.

-2006 Sep 3rd Arab Forum on Women and Sport, Sidi Farage, Algeria.

-2006 Oct Global Centre for Social Change through Women's Leadership and Sport founded at Kennesaw State University, Georgia, USA.

-2006 Dec Syrian Arab Football Association stages 1st Forum on Women's Football.

-2007 European Union's White Paper on Sport

-2007 Cambodian NOC organises the first seminar to promote women and sports activities with support from the Olympic Solidarity of the IOC.

-2007 IOC and PASO joint-led Women in Leadership regional Americas seminar, Miami, USA.

-2007 WSFUK is re-launched as the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) by the Prime Minister at a high-profile conference held at the Emirates Stadium, London.

-2007 Mar 4th Arab Forum on Women and Sport, Damascus, Syria.

-2007 Apr IWG Annual Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

-2007 Apr UK Gender Equality Duty comes into force requiring public bodies to promote equality between men and women.

-2007 Aug IAPESGW World Congress, South Africa.

-2007 Aug Bangladesh Women Sport Leaders Association successfully lobbies the NOC to form a Women's Commission.

-2007 Oct 4th Asian Conference on Women and Sport coincides with the International Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation Malaysia Conference. The theme is 'Harnessing Solidarity for Women in Empowerment'.

-2007 Oct Islamic Federation of Women Sports 11th General Assembly. Introduces the Effort Award to recognise and appreciate the special services that organisations may have done to advance Muslim Women Sports in all sectors of society.

-2007 Nov WSFF publishes 'It's Time' – findings from a research study that drew widespread attention to issues regarding women's sport and fitness in the UK.

-2008 Amman/Dead Sea, IOC Jordan Plan of Action

-2008 UNESCO Observatory on Women, Sport and PE launched in Greece.

-2008 4th IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Dead Sea, Jordan.

-2008 IOC Women in Leadership regional Asian seminar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

-2008 WSFF launches the first UK national strategy to increase women's participation in physical activity - 'Creating a Nation of Active Women: A Framework for Change'.

-2008 WSFF launches the Commission on the Future of Women's Sport, chaired by Paralympian Dame Tanni Grey-Thompson, with a remit to address the critical issues of leadership, investment and profile for women's sport in the UK (WSFF, 2009).

-2008 SportScotland and WSFF collaborate on a series of women and sport factsheets, incorporating fifteen years of research and reports.

-2008 WSFF partners with the Fitness Industry Association to launch 'Sweat in the City' in order to encourage inactive young women in London into sport and physical activity.

-2008 Feb The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW), WSI and IWG partner to produce a publication entitled "*Women 2000 and Beyond: Women, gender equality and sport*" and launched during the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) meeting in New York, USA. First time in history that UN publication focuses on women and sport.

-2008 Feb IAPESGW hold a study week in Oman to discuss what can be done 'to improve opportunities for Muslim girls and women to take part in sport and PE' (Benn et al., 2011: 4). The 'Accept and Respect' Declaration was the major outcome. This came from IAPESGW prioritising the issue in 1999.

-2008 Jun Finnish Sports Federation hosts an international conference titled 'Promoting Equality in Sport – Towards Sydney 2010'.

-2008 Sep Sport Management seminar for women under the patronage of the IOC, Lausanne, Switzerland.

-2008 Dec A day designated to the acknowledgment of women is set in Bahrain.

-2009 IOC Women in Leadership regional seminar, Guam.

-2009 The XIII Olympic Congress in Copenhagen, Denmark issued a recommendation 'aimed at strengthening the women and sport policy' (IOC, 2012: 4).

-2009 WSFF Commission on the Future of Women's Sport report reveals the scarcity of women involved in running sport in the UK.

-2009 Sport England launched a £10 million Active Women fund aimed at funding projects designed to encourage mothers and low income women to take up sport (WSFF, 2009).

-2009 Mar UNIFEM and International Centre for Islam and Pluralism stage a South-East Asia regional conference on Advancing Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Muslim societies, Jakarta, Indonesia.

-2009 Nov England women's rugby union team play against New Zealand women at 'the home of rugby' for the first time, Twickenham, 23 years after their first match (WSFF, 2009).

2010s

-2010 UN Commission on the Status of Women meeting was the first opportunity for the IOC, after being granted UN Observer Status, to 'contribute directly to the actions and ongoing plans and activities which resulted from decisions of the watershed Beijing conference' (IOC, 2012: 14).

-2010 UK Equality Act amended

-2010 Loughborough University is commissioned by the IOC for a second time to produce a report on women's access to leadership positions within the IOC structure (IOC, 2010).

-2010 May 5th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport, Sydney, Australia. 'The Sydney Scoreboard' produced.

-2011 Mar Sydney Scoreboard published as the legacy of the 5th IWG World Conference.

-2011 Mar Cambodian NOC Women and Sports Committee organises second seminar to promote women and sports activities.

-2011 Jul	123rd IOC Session held in Durban, South Africa declared 'that the promotion of women and gender equality within the Olympic Movement were a means of assessing good governance. In this connection, the "Basic Universal Principles of Good Governance" document was modified to emphasise the need for women's presence on decision making bodies' (IOC, 2012: 5).
-2011 Sep	9th EWS Conference, London, United Kingdom.
-2011 Sep	Anita White Foundation established at the University of Chichester, UK.
-2012	WSFF establishes an All-Party Parliamentary Group on Women in Sport.
-2012	Women's Boxing added to the Olympic programme.
-2012	Augusta National Golf Club, USA, allows women members.
-2012	First woman analyst on Major League Baseball game in the USA.
-2012 Feb	5th IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Los Angeles, USA.
-2012 Aug	UN Women and the IOC partner on an agreement which will promote women's empowerment through sports.
-2012 Dec	European Olympic Committee agrees to the creation of a Women and Sport Commission.
-2013	WomenWin launches an International Guide to Addressing Girls' Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Through Sport.
-2013 Jan	Sport England invest £1.7million over two years in the WSFF.
-2013 May	NOWSPAR forms the Women in Sport Leadership Network in partnership with the National Sports Council of Zambia in Lusaka, Zambia.
-2013 Dec	African Women Sports Leaders Forum, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
-2014 Jan	European Union Gender Equality Roadmap meeting, Vilnius, Lithuania.
-2014 Mar	For International Women's Day, Angela Ruggiero (Olympian; IOC member; Vice Chair of the IOC Athletes' Commission) speaks at the UN 58th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women and emphasises the power of sport in defying gender stereotypes, promoting equal opportunities and empowering girls and women across the world (IOC, 2014).
-2014 Jun	6th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport, Helsinki, Finland.
-2014 Jun	1st Women's Sport Leadership Academy, University of Chichester, UK.
-2014 Sep	Royal and Ancient St Andrews Golf Club, UK, allows women members.

Appendix 2 – Interviewee's Information

Name (alphabetical by surname)	W&SM Role	Location	Date	Additional comments
Celia Brackenridge (UK)	WSFUK and WISC/WSI founder; scholar	Hotel, Chichester, UK	September 2011	Attended Brighton Conference (B.Conf)
Jay Coakley (USA)	Brighton Conference attendee; scholar	University of Chichester, UK.	September 2011	Attended B.Conf. Only man interviewed.
Kari Fasting (Nor)	WSI founder; IWG representative; scholar	Café, Chichester, UK	September 2011	Attended B.Conf
Raija Mattila, Terhi Heinilä and Birgitta Kirvinen (Fin)	IWG 2010-2014 Secretariat	Hotel, Chichester, UK.	September 2011	Terhi attended B.Conf
Gertrud Pfister (Ger)	Scholar	University of Copenhagen, Denmark	August 2011	
Carol Rodgers (Can) and Ani Chroni (Gre)	WSI President and WSI Advisory Board member	In transit, Airport to Chichester, UK.	September 2011	Airport pick-up
Christine Shelton and Susan Bourque (USA)	IWG representative for the Americas and scholar; scholar	In transit, Airport to Chichester, UK.	September 2011	Airport pick-up. Christine attended B.Conf.
Anita White (UK)	IWG Co-Chair 1994-2002, Brighton/ Windhoek/ Kumamoto organiser and scholar	University of Chichester, UK.	May 2011	Various informal talks throughout AWF involvement July 2011 – August 2012

Table 3. Study interviewee's information – Period 1

Name (alphabetical by surname)	Prime W&SM Role	Location	Date	Additional comments
Johanna Adriaanse (Aus)	IWG Chair 2006-2010	Via Skype	December 2012	
Sallie Barker (UK)	Helped organise Brighton and Windhoek Conferences	Sport and Recreation Offices, London, UK.	February 2013	Attended B.Conf
Anita De Frantz (USA)	IOC Vice-President; established IOC Women and Sport Commission	Via Skype	February 2013	
Margaret Ann Hall (Can)	Helped form CAAWS; scholar	Via Skype	January 2013	
Darlene Kluka (USA)	IAPESGW President 2005-2009	Via Skype	January 2013	Attended B.Conf
Marion Lay (Can)	WSI founder, CAAWS founding member and Chair	Via Skype	November 2012	Attended B.Conf
Lombe Mwambwa (Zam)	General Secretary of NOWSPAR	University of Chichester, UK.	March 2013	
Etsuko Ogasawara (Jap)	IWG co-chair 2002-2010; founder of JWS	Via Skype	January 2013	
Carole Oglesby (USA)	Major USA scholar / WSI President and Vice-President	Via Skype	December 2012	Attended B.Conf
Sue Neill (Can)	IWG co-chair 1998-2002	Via Skype	November 2012	Attended B.Conf
Marjorie Snyder (USA)	WSFUS interim CEO twice over her 22 year involvement	Via Skype	January 2013	Attended B.Conf
Margaret Talbot (UK)	ESCWGWS Chair / IAPESGW and	Café, Chichester, UK.	October 2012	Attended B.Conf.

	ICSSPE President			
Anita White (UK)	(see Table 1)	Her house, UK.	January 2013	Attended B.Conf
***Barbara Drinkwater (USA)**	WSI founder; scholar	Via Skype	November 2012	Interview stopped as requested by interviewee.
****Nabilah Abdulrahman (Egy)**	Organised first Arab Conference for Women and Sport (1995).	Via Email	January-February 2013	Email questionnaire. Attended B.Conf

Table 4. Study interviewee's information – Period 2
* Interviewed but not completed.
** Email questionnaire with questions used in previous interviews.

Appendix 3 – Core set of Interview Questions

W&SM General Questions

1. Have you ever felt part of a coordinated 'movement' for women and sport?
    a. What are your thoughts generally of the W&SM?
        i. Would you have an alternative name for the movement?

2. What were the earliest significant events for advancing the women and sport agenda?

3. What countries do you think may be, or still are, disadvantaged within the W&SM or even completely excluded?

4. Can you give examples of where women and sport groups you have been involved with, have actively reached out to those in 'non-Western' countries?

5. Why have the same women been involved in many women and sport groups over time (for example, the same women may be in the IWG and IAPESGW at the same time)?

6. Can you see one organisation ever being formed? (for example, IWG joining with WSI and IAPESGW and the IOC Women and Sport Commission)

7. What are your thoughts of IWG, IAPESGW, WSI and the IOCWG on W+S?

Brighton Conference

8. What are your thoughts of the 1994 Brighton Conference?

9. What was the relationship between the groups directly before the Brighton Conference? [IAPESGW / WISC(WSI) / EWS / WSFUS relations]

10. Who were the main individuals or groups that helped formulate the aims included in the Brighton Declaration?

11. How integrated were non-Western people/groups at the Conference?

12. How crucial was the Brighton Conference in assuming a new identity for the W&SM?

13. How did W&SM groups interact directly after Brighton? [same groups above]
    a. Were they competing, or helping, each other? Why?

14. To what extent does the Brighton Conference still impact on groups such as WSI, IAPESGW, and WSFUS, among others, today?
    a. What part does the Brighton Conference play in developing/informing future W&SM groups' policy?
    b. What impact did the Brighton Conference have on the Windhoek Conference?

15. What are your thoughts of subsequent IWG World Conferences?
    a. Legacy thoughts?

IAPESGW *[example of W&SM group questions, amended for each group depending on the interviewee]*

16. What are your thoughts about IAPESGW?

17. How has it changed over time?

18. How did it interact with the USA?

19. How crucial was it for IAPESGW to enter memberships and partnerships with groups such as ICHPER, ACHPER and ICSSPE?

20. Has sticking to some of its original principles affected IAPESGW? (volunteer organisation, gender-bias, Winkler's (secretary) claims to Diem (1980s) about being 'an undemocratic, old, rich women's club' etc… especially when more modern, externally-funded groups have emerged)
    a. Were IAPESGW deliberately unaware of the increasing academicisation of sport?
    b. Have the links to sport benefitted or hindered the Association?

21. Despite in the late 60s/early 70s there being a predominantly Western membership-base, was there a catalyst for the movement expanding its 'host' congresses to 'non-Western' countries?
    a. Do you know why Cuba was chosen as the next IAPESGW conference?

22. I have noticed a slight paradox. IAPESGW has been criticised for being an overtly-Western group, yet it expanded to other areas of the world as early as the 1960s and 1970s. What are your thoughts on this?

W&SM in action

23. W&SM groups have staged congresses, annual meetings and symposiums all over the world. Are native experiences acknowledged or is Western knowledge applied to these areas and discussed?

24. How mindful have W&SM groups been in acknowledging local knowledge and discourse to their wider policies? Has this changed since?

25. Can you state any examples of the Brighton Conference being transformed by a country or group to suit its own context?
    a. Why do you think this has happened?
    b. Has the W&SM reincorporated any of these ideas into its agendas?
    c. Why do you think this occurred?

Appendix 4 – Application for Ethical Approval

Form E1

For all staff and postgraduate students

This form should be used by ALL research students, taught postgraduate students and staff who wish to undertake research under the name of the University of Chichester.

THIS FORM MUST BE COMPLETED AND APPROVED by the relevant persons and approved by the relevant Committees prior to commencement of research. Full guidance on the Application process can be found at Appendix 2 and 5 in the Ethical Policy Framework.

APPLICANTS – if the study involves participants each Application must be submitted alongside relevant consent forms, information letters/sheets, and debriefing sheets where appropriate. This documentation should be version numbered and dated.

AUTHORISER *please categorise the application (A or B) and submit this signed form to the Ethical Approval Sub-group. Where Applicants are postgraduate research students, supervisors should authorise this form; where applicants are staff members, their Head of Academic Department (or nominated signatory) should authorise this form; where applicants are Heads of Academic Departments, the relevant Deputy Dean (or nominated signatory)should authorise this form.*

Name of Applicant:	Jordan Matthews	Name of Authoriser:	Dr Elizabeth Pike
Position of Applicant:	**MPhil/PhD Research Student**	Position of Authoriser:	**Director of Studies and Acting Head of Department**
Authoriser Judgement: (*please delete as appropriate)*			
	Proceed with caution	**Category B**	
1. Title of study:			
A critical analysis of the development and outcomes of the Women's International Sport Movement (WISM)			
2a. Brief description of purpose of study/rationale (including why the involvement of participants is essential to the study if appropriate):			

The WISM developed in response to the systematic marginalisation of women in sporting organisations, and may be understood as part of the broader women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Birrell, 1988; Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Donnelly, 2009; Hargreaves, 2000; Lenskyj, 1986; Rintala and Bischoff, 1997; Roper, 2002; Talbot, 1986). Although sport had been marginalised from UK government interest, the Sports Council facilitated the development of a worldwide movement to promote gender equity in sport (Houlihan and White, 2002). In 1994, the first world conference on women and sport was held in Brighton, UK, resulting in the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport which has been described as a 'tool' (Houlihan and White, 2002, p. 65), and a 'valuable prop' (Hargreaves, 1999, p. 466) for women in sport.

The power relations and ideologies of those involved with the WISM played a key role in the formation and content of the Brighton Declaration. This project seeks to examine how this influenced particular agendas in relation to women in sport. This project will analyse how the Brighton Declaration emerged, and how the people involved in it interpreted its outcomes to apply to their home countries in the period up to and including the 1998 Conference in Namibia.

The membership of the WISM during this time consisted predominantly of White, Western, middle-class women (Hargreaves, 2000). This research will draw on post-colonialist theory in order to critically evaluate the argument that these policies homogenised women within Western ideologies (Kurian, 2001; Mills, 1998; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 2003; Young, 2001). The project will also investigate whether the WISM has responded to calls to 'network' (Brackenridge, 1995), unite, and forge links with women's organisations within and outside of sport from non-Western cultures and countries (Hargreaves, 2000; Talbot, 2002). In so doing, the research will contribute to the limited number of studies analysing sports organisations which have been resistant to gender-based change and are argued to have institutionalised barriers excluding and marginalising women (Aitchison, 2003; Fasting, 1993; Fasting and Pfister, 2000; Hall et al., 1989; Kay, 2003; Talbot, 2002), and the outcomes of sports-based social inclusion and gender equity schemes which have emerged from the WISM (Aitchison, 2003; Coalter, 2008; Kay, 2003; Moser, 2005; White, 1995).

The over-riding goal from doing this research is to achieve a greater understanding of the development and outcomes of the Women's International Sport Movement (WISM) through documentary analysis and interviews with key personnel, in order to inform future policy and practice.

Objectives

- To critically analyse the development of the WISM and associated policies between 1949-1998. This time period is chosen to commence with the founding of the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) in 1949. The end date of the research period is to enable an evaluation of the immediate consequences of the first conference on women and sport which held in 1994 in Brighton, UK, through to the second meeting in Windhoek, Namibia in 1998.

- To investigate the monitoring and evaluation procedures and processes which were in place between 1949-1998; and to critically analyse the immediate outcomes of the Brighton Declaration, which was produced from the 1994 conference.

- Examine the impact of post-colonialist agendas on the WISM policy developments. In particular, this project will examine how the diverse groups and individuals who attended the Brighton Conference interpreted its outcomes and adapted them for their own relevance.

- The study will aim to provide a framework for future analysis of subsequent policies and meetings that arise from the WISM.

2b. Brief description of methods:		
The project will utilise a mixed-methods approach via a semiotic analysis of the meanings and relationships of content within WISM documents (Denscombe, 2004) and semi-structured interviews. The archive of the Women's International Sport Movement at the University of Chichester provides access to policies, committee meeting minutes, conference proceedings and published reports. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with 12-15 current and former WISM personnel from each continent, in order to explore the views of those who were involved at the beginning of the WISM and those who are negotiating the legacy of the Brighton Declaration across the globe. There are several confirmed interviewees, including the Chair of the Brighton Conference while current and former Presidents of the major associations, and additional interviewees are assured via snowball sampling. Thematic analysis of the interview data will be conducted via coding the data, categorising these codes, and identifying themes and relationships among the codes to develop concepts (Denscombe, 2004; Gratton and Jones, 2004) to greater understand the development and outcomes of the WISM.		
3a. Can the study be described as being part of some role you already have? **Please delete the inappropriate answer.*	No	
3b. Are there any conflicts of interests which need to be considered and addressed?	No	
If conflicts of interest have arisen, indicate how they have been addressed:		
4. Location of study and details of any special facilities to be used:		
Documentary analysis will be conducted at the University of Chichester campus at Bognor Regis, where the archive is housed. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place suitable for the interviewee. Video-messaging equipment such as Skype may be needed for interviewees based abroad.		
5a. Are the participants people you normally work with (e.g. as a social work, counselling or education professional, volunteer, or trainee)?	No	
5b. Are the participants children or members of other vulnerable groups (e.g. elderly, those suffering from mental illness, those whose first language is not English) *If yes, this Application must be categorised as 'B'*		Yes
Please provide brief details: Some possible interviewees may be from countries whose first language is not English. If this were to be the case, interpreters will be used.		
6. Basis for selection and rejection of participants in the study:		

12-15 semi-structured interviews will be conducted with current and former WISM personnel and national and international conference participants at various career stages and from different continents.		
7a. Is the process of the study and/or its results likely to produce distress, anxiety or harm in the participants?	No	
If you answered Yes to 7a, please answer 7b below: 7b. Is the process of the study and/or its results likely to produce distress or anxiety in the participants *beyond* what they would normally experience in your work with them? *If yes this Application must be categorised as 'B'*		
Please provide brief details:		
7c. What steps will you take to deal with any distress or anxiety produced?		
There are no foreseen adverse effects, risk or hazards and participants are free to withdraw at any time.		
8a. Does your proposal raise other ethical issues apart from the potential for distress, anxiety, or harm?		Yes
8b. If your answer to 8a. was 'yes', on what grounds would you defend the proposal?		
Male researcher researching female involvement in sport: Qualitative research is viewed by feminists favourably 'in relation to feminism's central tenets, thus allowing women's voices to be heard, exploitation being reduced by giving as well as receiving during fieldwork and women not to be treated as objects to be controlled' (Bryman and Teevan, 2005: 161). However, being a male researcher researching women's experiences may raise methodological issues. I am a male interviewer gathering female accounts and experiences, which I will then analyse, interpret and represent. This is something I acknowledge I have sought advice about from the female chair of the Brighton Conference and a male delegate at the Brighton Conference who is a visiting professor at the University of Chichester.		
9. Irrespective of whether any distress is caused to participants, might the research damage the reputation of the University, since it will be undertaken under its auspices?	No	

10. Will the study involve withholding information or misleading participants as part of its methodology? *(Please refer to Section 10 of the Ethical Policy Framework for further guidance)* *s this Application must be categorised as 'B'*	No	
Please provide details:		
11. Has the consent of the participants of the study been obtained?	No	
Date consent obtained: The Chair of the Brighton Declaration and some of identified interviewees have agreed to participation. An information sheet and consent form are attached. Written or oral? (Please specify) Copy attached?		N/A
12. In formal/legal terms, is there anyone whose permission has to be sought in order to conduct your study? Please give details:	No	
Date consent obtained: Written or oral? (Please specify) Copy attached?		N/A
13. Do you think you need to seek the permission of any other individuals or groups? (e.g. parents, carers.)	No	
Please provide brief details: Date consent obtained:		

Written or oral? (*Please specify*) Copy attached?		N/A
14. Will any payment, gifts, rewards or inducements be offered to participants to take part in the study?	No	
Please provide brief details:		
15. Will the participants have the right/facility to withdraw from the study?		Yes
16. Is it necessary to guarantee and ensure confidentiality for the participants?		Yes
Please provide details:		
17. Is it necessary to guarantee and ensure anonymity for the participants?	No	
Please provide brief details: It is not possible to guarantee anonymity since the interviewees' roles and positions held need to be explained as they are crucial contextual information for the study		
18. Will the participants have any right of comment or veto on the material you produce about them?		Yes
Please elaborate if you wish: If the participants wish to see interview transcripts, the opportunity will be available, along with an opportunity for follow-up interviews to clarify any points.		
19. Does the project involve the use of or generation/creation of audio visual or electronic media?	No	
If yes, please describe how the collection and storage of this will be managed bearing in mind data protection and anonymity issues (see paragraphs 9.7 and 11.7 of the Ethical Policy Framework).		
20. Please outline how participants will be debriefed *(Please refer to paragraph 10.2 of the Ethical Policy Framework for further guidance)*		
Participants will be fully debriefed after interviews. This will include contact details of the researcher, a further outline of how the data will be used and for what purpose (as this will also be noted before the interview takes place), the opportunity to raise any questions of the project and to provide assurances on aspects of the research process.		
21. Will your results be available in the public arena? (e.g. dissertation in the library)		Yes

(If yes, please provide details) If necessary, in moratorium.		
22. What are your intentions for publication of the study? Please list any journals or texts in which the study will be published if relevant/ known:		
International Review for the Sociology of Sport Sociology of Sport Journal		
23. Are there any additional comments or information you consider relevant, or any additional information that you require from the Committee?		
No		
For Authorisers:		
24. Please provide a comment on your assessment of the research project, and where necessary indicate what further information is required.		
25. In your view, does the proposed study potentially contravene any aspect of established codes of practice in your discipline? (For instance, the codes of practice of the British Sociological Association, British Psychological Society, and British Education Research Association are available on the internet.)	No	
26. If yes, please give details and identify issues you wish the Ethics Committee to discuss/resolve:		

Signature of Applicant: …….. Date: …….

Signature of Authoriser: …… Date: ……

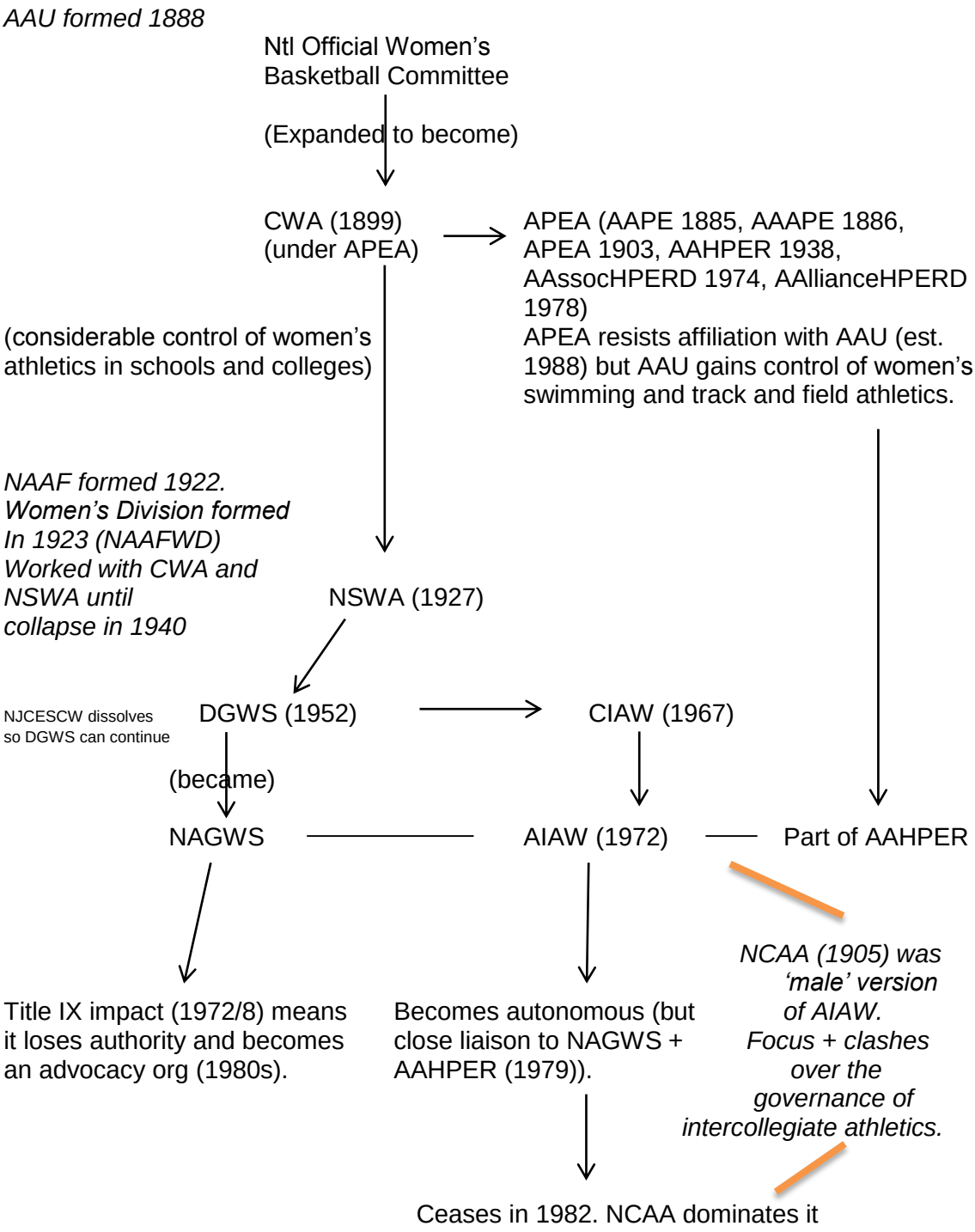
Both the Applicant ☐ and Authoriser ☐ have read the Ethical Policy Framework (*please tick*)

IF CATEGORY B: Signature of University Committee Chair *(or authorised signatory)*

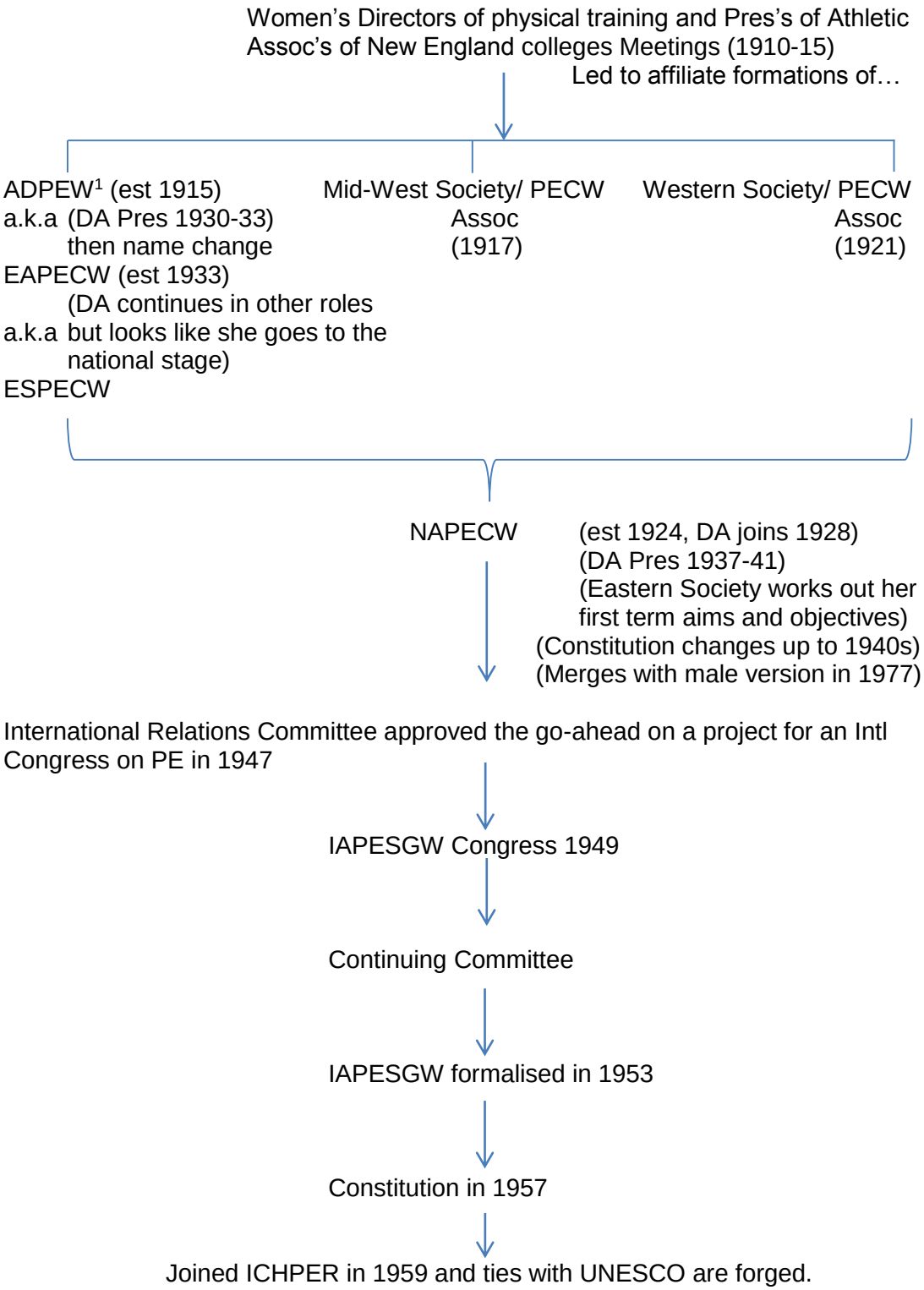
Signature……Responsibility: .....

Date: .....

Appendix 5 – Chronological timeline of the development of women and sport/physical education groups and organisations in the USA.

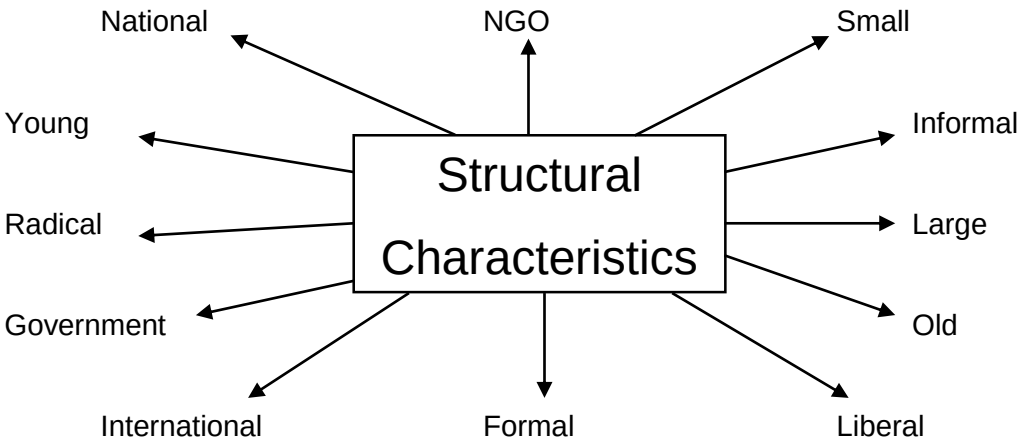


Formations of IAPESGW Timeline (DA = Dorothy Ainsworth, founder of IAPESGW)

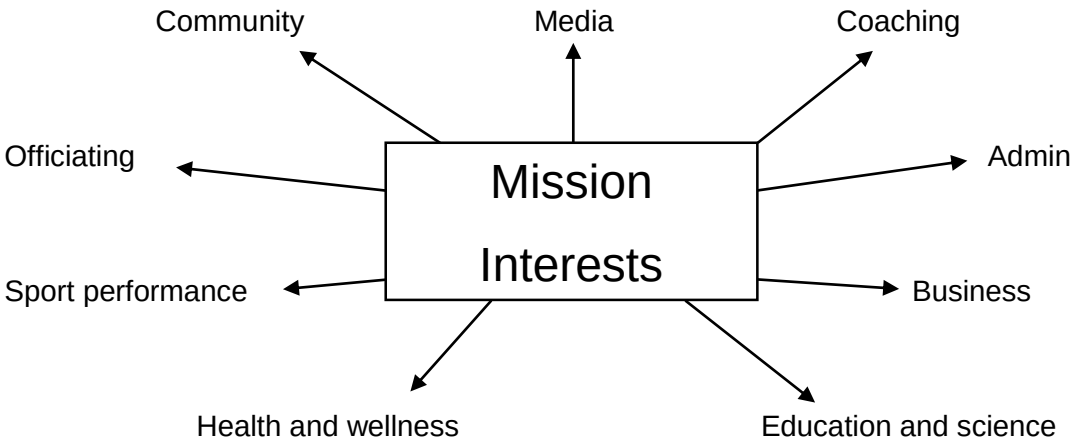


[1] First of its kind. Predominantly Eastern-based so claimed to be national, but then changed its name to Eastern. Stands for Assoc of Directors of PE for Women. Eastern Assoc for EAPECW and Eastern Society for PE for College Women is ESPECW.

Appendix 6 – Structural characteristics collated by Brackenridge (1992c) for WISC



Appendix 7 – Mission interests collated by Brackenridge (1992c) for WISC



Appendix 8 – The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport

Women Sport and the Challenge of Change

The first international conference on women and sport, which brought together policy and decision makers in sport at both national and international level, took place in Brighton, UK from 5-8 May 1994. It was organised by the British Sports Council and supported by the International Olympic Committee. The conference specifically addressed the issue of how to accelerate the process of change that would redress the imbalances women face in their participation and involvement in sport.

The 280 delegates from 82 countries representing governmental and non-governmental organisations, national Olympic committees, international and national sport federations and educational and research institutions, endorsed the following Declaration. The Declaration provides the principles that should guide action intended to increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles.

In addition, the conference agreed to establish and develop and international women and sport strategy which encompasses all continents. This should be endorsed and supported by governmental and non-governmental organisations involved in sport development. Such an international strategic approach will enable model programmes and successful developments to be shared among nations and sporting federations, so accelerating the change towards a more equitable sporting culture worldwide.

BACKGROUND

Sport is a cultural activity which, practised fairly and equitably, enriches society and friendship between nations. Sport is an activity which offers the individual the opportunity of self-knowledge, self-expression and fulfilment; personal achievement, skill acquisition and demonstration of ability; social interaction, enjoyment, good health and well-being. Sport promotes involvement, integration and responsibility in society and contributes to the development of the community.

Sport and sporting activities are an integral aspect of the culture of every nation. However, while women and girls account for more than half of the world`s population and although the percentage of their participation in sport varies between countries, in every case it is less than that of men and boys.

Despite growing participation of women in sport in recent years and increased opportunities for women to participate in domestic and international arenas, increased representation of women in decision making and leadership roles within sport has not followed.

Women are significantly under-represented in management, coaching and officiating, particularly at the higher levels. Without women leaders, decision makers and role models within sport, equal opportunities for women and girls will not be achieved.

Women`s experiences, values and attitudes can enrich, enhance and develop sport. Similarly, participation in sport can enrich, enhance and develop women`s lives.

A. SCOPE AND AIMS OF THE DECLARATION

1. SCOPE

This Declaration is addressed to all those governments, public authorities, organisations, businesses, educational and research establishments, women`s organisations and individuals who are responsible for, or who directly or indirectly influence, the conduct, development or promotion of sport or who are in any way involved in the employment, education, management, training, development or care of women in sport. This Declaration is meant to complement all sporting, local, national and international charters, laws, codes, rules and regulations relating to women or sport.

2. AIMS

The overriding aim is to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport.

It is the interests of equality, development and peace that a commitment be made by governmental, non-governmental organisations and all those institutions involved in sport to apply the Principles set out in this Declaration by developing appropriate policies, structures and mechanisms which:

- ensure that all women and girls have opportunity to participate in sport in a safe and supportive environment which preserves the rights, dignity and respect of the individual;
- increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles;
- ensure that the knowledge, experiences and values of women contribute to the development of sport;
- promote the recognition of women`s involvement in sport as a contribution to public life, community development and in building a healthy nation;
- promote the recognition by women of the intrinsic value of sport and its contribution to personal development and healthy lifestyle.

B. THE PRINCIPLES

1. EQUITY AND EQUALITY IN SOCIETY AND SPORT

a. Every effort should be made by state and government machineries to ensure that institutions and organisations responsible for sport comply with the equality provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

b. Equal opportunity to participate and be involved in sport whether for the purpose of leisure and recreation, health promotion or high performance, is the right of every woman, regardless of race, colour, language, religion,

creed, sexual orientation, age, marital status, disability, political belief or affiliation, national or social origin.

c. Resources, power and responsibility should be allocated fairly and without discrimination on the basis of sex, but such allocation should redress any inequitable balance in the benefits available to women and men.

2. FACILITIES

Women`s participation in sport is influenced by the extent variety and accessibility of facilities. The planning, design and management of these should appropriately and equitably meet the particular needs of women in the community, with special attention given to the need for child care provision and safety.

3. SCHOOL AND JUNIOR SPORT

Research demonstrates that girls and boys approach sport from markedly different perspectives. Those responsible for sport, education, recreation and physical education of young people should ensure that an equitable range of opportunities and learning experience, which accommodate the values, attitudes and aspirations of girls, is incorporated in programmes to develop physical fitness and basic sport skills of young people.

4. DEVELOPING PARTICIPATION

Women`s participation in sport is influenced by the range of activities available. Those responsible for delivering sporting opportunities and programmes should provide and promote activities which meet women`s needs and aspirations.

5. HIGH PERFORMANCE SPORT

a. Governments and sports organisations should provide equal opportunities to women to reach their sports performance potential by ensuring that all activities and programmes relating to performance improvements take account of the specific needs of female athletes.

b. Those supporting elite and/or professional athletes should ensure that competition opportunities, rewards, incentives, recognition, sponsorship, promotion and other forms of support are provided fairly and equitably to both women and men.

6. LEADERSHIP IN SPORT

Women are under-represented in the leadership and decision making of all sport and sport-related organisations. Those responsible for these areas should develop policies and programmes and design structures which increase the number of women coaches, advisers, decision makers, officials, administrators and sports personnel at all levels with special attention given to recruitment, development and retention.

7. EDUCATION, TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Those responsible for the education, training and development of coaches and other sports personnel should ensure that education processes and experiences address issues relating to gender equity and the needs of female athletes, equitably reflect women`s role in sport and take account of women`s leadership experiences, values and attitudes.

8. SPORT INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

Those responsible for research and providing information on sport should develop policies and programmes to increase knowledge and understanding about women and sport and ensure that research norms and standards are based on research on women and men.

9. RESOURCES

Those responsible for the allocation of resources should ensure that support is available for sportswomen, women`s programmes and special measures to advance this Declaration of Principles.

10. DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Government and non-government organisations should incorporate the promotion of issues of gender equity and the sharing of examples of good practice in women and sport policies and programmes in their associations with other organisations, within both domestic and international arenas.

Appendix 9 – Resolution of the 1st IOC World Conference on Women and Sport

IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, 1996
Resolution of the 1st IOC World Conference on Women and Sport

Congratulating the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on its initiative to stage a World Conference on
Women and Sport with representatives of many countries and non and intergovernmental organizations;
Welcoming the initiative of the IOC to establish a working group on Women and Sport and looking forward to hearing continued positive recommendations therefrom;
Also welcoming the evidence of cooperation between sectors of the sports community and government, both at national and international level, in promoting issues relative to women in sport;
Looking forward to the staging of similar events at appropriate intervals to further promote the advancement of women;
Recalling that the aim of the Olympic Movement is to build a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal, without discrimination of any kind;
Recognizing that the Olympic ideal cannot be fully realized without, and until there is, equality for women within the Olympic Movement;

1 Calls upon the IOC, the International Federations (IFs) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) to take into consideration the issue of gender equality in all their policies, programmes and procedures, and to recognize the special needs of women so that they may play a full and active part in sport;
2 Recommends, that all women involved in sport be provided equal opportunities for professional and personal advancement, whether as athletes, coaches or administrators, and that the IFs and the NOCs create special committees or working groups composed of at least 10% women to design and implement a plan of action with a view to promoting women in sport;
3 Requests, that commissions dealing specifically with the issue of women in sport be set up at national and international level;
4 Recommends the establishment by NOCs of athletes' commissions including women, as a way of training women as leaders;
5 Encourages the IOC to continue working toward the goal of attaining an equal number of events for women and for men on the Olympic programme;
6 Suggests, that within Olympic Solidarity a special fund be earmarked for the promotion of women's sport at all levels as well as for the training of women administrators, technical officials and coaches with emphasis on developing countries;
7 Requests, that the IOC organize each year, and on the five continents, a training course for women in one of the following areas: coaching, technical activity, administration or media/journalism;

8 Proposes, that one of the criteria of assessment of cities bidding to host the Olympic Games be their demonstrated ability to serve the needs of women in sport;
9 Endorses and encourages the increased production of research and statistical data on subjects relating to women and sport and the dissemination thereof to all parties involved in the sports movement, including success stories on advancements made in sport for women and girls;
10 Urges the IOC to discontinue the current process of gender verification during the Olympic Games;
11 Calls upon the national and international sport federations to facilitate and promote sport for women with disabilities, in light of the fact that women with disabilities face a double challenge in the world of sport;
12 Encourages the IOC, in its relations with non and intergovernmental international organizations, especially those that have as their focus girls and women, to cooperate in efforts that have as their aim the creation of global programmes of physical education in schools and in the community in order to promote health and quality of life;
13 Recommends, that the IOC advise governments of its technical assistance to developing countries;
14 Requests, that the IOC direct its working group on Women and Sport to consider issues specific to the needs of women and children in sport, taking into account the importance of family support in the development of young female athletes.
15 Recommends, that the IOC working group on Women and Sport be given the status of an IOC commission;
16 Encourages the IOC to continue to develop educational materials to assist in advancing opportunities for women in sport;
17 Recommends, that the IOC identify a theme for the 1996-2000 quadrennial: "Olympiad for Women".

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