

The Development of the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women and Sport Program

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THESIS

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Abstract

In this thesis by publishable paper I use archival research and semi-structured interviews to examine the development of what eventually became known as the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women and Sport program. In the first paper, I document the development of the GWS program within the broader context of women's and girls' sport in Canada. In the second paper, I conduct a Foucauldian discourse analysis of the dominant discourses that shaped the development of the GWS program in order to further our knowledge of feminist sport development and also to better understand the Foucauldian contention that constraints serve to not only inhibit action, but also enable it. Together, these papers comprise a thesis that contributes to better understanding the development of Canadian women's and girls' sport, while it simultaneously strengthens our understanding of Foucault's notion of productive constraints.

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A great deal of research has been conducted that pertains to the development of women's sport in Canada (Kidd, 1996; Hall, 2002; Hargreaves, 1994; 2001; Lenskyj, 1986; O'Connor, 2009). Despite the volume of work that exists, it was not until the early 1980s, specifically in 1984, that the literature began to focus on documenting women's sport outside of mere comparisons to male sport or the popular examples of sport heroines, an initiative spearheaded by historian Nancy Struna (Vertinsky, 1994). Sport history until the mid-1980s had been the history of men's sport, which often used generalizations to extrapolate men's experiences to represent those of society as a whole (Hargreaves, 1994; Hall, 2002; Henderson et al., 1996; Vertinsky, 1994). Stemming from Struna's recommendations, Parratt (1989) urged for "a more radical agenda for change" (p. 10), an agenda that "proceeded from women's experiences and which placed women at its center" (p. 10). The thesis contained herein responds to this call.

Studies that critically analyzed sport's role in the perpetuation of male dominance and female subordination were called for by numerous women's sport history scholars in the late 1980s (Hall, 1988; Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 2002; Therberge, 1987). Vertinsky (1994) posited that by the early 1990s, much progress had been made in the field of women's sport history. She claimed, "For sport historians, the institution of sport was becoming properly viewed as a gendered, cultural space" (p. 19). Since the later part of the twentieth century, the focus on history has shifted to include the recognition and subsequent analysis of socially constructed, gendered power relations. Yet, despite increases in both the number of women participating in sport as well as the number of feminist sport theorists within the academy, the majority of literature about sport and sport scholarship has remained male-focused. My thesis aims to resist the androcentric nature of sport and to add to our understanding of women's sport development

by focusing on a long-standing program in Canada's capital: the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women in Sport (GWS) program.

Using feminist poststructural theory (Weedon, 1987), Foucauldian discourse analysis, and data from five semi-structured interviews as well as months of archival research, I aim to not only to tease out GWS's development, but also the discourses that helped to shape it. In this introductory chapter, I provide a brief review of literature pertaining to historical accounts of women in sport post 1960. This time period was chosen as a starting point because it marked one of the "golden ages" (Lenskyj, 1986) of sport. Additionally, the time period of post-1960 saw several policy and ideological changes in sport, which contributed to a sport environment in which a female-only sport program could exist. Additionally, literature pertaining to the dominant discourses related to girls' and women's sport participation, historical accounts of girls or women-only sport initiatives, as well as a review of Foucauldian theory as it relates to girls' and women's participation in sport. The qualitative research methodologies and methods employed within both articles are reviewed, followed by a description of Foucauldian discourse analysis, my chosen form of data analysis. Finally, this chapter will review broader applications of my research. I do so in order to situate this thesis by publishable papers within the extant literature and to relate the two papers to each other and the overall thesis.

Literature Review

Historical Studies Pertaining to Canadian Women's Sport History Post-1960

Several scholars have sought to chronicle Canadian girls' and women's struggle for participation opportunities and recognition in sport, but also to frame this struggle within larger societal issues (most notably, Hall, 1993, 2002; Kidd, 1996; Vertinsky, 1994). Shared between most studies of girls' and women's participation in sport post-1960 is a notion of sport as a

means of resistance to discursive formations of domination. As an example, Hall (2002) offered a thorough history of women's sport in Canada beginning in the Victorian ages through to 2001, and included sections pertaining to issues of inequality, commodification of the female body, and discourses of femininity, among others. In another example of Canadian women's sport history, Kidd (1996) provided a chapter in his larger volume, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, dedicated to women's sport history in Canada. This chapter outlined the historical steps and accomplishments of women in sport and engages briefly with feminism and the discursively structured barriers imposed upon girls and women in sport. Vertinsky (1994a, 1994b) engaged the need for a focus on larger issues pertaining to girls' and women's involvement in sport, rather than simple descriptions of sporting experiences.

Dominant Discourses in Girls' and Women's Sport Participation

Sport participation for girls and women has been constrained throughout history by dominant discourses that have often restricted girl's and women's ability to participate (Aitchison, 2000; Flax, 1990; Green, 1998; Hall, 1987; 2002; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Henderson et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 1987; Wiley, Shaw & Havitz, 2000; Theberge, 1987; Wearing, 1996). There is a wealth of literature pertaining to these discourses and the inhibiting constraints that produce them.

The dominant discourses discussed within the literature are those pertaining to femininity and masculinity, whereby masculinity is perceived as superior to femininity (Cahn, 1994), and whereby girls and women who do participate in sport have had their femininity and sexuality questioned (Hall, 1987; Henderson et al., 1996). These discourses have served to reinforce the social ideal that there is no place in sport for girls and women and that they have no right to participate within this realm (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Griffin, 1981). Furthermore, the

discursive production of power and its exercise as a conventionally male characteristic and ability is also a pervasive discourse within girls' and women's sport (Shaw & Hoebner, 2003). Discourses that limited girls' and women's ability to exercise power have served to reinforce the idea that they lack the necessary traits needed in order to succeed in sport (Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2007). Moreover, discourses of resource allocation are also predominant in writings. This discourse posits males as superior athletes and thus programs were logically created and funded for them (Bell-Altenstadt & Vail, 1994; Hall, 2002; Henderson et al., 1996). Discourses pertaining to the likelihood for domestic responsibilities to fall into the hands of women rather than men (Henderson et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 2002; Weedon, 1987; 1999) are similarly prevalent throughout the literature. Others have used various discourses to categorize the history of girls' and women's sport, such as Lenskyj (1987) who structured her study in sections according to medical discourses, discourses of motherhood and domestic responsibility, heterosexual discourses, and discourses of femininity and sexuality. Through these categorizations, Lenskyj outlined women's historical struggles in and through sport, struggles that are shaped through dominant discourses. These discourses have been shown to produce and reinforce relations of power in the context of sport that are disadvantageous for women and girls. The disadvantages that girls and women have encountered have served as the impetuses for girls- and women-only sport initiatives.

Girls- and Women-Only Sport Initiatives

Girls- and women-only programs have been investigated by several scholars. There are several prominent discourses that have been cited as shaping such initiatives. Much of the focus of female-only recreation and physical activity programs centres around discourses related to the perceived need for supportive and non-competitive environments within which girls and women

can acquire skills (Castelnuovo & Guthrie, 1998; Nolan & Priest, 1993; McDermott, 2004; Mitten, 1992). Additional discourses surrounding sport programming for girls and women programs included girls' and women's apparently universal desire to participate with "like-minded women" (McDermott), participate on an "equal level" (Warren, 1985), experience a sense of community (Helstein, 2005), and a lack of performance pressure (Stevens, 1999). General conclusions from much of this research concern the importance of female-only programs in that they provide a space that encourages participation and concomitantly provides women and girls the opportunity to participate in sport and resist dominant discourses surrounding women's physicality and ability in a recreation/sporting environment. Within the above discourses females are ascribed essentialist characteristics of being non-competitive, community-minded, and other conventionally feminine traits. As a result, the ways in which women in these settings might reinforce dominant discourses concerning girls' and women's lack of sporting ability are also important to examine.

In the thesis contained herein, I am careful to provide a nuanced description of the discourses and their constraints that shaped the development of the GWS program in order to take up the Foucauldian challenge of engaging with both their inhibitory *and* enabling characteristics and the feminist challenge of contributing to a more equitable description of the emergence of women's and girls' sport programming in Canada.

Theoretical Framework

Feminist Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a theory that seeks to move beyond theories of structuralism, which focus upon objectivity and quests for the truth. Scholars who use poststructural theory seek to understand the linkages between power and knowledge and the diverse subject positions of

individuals, while they concomitantly reject positivist notions of grand theories and truth (Petersen, 1999). According to Weedon, “poststructuralism offers a useful, productive framework for understanding the mechanisms of power in our society and the possibilities of change” (p. 10). Feminist poststructuralist theory is based on theories of language developed by various scholars of linguistics and further developed through theories of discourse and power developed by Michel Foucault (Weedon, 1987). Foucault’s theory of power is an approach that allows feminist theorists to investigate both the inhibiting and enabling dimensions of power relations (Weedon, 1999). Weedon explained that “relations of power are only seen as disabling if power is seen as always necessarily repressive” (p. 126). The notion of power as being only repressive in nature was rejected by Foucault (1990), who posited instead that “where there is power there is resistance” (p. 95), which implies that power always simultaneously inhibits and enables action (Fraser, 1989).

A central characteristic of feminist poststructuralism is the notion that a singular truth does not exist and in its place we find “a range of competing discourses which make truth claims” (Weedon, 1999, p. 108). Through the analysis of these competing discourses, feminist poststructuralists are able to articulate how power works in historically-specific situations, and offer opportunities for resistance (Weedon, 1987). Weedon further noted that “Foucauldian models of discourse and power offer poststructuralist feminists the tools with which to produce analyses that start from detailed examinations of the localized forms which gendered power relations take in a particular area of discursive practice” (p. 126), in the case of this thesis, the development of the GWS program within the City of Ottawa. Specific, localized relations of power provide a means through which broader social systems and modern power can be understood and analysed.

Power exists in relation to discourse and can be studied within historically-specific social practices (Fraser, 1989; Weedon, 1987, 1999). Power, from a Foucauldian understanding, is everywhere. Further, power cannot exist without knowledge, or knowledge without power. According to Foucault (1980), power is not something that can be possessed; it can only be exercised through individuals as “individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application” (p. 98). According to a Foucauldian understanding of modern power, power does not originate from a central power (such as the State or the judicial system), but rather through the actions, thoughts, beliefs, etc. of individuals (Foucault, 1980). Indeed, modern power is described by Fraser (1989) as “distinctive in that it keeps a low profile” (p. 23) - it exists within discursive formations and social practices. In any society there are diverse relations of power that shape the social environment and these power relations cannot exist without discourse. From a Foucauldian perspective, discourses play a role in dictating what people can say and how they can act (Willig, 2007). Additionally, Parker (1992) defined discourses as “sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions” (p. 245). Although as Foucault (1980) posited, “it has become almost automatic...to define power as an organ of repression” (1980, p. 90), he also maintained that “where there is power there is resistance” (1990, p. 95). In referring to this resistance, Foucault implies that power is never solely inhibiting, but always simultaneously enabling of action (Shogan, 1999).

Constraints

In any society there are diverse relations of power that shape the social environment and these power relations cannot exist without discourse. Shogan (1999) and Fraser (1989) both take up the Foucauldian notion of “power as constraints on action” (Shogan, p. 4) and the notion that

these constraints serve to both inhibit action and conversely, to enable it. Fraser (1989) elaborated on Foucault's views of power as productive. She stated,

(1) social practices are necessarily norm-governed, (2) practice-governing norms are simultaneously constraining and enabling, and (3) such norms enable only insofar as they constrain. Together, these three statements imply that one cannot have social practices without constraints. (p. 31).

Since power is conceptualized as “constraints on action” (Shogan, p. 4), and power is exercised through discourse, constraints must be seen to be exercised through discourse. Constraints can be thought of as internal to discourse, such as women and girls not believing that there is a place for them in the sporting realm. This constraint exists within the discourse of males being legitimate athletes and females being illegitimate athletes. Constraints as external to discourse are those constraints outside of the discourse in question that inhibit and enable what can be said or done. For example, women and sport policies may act as a constraint to discourses of sport as a male preserve by limiting sex-based discrimination in a sporting context while enabling the creation of women's sport programs. Finally, discourse can be thought of as a constraint itself that can limit or enable other discourses or practices. For instance, discourses of femininity can limit women's opportunities in sport or can enable political action as a form of resistance (Shogan). This paper elucidates the discourses that shaped the development of the GWS program to understand the constraints, exercised that inhibited and enabled action.

Methods

My relationship with the GWS stems from both being a past participant (in a recreational “Skills and Drills” volleyball program in high school), and intern, and program leader. I

completed a 380 hour internship in 2007 at GWS, where I engaged in promotional work, programs, and many other tasks. Additionally, I am a past member of the GWS staff (2006-07), during which time ran sport programs for two years: Introduction to Lacrosse, Mother Daughter Softball, Volleyball Skills and Drills, Basketball Skills and Drills, Tennis Skills and Drills, Skating Skill Development and a host of other programs. Through these experiences I established a relationship with Leslie Coburn, who was the Manager of the City Wide Sports Division. Coburn has since moved on to manage the Rural and Community Services program, which provides recreation and therapeutic services to children, youth and adults with physical, developmental, psychiatric disabilities and acquired brain injury. My relationship with Coburn and other staff members helped me to gain access to documents and interviewees that formed the data for my thesis.

This study takes a qualitative approach in order to allow for a focus on how interactions between people create the social world. Qualitative research is defined as research that provides rich descriptions of the analysis of the experiences of individuals (Marvasti, 2003) rather than endeavouring to represent the human experience categorically and numerically as in quantitative research. Qualitative research calls for methods that allow the researcher to delve into the human experience by acquiring detailed descriptions of that experience. Qualitative studies most often rely on interviews as a method of data collection (Culver, Gilbert & Trudel, 2003), a method that I take up within this study. In addition to interviews, archival analysis, as described below has also been chosen as a method.

The methods used for my research consisted of archival research and semi-structured interviews. As Velody (1998) so aptly noted, “as the backdrop to all scholarly research stands the archive” (p. 1). Archival research allows the researcher to engage with history and “historical

research imparts a telescopic view of significant events...and also a way of relating these events to their broader social context” (Danto, 2008, p. 30), which renders archival research an appropriate tool for gaining an understanding of a topic, such as a municipal sport program, in both its historical and larger social contexts.

Scott (1990) described an archive as a location where “documents have been lodged in a place of storage which is open to all comers.” (p. 14). He explained further that the most common obstacle to attaining information from within archives is an administrative one – for instance, attaining the correct reference or gaining access. National and local archives are the largest source of documents available to social researchers. Archives are noted as being important on a national scale, but as McCollough (2004) noted, “they may also be highly significant for research on communities, neighbourhoods, institutions, families and individuals.” (p. 46).

Engaging in archival research has been described as a frustrating experience (a notion to which I can relate). Steedman (2001) described an archival researcher’s thoughts throughout the process: “You think...I shall never *get it done*.” (pp. 17-18; emphasis in original). The sensation of never being able to complete archival research is due partly to the notion of flexibility when accessing archival records . This flexibility refers to the idea that researchers must be prepared to be unable to find what they are looking for in certain locations and conversely to be aware of the potential relevance of other documents at which one might not think to look (McCollough, 2004). In addition, the depth and breadth of archival records vary greatly, which further adds to the workload.

Archival research involves several stages; preparing to collect the data, developing a research plan (or data capture plan), and finally, collecting the data (Danto, 2008). In preparing

to collect the data, the researcher must ensure that s/he has created a solid outline of the study in order to make certain that the appropriate data are collected. For this project the archival research plan was in the form of a spreadsheet that separated the fields of inquiry into categories of formal reports, promotional materials, conference presentations, policy documents, and other (such as informal notes, copies of emails, etc.). As sub-fields to this initial categorization, I recorded additional information: creation date, author/contributors, intended audience, main content/conclusions. This categorization was determined based on Danto's (2008) premise that the researcher must consider the following: "whether or not the design meets the specific goals of the study...once the data are collected and sorted out, will they form a foundation on which to build an answer to a historical problem...does the instrument realistically categorize the data so as to facilitate its analysis later on" (p. 44)? Once the research plan is in place, the data collection can commence.

As data, archival records can be categorized into types: official documents, institutional records and personal records (McCollough, 2004). For this thesis, I use two of these types of records: official and institutional. Official documents are generally housed within national or local archives (such as the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library) and generally contain documents related to the workings of government. Institutional records are those that pertain to particular social institutions (such as the City of Ottawa) and are usually housed within the institution itself. Institutional archives may "reveal much about the inner workings of the organization itself, or about its employees and clients" (McCullough, p. 46). Both types of records were attained and reviewed for this research.

Data collection methods vary between researchers and are dependent upon the archive. Below, I discuss my data collection experiences at the Ottawa Central Library and at the City of

Ottawa building on Constellation Drive in Ottawa. These particular locations were chosen after initial online searches through Archives Canada, Library and Archives Canada and the Ottawa Public Library. The search results pointed me in the direction of the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library for the local information I was seeking. Additionally, the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive was chosen for archival research based on recommendations from Leslie Coburn, who indicated that there was a large collection of documents available at that location.

The Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library is a public documents archive of local historical documents pertaining to the business of the City of Ottawa. It houses books written about Ottawa, important municipal documents, and a broad selection of historical and literary works by Ottawa authors. It was within this archive that I came upon the Research for Action – Ottawa Board of Education series 83-01. Within this series of documents, which concerns a variety of reports related to the Ottawa Board of Education, I found the “Ottawa Board of Education Athletic Survey” (Quirouette, 1983). This proved an important find as this report was credited as being the impetus for subsequent efforts to increase girls’ and women’s sport participation opportunities in Ottawa. Additionally, I found a report written by Jan St.Amour (1984), “Women and Sport Study: A report on female participation in physical activities,” which offered a wealth of information related to participation rates of girls and women in Ottawa, the variables that influence participation as well as several recommendations to address participation rates (which included providing women with participation opportunities). Further research within this archive provided a follow-up report to St.Amour’s (1984) study titled, “Evaluation of women and sport program” (Graham, 1992), which evaluated the effectiveness of the initial women and sport program developed in part as a result of the Quirouette (1983) study. These three documents were central to mapping the GWS’s development.

My second location for archival research was the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive in Ottawa, the building in which the GWS program is administered and managed. Within particular institutions, as McCullough (2004) noted, “records may be discarded...may be left to rot in a basement or cupboard...it is not unusual to find that there is little or no archival material that has survived” (p. 56). This was somewhat the case at the City of Ottawa. There was a significant amount of information; however, this information was not organized in any way. The entire (remaining) history of the GWS program was located in two rather large boxes of documents. I began my archival research by sorting the documents into sections based on the categories provided above, a step that took a full day to accomplish. On my next visit, I began to sift through the categorized piles and separated them into two piles: useful and non-pertinent information. All documents that were determined to be useful (again based on my sub-level categorizations outlined previously) were photocopied in order to allow for a more thorough analysis in the coming months.

Several important documents were found at the City of Ottawa building: various promotional materials from the program’s inception, conference presentations on the program, as well as several policy statements that outlined the program’s philosophies and mission statements. These documents provided additional information that was used to triangulate the data collected via semi-structured interviews. Finding these documents, as well as the aforementioned documents from the Ottawa Central Library, after hours of sifting through information was quite satisfying. I came to understand Danto’s (1998) notion that “archival research is highly rewarding, and it can even be fun” (p. 50).

Data were also collected in the form of semi-structured interviews with the women that were involved with the GWS program in differing capacities over the past twenty five years. My

relationship with Coburn enabled me to interview her early on in my data collection process. After interviewing her, I was able to set up interviews with two of her current staff (Hardiman and Goodchild); additionally, Coburn provided me with the names of additional women involved during the program's initiation. Although five women in total were interviewed, there were three other women that I had hoped to interview: two turned down the invitation due to their hectic schedules and one who could not be located despite several attempts. The interview data would have been enriched by the perspectives of these three women; however, I feel that the data collected provided ample and in-depth information.

Ethics approval for this research was obtained in November 2008 and interviews were scheduled beginning in December 2008. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to an hour. Three interviews took place at the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive in a meeting room provided by the City of Ottawa. The fourth interview was held in my office on Colonnade Road in Ottawa and the final interview was conducted over the phone due to geographical restrictions. All interviews were completed by December 2009, were transcribed and returned to the participants for review. No changes to the transcribed data were requested.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a method of data collection as a result of the researcher's ability, through the interview process, to become "an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies" (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 696). Within the interview context, it must be acknowledged that interviews are not a neutral form of data collection in that they are "historically, politically and contextually bound" (Fontana & Frey, p. 695). As such, they provide data that, like archives, can be readily availed to discourse analysis.

Analysis

Willig (2007) described discourse analysis as a complex data analysis tool that “provides us with a way of thinking about the role of discourse in the construction of social...realities, and this, in turn, can help us approach research questions in new and productive ways” (p. 183). It is thus an approach that can be used to uncover the discourses that are inherent within social practices and structures (Fairclough, 1992). Foucauldian discourse analysts are concerned with “discerning the rules which ‘govern’ bodies of texts and utterances” (Fairclough, 2003, p124). Discourses relate to one another much like people relate to one another. As Fairclough (2003) explained, “they may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth” (p. 124).

Within Foucauldian discourse analysis, much of the focus falls on how dominant discourses function in wider social processes to legitimate current relations of power (Willig, 2007). Willig set out six stages involved in Foucauldian discourse analysis. These stages begin with first identifying of how the socially constructed object is constructed within the text; then locating that discursive construction within wider discourses; third, discourse analysts should closely examine the social contexts within which the these constructions are positioned. The fourth step involves identifying subject positions (the positions within meanings that speakers can occupy). Foucault (1979) described the process of subject position formation by explaining that, “discourses operate as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (p. 49). The fifth step involves scrutinizing the interrelationship of discourse and practice. Finally, the analysis must shift towards exploring the effect of the particular subject positions on a person’s particular experience (Willig). For this thesis I will analyse the effects of subject positions on female residents of the City of Ottawa.

Within this thesis, Foucauldian discourse analysis is used to analyze the language used within the archival documents and interview texts that capture the development of the GWS program. These documents and transcripts were coded manually and subsequently analysed in order to tease out the discourses that have shaped the program's development and to locate the program within wider discourses. Additionally, these discourses were then analyzed further in order to elucidate the ways in which constraints either legitimate or resist relations of power.

Thesis Format

This thesis has been written in the stand-alone publishable paper format wherein both papers are written with the intention of publication. The first paper traces the development of a female-only sport division (GWS) in one Canadian municipality. The second paper uses the development of the GWS program in order to tease out the dominant discourses and hence constraints that shaped its development. Archival research as well as five semi-structured interviews informed both studies.

The first paper, "What do you mean, 'girls only?': Tracing the development of the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women and Sport Program," presents the development of the GWS program. The mapping of the development of the GWS program within the City of Ottawa fills an important gap in Canadian sport history, in particular the history of women's sport. The history of this program, like many female-only sport initiatives, does not occupy a place of prominence within sport history. Despite this lack of prominence, the development of the GWS program has represented a significant change in the quantity and quality of sporting opportunities for girls and women in Ottawa. The success and prominence of this program - despite the barriers it faced during its initiation, are discussed, and its current state is examined.

In the second paper, “A Foucauldian analysis: The constraints that shaped the City of Ottawa’s Girls n’ Women and Sport program,” I use Foucauldian discourse analysis of interview transcripts and archives to trace the discourses that were present during the early stages of program development and that served to shape the program. In analyzing these discourses I was able to tease out the constraints that served to both limit and enable action and change. This represents a unique contribution to the understanding of constraints in that it focuses directly on the enabling actions of constraints, rather than engaging solely with their inhibiting aspects in the context of a girls- and women-only sport environment.

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“What do you Mean, ‘Girls Only?’”: Tracing the Development of the City of Ottawa’s Girls n’

Women and Sport Program

Abstract

In this paper, I use archival research and semi-structured interviews to trace the development of the Girls n' Women and Sport (GWS) program within the City of Ottawa and locate it within the broader history of women's and girls' sport development in Canada. By tracing the GWS program's development, this paper highlights the voices of the women involved in the creation, development and implementation of the GWS program. As a result, this research fills a gap in current Canadian women's sport history, particularly in terms of addressing the often neglected area of municipal programs, by tracing the development of a female-only sport program that has significantly increased opportunities for girls and women to participate in sport in the City of Ottawa.

Girls and women have held disadvantaged societal positions in comparison to boys and men throughout history; this disadvantage has been very apparent in the sporting realm (Hall, 2002). Indeed, the history of women in sport has often been coined as the *struggle* of women in sport (Hall), in that women have been and are still today faced with numerous barriers imposed upon them by our patriarchal society (Henderson et al, 1996; Easton, 1996). Faced with numerous barriers, it is not surprising that participation rates of girls and women in sport have been documented as being well below those of boys and men (Sport Canada, 1998; 2005), a finding that is particularly troubling in light of the fact that women represent a larger percentage of the Canadian population across all age categories than do men (Statistics Canada, 2009).

According to the population profile for the City of Ottawa, females outnumber males by a ratio of 102 females for every 100 males; this ratio increases drastically with age to a peak ratio of 106 females per 100 males in the 65 year of age and older cohort (Statistics Canada, 2009). Given the large number of girls and women in the City of Ottawa, the provision of sport and recreation programs and opportunities for this group is especially important. Despite representing the majority of the City of Ottawa's population, women and girls are minority participants in sport and recreation with 59.8% of males participating in physical activity compared to 53.2% of females reporting the same (Statistics Canada, 2008). According to Statistics Canada (2008), within Ontario, girls and women do not participate in sport to the same extent as boys and men. Further, when they do participate, they participate in sport clubs for the majority of their sports, rather than on their own (Statistics Canada, 2008). As a result, it is fair to say that sport clubs and programs constitute an important venue for girls and women in Ottawa who participate in sport.

In order to address the needs of girls and women in sport within Ottawa, in 1985 the City of Ottawa's Department of Recreation and Culture initiated the Women and Sport (WS) program, a sport program that was the initial pilot program of the Canadian Association for the Advancement in Women and Sport (CAAWS)'s On the Move (OTM) initiative. The WS program was re-named as the Girls n' Women and Sport (GWS) program in 1990 to be more inclusive of both girls and women. Throughout this paper I will use the acronym GWS to refer to the program throughout its existence for clarity's sake, as the name change did not result in a programmatic change in focus or offerings. GWS was developed during a period of substantial change in the Canadian sport system and also during a time that has been described as "a period of struggle for (and sometimes among) the many individuals and groups working to bring about real change for the betterment of girls and women in sport" (Hall, 2002, p. 165). GWS program staff worked over several decades to develop female-only programs within the City of Ottawa that would address the inequality in opportunities for females who wanted to participate in sport.

The history of development of the GWS program, like many women's histories, has not occupied a position of prominence within sport history; yet, the GWS program reflects substantial changes to the quality and quantity of sport and recreation programming for girls and women in Ottawa over the last several decades. In this paper, I use the results of archival research and semi-structured interviews to trace the development of the GWS program within the City of Ottawa. By tracing the GWS program's development, this project fills a gap in the City of Ottawa's sport history, and thus Canadian sport history, and highlights the voices of the women involved in the creation, development and implementation of the GWS program.

Laying the Groundwork

In order to situate the development of the City of Ottawa's GWS program it is essential to understand the general history of sport development in Canada immediately preceding the program's inception. Below, I summarize the history of sport development in Canada from the 1960s through to the early 1980s and describe women's involvement in sport during these important decades in Canadian sport history. The timeframe of post 1960 was chosen as a period of focus as a result of the significant changes that occurred in sport at that time, particularly for women. Many of these changes had a direct impact of the development of the GWS program and are thus important to review.

The 1960s was a time of great change in Canadian sport. Lenskyj (1986) described this decade as one of the "golden ages" of sport. According to Hall (1993), this decade marked a period of the restructuring of the Canadian sport system, namely through an increase in both rationalization and professionalism. In 1961, this restructuring became evident through the passing of Bill C-131, known as the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (Cahn, 1995; Hall; Hargreaves, 1994). The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act was created in an effort to "encourage, promote, and develop fitness and amateur sport in Canada" (Hall, p. 137), as well as to improve Canadians' international sport performances by endorsing mass Canadian participation in fitness and sport (McIntosh et al., 1988). Although the effort was aimed at increasing mass participation, it did not generally address girls' and women's participation, as the interest in improvements in elite sport often resulted in their exclusion (Hargreaves, 1994; Kidd, 1996).

Although touted as the "golden age" of women's sport, and a time during which sport was becoming more structured and more encouraging of mass participation (Hall, 1993), the 1960s were nonetheless a difficult time for Canadian women in sport (Hall). Despite the decrease

in resistance to governmental intervention in sport in Canada (MacIntosh et al., 1988) and the Canadian government's effort to increase involvement in sport during the 1960s through its establishment of Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch (FAS), women continued to face difficulties in all facets of sport (Hall, 1993; McKay, 1997). Women were often left out of decision making processes and thus were not always considered in program changes or advantaged by such changes (Hall; Henderson et al., 1996). In 1968, a Task Force on Sport was initiated that recommended a more "interventionist" (Hall, 1993) approach to amateur sport on the part of the federal government. The focus of this task force, however, was mainly on the game of hockey, a sport in which, at that time, women represented a significant minority. The Task Force was thus not focused on women's issues, which was reflective of the social climate of the time (Hall, 1993; Kidd, 1996).

The 1970s, however, marked a period of increased interest in women's issues, which extended into sport (Cahn, 1995). The enhanced interest in women's issues began with the 1970 Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Cahn, 1995; Hall, 2002). The report yielded 167 recommendations relating to women's treatment in society, two of which were related directly to sport and both of which were directed at the lack of equal opportunity for girls in school sports programs:

77. We recommend that the provinces and territories (a) review their policies and practices to ensure that school programmes provide girls with equal opportunities with boys to participate in athletic and sports activities, and (b) establish policies and practices that will motivate and encourage girls to engage in athletic and sports activities.

78. We recommend that, pursuant to section 3 (d) of the federal Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, a research project be undertaken to (a) determine why fewer girls than boys

participate in sports programmes at the school level and b) recommend remedial action.

(Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970, p. 423).

As an offshoot of these recommendations, FAS hired a consultant, former Olympic swimmer Marion Lay (Cahn, 1995; Hall, 1993, 2002; Kidd, 1996; Lenskyj, 1992, 2003), to define “the problems facing women in sport and design...programs to alleviate these problems” (Hall, 1993, p. 166). Though this was no small task, Lay was able to facilitate dialogue between administrators, athletes and academics, which created an opportunity to generate interest in as well as a national voice for issues pertaining to women and sport (Hall, 2002). One of the results of Lay’s work was a nation-wide conference on women’s issues in sport.

The first National Conference on Women and Sport, which was directed by Lay in her role at Fitness and Amateur Sport, took place in Toronto in 1974 (Hall, 1993). The conference brought together athletes, coaches, researchers and administrators in an attempt to put forth a united voice for change for women in Canadian sport. The outcome of this meeting came in the form of recommendations to government, sport and recreation agencies, education groups, status of women groups, as well as the media (Cahn, 1995; Hall, 1993). Although there were some positive outcomes stemming from this conference, there was overwhelming resistance from other FAS personnel to the idea that the structure of government run sport in Canada needed to be changed in order for women participate (Hall, 2002). The resistance was justified by the insistence on the part of FAS officials (other than Lay) that the programs they offered did not discriminate against women nor discourage their participation in any way (Hall, 2002).

In 1976, Sport Canada’s mandate was altered to focus more on elite sport (Bell-Altenstadt & Vail, 1994; Hall, 2002 & Kidd, 1996), which resulted in recreation programs becoming the provincial and territorial governments’ responsibilities (Hall). Despite these

changes, women were still not identified by the federal government as a “target group for special attention” (Hall, 2002, p. 168) and the position of high level government officials, such as Iona Campagnola, Minister for FAS, was that the current structure of Canadian sport was adequate to meet women’s needs (Lenskyj, 1986). Little change in the structure of sport for girls and women occurred at the end of the 1970s since the same people remained in positions of power within FAS. It was not until the beginning of the next decade that change began to occur on a large scale for girls and women in sport in Canada.

The year 1980 was a time of great change for women’s sport. It was during this year that several national and provincial women and sport initiatives were implemented. Some examples include the group known as Women Active in Sports Administration (WASA) in Ontario (Lenskyj, 2003), as well the Au Feminin Network formed by the National Sport Centre in Ottawa. Arguably, the most noteworthy accomplishment that occurred in 1980 was the creation of an official Women’s Program, which was a joint initiative of Sport Canada and Fitness Canada (Hall, 2002; McKay, 1997). The Women’s Program’s mandate was “to develop and promote ways of involving more women in sport and fitness activities” (Vail, 1983, p. 76). The development of this program, with its “one-time budget of \$250,000 (from lottery monies)” (Hall, 2002, p. 168), was significant in that it represented a financial foundation upon which to question the patriarchal structure of the Canadian sport system through research and policy development. The Women’s Program initiated the first study on women in Canadian sport leadership, which found that there were a significantly fewer women than men who held leadership positions in both physical education as well as National Sport Office (NSO) settings (Hall, 2002).

During the same year, substantial progress was made with regard to the development of programs specifically geared towards girls and women in sport. The catalyst for this development was a second national conference on women and sport, called the Female Athlete Conference, which took place in Vancouver. Many of the same topics that were discussed at the first conference were revisited. One of the major recommendations that came out of the conference was for the creation of a national women's sport foundation (Hall, 1993), which would receive its funding from the newly created Women's Program. It was deemed important to create a national women's sport foundation because it would be able to "critique and push the state into doing much more for women [and girls] in sport in Canada" (Hall, 2002, p. 72). One of Women's Program's initiatives included the creation of CAAWS in 1981 (Government of Canada, 1986). The purpose of CAAWS was "to advance the position of women by defining, promoting, and supporting a feminist perspective on sport and to improve the status of women in sport" (Theberge, 1983, p. 80). The creation of CAAWS represented a significant milestone for women's sport in Canada.

Throughout the early 1980s, the federal government continued to make advancements for women in sport. In 1981 former Olympian Abby Hoffman was appointed as the first ever female Director General of Sport Canada, which marked an effort on the part of the federal government to include women in high level leadership positions in sport administration (Hall, 2003). In sharp contrast to Hoffman's appointment as the Director General of Sport Canada, a revision in the same year to the Ontario Human Right's Code represented a step backwards for women in Canadian sport. The revisions were made to sections 19 (I) and (II) of the Ontario Human Rights Code read, "[t]he right under section 1 to equal treatment with respect to services and facilities without discrimination because of sex is not infringed where the use of the services or facilities is

restricted to persons of the same sex on the ground of public decency” (Service Ontario, 1990). In essence, this revision meant that membership in sport organizations and activities were exempt from sex-equality provisions (Lenskyj, 2003). As a result of the revision, “male-dominated sports organizations were given a green light to continue excluding girls and women” (Lenskyj, p. 68), which in turn resulted in a flurry of gender and sport complaints geared towards the provincial government in Ontario. In response to the pressure created by the large number of unresolved gender and sport complaints, the Ontario Ministry of Labour created the Task Force on Sex Equality in Athletics in 1982 (Lenskyj). In 1983, the Task Force submitted the first volume of its report. The findings showed that the federal government was not punishing groups for discriminating against women and girls (Lenskyj), which led to the idea that something more forceful and based at the municipal level was required to change women’s and girls’ exclusion from sport.

In 1983, in what would become the eventual catalyst for the creation of the GWS program within the City of Ottawa, City Council endorsed City of Ottawa staff members’ participation on a “sub-committee of the School Liaison Committee called Women and Sport” (St. Amour, 1984, p. 1). This sub-committee was made up of trustees from the Roman Catholic School Board, Carleton Board of Education, Ottawa Board of Education, the Regional Office of the Ministry of Education, as well as representatives from the community and the City of Ottawa. The sub-committee, comprised primarily of women, came together to form an advisory committee on women’s issues in school sport (Lenskyj, 2003). The Women and Sport Committee yielded a study entitled *Ottawa Board of Education Athletic Survey* (Quirouette, 1983) that looked at the equality of opportunity for boys’ and girls’ participation in school sport. This athletic survey of teachers, coaches and principals showed that they perceived that there

was essentially no discrepancy in participation levels between boys and girls in the City of Ottawa, despite the fact that their own data proved otherwise (Quirouette).

In 1984 a similar study was undertaken by the City of Ottawa, entitled *Women and sport: A report on female participation in physical activity* (St. Amour, 1984) which focused on women's and girls' rates and patterns of sport participation outside of the school environment within the City during the time period of April 1st, 1983 to March 31st, 1984. The report that stemmed from this research clearly outlined that girls' participation rates were nowhere near that of their male counterparts. In fact, the study concluded that for every five males participating in sport in the City of Ottawa, there were correspondingly only two females (St. Amour, p. 18). Additionally, females were found to participate at a -14% differential to their population ratio, whereas males participated at a +14% differential to their respective population ratio, which amounted to a total differential of 28% for females at that time within the City of Ottawa (St. Amour). Both Quirouette's (1983) and St. Amour's studies lay the foundation for the development of the GWS program as they showcased the severe lack of sport programs and opportunities available to women and girls, and they also situated the problem directly within the City of Ottawa. As a result of these studies' findings, the GWS program was created in 1985 as an OTM pilot program in order to fill in the significant gaps in sport services offered to females. Below, I offer a detailed account of the development of the GWS program, from research and development through to program initiation and finally to a glimpse of how the program exists within the current social climate. This account fills in an important gap in the history of the City of Ottawa and Canadian sport history in that it outlines the development of a woman- and girl-centred municipal sport program.

Methods

This account of the development of the GWS program within the City of Ottawa is based on archival research and supplemented by semi-structured interviews. Archival research involves the collection of data from a document storage location, either national or local in scope or particular to an institution (Scott, 1990). I conducted archival research by compiling historical documents found within the City of Ottawa's archives, the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library, and government documents pertaining to females in Canadian sport. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five women, three of whom were directly involved in the initial research and development of the GWS program, as well as two who continue to be involved in its coordination. Participants were found via snowball sampling (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In line with ethics protocol, the current manager of the GWS program was asked to contact individuals involved in the development of the program to see if they would be interested in participating in this study. These participants were then asked to contact other individuals who might be interested in participating. Participants were interviewed via semi-structured interviews; this particular type of interview was chosen as a result of its ability to allow the researcher and the participant to co-determine the interview's focus (Harvey, 1988). Questions focused on the development of GWS and included questions such as, "What was the impetus for the creation of this program?"; "What were some of the barriers that needed to be overcome in the development of this program?"; "Who was involved on the initial committees?". The interviews were conducted primarily in person with the exception of one interview, which was conducted over the phone as a result of the participant's geographical location. All interviews took place between December 5th 2008 and December 4th 2009, each interview

lasted an average of 45 minutes. All participants provided informed consent. The information gathered via archival documents was used to triangulate the interview responses and vice versa.

All five interviewees opted to disclose their names. Leslie Coburn was the main contact through which participants were found. At the time of the interview she had been involved with the GWS program for more than 23 years in several capacities beginning in 1983. Leslie is currently a manager within the Rural and Community Services program of the City of Ottawa and was formerly the head of the GWS program. Pat Hunt began working for the City of Ottawa in 1978 working in several different roles ranging from a community coordinator to a manager to the time she retired in 1994. She was responsible for special projects, which included the GWS program. During the development of the GWS program, Pat also sat on the Board of Directors at CAAWS and continued throughout the years to work with CAAWS as a contractor where she continues to do contract work through the Active Living Alliance of Canada. Sue Fleming was associated with the GWS program for twelve years beginning in 1983; she began as the education representative on the Women and Sport Committee as a result of her background as a physical education teacher. Additionally, Fleming was the President of the School Athletic Association and was the Provincial representative of the Office of Representatives of the Committee for Girl's Activities for twelve years during which time she was the Chair of the Committee for Girl's Activities for four of those years. Sue was a major part of bringing the education group into the development of the GWS program. Kristy Hardiman is currently a Program Coordinator in the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Services division of the City of Ottawa. She has in the past worked extensively in an operational capacity by developing and running programs for girls and women within the GWS division for the past 5 years. Annie

Goodchild is also currently a Program Coordinator in the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Services division of the City of Ottawa. Annie works mainly with the development of girls programming.

Filling in the Gaps

Program Initiation

In order to create a solution to an existing problem, it is imperative that the problem first be identified; this fact was touched upon by Hunt, who began working for the City of Ottawa in 1976 and worked for the City in several capacities over the years, from a community coordinator to a manager, eventually retiring in 1994. Hunt recalled, “the first ever barrier to the GWS program was in identifying that a problem existed in regards to the participation of girls in sport within the City.” Referencing St. Amour’s (1984) study, Hunt noted that “the report from Jan [St. Amour] solidified the program; there was lots of backlash and the research gave us the opportunity to say ‘you might not think there’s a problem, well here’s the research.’” The problem was also identified in the aforementioned Ottawa Board of Education Athletic Survey (Quirouette, 1983). According to Coburn, who was involved in the GWS program on and off for over 25 years and has since moved to a position with the Rural and Community Services program with the City of Ottawa, these documents were, “the research and development piece that allowed us to really get an understanding of the need for female sport from both the school board and recreation perspectives at that point in time.” Coburn further stated that the surveys “really demonstrated that girls and women were participating much less than boys and men at that point in time [early 1980s].”

On the Move

CAAWS was an important factor in the successful development of the GWS program. In 1981 CAAWS was just beginning to develop as an organization and, at the time, it was involved in identifying the problem of low female participation rates in sport at the national level, which “represented a parallel process to what was occurring on a municipal level in Ottawa” (Hunt). In addition to linking the GWS program to the national scene, CAAWS also played a major role in advocacy for women's access to sport opportunities and resource development in the form of nationally funded and supported programs (Hunt). In the early stages of the GWS program's development, City of Ottawa program workers and members of the Women and Sport Committee met with CAAWS staff, who suggested that the On The Move (OTM) program should occur in Ottawa as a pilot program (there was also a pilot program run in Coquitlam, British Columbia) (Fenton, Kopelow, & Lawrence, 1994). The OTM program was described as “a national initiative designed to increase the opportunities for inactive girls and young women to participate and lead in sport and physical activity” (Fenton, Kopelow, & Lawrence, 1994, p. 7). Diane Holmes, a City Councillor at the time, acquired the funds to initiate the OTM program in the City of Ottawa and “hands-on dogged determination” (Coburn) by the program workers helped to build the project's momentum. The OTM program aimed to increase opportunities for girls by providing conceptual, participant-driven programming for those not currently serviced by sport programs and it is adamantly a program that is not based upon traditional supply and demand models for sport in that programs are encouraged to continue running despite low participation numbers (Fenton, Kopelow & Lawrence, 1994).

Ottawa was the first city to implement the OTM program and it enjoyed a “19% increase in female participation in team sport activities from 1983/84 to 1986/87 as a result” (Fenton, Kopelow, & Lawrence, 1994, p. 19). Directly stemming from the Ottawa OTM program's

success, Sport Canada decided to fund CAAWS in its implementation of the OTM program in communities across Canada (Fenton, Kopelow, & Lawrence, 1994). As a result of the OTM pilot program's success in the City of Ottawa, GWS program staff decided to use the momentum gained to continue the GWS program.

Laying the Foundations

After the problem of low female participation in sport within the City was identified and the collaboration with CAAWS was established, the initial steps in the GWS program's development included identifying the types of sports that should be offered for girls and women. Coburn noted,

girls were into sport such as gymnastics and figure skating, sports which were expensive and time consuming, but were not necessarily participating in softball and basketball and some of the low end sports that were less costly...these were then the sports that this committee determined would be the sports they would focus on to give girls who couldn't afford gymnastics or figure skating an opportunity to get involved.

In order to encourage females to become involved in the less costly sports, the program staff of the GWS program enlisted the help of community centres' staff.

The City of Ottawa began to require all city-run community centres to have at least one girls-only program, which created a significant amount of backlash and a lot of resistance from community centre staff. "When the community centres' staff first received word of a girls-only program, their immediate reaction was to ask why there was no similar initiative to create a boys-only program" (Hunt). There were some community centre staff members that "got it in a

heartbeat” (Hunt), but others simply “didn’t understand the big deal” (Hunt) and saw the initiative as unnecessarily creating more work for them. Hunt recalled, “there was surprisingly a lot of anger involved in the discussions with community centres. The community centres’ staff felt threatened by the requirement to put their time and energy into a program that they felt was unwarranted and unnecessary.” The community centres’ staff did not understand that by creating a girls-only program, the City was attempting to fill a gap in the services in the City of Ottawa, whereby existing programs offered by schools, the City, and private organizations mainly provided programming for boys and men (Coburn). Despite the resistance from community centre staff, Fleming, a member of the Women and Sport Committee, noted that “the program was going to work, it was going to happen and we didn’t care what road-blocks were put in the way.” Hunt also noted in her interview that the high level of resistance from community centre staff could have been lessened by “being more selective by going with community centres that were on-board, built the program there and then have the others come on-board - running some pilot programs would definitely have been beneficial.”

As an additional complication in the creation of sport programming for girls and women, the level of funding that was provided to the developing girls program created a great deal of jealousy from community centre staff (Hunt). The jealousy was exacerbated by the fact that the girls’ program staff were able to “do a level of promotion that was never done before - on buses, at banquets, at [the local winter festival] Winterlude” (Hunt). Several interviewees noted that community centre staff were not supportive of the requirement to offer girls-only programs, did not schedule the required time to make the initiative function, and did not take leadership roles in order to bring the GWS program to the girls in the City of Ottawa. For example, Hunt explained,

“there was lots of resistance to coming on board and a resistance to understanding this opportunity and the responsibility that came with it.”

Additionally, there were many other barriers present throughout the GWS’s early program development. A major issue was access to playing facilities, whether gymnasias, fields or arenas. If the girls and women were allocated any time at all, they were getting “the worst locations at the worst times” (Fleming). Coburn also touched upon this issue, stating “gym time has always been at a premium, even in those days, but the school boards were phenomenal...by offering up space in school gyms for girls’ programs.” In addition to facilities, transportation of participants was also noted as being a significant barrier. Coburn noted, “the transportation of some of the girls in disadvantaged communities was a definite challenge,” as these girls represented a large part of the population the GWS program was trying to target; i.e., girls that were not being serviced by sport opportunities in the City. Coburn noted, however, that “the Boys and Girls Club had access to transportation, so they supported the program in those areas to ensure that these girls were able to participate.

An unanticipated barrier for the GWS program in its initial stages was the attitudes of the girls and women for whom the programs were created. Hunt, who was a city manager at the time, recalled, "getting the girls and women to understand that there was a place for them in sport and that they were welcome and encouraged in this program was a huge barrier that needed jumping.” A tool that was used in order to show girls and women that a place for them now existed in sport in the community was the promotion of the program. Hunt recalled the promotion aimed at showing girls and women that there was an opportunity for sport participation:

the two program coordinators...got the program up and running by running special events, making awards programs, just going above and beyond, they even made ice sculptures at Winterlude by themselves. There was a huge level of passion and the promotion they did was just huge

Support for the GWS Program

Although there were numerous barriers to the integration of the GWS program into Ottawa's municipal sportscape, there was also a great deal of support from various individuals. City of Ottawa council members represented an extremely supportive group, especially Diane Holmes, a former physical education teacher. Councillor Holmes was coined by one interviewee as "the champion of the program" (Hunt) and by another interviewee as "leading the parade" (Coburn). As a physical education teacher, Holmes had had a first-hand view of the inequities for girls in the school sport environment and wanted to make a difference for girls and women at the community level in Ottawa (Hunt). Senior management within the City of Ottawa were also pointed to as playing a role in supporting the development of the GWS program during its infancy in the 1980s, although there were some mixed feelings as to their level of support. One participant described senior management as having "completely bought in" (Coburn) to the idea of girls-only programming, whereas a second participant described the senior management team as "not welcoming at all" and stated they were "jealous and irritated that the funds were flowing to the girls' program" (Hunt). Although the City's senior management team was described by some as being irritated at the amount of funding flowing towards the GWS program, the funding nevertheless continued.

One of the key drivers of the GWS program was Jan St. Amour, a Director in the Parks and Recreation department within the City of Ottawa from 1985 to 1995 (Coburn; Hunt). One

participant described St. Amour's role as "doing the research, having the vision and having the leadership, not to mention the political savvy to get it done" (Hunt). St. Amour was involved in liaising with politicians and the senior management team in order to obtain funds for the GWS program. Her dealings with the senior management team were not always pleasant. As one participant stated, "Jan took a lot of shit from the senior management team, they had the 'tell me another one' attitude and this caused a lot of conflict" (Hunt). Despite resistance to the program, St. Amour's leadership allowed the program and the employees to keep working at making the program a success.

Another contributor to the development of the GWS program was the Women and Sport Committee, a sub-committee of the School Liaison Committee, which – as mentioned above, was established prior to the program's launch in 1985. With mandatory reporting of progress and initiatives, goals were set and all members of the committee, from the Ottawa Board of Education (trustees) and the City of Ottawa (Senior Management Team, supervisors and program workers), were required to report their progress back to the committee and to their respective organizations. This committee facilitated change: it was the place where issues were discussed, strategies were developed, and where there was open dialogue between politicians and staff (Hunt). Throughout the initial years of the existence of the program it was determined by those on the liaison sub-committee that the sports that were going to be offered were "softball, volleyball and basketball, some of the low end sports that were less costly for both organizers and participants" (Coburn). The committee chose sports that did not, at the time, have any grassroots instruction available within the city (Coburn).

Evaluation – Are More Women Participating?

In 1992, a follow-up study to St. Amour's (1984) *Women and sport: A report on female participation in physical activity* was requested by the Women and Sport Committee. The effort was led by GWS program staff members St. Amour and Janice Graham. The study, *Evaluation of women and sport program* (Graham, 1992), had as its stated purpose to evaluate the GWS program's effectiveness from its inception in 1985 to 1992. The study found that the GWS program resulted in "an increase in participation rates of girls and women" (Graham, 1992, p.1). Evidence of the program's initial success as outlined in Graham's report spurred further action by GWS program staff who began to diversify the program, within budgetary restraints, for the next five years to include programs requested by participants, which caused the program to continue to grow (Coburn).

Throughout the next several years, registration in GWS programs rose steadily each year with a yearly total number of participants reaching 1,601 in 1996 (Coburn, 2005). The year 1996 was significant in that the program had been in existence for over ten years with the same type of league-based structure (Coburn). After reaching its height in 1996, there was a lull in registration and interest and participant numbers decreased for the first time to 1500 participants in 1997 (GWS conference presentation, 2005; Coburn). During 1997, program staff were required to take a second look at the programs that were offered and to "revamp" their programs (Coburn). The staff examined facility usage, ways to better streamline programs and moved from a league-based structure to more of a skill-teaching based structure (Coburn). What resulted from this revision of programming was a spike in registration numbers the following year, where participant numbers reached a new all-time high of 2,641 (GWS conference presentation, 2005). In each of the following ten years, registration increased by an average of nearly 500 participants

per year, and registration numbers for 2008 indicated that there were over 8000 girls and women who participated in the GWS program (Coburn).

The GWS Program: The Future

The interviewees attributed much of the GWS program's success to several factors over the course of its existence: "quality instructors, incentive programs, variety of programs, focus on fun and participation, and new initiatives" (Coburn, 2005). Conversely, some of the challenges that remain for the GWS staff include "lack of gymnasiums, difficult to find staff interested in 1 or 2 hours of work, [it is] difficult to reach the 13-17 age group, geographical restraints and budget restraints" (Coburn). Hardiman explained some of the challenges: "[a] lack of facility space is always a concern and outdoor facility space is a huge concern as well, so can we keep being creative and keep expanding within what we have, because we don't have a lot of other physical resources at this time". Hardiman added to this by stating that "staffing is a big thing too, we're always looking for really strong female leaders and we get some phenomenal ones but are they going to stick with the part time employment for awhile? It's tough". Coburn further touched upon the issues surrounding staffing: "I think staffing at this point in time is our hugest challenge...to find staff that are energetic and enthusiastic and who are going to ensure that their enthusiasm is motivating the participants in the program is a challenge."

In order to address several of the current issues affecting programming, GWS program staff have identified several next steps that will be taken in the near future in order to continue to promote the program for girls and women within the City of Ottawa: develop leadership programs for girls and women, expand mother-daughter programs, promote a continuum of skill development programs, focus on beacon area schools; and work to create partnerships with other city operations (Coburn, 2005; Hardiman; Goodchild; Coburn). Goodchild explained, "I think

that our program has kept up to the changes that are occurring in sport. Things like the dragon boat program, our Never too Late for Sport and Late Bloomers programs, these sorts of things show an attention to detail and that we are keeping up with how sport is changing in society.”

Conclusion

The GWS program within the City of Ottawa was developed during a time of great change in the Canadian sport system. The governance of recreational sport across the country shifted from federal responsibility to municipal responsibility as federal monies became geared towards the high performance sport stream. This change in responsibility also came during a time in history where greater attention was being paid to the inequities that faced women across a number of societal issues, not the least of which included the androcentric nature of sport in Canada. With these changes in sport governance and social conscience came opportunities to create community programs to fill the void left by male-focused sport programs, an opportunity seized by the City of Ottawa’s recreation department. Through research within the City of Ottawa, the Women and Sport Committee was able to shed light on the relevant inequities within sport in the City and created a program to address the issues. The creation of the GWS program was not one that came about quickly nor easily. Program staff members were met with resistance not only from senior staff and the community centre staffs enlisted to spearhead the development of the program in their day-to-day activities, but also from the potential participants themselves, who needed to be convinced that they were welcome to participate in community sport.

Through the dedication of program staff and certain council members, the GWS program pushed through the barriers it faced during the initiation and development of the program. The program continued to expand by identifying the gaps in services that continued to exist between males and females. By continually analysing and auditing the programs offered to participants,

GWS has been able to stay current and address the interests and needs of current and future participants. The GWS program serves as a strong example of feminist sport development and understanding its development fills a gap in our knowledge of female-centred, municipal sport programs and their contributions to sport development in Canada.

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A Foucauldian Analysis: The Constraints that Shaped the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women and
Sport Program

Abstract

In this article I use the results of a Foucauldian discourse analysis of archival documents and five semi-structured interview with key women who were involved in the City of Ottawa's Girls n' Women and Sport (GWS) program's creation to show that several discourses and their associated constraints played important roles in shaping the GWS program: men's apparently more legitimate access to power; boys and men as legitimate athletes and women and girls as illegitimate athletes; and women's responsibility for the domestic sphere. Following Shogan (1999) and Fraser (1989), I take up Foucauldian theory to argue that these discourses' associated constraints simultaneously inhibited *and* enabled action and change, which resulted in increased quality and quantity of sporting opportunities available to girls and women through the GWS.

Despite remaining invisible in many accounts of sport development in Canada, women nonetheless have contributed and continue to contribute to Canadian sport development in many ways. The creation and development of the Girls n' Women and Sport (GWS) program by women and for women within the City of Ottawa is one such example. In what follows I offer a Foucauldian discourse analysis of the dominant discourses that have shaped the development of the GWS program in order to further our knowledge of feminist sport development and also to better understand the Foucauldian contention that constraints serve to not only inhibit action, but also enable it (Fraser, 1989; Giles, 2004, 2005; Irving & Giles, in press; Shogan, 1999).

The results of discourse analysis of archives and five semi-structured interviews with key women who were involved in the GWS program's creation and suggest that several discourses and their associated constraints played important roles in shaping the GWS program: men's apparently more legitimate access to power; boys and men as legitimate athletes and women and girls as illegitimate athletes; and women's responsibility for the domestic sphere. Following Shogan (1999) and Fraser (1989), I use Foucauldian theory to argue that constraints are always simultaneously inhibiting *and* enabling and offer the GWS program as an applied example.

Background

The GWS program was created in 1985 in order to address the inequities within the sport system in Ottawa, particularly the different levels of in sport between males and females. The program developed at a time of great change in the history of women in sport in Canada, where gender inequalities were being proven and were beginning to be addressed. Two research reports, commissioned by a committee made up of representatives from various school boards, employees of the City of Ottawa as well as community members, that situated inequality in sport participation opportunities for girls and women within the City of Ottawa (Quirouette, 1983; St.

Amour, 1984) were the catalysts for the creation of the GWS program. During the initial years of the GWS program, the focus was centred on determining the types of sports that were going to be provided as well as the implementation plans for initiating these programs for girls and women. There was considerable backlash during the initial years of the GWS program from those charged with its implementation. Despite barriers related to low buy-in from participants and community centres to issues of allocation of facilities, the GWS program continued to develop as a result of the determination and hard work of the program's employees. The GWS program has contributed to increased participation rates for women within the City since its inception and has expanded its programs with the changing needs of women over the years.

Literature Review

Two studies conducted in the 1980s are important for understanding the context in which the GWS program came to fruition. The "Ottawa Board of Education Athletic Survey" (Quirouette, 1983) was conducted in order to gather data related to differences in participation rates and experiences in sport between boys and girls in school-based athletics opportunities in the Ottawa School Board. Quirouette's report was the initial study that examined equality of opportunity for boys' and girls' participation in school sport in Ottawa. It concluded that there was essentially no discrepancy between girls' and boys' participation opportunities, yet the data within the study indicated that boys were participating in sport and recreation at a higher rate than were girls (1983). A City of Ottawa study titled "Women and Sport Study" (St. Amour, 1984) followed the Quirouette report and found that for every two females (both child and adult) participating in sport within the City of Ottawa, there were five males (again, both child and adult) participating. Quirouette's and St. Amour's studies both identified the lack of sport and recreation programming available to women and girls in Ottawa and resultant discrepancy in

participation rates - despite the fact that females represented over half of the population within the City in the 1980s (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Quirouette's (1983) and St. Amour's (1984) studies' findings had a direct impact on the programming available to the girls and women within the City of Ottawa. The findings were the impetus for the creation of a pilot program through the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity (CAAWS) called "On the Move" (OTM). The OTM program is a national initiative in Canada that encourages regional sports organizations to create programs that both invite and encourage girls and women to participate in sport and recreation. The regional OTM program created for the City of Ottawa in 1985 was called Girls n' Women and Sport (GWS); this program continues to exist today in a significantly expanded capacity. Today, the GWS program provides programs and resources for sport opportunities, leagues, and skill development programs for girls and women ages three and up. The sports that are offered have expanded from two in the program's initial year to fourteen today. In addition, the GWS offers a number of summer sport camps for girls.

Dominant Discourses in Women's and Girls' Sport Participation

The GWS program was developed in a discursive climate in which several dominant discourses served to shape its formation. Created within the City of Ottawa in 1985, the GWS program came into existence at a time in history where discourses pertaining to gender and sport were just beginning to be explored in relation to their social and political implications rather than simply for their implications for individuals (Hall, 1988). During this period in time, feminist scholarship was beginning to identify the discourses that influenced gendered sport participation. As Hall (1981) pointed out, the literature pertaining to women and their participation in sport allowed for "non-sexist and woman centered" (p. 337) scholarship that provided an opportunity

to explore how “women [and girls] have had to create their own culture and communities” (p. 338) through women’s and girls’ sport.

Women’s and girls’ sport participation has historically been constrained by societal discourses that served to restrict their ability to partake in sport (Aitchison, 2000; Flax, 1990; Green, 1998; Hall, 1988; 2002; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Henderson et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 1987; Scott, 1994; Shaw, 1999; Shogan, 2002; Theberge, 1987; Wearing, 1996). Throughout the early 1980s and into the 1990s, several dominant discourses pervaded the world of sport and in particular women’s participation in sport. Discourses of femininity and masculinity are those that position masculinity as superior to femininity in various ways, several of which relate directly to sport, such as men as legitimate athletes and women as illegitimate athletes; sport participation as a *right* for males; female athletes as masculinized, etc. Gendered discourses were, and continue to be, influential in many facets of social life, but they remain especially pervasive in the sporting realm in a way that is deleterious to women and girls (Hardin & Whiteside, 2009; Shaw & Hoebner, 2003; Weedon, 1987).

As Hall (1988) discussed, much of the historical research concerned with gender and sport found that “To be a woman and an athlete was to be in conflict and therefore psychologically unhealthy” (p. 332). Authors throughout the 1980s and early 1990s argued that women were not encouraged to view leisure and sport participation as a right as did men (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Griffin, 1998). Cahn (1994) addressed discourses relating to masculinity and femininity in women’s sport from their early involvement in the Victorian ages through to the 1990s. Within Cahn’s text, discourses related to the “sex appeal” (p. 207) image that female sports figures were supposed to possess, and the subsequent categorization of women who resisted the sexual image as “unwomanly” (p. 207) throughout the 1960s and 1970s, were

identified. An additional discourse that pervaded women's sport during the same time period and into the 1980s, the time during which the GWS program was created, was the notion that men's sport was genuine or legitimate sport, and that women's sport was less legitimate or illegitimate (Cahn, 1994). These discourses were found to have a profound effect on the relations between genders throughout larger society by "contributing to notions of 'natural' male superiority, immutable sex differences, and normative concepts of manhood and womanhood" (Cahn, p. 223). Discourses of femininity and masculinity have thus served as inhibitory constraints on the participation of girls and women in sport by creating an environment where their participation was not only limited, but often openly and actively discouraged.

Discourses pertaining to men's apparently more legitimate ability to exercise power have also constrained women's participation in sport as athletes as well as organizers throughout history (Shaw & Hoebner, 2003). Shaw and Hoebner discussed the effect of discourses of masculinity and femininity and stated that these discourses serve to "undermine most women's access to power" (p. 349) by constructing the understanding that women lack the *natural* traits necessary to gain access to power in a number of situations including sport participation as well as its administration/management (Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2007; Shaw & Hoebner). Shaw and Hoebner also noted that men are, more often than not, the ones who exercise power and influence within sport organizations and that "women who express discourses of masculinity are perceived by individuals in organizations as people who can adapt with the social hierarchy and access power" (Shaw & Hoebner, p. 352). Lenskyj (1987) identified male power as an important factor that restricts females' sport participation. Discourses of men's legitimate ability to exercise power thus inhibit women's ability to exercise power.

The discourse of legitimate resource allocation and access to resources within sport was pervasive during the initial years of the GWS program, but has also been present throughout its entire existence. These discourses have produced males as legitimate athletes worthy of funding and females as illegitimate athletes and have also served to inhibit women's potential for sport participation. These discourses are evident at the institutional level where women and women's programs have consistently received fewer monetary and tangible resources such as playing time, facilities and equipment than men (Bell-Altenstadt & Vail, 1994; Hall, 2002; Henderson et al., 1996; Kidd, 1996). The same is true for girls where institutionally, at the school and community levels, the same discrepancy in resource allocation for sport has been documented (Findlay, Gardener & Kohen, 2009; Graham, 1992; Quirouette, 1983; St. Amour, 1984). Bell-Altenstad and Vail noted, "the issue of limited resources is explained as a major contributor to low participation rates for girls and women. Research has shown that facility allocation, dollars spent and time apportioned to women's sport correlates with rates of participation" (p. 111). In essence, without access to the monetary resources with which to create programs, the physical resources in the form of facilities and equipment with which to facilitate programs, and without the human resources necessary to lead these programs, women's and girls' sport participation is made very difficult.

An additional discourse in circulation that served – and though perhaps to a less profound degree, continues to serve - to limit women's and girls' participation in sport during the development of the GWS program was the discourse of women's domestic responsibility. According to Henderson et al. (1996), historically, "for most girls, the world was to be the family and the field of action was to be the domestic circle" (p. 35). The discourse of domestic duties as naturally falling on the shoulders of girls and women has constrained their access to leisure and

recreation opportunities (Henderson et al.). Prior to and during the creation of the GWS program, discourses of household responsibilities were identified as a constraint to women's participation in sport within the City of Ottawa (St. Amour, 1984). In her 1984 study, St. Amour found that 40 out of the 469 women who participated in the study indicated "child and household responsibilities" as "reasons for not participating in sports they would otherwise like to" (p. 10); this was the most frequently cited answer. Despite the fact that 40 women out of 469 may seem an insignificant number, it is important to keep in mind that this study's respondents were all women who already participated in at least one sport. Thus, one could posit that the incidence of reporting household duties as restrictive to participation in sport would increase greatly for those who did not participate in sport. Discourses of domestic responsibility, which assert that women are primarily responsible for household duties, are also touted as having a negative impact on women's ability to participate in the realm of sport as athletes, coaches, administrators and fans (Hall, 2002; Lenskyj, 2003). As Bell-Altenstadt and Vail (1994) have pointed out, "the social system disadvantages women, and in fact, requirements for involvement in sport systematically block female participation" (p. 110). As an example, sporting events are often held during the same time as most domestic responsibilities are carried out, i.e. evenings and weekends, which limits women's abilities to participate, officiate or coach sporting activities (Bell-Altenstadt & Vail).

Within the literature there are feminist critiques that seek to outline the importance of positioning women as active agents in their own lives and not merely passive recipients of their own fate, but are instead actively engaged in its formation (Green, 1998; Scraton, 1994; Wearing, 1996). Scraton explained agency as women's role in creating, defining and shaping their own experiences. As Wearing discussed, "leisure spaces for women provide spaces for re-

writing the script of what it is to be a woman, beyond definitions provided by powerful males and the discourses propagated as truth in contemporary societies” (p. 147). This focus on women’s agency is important for feminist research, but as Scraton cautioned, we must not forget about the oppressed position in which many women still find themselves.

Within the sport literature that analyses the concept of agency (Green, 1998; Scraton, 1994; Wearing, 1996) there is a dearth of information on how constraints’ enabling characteristics can lead to women actively shaping their own lives. By focusing on the development of the GWS program, I fill this void in the literature by showing how constraints not only inhibit action, but how they always simultaneously enable action. My research allows me to investigate “the continuously fluctuating ways in which speakers, within any discursive contexts are variously positioned as powerful or powerless by *competing* social and institutional discourses” (Baxter, 2002, p. 829). Focusing on women in the traditionally male-dominated social spheres of both sport and history while simultaneously privileging marginalized voices creates an opportunity to understand the discourses that existed throughout the development of the GWS program as well as the related constraints that served to simultaneously inhibit and enable feminist sport development.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that I selected for this study is feminist poststructuralism, which Weedon (1987) described as “a mode of knowledge production which uses poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change” (pp. 40-1). Weedon explained that for feminist poststructuralists, the role of discourse is important in the analysis of social meanings and power: “[t]hrough a concept of *discourse*...feminist poststructuralism is

able, in detailed, historically specific analysis, to explain the working of power on behalf of specific interests and to analyze the opportunities for resistance to it” (p. 41). Further, she posited that feminist poststructuralism, through discourse, is able to shed light on how power functions in society, through inhibiting and enabling what can be said or done. In addition, feminist poststructuralism allows for an analysis of the ways in which power can be resisted. Feminist poststructuralism is not appropriate for all research questions; as Weedon explained, “There will be questions which feminists wish to ask which are not compatible with these [poststructuralist] assumptions, which do not fit into a poststructuralist perspective” (p. 20). Baxter (2003) elaborated on this point by indicating that poststructuralism “is *not* concerned with the modernist quest of seeking closure or resolutions in its analysis of what discourse means” (p. 829). According to Weedon poststructuralism *is* engaged with a number of specific concerns:

explaining the assumptions underlying the questions asked and answered by other forms of feminist theory...[it] can also indicate the types of discourse from which particular feminist questions come and locate them both socially and institutionally...[and] it can explain the implications for feminism of these other discourses. (p. 20)

French theorist Michel Foucault and his theories of discourse and power have been credited with helping poststructuralism with its mapping of the relationships between language, society, and power (Weedon, 1987). Foucault (1971, 1980) explained that discourses are formed and perpetuated by people and institutions that in turn use these discourses in the creation of knowledge. Additionally, a focus of his theorizing was the ways in which “social constraint, or in Foucault’s terms ‘power,’ circulates in and through the production of discourses in societies” (Fraser, 1989, p. 20). Foucault posited that there exists a mutual interrelationship between

constraints (something that limits or enables the freedom to act) and discourses. The inhibitory and enabling characteristics of discourses were described by Foucault as “principles of constraint” (p. 17) and he pointed out that “it is probably impossible to appreciate [constraints’] positive, multiplicatory role without first taking into consideration their restrictive, constraining role” (p. 17). Thus, power serves as a constraint and constraints simultaneously serve to inhibit and enable action. In using Foucault’s theory of constraints, Shogan was able to “explore when and how constraints enable [action]” (p. 27) in order to be able “to intervene with enabling constraints to improve the opportunities for [sport] participation” (p. 27). Given its utility in the study of constraints, feminist poststructuralism is appropriate for this study because it allows for an understanding of how the various discourses surrounding the GWS program’s development served to inhibit action through the perpetuation of these discourses, but – crucially, also enable action in the form of resistance to the same discourses.

As I have noted above, the ways in which women’s participation in sport has been inhibited has been well-documented (Aitchison, 2000; Flax, 1990; Green, 1998; Hall, 1987; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Lenskyj, 1987; Theberge, 1987; Wearing, 1996). Despite the inhibiting characteristics of constraints described above, following Shogan (2002) and Fraser (1989), I argue that constraints can be characterized as “enabling as well as restricting” (p. 28). In order to expand upon such research, I will use a Foucauldian approach to understand the ways in which the constraints produced through discourse have simultaneously enabled action and subsequently change – in this case, within the GWS program.

Methods

In order to understand the constraints that helped to shape the GWS program within the City of Ottawa, I conducted archival research and five semi-structured interviews. Archival

research was conducted through the analysis of historical documents found within the City of Ottawa's archives, the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library, and analyses of government documents pertaining to females in Canadian sport.

Archives have been constituted as “a complicated and incomplete site of feminist knowledge” (Buss & Kadar, 2001, p. 2). Further, feminist archival research involves more in-depth research than traditional archival research for the simple fact that discursive constructs of valuable knowledge often exclude documents and knowledge about and by women (Buss & Kadar). Thus, feminist archival research must endeavour to “both deconstruct the traditional views of the female subject and reconstruct female subjects from the anonymity of history” (Buss & Kadar, p. 3). Archival research involves several stages: preparing to collect the data, developing a research plan (or data capture plan), and finally, collecting the data (Danto, 2008). The research plan for the archival research for this project was in the form of a spreadsheet that separated the fields of inquiry into the following categories: formal reports, promotional materials, conference presentations, policy documents, and other (such as informal notes, copies of emails, etc.). As sub-fields to this initial categorization, I recorded additional information: creation date, author/contributors, intended audience, main content/conclusions.

After initial online searches through Archives Canada, Library and Archives Canada, and the Ottawa Public Library, I chose the Ottawa Central Library and the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive in Ottawa as archival research locations. The search results pointed me in the direction of the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library for the local information pertinent to this study. Additionally, the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive was chosen for archival research based on recommendations from Leslie Coburn, who indicated that a collection of potentially important documents were located there.

Within the Ottawa Room of the Ottawa Central Library, a public documents archive of local historical documents, I found three important documents for my research: the “Ottawa Board of Education Athletic Survey” (Quirouette, 1983); the “Women and Sport Study: A Report on Female Participation in Physical Activities” (St.Amour, 1984); and the “Evaluation of Women and Sport Program” (Graham, 1992). These reports were central my research as they marked the changes that occurred throughout the program’s existence.

My second location for archival research was the City of Ottawa building on Constellation Drive in Ottawa, the building in which the GWS program is administered and managed. The archival research in this location consisted of two separate trips in order to properly categorize the documents according to the classification outlined within my research plan. The first trip involved sorting the documents according to my identified categories and sub-categories. During the following trip, I sorted the categorized files in two piles: useful information and non-pertinent information. Useful information was determined to be any information that pertained to the early development of the GWS program, any document that contained participation rates at any point in the program’s history, policy documents and documents such as promotional materials, lists of programs that were offered in the past or any document that would aid in reconstructing sport development by and for girls’ and women’s in this historically-specific context. Though I acknowledge that this is a value-laden separation of documents (Gerson, 2001), the specific nature of my inquiry required a separation of documents in this manner. Once determined to be useful, the documents were photocopied for future reference throughout the research process. The documents that this archival research yielded were various promotional materials from the program’s inception, conference presentations on

the program, as well as several policy statements that outlined the program's philosophies and mission statements.

As an additional means of data collection, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five women, three of whom were directly involved in the initial research and development of the GWS program, as well as three who continue to be involved in its coordination.

Participants were found via snowball sampling (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In line with ethics protocol, the current manager of the GWS division was asked to contact individuals involved in the development of the program to see if they would be interested in participating in this study. These participants were then asked to contact other individuals who might be interested in participating.

Participants engaged in semi-structured interviews; this particular type of interview was chosen as a result of its ability to allow the researcher and the participant to co-determine the interview's focus (Harvey, 1988). The decision to use semi-structured interviews was made based on the postmodern shift in interview techniques towards more of a collaboration between the researcher and the interviewee rather than the traditional researcher-subject relationship (Fontana, 2002). Bloor and Wood (2006) discussed the use of interviews within a feminist context and indicated that the relationship between interviewer and interviewee must remain non-hierarchical, which can be attained in many situations by the interviewer revealing some of his/her identity. The interview questions were written as a guide to facilitate the flow of conversation and to address several specific questions; nonetheless, participants were encouraged to share as much information as they deemed necessary to vocalize their experiences. To this end, participants were invited to speak freely and elaborate beyond the questions and probes I provided; some participants took control of the process and directed the conversation by

providing rich details of their experiences and steered the conversation in a direction that I had not anticipated, while others answered only the questions that were posed. Questions focused on the development of GWS and included questions such as, “What were some of the barriers that needed to be overcome in the development of this program?”; “What sort of political climate was the program developed in?”; “Why was this program developed?”; and “Has the creation of this program benefited the women of this City?” Data gathered from archival research was used to triangulate data gathered from interview responses and vice versa.

The interviews were conducted primarily in person with the exception of one interview, which was conducted over the phone as a result of the participant’s geographical location. All five interviewees opted to disclose their names publicly in this thesis. Leslie Coburn was the main contact through which participants were found. At the time of the interview she had been involved with the GWS program for more than 23 years in several capacities beginning in 1983. Coburn was a manager within the recreation department of the City of Ottawa at the time of the interview and was formerly the head of the GWS program for several years. She has since moved on to a separate division but remains with the City of Ottawa. Pat Hunt began working for the City of Ottawa in 1978 and worked in several different roles ranging from a community coordinator to a manager to the time she retired in 1994. She was responsible for special projects including the GWS program. During the development of the program, Pat also sat on the Board of Directors at CAAWS and continued throughout the years to work with CAAWS as a contractor, where she continues to do contract work through the Active Living Alliance of Canada. Sue Fleming was associated with the GWS program for twelve years beginning in 1983. She began as the education representative on the liaison sub-committee (a committee made up of representative from the Ottawa Board of Education (trustees) and the City of Ottawa (Senior

Management Team, supervisors and program workers)) as a result of her background as a physical education teacher. Additionally, Fleming was the President of the School Athletic Association and was the Provincial Representative of the Office of Representatives of the Committee for Girl's Activities for twelve years, from 1983 to 1995, during which time she was the Chair of the Committee for Girl's Activities for four of those years. Sue was a major part of bringing the education group into the development of the GWS program. Another participant, Kristy Hardiman is currently a Program Coordinator in the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Services Division of the City of Ottawa. She began in 1996 and has in the past worked extensively in an operational capacity by developing and running programs for girls and women within the GWS program. Annie Goodchild is also currently a Program Coordinator in the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Services Division of the City of Ottawa. Goodchild works mainly with the development of girls programming and began in 2007.

All interviews took place between December 5th 2008 and December 4th 2009, and each interview lasted an average of 45 minutes. All participants provided informed consent. The interviews were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Once transcribed, the transcripts were returned to the participants for verification, clarification, and elaboration.

Analysis

Foucauldian discourse analysis was selected as the tool of analysis for this study because it allows for the "foregrounding of diverse viewpoints, contradictory voices and fragmented messages that research data almost always represents" (Baxter, 2002, p. 829). Additionally, Foucauldian discourse analysis is an effective means of "describing, analyzing and interpreting...the continuously fluctuating ways in which speakers, within any discursive context are variously positioned as powerful or powerless by competing social and institutional

discourses” (p. 829). Utilizing Foucauldian discourse analysis allowed me to investigate the ways in which dominant discourses function in wider social processes to legitimate power relations. This form of analysis enabled me to not only provide a more nuanced analysis of the history of the development of the GWS program, but also assisted me in highlighting how the dominant discourses surrounding the development of the GWS program acted as productive constraints.

For this research, I followed Willig’s (2007) six stages of Foucauldian discourse analysis. Within the first and second stages, identification of the socially constructed object within the text and the subsequently placing this within wider discourses, I searched within the text (historical documents and interview transcripts) for mentions of women/girls and boys/men. Once located within the text I determined under which of the identified discourses in the reviewed literature these excerpts of text fit. The third stage of analysis as identified by Willig involves examining the social contexts within which these constructions of the object are positioned. For this stage I looked at the constructions of the identified objects (women/girls and men/boys) and looked at the function of placing these objects in the particular locations in which they were found throughout the text. For example, what did Coburn’s discussion of the discrepancy in girls’ and boys’ participation rates prior to the development of the GWS program allow? For this example, it allowed her to frame the development of the GWS program within the social context of inequality. Willig argued that focusing on the function of particular textual locations allows the researcher to understand, “what the various constructions of the discursive object are capable of achieving within the text.” (p. 175).

Identifying the subject positions offered by the numerous constructions of the identified object is Willig’s fourth stage of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. For this stage I looked at the

subject positions that the authors and interviewees took up or placed people in (women/girls and men/boys within the text). Moving to the fifth of Willig's six stages, I analysed the discourses and related subject positions [that] limited action (as a divergence from Willig's description of this stage, I included an analysis of how these constraints enabled action). The final stage of analysis involved teasing out the effects of the particular subject positions on the sporting experiences of the female residents of Ottawa.

Discourse analysis allowed me to identify the dominant discourses that pervaded the data that aligned with the constraining discourses identified within the literature. Through analyzing the discourses present in the interviews and archives about the development of the GWS, I was able to flesh out the constraints that restricted the women involved in the early stages of the GWS program's development and the participants in the program, as well as tease out those that enabled the women to be agents of change.

Results

The dominant discourses that were identified through discourse analysis were those pertaining to males' and females' legitimate ways of participating in sport and recreation; discourses of resource allocation, where men and boys were seen as legitimate athletes and programs for them were "logically" provided and funded; discourses of household responsibilities being solely women's responsibility; discourses surrounding men's greater ability to access power; and finally, discourses of masculinity as superior to femininity. The women interviewed discussed the development of the GWS program without directly referring to the above discourses; it was through the discourse analysis of their responses, as outlined in detail above, that these discourses were identified. Through analyzing the interview responses I was able to highlight how the above discourses acted as constraints that simultaneously inhibited

as well as enabled action. While the constraints inhibited women's and girls' sport participation in several instances, they also served to enable more women's and girls' participation.

Additionally, there were constraints that limited the ways in which the GWS program could be created, while these same constraints simultaneously enabled its creation. The dual characteristics of constraints were evident throughout the interview transcripts and had a profound effect on the development of the GWS program.

Discussion

Though constraints are always productive (Foucault, 1980), most of the scholarly sport literature posits that constraints only serve to inhibit. As a departure from previous works that characterize constraints as solely inhibiting, I tease out the dominant discourses that shaped the development of the GWS program and analyse how the constraints that simultaneously limited and enabled action shaped the GWS's development.

Constraints Developed Through Discourses of Masculinity and Femininity

The existing scholarly literature has identified several examples pertaining to the inhibitory characteristics of the constraints related to discourses of femininity. These examples included the lack of encouragement for women and girls to view sporting participation as a right (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Griffin, 1981), women and girls receiving fewer opportunities to participate in sport (Aitchison, 2000; Green, 1998; Hall, 1987, 2002; Henderson et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 1987; Scott, 1994; Theberge, 1987; Wearing, 1996), as well as the supposed masculinization of women athletes (Hall, 1988).

Throughout the development of the GWS program, constraints inhibited action through discourses of masculinity and femininity in several instances. For example, according to Hunt, a major barrier to participation was "getting girls and women to understand that there was a place

for them in sport and that they were welcomed and encouraged in this program.” The lack of understanding that they had a right to participate in sport served initially to inhibit the participation of women and girls in sport within the City of Ottawa. Nevertheless, the fact that women and girls did not feel that sport was a place and space for them served as the impetus for program promotion by the employees of the GWS program. This promotional effort was directed at potential female participants, and as such, aimed to affect an increase in participation levels. Thus, the constraint of women not feeling welcome in sport inhibited participation but simultaneously enabled increased promotional efforts

The increase in promotional efforts was facilitated further by an increase in funding geared specifically towards promoting the GWS program. In speaking about the early stages of the program’s development, Pat Hunt explained, “it was intriguing, we were given a lot of promotional money and we were getting the word out all around about these new programs.” Fleming added that “women’s programs were being promoted heavily at that time [the time of the program’s inception] because prior to that they were virtually non-existent.” Hunt continued, “Other women were calling, recalling their experiences in sport and wanting to play - they kept calling for sport after sport, we had really opened Pandora’s Box.” In essence, the fact that so few women participated in sport within the City before and during the inception of the GWS program allowed the women who developed the program to have a basis upon which to approach the senior management team in order to receive more funds to attract women and girls to the programs that they had created. With an increased capacity to promote the programs, as a result of the increased level of promotional money, more women and girls were made aware of sporting opportunities. With more of the population being made aware of the GWS program, there were more women and girls who began participating. Thus, not only did the identified

barrier of women's and girls' lack of understanding of where they fit in the sport realm (a discourse itself) inhibit participation in sport, it also served to enable increased promotion and participation of women and girls in the GWS program.

Other interviewees alluded to the notion that discourses of masculinity and femininity extended beyond women's and girls' feelings of not having a place in sport. Coburn and Fleming discussed the increased effort required to encourage females to participate in sport in comparison to males as a result of discourses of masculinity and femininity that produce sport as a male domain. The need for increased effort served as an inhibitory constraint for some girls' and women's sport participation. Fleming explained that the GWS program was created "out of the acknowledgement that you had to make the extra effort to get girls and women involved." Thus, this need for an increased effort simultaneously enabled the creation of the GWS program by acknowledging that to get females involved in sport, there needed to be additional effort to create a place for them. Hence, though constraints related to discourses of masculinity and femininity are most often identified as inhibiting female participation in sport, by using a Foucauldian approach and the GWS program as an example, it becomes evident that although these constraints do inhibit action in several instances, they also simultaneously enable action, which included the development of the GWS program.

Constraints Developed Through Gendered Discourses of Abilities to Exercise Power

The existing body of literature also typically identifies constraints developed through gendered power relations as inhibiting, although conversely, participation in sport has been touted with providing women a tool with which to reject such assumptions (Wearing, 1998). The use of sport as a tool for the rejection of gendered power relations was evident through the analysis of interview responses. Hunt described the overseeing senior management team (made

up of managers within the City of Ottawa charged with budget allocation and program oversight), as “not welcoming at all [to the GWS employees and liaison committee members], they had the ‘tell me another one’ reaction [to notions of needing a girls and women-only program]...this caused a lot of conflict” prior to the program’s inception in 1985. The senior management team’s exercise of power served to inhibit the ways in which the women were able to create the GWS program. Conversely, the attitudes of the senior management team frustrated the GWS program organizers to the point where they actively decided to resist the existing relations of power. As an example, once the program was initiated, Hunt explained, “Jan [the manager of the program at the time] took a lot of shit from the senior management team, but with her leadership the program and workers kept plugging along.” Hunt also noted, “there was a lot of resistance but they [the employees of the GWS program] kept hanging in there and wouldn’t take no [when it came to requests for additional resources] for an answer.” Resistance to discourses of gendered access to power came in the form of the GWS organizers exercising agency in their actions.

Constraints Developed Through Gendered Discourses of Resource Allocation

In relation to discourses of resource allocation in sport, where men are most often positioned as more deserving of additional funding, facilities and time, women’s and girls’ participation in sport has often been inhibited. All three participants who were involved in the initial development of the GWS program (Coburn, Hunt and Fleming), cited a lack of resources (financial, facility and human) available to women as limiting participation for women prior to and during the initial years of the GWS program. Coburn explained, “in the early years we were fighting for gym time and addressing barriers of transportation.” Hunt noted that “another barrier was access to gym time, ice time, and field time. If the girls were getting any time, they were

getting the worst locations at the worst times." Additionally, Fleming described the inhibitory nature of resource constraints such as "getting the facilities, the equipment and the instructors/leaders that were needed." A lack of access to resources inhibited a great deal of women and girls from participating in sport, yet this constraint of limited resources also enabled other forms of programming. As Coburn pointed out, "we had to revamp the usage of facility time and be creative with programs like dragon boating," a program that takes place outdoors. Other programs such as orienteering "that the participants absolutely loved" (Coburn) were also enabled through the necessity of creative thinking due to lack of facility access.

Related to a lack of facility resources, Fleming went on to describe lack of access to human resources during the early stages of the program due to the difficulty of attaining quality female instructors for the programs:

We needed women to be instructors and leaders and we sometimes had to train the women how to properly run a program. Remember, these women were the ones who were always involved in competitive sport as youths, and because of that they would just turn around and do the same things they were taught by men. So, they needed to be taught how to instruct in a non-competitive environment, and that was an initial barrier.

Adding to Fleming's statement above, although in reference to current staffing issues, Hardiman noted "we're always looking for really strong female leaders, and we get some phenomenal ones, but again are they going to stick with the part-time employment for a while?" Part of the difficulty in retaining staff relates to the plethora of part-time positions. The vast majority of current program leaders (the employees who run the individual sport programs for girls and women) are employed on a part-time basis as a result of the scheduling of programs in short time periods of one or more hours. The large amount of part-time positions for female leaders served

and continues to serve to inhibit many qualified individuals from participating in those leadership positions. Conversely, it also enables the employment of non-typical recreation employees, such as mothers and retired women. Certainly, these examples illustrate the simultaneously inhibiting and enabling characteristics of constraints.

Constraints Developed Through Discourses of Gendered Domestic Responsibilities

Domestic responsibilities have been well documented as being inhibitory in nature for women when it comes to participation in sport (Bell-Altenstadt & Vail, 1994; Hall, 2002; Henderson et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 2003). The women involved in the development of the GWS program also noted that domestic responsibilities served to inhibit girls' and women's participation both during the early stages of the program as well as throughout its existence. Coburn discussed the continued pressure on women for the responsibility of the house and the children: "You know, women are very busy, still today in their lives mothers still seem in a good number of marriages, to have the whole responsibility of the house, the children, the scheduling." Despite this responsibility and its usual inhibitory nature, Coburn continued by outlining how domestic responsibilities served to enable the development of the GWS program, "because of this, they [the women] look at this [the GWS program] as a God-send really, that they can come and participate, and they're just thrilled to be able to do that." Hardiman explained this point further: "Women today just don't have the time to be able to take on the additional responsibilities [in addition to work inside and outside of the home] to ensure that they're going to be able to keep these types of activities afloat, but they will pay for the services to be provided by us." The constraint of domestic responsibilities serves to limit participation in sport for many women, yet, these responsibilities also facilitated (and continue to facilitate) the presence of the GWS program as women's lack of available time necessitates a program administered by others.

Do These Discourses Continue to Shape the Program?

The GWS program of today is similar in some ways to the one that developed in 1985: the programs continue to focus on skill development with limited league opportunities for girls and a combination of both skill development and leagues for women. It continues to be run “by women and for women” (Hardiman) with the aim of providing a place where “girls get equitable opportunities to participate in physical activity programs to the extent that boys do” (Hunt). The current staff members are faced with “keeping it [the program] creative, revamping, restructuring” (Coburn), and also “paying attention to how sport is re-facing itself and keeping up with that” (Goodchild). Additionally, as Goodchild pointed out, “Sport is changing, societal sport is changing, it’s not just women and sport, it’s not just one sport at a time, the concept of what sport is and what ages you can start and end your participation in sport has totally changed.”

In order to continue to resist dominant societal discourses through the enabling characteristics of constraints related to masculinity and femininity, gendered exercises of power, gendered resource allocation, and gendered domestic responsibilities, the staff at GWS has made several changes. The first change that has been made has been a shift in how individual sport programs are created. As Hardiman explained, “you need to balance the vocal groups who are always looking for change and improvement with the huge base of clients who want things to go at the same rate and just make whatever improvements we can, such as facilities.” This explanation represents a resistance to discourses of resource allocation that favour men whereby the program coordinators, regardless of difficulties with gaining physical resources, continue to create programs based on the female participants’ needs and wants.

A second key factor that contributes to the resistance of constraints that often shape women's participation in sport and a current challenge of the GWS program is addressing the newly developing needs of ageing women in sport. As Coburn explained,

You have this whole group that were able to get involved in sport who don't want to give up, they want to continue, but basketball is getting a little hard on the joints moving down the floor and aquafit is nice but it just doesn't cut it, it doesn't have the same element as sport and I think we have to continue to be creative and that's the challenge that the staff have in the future.

The inhibiting constraint of women's changing sporting needs throughout their life cycles, which often causes women to stop participating in sport (Henderson et al., 1996), simultaneously enabled the women of the GWS program to create different programs that cater to aging women. The enabling characteristic of this constraint serves to counter discourses of traditional roles of masculinity and femininity that limit the opportunities of women as they move from school-aged girls to working women to retired women. They are additionally resisting discourses of women's aging, where older women are seen as incapable of sporting opportunities. Creating the opportunity for sport participation at any age and at any skill level alters the way that these participants view themselves and the way that they are viewed in society at large (Fenton, Kopelow, & Lawrence, 1994).

Constraints related to discourses of sport as a male, and particularly white male, preserve serve to inhibit the participation of those who are not male and not white. This constraint does, however, enable the creation of programs that cater specifically to minority women. As an example, the GWS program also focuses on providing sporting opportunities to non-Eurocanadian women by providing sporting environments that address cultural beliefs.

Hardiman explained, "we've done a lot of work with different communities too. With the Never Too Late Multicultural Program, we're really touching on women who probably haven't had much exposure to sport or they haven't in such a long time, so it's great to expose them to it." The Never Too Late Multicultural Program is designed for women with little to no sport experience in order to provide them with instructional, beginner level introduction to sport.

A third and final example of how dominant discourses, through productive constraints are currently resisted within the GWS program is through the use of positive female role models for program participants and the program's focus on developing skills. Through their "Skills and Drills" programs, girls and women are able to gain confidence in their sporting abilities. One participant described the benefit of role models as instructors, "we start with pre-school aged girls, getting coached all along by female coaches, seeing what they can do with their lives, where they can go, the possibilities for these girls are endless, and we begin by showing them what is possible through sport" (Hardiman). Another participant noted:

there are a lot of offshoots with the benefits, we have some young girls who participated in early years who came back to coach within our program, and have gone out to coach in the community, all this through the development of that sport which they learned from our programs. (Coburn).

By providing strong female role models to young girls and women and also by providing opportunities for these women to return to the GWS program as coaches, program leaders and administrators continues a positive cycle of reinforcement that serves to resist many dominant discourses.

Conclusion

This study outlines the dual characteristics of constraints as described by Foucault (1990) i.e., as being never wholly limiting or inhibitive, but also as being productive and enabling. Indeed, the constraints, both inhibiting and enabling, identified throughout this analysis have shaped a program that has increased the quality and quantity of sporting opportunities for women and girls in Ottawa– the GWS program. Although typical understandings of constraints produced through gendered discourses of masculinity and femininity, resource allocation, domestic responsibilities and power relations reflect mainly on the restrictive aspects of constraints, I have shown through a Foucauldian analysis of the discourses surrounding the development of the GWS program that constraints are always simultaneously enabling. This paper does not excuse sex-based discrimination in sport - it does however, show that agency and resistance enable action, even in the face of daunting inhibitory constraints and their associated discourses. Through their reflections on the development of the GWS program, women involved with the GWS program from its inception to its current form provided examples of how constraints not only inhibited action but also how these constraints simultaneously enabled action and change, which resulted in increasing the quality and quantity of sporting opportunities available to girls and women in the City of Ottawa.

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Conclusions: The Girls N' Women and Sport Program

This thesis used two articles to map out the development and constraints that influenced the development of the Girls N' Women and Sport (GWS) program within the City of Ottawa from its conceptualization in the early 1980s, to its initiation in 1985, and through to its existence in the present. Together, these two articles serve two separate yet related purposes: to fill a gap in Canadian women's and girls' sport development by shedding light on the creation of an important program in the fight for equality in girls' and women's sport, and, secondly, to use the GWS program to complicate our understanding of an important part of feminist sport development by outlining not only the inhibiting qualities of constraints, but also their productive characteristics.

Article 1 – “What do you Mean, ‘Girls Only?’”: Tracing the Development of the City of Ottawa’s Girls n’ Women and Sport Program

The first article began by situating the GWS program's development within the wider history of women's sport in Canada immediately prior to the program's inception in 1985. Three studies conducted in the City of Ottawa (Graham, 1992; Quirouette, 1983; St.Amour, 1984) as well as sports participation statistics for males and females in the early 1980s allowed me to paint a picture of the local, municipal catalysts for the program. Using archival research as well as semi-structured interviews with those involved in the GWS program's inception, I was able to elucidate the program's chronological development as well as discuss some of its challenges and successes along the way.

Article 2 – A Foucauldian Analysis: The Constraints that Shaped the City of Ottawa’s Girls n’ Women and Sport Program

The second article examined the GWS program to outline the discourses that surrounded and shaped its development and the constraints that these discourses created. I used feminist

poststructural theory to understand the role of discourse in the creation of constraints and the resultant inhibiting and enabling characteristics of those constraints. The literature that exists in regard to discourses and constraints largely discusses their inhibitory nature, thus an analysis of the constraints that enabled action and change throughout the development of the GWS program complicates our understanding of feminist sport development, in this case, in the City of Ottawa.

Mapping the GWS Program's History and Associated Discourses

The two papers that comprise this thesis are to be viewed as “standing alone,” yet together they allow for a deeper understanding the GWS program’s development, which has both applied and theoretical implications. By looking first at how the GWS program developed within the wider development of women’s and girls’ sport in Canada, we are able to add to the existing knowledge of community level sport programs. Additionally, the mapping of this program’s development allows for a celebration of a significant contribution to both the quality and quantity of available sporting opportunities for girls and women at the municipal level in Ottawa. On an applied level, understanding the dominant discourses that shape the GWS program and the inhibitory and enabling effects of the associated constraints will allow current employees to assess the program in new ways. The knowledge that can be gained from such an assessment may lead to programming that caters more specifically to the needs girls and women in Ottawa, including those not currently targeted by the GWS program. Academically, my analysis of both the enabling and inhibiting constraints that shaped the GWS adds to our understanding of Foucault’s work by providing an applied example of constraints’ productive characteristics – something that is often marginalized by those who take up his work. My research has enabled me to make recommendations for the GWS program itself, other female-only municipal sport

programs, to address broader issues of sport policy in Canada, as well as to make recommendation for further research.

Recommendations for the GWS Program

Stemming from the research that was conducted for this thesis, there are several recommendations for the GWS program administrators that are in keeping with a feminist poststructuralist approach. While there are currently selected programs that target multicultural women and older women, I recommend a continued and expanded focus on the differences between women and the creation of programs tailored to address these differences. Such an expanded focus would allow the program address calls for a rejection of the notion of the normative category of “woman.” Additionally, from a program point of view, creating programs that service those who are currently being marginalized in sport will serve to widen the pool of participants. An increase in potential participants can equate to an increase in revenues that can be re-invested into the program for further expansion.

A second recommendation for the GWS program relates to an increase in promotional efforts. These promotional efforts should target girls and women of all ages, abilities, sexual orientations, and ethnicities through various media (in schools, local gyms, grocery stores, restaurants, social and traditional media, as well as through e-newsletters). Although there is currently a limited amount of promotion that occurs, increasing the volume and frequency of messaging is recommended. In addition to simply producing more promotional material, the content should be adjusted to focus on messages that align with poststructuralist feminist ideals. For example, creating messaging that refutes dominant discourses relating to masculinity and femininity such as the notion of female athletes as only either sexual objects or as those with weak skills. Messaging should focus on the benefits of women’s and girls’ sport participation

such as overall improvements to their health, sport's role in creating leaders, providing girls and women with increased levels of confidence both on and off the field/court/rink, etc., and the idea that female-only programs provide a place and space for women and girls to participate in sport without simultaneously being compared to men's and boys' sport. A focus on increased promotional capacity in keeping with the tenets of feminist poststructuralist theory may result in increased levels of participation by those who are currently the most marginalized in our community.

The third and final recommendation is for the program to begin to take a greater role in the training of women leaders as coaches, officials, and program instructors. Stemming from the responses of all three current program employees, who identified staffing (part-time staffing for the running of programs – not administrative and managerial staff) as the most pressing current issue, the creation of a program that addresses with the creation of qualified staff would be beneficial. In keeping with a feminist poststructuralist approach, gaining an understanding of the experiences of current and former staff, and uncovering the issues that these staff encounter that cause them to leave, would allow for a level of understanding that would enable office staff to address current staffing challenges. Additionally, providing training for coaches and officials to run women's leagues within City programs or to expand into other coaching/officiating roles at external organizations would be valuable to GWS programs as well as to women's and girls' sport within the City of Ottawa. The value of such an initiative lies within creating a skilled pool of women from which to hire staff for various positions within GWS programs. Other programs external to the City of Ottawa's sport program in Ottawa would also benefit from such a pool of trained coaches and officials by including women as leaders in their particular programs. Women and girls as program participants will benefit from seeing women in leadership positions in sport,

as such involvement counters dominant discourses of sport as a predominantly male preserve. The implementation of these recommendations would not only provide new revenue opportunities, but will enrich the program by catering to the needs of different groups of women in Ottawa by attracting more participants through increased and expanded promotional efforts.

Recommendations for Further Research

Despite the increase in the volume of research pertaining to women in sport since the inception of the GWS program, there remains a considerable discrepancy between studies of men and women in the existing scholarly literature on sport, particularly as relates to understanding the development of girls' and women's sport at the municipal level, especially in smaller, non-regional centres. Further research should continue to embed girls' and women's sport experiences within larger social issues that address dominant relations of power. In summary, scholars should continue to seek to identify who is being left out of the literature and ask themselves, "why are they not included," "what within society precludes their presence," and "how can these issues be addressed?" In responding to these questions, academics will produce research that will continue to expand the current body of literature by investigating marginalized groups' often silenced experiences.

Conclusion

Despite a number of studies that outline the general chronology of women's sport in Canada, there remains a gap to be filled with regard to female-centred, municipal programs. By tracing the development of the City of Ottawa's GWS program, a female-only program designed "by women and for women" (Hardiman, personal communication), this thesis sheds light on a program that has significantly increased opportunities for women and girls to participate in sport within the City of Ottawa. The methods employed throughout this research, archival research

and semi-structured interviews in combination with discourse analysis, all under the umbrella of feminist poststructuralism, were used to produce a thesis that contributes to tracing the development of Canadian women's and girls' sport, while simultaneously strengthening our understanding of Foucault's notion of productive constraints.

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Contributions

Sara Dorken developed, designed, and undertook this thesis, its theorization, analysis and writing.

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