

# BOOK REVIEWS

## **Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport**

Ann Hall and Dorothy A. Richardson, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 66 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R5, 1982.

*Penny Werthner*

"Women have been and continue to be discriminated against when they seek to take their rightful place in the sporting world."

Why this happens is the theme of *Fair Ball*, a study on women and sport prepared for the Advisory Council on the Status of Women by Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson. To quote Richardson, the intent was "to outline the major issues facing women and sport and to use the book as a basis for discussion." As well, it was to encourage women who are involved in sport to begin to look at the issues from a feminist perspective.

The book is divided into six chapters, each dealing with different issues related to an examination of equality of women and sport.

The first chapter, introductory in nature, points out the importance of sport in our society and sets the structure and the tone for the rest of the book, stating that "rarely is women's sport evaluated as something worthwhile in its own right, without unfortunate comparisons to the qualitatively different sporting performance and achievements of males."

In chapter two, the authors examine the meaning of sex equality in sport. As in the entire book, the chapter is extremely thorough in presenting all the possible meanings of "sex equality in sport" and all the

questions such as an attempt at definition raises. Hall and Richardson also present some of the issues surrounding the "separate-but-equal-vs.-integration" question, and they point out what can be learned from the Title IX issue in the United States. Title IX of the Education Amendment of 1972 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

Rarely is women's sport evaluated as something worthwhile in its own right

What is most enlightening in this chapter is the examination of the effectiveness of Canada's human-rights legislation as it pertains to sex discrimination in sport. According to the authors, the number of sport-related complaints brought before provincial human-rights commissions now total nearly fifty. The complaints range from young girls forbidden to play on all-star teams to women objecting to restricted hours at curling and golf clubs.

Four specific cases are documented in detail by Hall and Richardson. The varying final legal decisions in the cases point out the problems in legal interpretation and the complexity of the issues. To illustrate how deeply imbedded societal attitudes can be, the authors quote a male hockey official who, when asked what harm a girl would do by playing on the all-star team, stated: "I don't know. It's my per-

sonal opinion. I feel it in my heart. I don't believe it's appropriate and I don't feel it will do any good."

Equally interesting is the fact that the Ontario government, despite representation to the contrary, has actually added an amendment to its Human Rights Code which permits differential treatment with respect to services and facilities on the basis of sex.

Chapter three outlines Canadian women's sporting heritage. Backed by numerous tables and statistics on medals won by Canadians in international games (Olympics, Pan Am, and Commonwealth Games), the authors state that male athletes have twice as many opportunities as women athletes to win a medal, yet at the same time, in sports in which both females and males are allowed to compete, women have consistently won a greater proportion of medals.

The fourth chapter begins with the question of whether equality exists today in the 1980s for Canadian women athletes, and the fifth chapter documents the myths surrounding women in sport that still exist. In the final chapter, the authors evaluate Canadian federal, provincial, and private-sector initiatives aimed at achieving sex equality.

In conclusion, Hall and Richardson outline several possible strategies for achieving social reform and they do indicate their position, but we will have to wait for the Advisory Council on the Status of Women to make concrete recommendations, which should be out in early 1983. Nevertheless, Hall and Richardson have succeeded admirably in what they set out to do — outline the major issues — and as

they point out, the first step for women actively involved in sport is to ask "why." Why should sports and activities be sex stereotyped? Why do we allow usually sensible people to rage against contact sports for females on indefensible physiological grounds? Why has it taken the International Olympic Committee eighty-seven years to elect its first women members? Why are there disproportionately fewer Olympic events for women? Why should girls and women have unequal access to funds and facilities within sport and recreation programs? Why should it be the right of minor sport leagues to provide programs, in public facilities with public money, for boys only?

Highly recommended for those interested in women and sport.

Reprinted from *Champion*, December, 1982.

*Fair Play* is also available in French under the title *Franc-jeu*.



### Bring Down the Sun

Betty Lambert, Viking Press, 1979, pp. 284, \$10.95, hardcover.

#### Ursula Hegi

In *Bring Down the Sun*, her first novel, Betty Lambert moves between past and present, weaving the threads of Vicky Ferris's life into an intricate pattern where they meet, conflict, or emerge in new directions. Each time Vicky looks at that pattern, it appears different to her, as her memories are distorted by the present.

But Vicky, a writer, persists in trying to separate truth from fantasy as she tries to make sense of her relationships by replaying memories in her head. "Vicky always dramatizes," she remembers her mother saying. "You have fictionalized your whole life," Jeff told her. "You have always been obsessed with truth," Sister Maria Joseph once said. "You tell me a fact and think that is truth," her therapist, whom she

calls the Nut Lady, points out. *Truth*. "I thought truth was something you could work out," Vicky writes, "like the logarithms upon which a slide is premised. I thought if you could once discover the base, you could work it out from there."

At eighteen, Vicky marries Ben who is ten years older; both are virgins. Ben knows how to suffer; he already has a long history of suffering. His mother limps: "Arthritis. But when Ben was a child, she told him it was cancer. Caused by, guess what, his birth."

Ben brings two books into the marriage, *Married Love* and *Rhythm Method*. In addition to the rhythm method, he insists on practising three other methods of birth control: "French Safes, norforms and coitus interruptus. Simultaneously." Ben makes love by the book; even his suicide plans are predictable.

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When, as a volunteer in a Mexican clinic, Vicky assists in the birth of a baby, she realizes she wants a child. Ben feels betrayed and tears up his sketches. "All the work of months. So very few. So very bad."

Since Ben refuses to make her pregnant, Vicky sleeps with Robin, a student in one of her classes. Ben convinces her to see a marriage counsellor who advises an abortion. Yet after the abortion, Vicky keeps swelling until the day the baby would have been born; then she starts shedding weight. When Ben tries to get her to commit herself, the therapist decides it is Ben who needs help, not Vicky. Moving in with her sisters, Jocelyn and Francie, she opens the house to boarders. Mik, one of the boarders, is a balding ex-con, his body thick and muscled and ugly, his hands like weapons. He is unpredictable and crude and uses double negatives to embarrass her publicly. Above his

nipples are two tattoos. "One says *Cream* and the other says *Coffee*." He beats her friends at chess. Between the times he abuses and rapes her, he shows unexpected tenderness.

While with Ben, she partly remains an observer; sex with Mik is powerful, satisfying, bruising. But their relationship is like a battle, the victory shifting from one to the other. Yet both are survivors.

Though she sees Mik's faults very clearly, Vicky is drawn to him because she does not have to be afraid of destroying him. "You can't destroy me," Mik has told her. "I've been destroyed by experts." She follows Mik to the remote island where he works as a logger; the Nut Lady tells Vicky she wants Mik to punish her, to destroy her.

She tries to free herself from Mik after she has miscarried his child, but just as Ben never accepted the divorce, Mik refuses to accept that she does not want to marry him. He tries to commit suicide. Mik keeps tearing into her life, abusing her, and finally, convinced by the Nut Lady, Vicky presses charges.

Years later, after she has a child, Anna, whose father is a Mexican she met on a bus and never saw again and Mik is no longer a part of her life, Vicky realizes: "For years I was guilty about Ben . . . my mother . . . my sisters. I shall probably come to feel guilty about Anna. But I never feel guilty about Mik . . . I can see Mik, *Cream* and *Coffee* over his tits, his head thrown back, hollering to the moon and bringing down the sun. . . And I know I didn't destroy him. Not Mik."

*Bring Down the Sun* is a powerful and at times disturbing novel because Lambert does not opt for easy answers in her relentless push toward truth. Though she explores the roots of Vicky's guilt, she gives her character the freedom to not always apply those discoveries. Lambert has a keen eye for the absurd which makes the reader want to laugh and cry with the characters. In Vicky Ferris she has created a complex and unique character — a survivor.

## Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism

Lydia Sargent, ed., Black Rose Books (Montreal), 1981.

Mary O'Brien

This book, originally published in 1981 by South End Press, Boston, now appears under the imprint of Black Rose Books in Montreal. One wonders why a Canadian edition was thought necessary. Apart from a reasoned critique of the work of Margaret Bentson and Peggy Morton in one of the most thoughtful pieces in the volume (Lise Vogel's "Marxism and Feminism: Unhappy Marriage, Trial Separation or Something Else?"), the book is concerned almost entirely with American feminism. It does have one article from an anarchist perspective by Carol Ehrlich ("The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Can it be Saved?"), which is predictably thoughtful and competent. Still, the current interest of anarchist publishing houses in feminism may have more to do with the law of supply and demand than with an anarchist commitment to feminist goals: feminists evidently buy books. The lively sort of intermovement debate in Marxist circles to which this book attests does not seem to have developed yet in anarchism, at least in public prints, and, indeed, Ehrlich believes anarchism and feminism to be compatible in theory and practice.

*Women and Revolution* consists of an introduction by Lydia Sargent, a lead essay by Heidi Hartmann, and a final rejoinder by Hartmann to thirteen papers of rather uneven quality and with quite varying commitment to staying on topic. Hartmann's thesis is fairly well-known now, as it deserves to be. She argues that Marxism and feminism are like the English common-law version of marriage: Marxism and feminism are one and that one is Marxism (p.2). Capitalism, she claims, is sex-blind: it creates spaces

in the labour force which can be filled by anyone, and the more cheaply the better. Marxism takes women's economic position as the relation to be analysed, failing to see that the woman question "has never been the feminist question" (p.3). Marxism has consequently failed to identify the material base of patriarchy, which, Hartmann argues, is "men's control over women's labour power" (p.19). Marxist categories are also sex-blind: they do not ask why women fill the empty spaces in certain areas of the work force or why they are subordinate to men both inside and outside the family (p.10). She supports these claims with a succinct discussion of the "family-wage" struggle and concludes that Marxism must either find ways to organize the overthrow of both patriarchy and capitalism or find itself in the divorce court: ". . . the analysis of patriarchy is essential to a definition of the kind of socialism useful to women" (p.32). Hartmann says more of what we must do than how we are actually to do it, but I for one would agree that strategy must be unified with theory and feminism has not yet accomplished this theoretical task. We shall, of course, eventually do so.

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Iris Young's piece is a critique of dual-systems theory: what has to be shown is that patriarchy is in practice integral to capitalism, that ". . . the marginalization of women . . . as a secondary labour force is an essential and fundamental characteristic of capitalism" (p.58). Young makes a well-argued and very useful suggestion that the division of labour is conceptually more fruitful than social class in the analysis of the particular

modes of women's oppression under capitalism. However, it is also possible, in this writer's view, to understand patriarchy and capitalism as dialectically related.

Several of the essays criticize Hartmann for omissions. Christine Rid-dough reproaches her for the failure to discuss gay/lesbian liberation, arguing that it is precisely because the compulsorily heterosexual family is the basis of society that patriarchal oppression permeates society. Hartmann's analysis is too narrow, Rid-dough argues, for it does not embrace the sexual liberation of all people (p.76): she suggests more work on ideological hegemony on the model of civil society sketched by Gramsci. Gloria Joseph points to the seriousness of the omission of any analysis of racism. I confess to some sympathy with Hartmann here, for I have myself been criticized for not taking lesbian and black feminism seriously. Joseph rather ironically adds a defensive note to her own text (p.106), saying that she does not deal with third-world women or other U.S. minorities "due to the respect that I hold for their different historical and cultural backgrounds." I imagine that courtesy might be extended to Hartmann too, and in any case a claim to be theoretically holistic is not the same as a claim to know everything. It would be useful if we could think of feminist research as cumulative, rather than nag each other for omitting to address particular concerns. Let us leave the folly of claims to omnipotence to men and their totalitarian gods.

Sandra Harding argues that Marxism and capitalism are not only sex-blind but sexist ("What is the real material base of Patriarchy and Capital?"). She makes a reasoned plea for understanding the role of the family in personality and stoutly defies Marxist horrors of subjectivism and "psychologism." This is an important thing to do, and one wonders if Harding's well-argued but hardly materialist position would find a place in any male-edited Marxist anthology. The failure of Marxism to treat the domestic oppression of women, Hard-

ing argues, is a failure to understand that women are oppressed as mothers and mates as well as workers: feminism therefore must develop gender-resisting *practices* (p.159), and these cannot be developed unless we take into account the development of sex-specific personality which takes place long before people go "out" to work. Katie Stewart also argues for the dissolution of the Marxist dichotomy between objective and subjective realities (p.270), though she has a tendency to swing too vigorously into the subjective, taking culture to be an "internally constructed world view emanating from the experience of the self" (p.271). She offers an analysis of the contradiction of Puritan culture to support this position: her plea for a better understanding of the social and cultural dynamics of hierarchy is timely. Carol Brown ("Mothers, Fathers and Children: From Public to Private Patriarchy") has a constructive approach to Hartmann, arguing the need to extend her analysis to consideration of patriarchy as *both* a family and social system, holding that the intersection of public and private patriarchy comes in family law, which she proceeds to discuss knowledgeably, confronting the tensions in women's needs to utilize the state in their struggles to raise children. "In ignoring the importance of reproduction," she argues, "socialism runs the risk of recreating patriarchal structure" (p.263). At the same time, the concentration on "women's" issues at the cost of neglecting economic struggle marginalizes feminism. Nancy Folbre and Ann Ferguson also argue for a better understanding of the relation of wage-labour and what they call sex-affective production, which is the bearing and rearing of children, nurturance, sexual satisfaction, and affection.

Two of the papers, Azizah Al-Hibri's "Capitalism is an Advanced Stage of Patriarchy: but Marxism is not Feminism" and Emily Hicks's "Cultural Marxism: Nonsynchrony and Feminist Practice," do not

seem to this reader to speak very directly to the issue. With Al-Hibri's work this is disappointing, for it is the only paper which deals directly with the third world. Her appeal for progressive support of national liberation movements touches what is at this moment in history a tender chord indeed. However, this materialist reviewer does have some difficulty in relating to a theoretical approach involving an imputed difference between male and female longings for immortality. Likewise, I find Emily Hicks's notion of nonsynchronous practice humane but fuzzy, and I am not sure what "a multi-layered response to a multi-layered reality" (p.236) would do to ease the already difficult problems of actual tactics.

Eisenstein winds up the book with an appeal to work together, rather bravely suggesting that liberal feminists are a sort of vanguard and we ought to work with them. Given the stark failures of the left to make much impact on American capitalism, she may well be right as far as the United States is concerned: she regards the ERA struggle as one which must be waged but on the clear understanding that it is actually a capitalist/patriarchal ploy to stabilize the family while appearing to forward liberal ideology (p.358). Constitutional struggle in Canada is not equivalent to ERA struggle, but the notion of liberal, radical, and socialist feminists working together is one which utilizes categories which are in fact male-defined. Perhaps this is worth thinking about, and the movement to dephenate feminism is one whose time has come.

In her conclusion, Hartmann concedes that Marxism may need revision: unfortunately, revision in terms of Marx's model of history is an inadmissible concept. History must be a struggle to overcome. It is clear from these essays that Marxism will remain a vital element in struggles for liberation, precisely because of the necessity

to produce and the control capitalism has of mode of production. What feminism poses is an antithesis which demands equal time for the social relations of reproduction and for women's struggle against oppression by men of all classes. This is more than a revision, and in a dialectical theory of history must be more than that. Feminism will neither negate nor revise Marxism but will ultimately transcend it. The essays offered in this book help to make the dimensions of this struggle clearer, and one is grateful that the process is under way.



### The Sporting Woman

Mary A. Boutilier and Lucinda San Giovanni, Human Kinetics Publishers, Champagne, Illinois, 1983.

*Sandra Kirby*

This 1983 publication is a valiant attempt to evaluate critically the place of American women in sport. From their common experiences in coaching women's softball and their academic association with Seton Hall University, authors Mary Boutilier and Lucinda San Giovanni have chosen to present a challenge to the social science of sport. They suggest a humanist approach to account for the specific experiences of women in sport. In addition, they utilize the feminist perspective to describe, explain, and, on occasion, analyse the current state of women's engagement and experience in sport. The overriding theme in the eight chapters of *The Sporting Woman* is the theoretical and substantive challenge of the common perceptions about women as sport participants.

The format of the book is straightforward. Prior to each chapter, the authors present an interesting personal account of the team they coached and how they dealt with such concerns as hierarchical line-ups versus an everyone-plays approach and league accommodation

or transformation. From these experiences, the authors came to the realization that equal-rights legislation (Title IX of the Education Amendment in the United States), the media, and sport as a social institution could not fully explain the progressive involvement of women in sport and of sporting women in society.

The first four chapters are primarily theoretical. Chapter one is an outline of the humanist approach to sociology and an overview of Jagger and Struhl's feminist classifications (1978). The authors propose that a humanistic social orientation that is value-committed recognizes the moral involvement of sociologists (p. 9). More specifically, symbolic interactionism is posited as a frame of reference by which women can be viewed as active creators of their social world. The feminism is addressed separately and is founded on the hope for an alternative model of co-operative socialization of the younger generation. The feminist perspective of sport is reflected in the following:

1. Sport is created and shaped by men as a celebration of masculine power
2. Women are systematically excluded from sport
3. Sport research is primarily on male subjects
4. Liberal ideology pervades sport
5. Women are simply not as good as men

Chapter two places the theoretical positions into an historical perspective. Boutilier and San Giovanni briefly cover the period from 1880 to 1980, finishing with "The Female Athletic Revolution," characterized by an explosive change in status, number, settings, events, and levels of participation of women in sport. The feminine/masculine dichotomy is shown to continue as the primary measure of social acceptance for female participants. However, the supporting descriptions of sex and/or gender role is interesting but difficult to accept. So too is the discussion of homophobic reactions

to women-identified women in sport. Statements such as "The media focuses on women for non-athletic reasons" beg analysis. The authors cite sources in their descriptions but frequently fail to take the step to explanation and analysis. The chapter reifies the liberal feminist approach that "progressive women" appear to embrace — an overwhelming silence on such topics as lesbianism, societal inequalities for women, and the emulation of men's professional-sport activity. Chapter two is not radical and thus tends to discount the naming of women's advancement in sport as a revolution.

### Sport is created and shaped by men as a celebration of masculine power

Chapter three, written by the first of two guest authors, Susan Birrell, is a well-planned review of social facts and definitions. Birrell examines the implications of alternatives for overcoming the traditional stereotypic prejudices encountered by female sport participants. Such debates as sex-differentiated aggression and personality, and the masculinity/ femininity/androgyny scales reveal the incongruity of being both a female and an athlete. She shows great concern for the methodological problems encountered in research on motives, power-seeking, and sport-participation consequences for female athletes. In addition, Birrell points out that by discussing sport without "archaic" reference to masculine or feminine, "gender-role transcendence" might be achieved. She concludes by stating that although there is an increase in women's participation, "there is no guiding theoretical framework" for understanding the psychological, social, and cultural changes as the "Female Athletic Revolution" explodes (p. 85).

The next chapter explores the social context of women in sport. After describing sport as an institution, Boutilier and San Giovanni search for explanations of the male domination of this system. Clouded concepts about both role-conflict and sexual orientation among women athletes frequently arise. For example, the authors stress throughout the chapter that by failing to come to terms with lesbianism among athletes, researchers will find it impossible to understand the full range of issues that women confront. However, the imperative nature of this issue remains unclear. The critical evaluation of the assumptions, values, and concepts appears to be lacking. This chapter appears unfocussed and largely descriptive. The fervent dream of reshaping sport "in women's image" and thereby reflecting the authenticity of women's experience is the most striking impression of the final theoretical chapter.

The second portion of the book concentrates substantively on the family, school, media, and government as strong influences on sport for women. Susan Greendorfer initiates this section by addressing the complex socialization process of young children. She positions the family at the centre of the gender-role socialization process and simultaneously challenges the underlying assumptions that provide for a "systematic deprivation" in the learned roles of children. In sport, this impact is immense. Greendorfer cites the father as the primary influence on female and male children's attitudes toward sport. Additionally, she indicates the strength of the school in the socialization process, particularly on males.

This work leads well into the next chapter, on the educational environment. The higher stakes of sport are evidenced in the increased visibility of corporate interests within the high school and collegiate institutions. Although it is difficult to find conclusions to this chapter, the liberal-feminist view of women who

debate the corporate value system of sport are clear. Much of the controversy for control of women's sport appears to centre on the real and/or imagined threat of women to the male-defined sport institution. The major problem in this chapter is a reverse form of sexism. Based upon false reasoning — for instance, that "these are traditional sports for black athletes" (p. 175) — the authors draw conclusions which open the way for other forms of exploitation (in this case, of black athletes). Also, the continued use of "the masculine approach" to sport becomes archaic by this book's own definition and should have been avoided.

Chapter seven is the most interesting section of *The Sporting Woman*. Media treatment of sport is described with respect to extent, type, style, and manner of media production. Much of the information presented shows that trivialization of women as athletes and as professional sport personalities continues. While the Superstars' Competition and the process of "handicapping" women are given ingenious interpretations, the role of feminism in this critical analysis is finally clarified. Women's sports and feminism both are united in the struggle for serious treatment in the media. This chapter addresses issues through description but consistently fails to offer explanation or to prescribe action. For example, when a magazine fails to survive "because its entire content is devoted to women's sports," the authors miss the fact that the issues of "gatekeeping" and "depiction of women's sport experiences" are problematic. The vulnerability of the magazine in question may be due not only to content, but also to editing.

The eighth and final chapter questions the ties between public policy and women's participation in sport. A review of involvement in the Olympic games and the question of elitism bring international political pressure on all athletes into the forefront of the discussion. This chapter

feels anticlimactic after such a promise for action from the review of media influences on sport. Rather belatedly, feminism again appears in the original liberal, Marxist, radical, and socialist divisions. However, the concerns of each feminist perspective on government and public policy reveal the catalytic nature of all forms of feminism on all forms of sport analyses. The feminist analyses of women and sport is deemed incomplete for the sport sociologists with a humanistic and specifically feminist orientation.

To conclude, the authors attempt to achieve both academic scholarship and an exploration of their personal feminism through this theoretical and substantive approach to sporting women. Organizationally, this work suffers from poor intra-chapter cohesiveness, particularly in the introductions and conclusions. Juxtaposed against the maturer work of Birrell and Greendorfer, that of Boutilier and San Giovanni appears clumsy and too heavily referenced. This leaves the impression of a rather rambling, un-directed exposure to a great expanse of information. Academically, the descriptive work is excellent. There are occasional flashes of brilliance, but for the most part the work is pedantic and makes for rather slow reading. Frequently, when analysis and explanation appear imminent, the authors fail to move in that direction; one is left with unanswered questions about "where to next?" and "how are they related?" The feminist perspective is refreshing but ambivalent. The issues of sporting women appear to be addressed more from a liberal-reformist position rather than from the more radical position the authors originally suggest. Thus, though the initial attempt can be appreciated, the authors rely heavily on description when perhaps they could better utilize their theoretical feminist framework. The major contribution of this work is the uniting of women's sport and the feminist perspective in an effort to address the issues of women as active

creators of their own social realities. Through *The Sporting Woman*, the challenge to both sport and feminism is clear. The future concerns must clearly be those of analysis, explanation, and practice.



### **Her Story in Sport: An Historical Anthology of Women in Sports**

edited by Reet Howell, Leisure Press, West Point, New York, 1983.

*Katharine Moore*

"Her Story in Sport is a story of achievement . . . halting, humorous, sometimes heartbreaking . . . but a story of success which reveals where women have been, what they have accomplished, and what yet needs to be done." This excerpt from the foreword provides the reader with a general summary of what the anthology contains, but this historical collection invites a closer examination of its contents. Reet Howell, the editor, explains that although the subject of the female in sport has begun to achieve attention for sport sociologists, sport psychologists, and sport physiologists, sport historians have been slow in emphasizing the investigation and analysis of the role of women in sport. She promotes the anthology as an exploratory contribution on women's role and status in North American sport.

The collection is divided into five parts, three that are chronological in nature and two that focus on specific topics in sport history. Part I, titled "In the Beginning," presents seven papers which examine the participation of women in sport prior to 1900, focussing primarily on the American experience. Although the nineteenth century was dominated by cultural restrictions that imposed certain role expectations on women, the papers highlight factors which, individually and in combination, led to a re-examination of

societal and role expectations by the end of the century.

"Emerging, But Active: 1860-1920" is the subtitle for part II of the anthology. The advent of industrialization and urbanization heralded the rise of the middle class, and this group became a dominant force in reform movements in the early years of this century. The seven papers in this section deal with a variety of topics which serve to reinforce the theme of the "emerging woman."

Part III, "On the Road to Equality: 1920-1982," brings the reader up to the present day and provides a documentation of the slow but steady progress toward equality witnessed in the twentieth century. As Smith and Lucas explain: "The entry of American women in sport was for the most part a phenomenon of the latter nineteenth century. The acceptance of women in sport, where achieved, was primarily a latter twentieth century occurrence." The seven papers all revolve around this theme while focussing on various aspects of women's participation in sport, and as a group provide several interesting examples to compare and contrast.

The final two sections of the anthology highlight a more specific examination of women in sport in two major areas: in the schools and in certain specific sports. Part IV focusses primarily on the American school experience, stressing that "the educational system of any society is a reflection of that culture's dominant institutions and beliefs." The ten contributors present a diverse group of topics which collectively examine a neglected area of educational history, the effect of higher education on the participation of women in sport.

The anthology concludes with "In Certain Sports," an examination of the phenomenon of the apparent acceptance of female participation in certain activities, contrasted with the traditionally unacceptable sports for women. As the twentieth century has progressed, there has been

an ever-expanding list of physical activities in which women actively take part, and the ten papers discuss the lengthy history of the battle for social acceptability in several sports, as well as reasons for the popularity of some traditionally feminine sports.

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The editor states that "research relating to women in sport is of relatively recent vintage; indeed it is in the pioneer stage of development," but the anthology is a collection of previously published and presented papers and contains few articles written specifically for the book. Overall, the collection is well presented and referenced, but the lack of recently written works detracts somewhat from the timeliness of the volume. For any reader interested in the development of the role of women in sport as an aspect of North American social history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the anthology should provide a starting point from which to move into this important and recently popularized area. The editor concludes by stating, "It is hoped that this volume will stimulate interest, create awareness, and provide incentives for future research on the sportswoman in history." That is a most admirable objective, one which has the potential to contribute to a more complete picture of sport history.

### **Challenging the Men: The Social Biology of Female Sporting Achievement**

Kenneth F. Dyer, University of Queensland Press, New York, 1982.

*Cathy Bray*

Kenneth Dyer, a social biologist who lectures at the University of Adelaide in Australia, has entered the controversial nature-nurture debate as it relates to the female athlete, with the 1982 publication of *Challenging the Men*. Dr. Dyer firmly states that nurture is the decisive factor in the differential performances of male and female world-class athletes. With the sureness and surprising stridency characteristic of much of the book, Dyer says: "Obviously it is mainly prejudice and social inertia which bring about women's different and largely inferior position in society today . . . . These conclusions are as relevant to the sports field as to the work place" (p. 5).

Dyer supports his case in a well-substantiated, intellectual, yet highly readable manner. He first sets out the paradox of women in sport — that women on the one hand are not expected to be successful in competition against men, but on the other hand their measurable achievements in competition against each other are approaching and equalling men's. After defining sport in chapter two, Dyer goes on to discuss more specifically the biological, psychological, and sociological requirements of sporting success in chapters three, four, and five. These chapters explain characteristics such as physical fitness, motivation, financial resources, and coaching which are necessary to ambitious athletes, either male or female. They are a useful compilation of basic principles of sport science and are written in clear, non-sexist language. The three chapters, in and of themselves, could be a handy reference for the beginning student of physical education and sport.

Chapter six, which considers the biology of sex and sex differences, provides an explanation of the wide range, in both sexes, of such characteristics as height, weight, and blood circulation. The chapter also indicates, often through helpful diagrams, that there is much overlap in biological characteristics between men and women — that many men are similar in height, for example, to many women. Dyer makes the point that "we must also recognize not only that there are obvious and important biological differences between the sexes, but that the differences between individuals of the same sex are obvious and in many respects equally important" (p. 68).

In chapter seven, "The Sociology of Sex and Sex Differences," Dyer examines patterns and agencies of socialization and how these create masculine and feminine sex-role expectations. In one especially interesting section, he traces the relationship between sexuality and body image. He also shows that there can be a good deal of difference between the "public" and "private" image of the desirable female body and that these images change over time. Throughout chapter seven, Dyer makes the case that though women and men are somewhat different biologically, it is social agents such as families, schools, the media, and governments that have the greatest effect on females' performances.

The author of *Challenging the Men* carries further his hypothesis that women's inferior sport performances are more a result of nurture than nature. In chapters eight and nine he makes predictions, on the basis of statistical evidence, as to when female champions will equal male champions in world-class athletics. For instance, in track and field these dates vary from the year 2088 for the 200-metre run, to 1988 for the marathon. In swimming, Dyer predicts that world-class women will be able to swim as fast as world-class men anytime between 2009 and 2020. Dyer suggests particularly that as women gain

more opportunities to participate in long-distance races, their natural biologic superiority in such races will become obvious. He points out that in very long distance swimming, such as across the English Channel, women and men are already equal.

Dyer's book, therefore, challenges the mythic assumptions, built on incomplete, inaccurate data and hearsay, about the inferiority of women in sport. He therefore provides a tremendous service to sports participants and physical educators. He can be criticized on two counts, however. First, Dyer is ambivalent

### There is much overlap in biological characteristics between men and women.

about the relationship between athleticism and femininity. In chapter four, which concerns the psychological requirements of successful sporting performance, he introduces an old chestnut; the role of athlete conflicts with the role of woman, or "femininity" and "athleticism" are dichotomous. The belief in this conflict has been refuted by a number of studies recently. However, of more importance is the fact the "femininity" and "masculinity" are socially defined. A woman with large muscles can be just as feminine, if she defines herself as feminine and/or if society defines her as feminine, as a woman who has small muscles. Dyer insists in a

number of sections in the book that female athletes retain their femininity, do not generally develop big muscles, and are "like other women in bed" (p. 102). He should have kept the theme of chapter seven always in the forefront — "femininity" is a stereotype, not a fact. Conformity to this stereotype is not mandatory. The stereotype can be changed, and it is changing.

A second criticism that can be made of Dyer is that he does not examine the concept of "sporting achievement" closely enough. Some thought should have been given to high-performance sport as it presently exists, especially to controversial issues such as drug use, alienation among athletes, the politics of sport, and the professionalization of sport. Many ethical decisions are associated with these issues. Should sport be used as a political statement? Are athletes "dehumanized" by modern practices? What is the value and impact of the amateur code? More consideration of these questions and others like them is warranted. The book is a call for women to "challenge the men," but there are many drawbacks to the competitions in which men are currently engaged. Perhaps, in the long run, women would be better off not to take up the challenge. Certainly the defects in modern sport should not be ignored when considering the future of female athletics.

In sum, however, Dr. Dyer provides us with a valuable, much-needed addition to the literature concerning women and sport.

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