

Exploring the Work and Professionalization of University Sport Coaching

Alixandra Krahn

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Health

York University

Toronto Ontario

April 2022

© Alixandra Krahn 2022

## ABSTRACT

The terms work, professional and occupation (to name a few) are often used when describing the practice of university sport coaches. However, there is a lack of research investigating the nature of university sport coaching as work or as a profession and even less research on the nature of sport coaching as work or as a profession for women. As such, this study critically examined sport coaching as work within the university sport context, whether and if university sport coaches are considered professionals, as well as the conditions, which frame the daily practices of sport coaches in relation to and within their university (academic and athletic) settings and finally, the gendered and/or gendering nature of university sport coaching. Embedded in feminist political economy, this study employed institutional ethnography as its methodology, and data was collected through semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis. The results showed that university sport coaching work is qualified, boundaryless, and precarious in nature; And, that while the coaching professional project is in motion, coaching has not been regulated by the Canadian government, and/or accepted by the Canadian public as a profession. Additionally, as a result of being qualified, boundaryless, and precarious and unregulated, coaching as work is even more precarious and/or uncertain for women working in university athletics departments as coaches. Collectively, these insights, in addition to the narrowly defined margin of success for sport coaches (i.e., winning) have created unstable conditions for coaches working in university sport.

## **DEDICATION**

To my family and to my lifer partner Colm whose love has nourished me throughout this  
journey.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My doctoral journey has been one of the most irritating and intriguing experiences of my life and I have been fortunate to have many friends and colleagues support me throughout this process in a variety of ways; my most heartfelt thanks to them. I further extend my gratitude to the University of Toronto Women's Volleyball program and their head coach Kristine Drakich, who not only mentored me as a coach during my doctoral work, but who also put up with my distracted coach brain and who constantly indulged my curiosities. I am also most appreciative to the coaches and sport administrators who volunteered what little free time they truly have to participate in this study. I sincerely hope that this study and its findings contribute to some much-needed changes within the current political economic context of university sport coaching; namely, that the system of sport is held more accountable for the working conditions that structure coaches' daily lives and contribute to their experiences of precarity. It is my deepest desire that this project, and what is yet to come, shift the landscape of sport coaching for women and I remain incredibly hopeful that women will return to the coaching ranks in numbers and quality experiences that rival the 1990s, when women occupied over half of the head coaching positions in university sport. Finally, this project would not have been possible without my brilliant, magnanimous, and incredibly supportive supervisor Dr. Parissa Safai, who routinely had to invite me throughout this journey to "stop apologizing" and whose impact on me as a person, coach, and scholar is only just beginning to show itself. I am eternally grateful to Dr. Safai who throughout this journey kept me inspired, motivated, and on course and who has helped to shape the person I am and I am becoming.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Dedication.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Acknowledgments.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Table of Contents.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Figures .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Tables.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Chapter One: Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Structure of Dissertation.....	7
<b>Chapter Two: Review of Literature .....</b>	<b>12</b>
Work in the Canadian Context .....	13
Precarious Work in Canada and its Implication for Women.....	16
Feminization .....	19
Social Reproduction .....	20
Work and Identity: Occupational Status, Prestige and the Professions.....	21
Trait and Structural-Functional Approaches to the Study of the Professions .....	22
Power Approaches to the Study of the Professions.....	23
Larson and the Professional Project .....	25
Gender, Work, and the Professions .....	27
The Gendering of Professions .....	29
Sport Coaching in Canada: Work, Leisure Pursuit, or Volunteerism?.....	31
Sport Coaching as a Leisure Pursuit and/or Volunteerism.....	35
Sport Coaching Professionalization .....	37
The Coaching Association of Canada (CAC) .....	38
The Unique Professional Project of Sport Coaching.....	40
Women in Sport Coaching .....	44
USports and Female Coaches .....	46

<b>Chapter Three: Theoretical Foundations .....</b>	<b>53</b>
Political Economy .....	53
Feminist Political Economy .....	57
Political Economic and Critical Feminist Contributions to the Sociology of Sport.....	61
Political Economic Contributions to the Canadian Sociology of Sport .....	62
Critical Feminist Contributions to the Canadian Sociology of Sport.....	65
Critical Feminist Contributions to the Sociology of Sport Coaching.....	70
FPE as a Future Approach to the Study of University Sport Coaching in Canada .....	74
<b>Chapter Four: Methods and Methodology .....</b>	<b>76</b>
Institutional Ethnography: Philosophical Considerations .....	77
Ontology .....	78
Epistemology .....	79
Methodology.....	81
IE, FPE, and the Research Questions .....	85
Research Design .....	86
Research setting.....	87
USports and the CAC .....	88
The University and Division of University .....	89
Coaches, Athletic Directors, and Senior Sport Administrators .....	90
Participant Recruitment .....	91
Recruitment of IAD and NIAD .....	91
Recruitment of USports and the CAC .....	92
Data Collection.....	93
Interviews .....	94
Participant Categories.....	96
Senior University Administrators, Athletic Directors, and Associated Athletic Directors .....	97
MSO Senior Sport Administrators .....	97
Coaches.....	98
Texts, Governing Documents, and Coach Contracts.....	99
Fieldwork Observation .....	101
Analysis of Data: IE and Thematic Analysis .....	101
Thematic Analysis .....	102

Research Reflexivity .....	105
Straddling my Researcher-Coach Identity: Contested Terrain.....	106
<b>Chapter Five: Results and Discussion I – Coach Work and Conditions of Coach Work... 113</b>	
Section I: University Sport Coaching as Work .....	114
University Sport Coaching as Work: Texts and Governing Documents.....	115
NIAD Documents .....	115
IAD Documents.....	119
University Sport Coaching as Work: Interview Data.....	123
Section II: The Conditions of University Sport Coaching .....	130
Conditions of Coach Work: University Athletic Departments.....	131
Document Analysis .....	132
Administrator Insights .....	140
Conditions of Coach Work: The Division .....	145
Coach, Administrator, and Division Head Insights.....	146
Texts and Governing Documents .....	149
Conditions of Coach Work: USports.....	152
Coach, Administrator, and USports Administrator Insights .....	153
USports Document Analysis .....	158
The CAC and CSP .....	161
University Sport Coaching Work and Work Conditions Conclusions .....	164
<b>Chapter Six: Results and Discussion II – The Professionalization of Sport Coaching ..... 167</b>	
Revisiting the Professional Project.....	168
The CAC and the ChPC .....	170
Web-based ChPC Content.....	171
Pathways to ChPC Designation.....	175
The ChPC as a Moral Community .....	177
CAC Administrator Insights.....	180
University Coach Views on Coaching as a Profession .....	187
University Administrator Views on Coaching as a Profession .....	196
Concluding Considerations on the Professionalization of Coaching .....	203

<b>Chapter Seven: Results and Discussion III – Gender and University Sport Coaching .....</b>	<b>205</b>
Interview Insight on Sport Coaching and Gender .....	206
Sport Coaching Work as Gendered Work .....	207
Contributions to the Gendering of Sport Coach Work .....	214
Sport Coaching as Male/Father Terrain .....	214
Limited Opportunities in Sport Coaching .....	220
Backhanded Compliments and Other Barriers .....	224
Equity and Access Policies in University Sport .....	226
IAD and NIAD Governing Text Analysis .....	231
NIAD Maternity and Parental Leave Policies .....	232
IAD Maternity and Parental Leave Policies .....	234
USports Equity Policy Analysis .....	237
Concluding Remarks on Gender and Equity and Access Policies .....	240
<b>Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusion.....</b>	<b>242</b>
Statement of Findings.....	248
Pulling the Threads Together .....	255
Strengths and Limitations.....	258
Future Directions and Conclusion .....	260
<b>References .....</b>	<b>263</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>285</b>
Appendix A: .....	285
Appendix B:.....	287
Appendix C:.....	289
Appendix D: .....	291
Appendix E:.....	293
Appendix F:.....	294
Appendix G: .....	295
Appendix H: .....	299

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1: Research Setting .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>Figure 2: Interactions Map .....</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Figure 3: Reconfigured Research Setting.....</b>	<b>131</b>

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1:</b> Summary of Participant Pool Across Research Setting .....	95
---	----

## **List of Abbreviations**

AFA- Athletic Financial Award

AD – Athletics Department

ACD – Advanced Coaching Diploma

AGM – Annual General Meeting

ATS – Academic Teaching Staff

AUS – Atlantic University Sport

BIPOC – Black Indigenous Persons of Colour

CAAWS – Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport

CAC – Coaching Association of Canada

CBA – Collective Bargaining Agreement

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

ChPC – Chartered Professional Coach Designation

CIAU – Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union

CIG – Coaching Implementation Group

CIS – Canadian Interuniversity Sport

CMA – Canadian Medical Association

COO – Chief Operating Officer

CSP – Canadian Sport Policy

CSPS – Canadian Center for Sport Policy Studies

CWIAU – Canadian Women’s Intercollegiate Athletic Union

FPE – Feminist Political Economy

IAD – Integrated Athletic Department

IE – Institutional Ethnography

IOC – International Olympic Committee

ISO – International Sport Organization

LGBTQ2S+ - Lesbian Gay Bi-sexual Transgender Queer Two-Spirited Plus

LTAD – Long Term Athlete Development Model

LTD – Long Term Development Model

NBA – National Basketball Association

NCAA – National Collegiate Athletic Association

NCCP – National Coach Certification Program

NFL – National Football League

NHL – National Hockey League

NIAD – Non-Integrated Athletic Department

NM – Non-unionized Member

NSO – National Sport Organization

NSRC – National Sport and Recreation Center

MSO – National Multisport Service Organization

OUA – Ontario University Athletics

PSO – Provincial Sport Organization

PD – Professional Development

PE – Political Economy

PhD – Doctor of Philosophy

RSEQ – Réseau du sport étudiant du Québec

SER – Standard Employment Relationship

SIRC – Sport Information Resource Center

SPA – Supplementary Professional Activities

TA- Thematic Analysis

TER – Temporary Employment Relationship

UK – United Kingdom

VP – Vice President

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

When I was in my second season of head coaching a women's club volleyball team, I vividly remember a moment that, in many ways, planted the seed for this research project. It occurred after our first game and our first loss of the tournament, and while our team was at an away tournament in a town not too far from the city. The assistant coach (my sister) and I decided to visit the Coaches' Lounge as we needed a break from our team – a moment or two where we could talk without being in earshot of our athletes. In the lounge, we found a variety of foods and beverages laid out on tables for coaches in a small, beautiful room with a wall of windows that overlooked the entire gym. It was a quiet and restorative space – not filled with the talk, laughter, energy, or noise that naturally comes with the hustle and bustle of a sport tournament.

There were two other coaches in the room and, given where we were sitting, we began chatting with them. We introduced ourselves, talked about our own experiences as volleyball players and as players turned coaches, reflected on the tournament and what we saw on the court below and, before we knew it, our break time was up, and my sister and I headed back to the gym for our next match. I did not know the other two people and yet we all shared a common identity as sport coaches and our conversation as a foursome was fluid and organic. As we left the room, I felt energized and excited by the exchange. And then, it hit me. I was energized and excited not by how pleasant the other people were or by the liveliness of our discussion, but by the fact that all four of us were female coaches and that I was in the Coaches' Lounge with other women coaches.

The Coaches' Lounge is a familiar space and place (i.e., space with meaning) for me, but what I was feeling on this day after having left the coach's lounge was unusual. This was the first time in two years of coaching that I had interacted with female sport coaches at a sport tournament in the Coaches' Lounge. I quickly scanned my memories, and yes, this was a first. Up until this point, I had entered many spaces called the "Coaches' Lounge", but I had not seen other women sport coaches in those spaces. I was often the only woman sport coach in such a lounge, keenly aware and navigating around my Otherness amid male sport coach colleagues. Up until this particular moment, I had not truly 'seen' myself in others in those rooms.

This moment, so seemingly arbitrary, was startling to me. Up until this point, I had intellectually known that there were only a few women in head sport coaching positions, but 'feeling' this reality was something entirely different. My sister and I had played with and against incredible athletes throughout our sporting careers and not many athletes choose to transition into sport coaching upon retirement as athletes; this is, in fact, my own journey from high level volleyball player to high-level volleyball coach. And yet, in the Coaches' Lounge, the novelty of four high-level female sport coaches together in one room exposes the question that sits like an elephant in the room: Why are so few women coaching in sport such that the fact that four of us gathered in one lounge stands out for me as a significant memory?

I am now heading into my tenth year of working as a high-level sport coach and I still find myself asking the question: where are the women? As a sport coaching scholar, I am keenly aware that critical sport researchers and sport advocates – including those working within the different levels and circles of the Canadian sport system, including that of university sport – have been long aware of and attentive to the under-representation of women in sport coaching, particularly in highly competitive or high-performance sport. For example, based on statistics

from a 2022 Canadian Centre for Sport Policy Studies (CSPS) report, 16% of head coaches and 22% of assistant coaches at the USports level are female. The low rates and continued negative trends are particularly problematic given the extensive amount of research (e.g., Bertram & Culver, 2017; Kidd, 2013; Robertson, 2018), policy documents (e.g., *Actively Engaged: A Policy On Sport for Women and Girls*) and government funded initiatives (e.g., University Female Coach Mentorship Program, Alberta Women in Sport Leadership Impact Program) geared towards increasing the number of female coaches in competitive sport in response to the Canadian Sport Policy's (CSP) goal of providing opportunities “for persons from traditionally underrepresented and/or marginalized populations to actively engage in all aspects of sport participation including leadership roles” (SIRC, 2012, p. 11).

Within the university sport coaching sector – which constitutes my sport coaching home, so to speak given that the vast majority of my coaching career has been located within university sport – a number of studies have demonstrated a range of factors that continue to limit women from viewing and/or pursuing university sport coaching as a viable career option in Canada. Such reasons include, but are not limited to: low wages, other professional aspirations, the high demands of sports coaching in terms of time, energy, etc., organizational barriers, the prevailing ‘win at all costs’ mentality within elite sport, the excessive focus on winning as a criteria of success for coaches, the construction of sport as a hyper-masculine space and the lack of female role models in sport leadership (e.g., Demers et al., 2013; Demers & Audet, 2007; Kerr & Banwell, 2014; Kidd, 2013).

Given the long and rich history of women in Canadian sport, including women in sport coaching in Canada, it is disheartening to recognize that these factors are not new phenomenon. This is not to suggest that there has been no resistance to the inequities for women in sport

coaching in Canada, or that there has been a complete absence of positive or productive change for women sport coaches. It would be remiss of me to not acknowledge the waves of women in sport, and their male allies, who have come before me and who have fought tirelessly so that I can occupy the positions I have been able to assume throughout my career as a sport coach. And yet, I cannot ignore how struck I was in the moment magnified and recounted above by the fact that there were four – not forty or four hundred – women sport coaches in the lounge that day. I was so used to – and still am used to if I am being honest – being one of the few women in sport coaching, and in the Coaches' Lounge, that I had/have become accustomed the absence of women sport coaches as the status quo.

As a scholar with interests focused on the critical socio-cultural study of sport and sport coaching, my research curiosity is piqued by the continued contested terrain of twenty-first century sport coaching for women. As a female sport coach who wants to continue working with athletes and within the Canadian sport system in tandem with being a sport scholar, my frustration is piqued by a sport coaching job market that continues to tolerate the marked under-representation of working female sport coaches, despite higher than ever rates of participation among female athletes across a range of sports (IOC, 2021; Norman et al., 2020). In my own sport coaching career, I have pursued different coaching opportunities in various levels of competitive volleyball across Canada and have diligently ensured that I meet all appropriate coach education and training standards to do so. Sport coaching is not just my avocation, it is part of my personal and professional identity, and an area of practice that I treat with the same seriousness and earnestness I do my doctoral studies. As I develop as sport coach and sport scholar, I reflect on the magnified moment in the Coaches' Lounge and appreciate that my description of the lounge itself offered at the start of this chapter missed a significant detail: the

glass ceiling that so often confronts women seeking to advance as full-time working coaches in Canadian sport.

A snapshot of the state of sport coaching as a career in Canada highlights a complex landscape, fraught with various tensions around work and professionalization. On one hand, sport coaching has been described and recognized by many as a hobby, recreational pass time, and leisure pursuit (Stebbins, 2014). On the other hand, sport coaching is work, a career (Schinke et al., 1995), and/or a profession (Cacesse & Mayberg, 1984; Dixon & Sagas, 2007). However, many of the studies examining sport coaching have assumed that sport coaching is work, a career, and/or a profession without providing concrete evidence for the ways in which sport coaching is defined as such. To date, the literature on sport coaching remains assumptive that sport coaching is work, a career, an occupation, and/or a profession. And yet, there have been no studies to date that critically examine the work of sport coaching and/or the question as to whether sport coaching is a profession or being professionalized. The assumptions surrounding coach work are often impacted by the level of sport being coached, where many would agree that coaching professional sport (e.g., NBA, NHL, or NFL) qualifies a coach to be a professional, a title that is not afforded volunteer coaches in community sport settings. The tensions surrounding sport coaches as workers and/or professionals, are not helped by federal government policy documents, such as the CSP, which recognize the need for volunteers and salaried workers even though neither the work of a ‘salaried worker’ is defined nor is it made clear who are the ‘salaried workers.’

Within the Canadian university sport context – which includes 56 members institutions within four geographically defined divisions, all of which are reliant upon the work and efforts of many sport coaches – the assumptions around the status of sport coaching as work and sport

coaches as workers/professionals are particularly complex as university academic and athletic departments (ADs) (also sometimes referred to as sport and recreation departments) are organized in a variety of ways. For example, some ADs are integrated within an academic unit in the respective university (e.g., the Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education at the University of Toronto integrates its curricular program and its sports and recreation program under the same administrative roof, so to speak). In other cases, ADs are not integrated with an academic unit under the belief, in part, that athletics and academics should remain separate from one another (e.g., York University).

The variability of work status among sport coaches is informed and framed by the ways in which university athletic departments are structured (Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Danylchuk & MacLean, 2001). For example, throughout the course of my own university assistant coaching career, I have occupied such markers of worker identity as (and using the language employed by the institutions themselves): volunteer, full-time contract employee and casual employment contract worker. Furthermore, in my role as assistant coach, I have assisted head coaches who have occupied the status of full-time contract worker, tenured faculty member, or permanent contract worker. The range of employment designations that may be assigned to a university coach contributes to the confusion that surrounds sport coaching as work (or not). The differences noted within these various coach designations are linked to a variety of other issues such as status, rank, rights and responsibilities, compensation and benefits including, but not limited to, coaching salaries, which range from small honorariums to salaries concurrent with that of other university faculty members (e.g., Ontario Government, 2017).

Not only do these notable differences in status, rank, rights and responsibilities, compensation and benefits impact the (material and otherwise) experience of current coaches

working within universities, but they also impact the recruitment, retention, or attrition of future coaches. For example, prospective coaches may view the variability in worker designations (and thus related variability in status, job security, compensation and benefits) as a deterrent to coaching in the university sport context; this is a particularly important concern to consider in relation to coaches (prospective and otherwise) from groups that are traditionally under-represented in high-level sport coaching including women.

Taken together, the unquestioned and variable conceptualizations of sport coaching as work and sport coaches as professionals, the lack of clarity around the status of sport coaching and sport coaches within Canadian sport policy and university athletic departments, and the relative absence of and/or under-representation of women sport coaches working in the university sport context point to the need for a critical analysis of university sport coaching centred on unpacking how sport coaching in the Canadian university sport context intertwines with work and professionalization, and how gender crosscuts the sport coaching-work-professionalization nexus. As such, the research objectives of this study are to:

- 1) *Critically examine whether sport coaching within the university sport context is work and, if so, what type of work;*
- 2) *Critically examine whether university sport coaches are professionals, in what way and why;*
- 3) *Identify and explore the conditions that frame the daily practices of sport coaches in relation to and within their university (academic and athletic) settings; and*
- 4) *Explore the gendered and gendering nature of the practices of university sport coaches.*

### **Structure of Dissertation**

This study examines the sport coaching-work-professionalization-gender nexus through a Feminist Political Economy (FPE) lens and as facilitated through the methodological approach of

Institutional Ethnography (IE). Both IE and FPE use the lived experiences of participants to guide inquiry which, for this study, included the voices of university sport coaches and sport administrators operating in two separate and distinct university ADs – one AD where athletics and academics are integrated (referred to as the integrated AD, or IAD) and one where athletics and academics are not integrated in one unit (non-integrated AD, or NIAD) – as well as USports and CAC sport administrators. The analysis of governing texts, a feature of IE, supplemented the analysis of participants' experiences to further illuminate the connections between work, professionalization and gender for sport coaches in Canadian university sport.

In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of the current and related sport literatures, which includes literature on precarious employment in Canada, the intersection of precarious employment with gender, select literatures on the sociology of professions and how gender is intertwined and connected to the professional project. This overview leads into more focused attention on the ways in which work and professionhood are taken up in the study of sport broadly, and sport coaching specifically. Woven into this chapter is an introduction to the efforts of the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC; Canada's governing of body in sport coaching), specifically around its Chartered Professional Coach (ChPC) designation. The CAC has constructed the ChPC as the country's preeminent coaching credential and this designation is more fulsomely unpacked as part of sport coaching's professional project in Chapter Six. The second chapter concludes with an overview of studies examining women sport coaches and highlights the gaps in the literature, drawing particular emphasis on the need for Feminist Political Economic (FPE) analyses of women's work in sport coaching.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical foundation of this study, including an overview of FPE as situated within the broader context of political economy as a disciplinary field. Where

traditional political economy research has been instrumental in advancing insights on work and professions, FPE came to life due to the absence of attention to women's voices and experiences as intersecting with work, labour, the state and the markets. In this chapter, I demonstrate the connectedness of IE and FPE, underscoring the need for a relational approach to the examination of work, professionhood, and gender in sport coaching.

Chapter Four outlines the qualitative methods used in this study. Specifically, it provides an overview of IE including its origins, scope, and theoretical underpinnings. The ontological and epistemological fit of IE with FPE are outlined before a discussion of how both are well suited for a study that takes up the analysis of work and professionalization of sport coaching with an emphasis on gender. Additionally, I provide a detailed account of the research design for this study, including a description of the research setting and research participants, recruitment strategies and challenges, and steps involved in data collection and analysis.

In Chapter Five, I attend to the first and third research objectives of this study. In particular, I begin with outlining the ways in which sport coaching work is recognized as work before examining the conditions that frame the work of university sport coaches. As will be shown in this section, the participants' responses during interviews revealed the interconnectedness of these two research objectives. Of note, data from the IAD and NIAD governing texts were used to frame the participants' replies to sport coaching as boundaryless, qualified, and precarious work. The analysis of the governing texts and interview data were then taken up in the second part of the chapter to examine the broader web of ruling relations and/or the conditions that framed these experiences.

Chapter Six continued from the analysis in Chapter Five to inform its examination of the professionalization of sport coaches in Canada (see Research Objective #2). In particular, this

chapter used the ChPC designation as the site from which to examine the fraught and contested nature of the sport coaching professional project. Larson's professional project (first discussed in Chapter Two) was revisited extensively throughout this chapter in order to illuminate the sport coaching professional project in Canada, including the challenges arising from study participants' ambivalence towards it. A key theme raised in this chapter is the need to pay attention to the ways in which power operates (or not) through the ChPC designation and the CAC to afford sport coaches' professional status and prestige.

Chapter Seven focuses on the final Research Objective (#4) of the study and highlights the ways in which sport coaching work is gendered and gendering work for all involved, with particularly heightened precarity and risk for women. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, even though certainly contested, sport coaching continues to be constructed, coded and dominated as male terrain for study participants. Gender stereotypes punctuated the study participants' experiences in sport coaching and informed the work opportunities and possibilities (or lack thereof) experienced by both male and female participants. The absence of meaningful policy to ensure gender equity in sport coaching in university sport further complicates matters, as individuals are further reliant on their own actions or inactions to keep their sport coaching positions.

The concluding chapter in this study Chapter Eight, starts with a brief summary of the research project. Following this, I pull together the substantive threads of the findings to highlight important overarching considerations of the sport coaching- work- professionalization- gender nexus in the Canadian university sport landscape. Specifically, I pull out and highlight the threads of winning as the unspoken but requisite coach credential, the ambivalence within the Canadian sport system, and the inherent risk involved in sport coaching for women as

inextricably linked to the construction of sport coaching as work and the contested professional project of sport coaching in Canada. I begin this chapter with a return to my personal experiences as a coach, which served as the motivation for pursuing a study focused on understanding the gendered division of labour in university sport coaching, and I conclude it with thoughts on the strengths and limitations of this study as well as future directions for this work.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Within the critical socio-cultural study of sport, work, and professionhood have been taken up in a range of ways. For example, there is a rich body of literature on such issues as: workers' sport and the workers' sport movement (e.g., see Darnell, 2010; Harvey, et al., 2009; Kidd, 1997; Kidd, 2009); the political economy of professional sport and its implications on athlete labour (e.g., see Beamish, 1988; Gruneau, 1988; Gruneau, 1999; Ingham, 1975); the growing health concerns of sport work (e.g., see Kalman- Lamb, 2018; Roderick & Gibbons, 2015; Roderick et al., 2017); and some, albeit considerably less, attention has been paid to the nature of work and professionalization for certain types of participants in sport and physical activity (e.g., see Safai, 2005; Smith-Maguire, 2001; Sappey & Maconachie, 2012). However, there is a dearth of literature on the nature of sport coaching as work or as a profession and even less on the nature of sport coaching as work or as a profession for women.

Examining how sport shapes and defines the work and professional status of sport coaches drives this study. This chapter begins with an overview of work in efforts to highlight: how it is necessary for the human condition and yet dehumanizing in the current day capitalist context; and how the Canadian political economy has made citizens (some more so than others) increasing susceptible and vulnerable to precarious employment. This section serves as a point of departure from which to explore different approaches to the study of professions and professionalization. Following this, the focus shifts more concretely to sport coaching 'work' in Canada, including the challenges of language and assumptions surrounding sport coaching as work (or not) and sport coaching as a profession within and outside of the USports context. This

chapter concludes with a discussion of the landscape of coaching for women in Canada broadly, and within university sport specifically.

### **Work in the Canadian Context**

This study's exploration of whether, why, and how sport coaching in university sport is understood as work brings into focus the range and complexity of the concepts and language that we employ in its study. 'Work' can be defined in a multitude of ways. As a noun, work is defined as "activity involving mental or physical effort done in order to achieve a purpose or result," "mental or physical activity as a means of earning income; employment," and even a sense of place: "The place where one is employed" (Oxford Dictionary, "Work," 2020). As a verb, to work is defined as "[to be] engaged in physical or mental activity in order to achieve a result; do work", "be employed in a specified occupation or field", and "practise one's occupation in or at (a particular place)". With regards to the noun 'profession,' it is defined as "a paid occupation, especially one that involves prolonged training and a formal qualification" or "a body of people engaged in a particular profession" (Oxford Dictionary, "Profession," 2020) and, in its adjective form, "characterized by or conforming to the technical or ethical standards of a profession" (Merriam Webster Dictionary, "Profession," 2020). It is also noteworthy to point out that the term 'occupation' is defined as: "a job or profession" (Oxford Dictionary, "Occupation," 2020). In this cursory list of definitions, we see some conceptual consistency across these terms and yet also some loose and interchangeable qualities; for example, a profession is a 'paid occupation' and an occupation is 'job or profession.' What remains unaddressed in these definitions is the context within which such terms need to be understood.

While an exhaustive examination of their individual contributions falls far outside the scope of this one chapter, no dissertation on work and professionhood could ignore the seminal

literature of classical theorists like Durkheim, Marx, and Weber. While each scholar has expanded our consciousness and advanced insights on specific but interrelated topics, their contributions as a whole have fundamentally highlighted the complexities of labour and production in societies (Durkheim 1933; Marx, 1967; Weber, 1947). Underpinning the work of these theorists is the understanding that meaningful work is deeply enmeshed with the human condition, such that work that is disconnected from the powers, needs, creativity, and consciousness of *species-being* (i.e., the potential of human beings) is dehumanizing (Strangleman & Warren, 2008). The concept of alienation captures the estrangement of people from their species-being in capitalist and bureaucratic regimes and scholars, such as Marx and Weber, were pivotal in highlighting both the conditions that gave rise to and which sustain capitalism, and the social inequalities that arise from capitalism (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2018).

This is an opportune time to acknowledge that alienation is interwoven with precarious work or “employment that is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker” (Kalleberg, 2008, p. 2), as both phenomena speak to the constraints imposed on many people as a consequence of capitalism. As Jonna and Foster (2016, p. 21) note: “Most investigators define worker precariousness by reference to what workers lack: access to work; protection from arbitrary firing; possibility for advancement; long-term employment; adequate safety; development of new skills; adequate income; and union representation.” Whether engaging in boundaryless work, flexible work, or contract work (Fineman, 2012; Grint & Nixon, 2015; Kamp, Lund, & Hvid, 2010; Leach, 1993), precarious workers represent a “reserve army of labour” (Engels, 1845/1993) – the precariat (Standing, 2011) – whose bodily resources are exploited by the working conditions stimulated and supported by capitalism.

Within the Canadian context, and as similar to other Westernized, global North nation-states, work is most formally impacted by the economic system of capitalism which functions alongside and intertwines with neoliberalist ideology and practices in order to shape Canadians' involvement in, as well as their perceptions of, work (Bakker & Gill, 2003; Braedly & Luxton, 2010; Jackson, 2009; Vosko, 2006). Whereas a fulsome discussion of political economy's contributions to our better understanding of the socioeconomic, and political machinations of this capitalist/neoliberal system will be raised in Chapter Three, we can take opportunity here to more fully examine the in/stability of work in the Canadian context given this study's foci.

As an economic philosophy, neoliberalism aims to liberate capital accumulation or wealth vis-à-vis a free market where all workers have the ability to pursue whatever work they wish and to sell that work (in the market) as labour power for a wage that reflects the social value of their work (Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Gill & Bakker, 2003; Rose, 1999). Within this free market model of neoliberalism, citizens are allowed to compete with one another for their ideal working positions and the government is positioned chiefly as protector of the market such that only those state policies and procedures that impact all competitors in the same way (so as to maintain a level playing field) can be implemented (Braedley & Luxton, 2010). Human rights within the neoliberal perspective are viewed as the right to compete in the market without restriction and, since inequalities are understood to always exist, competition is upheld as the fairer way to distribute equality. Thus, in the ideal-type neoliberalism, governments are rendered exempt from distributing more social goods to citizens who may require them, as to do so would be unfair (Braedley & Luxton, 2010). Critics have been quick to point out that while neoliberalism may, on its surface, seem to promote freedom of choice for all citizens, it does not establish or ensure the same starting line for all citizens entering into the market and, in turn, the

same choices for all citizens, nor does it promise the same outcomes (e.g., good health) for all; a reality that has resulted in criticisms of neoliberalism as intensifying rather than challenging hierarchies of gender, race, and class (Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Brown, 2015; Rose, 1999).

Neoliberalism clearly crosscuts economic and political institutions and relations, but many have also written on how neoliberalism shapes social and cultural life, functioning as a governing rationality in our daily existence (Hamann, 2009). Neoliberalism privileges the individual above the social or collective, encouraging a model rational actor who lives life through cost-benefit analysis and an ideological commitment to personal responsibility above all (Brown, 2015). The neoliberal embrace of the individual and their agency contributes to the emergence and sustenance of precarious work as workers in neoliberal capitalist regimes are encouraged to understand themselves as the autonomous, flexible, entrepreneurial, masters of their destiny, and invested in meritocratic notions of what constitutes a responsible and reasonable society (Rose, 1999; Son Hing et al., 2011; Taylor, 2018). Meritocracy perpetuates the belief that a person's socioeconomic distinction is based solely on their individual efforts, and dismisses the impact of such structural factors such as inheritance, social location and unearned privilege on individuals (Allan, 2018; Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Son Hing et al., 2011). Neoliberalism's hollowing out and deregulation of government, alongside its ideological promotion of the market and meritocracy, have created ideal conditions for a thriving capitalist political economy where work for many is an alienating experience.

### **Precarious Work in Canada and its Implication for Women.**

Precarious employment includes jobs that are marked by limited social benefits and statutory entitlements, low wages, job insecurity and high risks of ill health (Jackson, 2009; Lowe, 2007; Vosko, 2006). Despite statistics reporting low rates of unemployment in Canada

overall, employment trends point to increasing rates of precarious employment and growing disparities among Canadians from coast to coast. This quantitative evidence on employment rarely, if ever, speak to the qualitative experience of unstable or contingent work and/or the growing divide in wages/earnings for Canadians within and across regions, socio-demographics groups (e.g., between men and women, immigrant families, and persons with a disability), and households (Jackson, 2009; Lowe, 2007; Stecy-Hildebrandt et al., 2019; Vosko, 2000).

In the contemporary context of precarious work in Canada, there has been a tendency to polarize and categorize jobs as either “good” or “bad” on the basis of employment status (i.e., waged work or self-employed) and form of employment (i.e., part time versus full time). This tendency, like much of the data on employment, overlooks important contextual factors such as social location, geography, and history – all of which are critical for our understanding of the range of meanings that one’s employment status and form of employment may convey (Vosko, 2006). As such, Canadian critical work theorists have called for more relational analyses of work with particular attention to the implications of precarious work for under-represented or marginalized populations (e.g., immigrants, persons with a disability, and women).

The call for more relational analyses of precarious work in Canada has included the encouragement of historical mappings as this phenomenon dates back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and has, over time, followed the contours of various multi-level government initiatives and policy changes – the impacts of which has been well documented as both racializing and gendering (Vosko, 2006). For example, during periods of war when men were fighting on the frontlines, employer demand for workers in such areas as agriculture, industry, and construction led to further policy changes to enable the recruitment of female workers into temporary forms of employment (Vosko, 2000). On one hand, we can argue that these circumstances opened up

work for minority groups; and yet, on the other hand, we cannot ignore that such transformations fell short of creating an authentically equitable employment system for all Canadians.

Even the introduction of the *standard employment relationship* (SER), a normative model of employment ushered in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century, reproduced inequitable gender relations. The SER was characterized by full-time, permanent employment where the worker had one employer, and access to social benefits and entitlements as a part of the social wage (Vosko, 2006). The SER was first applied to men in both blue and white-collar jobs, was organized around employment status (e.g., full time or part time, waged or unwaged work), and was thought of as both a protection from unemployment and a contributor to the overall standard of living both within and outside of work (i.e., home). However, as noted by many feminist political economists, the SER was built on a gender contract that assumed a male breadwinner and a female caregiver who only gained access to benefits through her husband (Vosko, 2006).

Changes in social, political and economic life throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, including in the area of employment and employment relations, have exposed new forms of labour in/security and in/equality in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century work landscape. As Vosko et al. (2009) note, “the current period is thus often characterized as an era of both gendered labour market changes and concern about persistent inequality and precariousness” (p. 1). Employment participation rates of women have risen and, in some cases, stabilized as a result of critical developments including women’s collective struggle for equality, government’s promotion of women’s employment, and technological change; nonetheless sex segregation persists in labour markets and earnings (Vosko et al., 2009). For example, women hold more positions of precarious employment in Canada than men (Cranford et al., 2003), both as a consequence of limited opportunities in various work sectors as well as from such events as childbearing, child-rearing, caregiving,

relocation, and other life events that serve to keep women from fully participating in the SER and thus collecting a social wage (Vosko & Clark, 2009). Although the SER does not exist in the way it originally did, it is well documented as "...the model upon which labour laws, legislation and policies are based, prompting a correlation between the growth in 'non-standard' forms of employment and a rising precariousness that is highly gendered" (Cranford et al., 2003, p. 455).

As a result of being largely excluded from the SER, women have made up and continue to make up the majority of workers in *temporary employment relationships* (TERs) (Cranford et al., 2003; Vosko, 2000). Although the exact origins of the TER are debated, the literature demonstrates that temporary employment agencies, which recruit workers including women (predominantly white and married) into jobs, played an important role in the spread of TER during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries (Vosko, 2000). These agencies effectively waived the freedom of workers to choose the kind of work, the working environment and, in most cases, standard labour protections (Vosko, 2000). Workers who participate in a TER find themselves involved in work that is not always or necessarily precarious, but that exists along a continuum where few enjoy high paying "good jobs" (e.g., full-time, permanent) and the majority are working in low-paying "bad jobs" (e.g., part-time, project-based) (Vosko, 2000). While TERs are not limited to women, it is well documented that the spread of the TER in political economies around the world, largely through the process of *feminization*, is a part of the rise in precarious employment.

### **Feminization.**

The process of *feminization* has been referred to as the rise of women entering the workforce in the post-industrial era (Boyd et al., 1991), and the process by which "women were being substituted for men and many forms of work were being converted into the kinds of jobs traditionally geared to women" (Standing, 1989, p. 1077). The impact of feminization has been

particularly noticeable in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries as a large portion of current day precarious labour within Canada is disproportionately performed by women (Armstrong, 2016; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Cranford et al., 2003; Fudge & Vosko, 2001; Strauss & Fudge, 2014; Vosko et al., 2009; Vosko, 2000). In other words, while women have been increasingly recruited to work in the labour market for a social wage, women (albeit not all women equally) remain “slotted into industries and occupations characterized by low pay, low recognized skill requirements, low productivity, and low prospects for advancement” (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2001, p. 15).

Not only has the process of feminization contributed to the rise of women working in precarious forms of employment, where conditions including pay, working environments, and career advancement remain poor, but feminization has also led to growing gendered division of labour where certain job sectors are dominated by women; for example, industries like clerical work, school teaching, nursing, midwifery, etc. (Adams, 2003; Armstrong & Armstrong, 2001; Vosko, 2000). Scholars suggest that, theoretically, women dominate such occupations and/or industries because these forms of work closely mimic what is assumed as the primary caregiving work of women – also known as *social reproduction* (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2001).

### **Social reproduction.**

Critical feminist scholars emphasize the role that capitalist and neoliberal governments have on the forms of production and exploitation of labour related to gender and sexualized aspects (as well as racialized) of work (Armstrong, 2016; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Strauss & Fudge, 2014; Vosko et al., 2009). They further insist upon the need for an expanded view of labour that accounts for the unpaid (food, clothing, shelter, basic safety, and health care) work of social reproduction occurring within households. As defined by Bezanson and Luxton (2006, p. 3), social reproduction refers to: “The processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people,

specifically the labour population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis.”

Social reproduction provides a backdrop upon which to understand how various institutions and power intersect to construct the work involved in the daily and generational production and maintenance of societies across time and space. Within Canada, social reproduction operates alongside neoliberalism to further reproduce and re/enforce a gendered division of labour.

The processes through which the Canadian government has held and continues to hold women accountable for their work activities, both inside and outside of the home, is summarized in the feminist political economy (FPE) literature; a more thorough summary is provided in Chapter Three. In its foregrounding of the concept of social reproduction, FPE scholars concern themselves with how the capitalist economy separates production and reproduction, and both reinforces, and benefits from the dichotomization of public versus private work. Currently within Canada, neoliberalism acts to de-regulate the government’s responsibility to ensure quality jobs for its citizens and instead places the responsibility of finding work and employment squarely on the shoulders of citizens (Bakker, 2003). Although the principles of ‘free market’ and ‘anti-regulation’ suggest minimal government control, neoliberalism has in fact served to consolidate power into the hands of an elite few who, in their protection of the market and market-like ethos, ensure that women are held responsible for upholding the unpaid labour of social reproduction, downgrading both the work involved in caring and collective action against its functioning as an oppressive system (Bakker, 2003; Braedley & Luxton, 2010).

### **Work and Identity: Occupational Status, Prestige and The Professions**

This may be an opportune time to shift direction to the socio-cultural study of professions as the scholarship in this area similarly highlights the importance of locating work amid relations of power. This is especially important given that this study takes as its problematic the

intersection of sport coaching, work, and gender where much remains to be known about when, in what ways, and why sport coaching is considered work and whether or not sport coaching is considered a profession. Contributing to the tensions around the nature of professions within the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is the age-old debate on how to define a profession, which has been noted by many scholars as unclear (Broadbent et al., 1997; Kalber, 1995; Perrucci & Gerstl, 1969). In particular, Freidson (1973) comments “the use of the word [profession] is highly confused, and its definition for the purpose of scholarship and social accounting [is] a matter of wearisome debate” (p. 19). Not only does this contribute to current tensions within and surrounding defining traditional professions (e.g., medicine, law, divinity, engineering) but, in turn, this makes engaging in the process of professionalization particularly difficult for occupations such as sports coaching (Taylor & Garratt, 2010), which has been described by some as a “burgeoning profession” (Cushion et al., 2003, p. 215). The intent of this chapter is to highlight some of the key processes undertaken by occupational groups in their efforts to elevate their status and influence among others (i.e., the state, the public at large) from that of occupation to profession.

### **Trait and structural-functional approaches to the study of the professions.**

Early studies of the professions employed initially a trait and then a structural-functional approach that could be traced back to the work of Durkheim. He viewed the division of labour as foundational to the modern-day moral landscape, within which professions were viewed as “entities which embody all the eufunctional social forces” (Macdonald, 1995, p. 2) and who, inevitably, would create the archetype for institutions formed between the individual and the state. The structural functionalist dominated much of the pre-1960s sociology of professions and frankly romanticized professions as protectors of humanity and civilization (cf., Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933).

Many scholars of this time and in this tradition accepted the view of professionals as foundational and steadfast with little to no question or skepticism. Instead, they studied the professions with the intent to collect – from the professional groups themselves – a list of functions and/or traits that they claim they possessed. Commonly accepted characteristics included: a high level of esoteric knowledge obtained through an extensive education; the general public’s acceptance of their work; the existence of a community or professional association; and a code of ethical conduct (Greenwood, 1957). The existence of these traits was understood as both evidence of their higher social standing, as well as of their altruistic and benevolent contribution to society (Macdonald, 1995; Parsons, 1951) – characteristics deemed vital to offsetting the profit orientation of capitalism.

The structural-functionalist approach was not without criticism as many viewed the approach descriptive, ahistorical and with little empirical grounding (Macdonald, 1995; Turner, 1993). Critics focused on the emphasis placed on professional traits and pointed out that, in focusing on attributes rather than the process through which a professional obtains professional status, functionalist researchers became dupes who were “keeping score instead of observing and interpreting the behaviour involved in the process of scoring” (Roth, 1974, p.12). Such criticisms foreshadowed a more critical shift in the socio-cultural study of professions, one that was more centrally focused on relations of power between individuals and groups in the context of work.

### **Power approaches to the study of the professions.**

Emerging during the 1960s, the power studies approach to the sociological study of profession saw greater uptake of neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist theories as compared to the cataloguing of traits or functions. Far more attention was paid to the ways in which professionals could license and control their work, based on the power gained through the political, economic

and social support of the upper classes (Begun 1986; Wilensky, 1964; McDonald, 1995). Rather than focusing on the intrinsic properties of a profession identified as valuable by the profession themselves, the power studies approach foregrounded the recognition given to professionals by others and as “achieved through group organization, mobilization and participation in political processes” (Begun, 1986, p.115). In short, the power studies approach prioritized critical analyses of the social conditions and political decisions that result in an occupational group being defined and accepted as a profession.

In the power studies approach, the central question of examination shifted from whether or not an occupation was a profession, to how and in what ways do people associated within an occupational group attempt to transform the occupation and themselves into a profession and professionals. As such, power approaches sought to explore the typical pattern of professionalization over time and the way in which power shifted with time to result in intra-occupational conflict (Begun, 1982; Caplow; 1954; Hughes, 1963; Wilensky, 1964).

Freidson’s (1970) work on medical doctors is noteworthy for its examination of power among and within a profession. Freidson emphasized that professionalization was not so much a function of a doctor’s possession of (supposedly) objective traits (e.g., neutrality, morality, universality), but rather the extent to which doctors were able to control the direction and substance of their work as an extension of their ability to persuade others (the public at large, the government, other state actors) of the value of their work. Additionally, Freidson (1970) points out how medicine’s monopoly of healthcare rests on its autonomy and its control over work terms and conditions, other occupations, and clientele (i.e., patients). Medicine’s ability to be autonomous has contributed to its authority in limiting who can or cannot practice medicine, who

can define illness, and its ability to subordinate other related occupations – all of which operate cyclically to, in turn, contribute to medicine’s continued dominance in the healthcare sector.

Freidson pays particular attention to the ways in which medicine employed the neo-Weberian concept of *social closure* in both constructing its exclusivity as a profession and in gaining the support of political, economic, and social elites (including the state). Social closure is noted as the process through which groups secure privileged positions in order to maximize their rewards, largely achieved through restricting rival groups’ access to resources (Manza, 1992). While social closure may occur on the basis of traits such as gender, race, and social class, it is largely determined in the context of professions by the obtainment and monopolization of particular skills, credentials, and recognitions, and as the process of mobilizing power in order to protect certain groups (e.g., professionals) to enhance their market position and social mobility (Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995).

### **Larson and the Professional Project.**

Larson’s (1977) work on professionalization as a project is centrally linked to the concept of social closure. For Larson, the professionalization project is about market control as a means to further support and facilitate the upward social mobility of certain professions:

“Professionalization is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources – special knowledge and skills —into another —social and economic rewards. To maintain scarcity implies a tendency to monopoly: monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in a system of stratification” (Larson, 1977, p. vxii).

She adds: “The focus on collective social mobility accentuates the relations that professions form within different systems of social stratification; in particular, it accentuates the role that educational systems play in different structures of social inequality” (Larson, 1977, p. vxii).

The role that education systems play in structuring inequality stems from standardizing both the process and requirements of professional education, which further serves to ensure the homogeneity of professional groups (Larson, 1977). The degree to which a professional group establishes uniformity is central to reconciling differences in opinion and interpretation within the group, a process that is required in order to establish 'objective' knowledge and social closure (i.e., status as an insider group) (Larson, 1977). The objectification of knowledge amongst professionals was vital as it allowed for a common language and a system of 'cognitive legitimation' to be achieved. Another outcome of standardizing the educational requirements of professions was the power afforded to professionals over training centres responsible for accreditation. The ability of a profession to grant or withhold accreditation further empowers them to regulate "its schools as to their number, location, curriculum content, and caliber of instruction" (Greenwood, 1957, p. 49).

The power to standardize and accredit affords occupational groups engaged in professionalization the opportunity to define who is and is not worthy of a professional title. This is achieved primarily through convincing the public that attending and conferring from a state-sanctioned professional school is a necessary requirement as they solely possess legitimate power to enforce licensing systems (Greenwood, 1957). For example, a person cannot make the claim that they are a doctor or a lawyer without the proper credentials, as to do so would result in punishment. This influence over the public, including the policing of punishment for unsubstantiated professional claims, is yet another example of the political power that professionals have been afforded via their professional projects (Larson, 1979). There is an additional feature implicated in the standardization of professional training and education: the ability of those within the occupational groups aspiring to professionhood to determine a

common set of aspirations, values, and morals thus establishing their professions as *moral communities* (Frankel, 1989) or, in other words, as exemplars of good, moral conduct. As Larson (1977) asserts, through the process of constructing their education and work as rare and highly valuable, occupational groups aspiring to be recognized as professional groups are able to monopolize their social status and their marketability; thus, the outcomes of the professional project are the monopoly of social mobility and market control.

### **Gender, Work, and the Professions**

Although Freidson's (1988) and Larson's (1977) work on the professional project (within and outside of medicine) highlights how the process of professionalization contributes to the furthering of inequity as promoted through the process of social closure, they do not directly draw attention to ways in which such inequity is shaped along gendered, raced, and classed lines. Many feminist scholars remain critical of the sociological literature on professions and the professional project (Adams, 2003; Adams, 2010; Armstrong & Armstrong, 1992; Brady, 2018; Witz, 1992), drawing attention to the absence of robust explanations for how gender inequity is implicated in the construction, institutionalization, and legitimation of professions. While there have been some studies cited by feminist scholars as being more attentive to these glaring omissions (e.g., Freidson, 1986; Johnson, 1972), the studies cited here have not paid critical attention to how professions are often categorized as either male or female which, as Armstrong and Armstrong (1992) suggest, "the very pervasiveness and persistence of sex segregation indicate the need to make distinctions a central concern" (p. 119).

Witz's (1992) analysis of patriarchy and the professionalization project demonstrates how the professional project's emphasis on monopoly of knowledge and market logics serves to exclude women and thus secure privileges for men. Further, she highlights how these

exclusionary practices serve to create women as a class of “ineligibles through excluding them from routes of access to resources such as skills, knowledge, entry credentials, thus precluding women from entering and practising within an occupation” (Witz, 1992, p. 46). Witz’s analysis is an important one as it demonstrates how a profession’s ability to demarcate certain forms of knowledge as exclusive entry points (achieving social closure) serves to exclude some people, particularly women. Adams (2003) points out that where professions have included women, these professions do not experience the same level of status because professions are, by association, coded as masculine (see also Connell, 2010). This has led to the labelling of female-dominated professions as ‘semi-professions’ or ‘aspiring professions’ as it is clear that full professions are those that have been male-dominated (Adams, 2003).

Since the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century, women have increasingly entered the labour force, such that most occupations during the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century had developed some form (albeit not to suggest equitable or even equal) of female representation (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1992). Nonetheless, on the whole, men remained overrepresented in professions and, of the women that managed to work in professions, these women remained segregated both within and among professions in the least powerful and rewarding work (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1992). For example, Waugh et al. (2019) point out that “... there is little indication that equitable upwardly mobile career paths are available or used by women physicians” (p. 5). Such a sentiment is routinely echoed in major reports from professional associations in medicine. For example, the Canadian Medical Association’s (CMA) 2018 report on gender equity echoes Waugh and colleagues noting that, although women are set to make up 50% of the physician pool by 2030, “evidence suggests that women physicians continue to face significant challenges such as pay inequity, sexual assault and harassment, opposition to career advancement, and unconscious bias in the workplace”

(CMA, 2018, p. 3). In other words, despite the increasing number of women in medicine in Canada, medicine remains a profession where some women physicians enjoy professional success in spite of the Canadian medical education and healthcare systems, and not because of them. Such reports support the notions of established professions as male dominated, and the need for more relational approaches to the study of professions as the intersection of gender and other markers of social locations (cf., Brady, 2018).

### **The gendering of professions.**

In the contemporary political economy, occupations and professions remain sex segregated with women outnumbering men in some sectors of the healthcare, social/behavioural sciences (including law), and humanities, and men outnumbering women in business, engineering/related technologies and math/computer and information sciences (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1992; Richards, 2019). As noted above, the feminization of certain forms of work and therefore the occupational groups associated with that work is central to this issue. The process of feminization allowed for women to dominate in particular occupational groups and professions including some designations in healthcare (e.g., nursing and midwifery), childcare (e.g., early childhood educators or teachers), social assistance (e.g., social work) and care of the ailing or elderly (e.g., personal service workers). Given social reproduction and the value of unpaid care work in capitalist regimes, it should be of no surprise that those occupational groups and professions that are more dominated by women are routinely understood as the ‘caring professions’ (Abbott & Meerabeau, 1998; Adams, 2010; Hughman, 2005).

As noted by a number of scholars exploring the social and historical development of professions, particularly professions in healthcare, an inherent feature of the professional project has been the construction of professional work around the stereotypic male identity – powerful,

unemotional, invulnerable, rational, status-oriented, and highly educated (Davies, 1996). Historically, linking these characteristics to professionalization further enhanced and attracted men to participate in the pursuit of professional work, while simultaneously marginalizing women who were associated with such 'soft' qualities such as nurturing, emotional, vulnerable, dependent and gentle (Adams, 2010). As women gained access to professional spaces, they often faced (and still face) hostility from others, as they did not fit within the male-centric that have guided the professionalization project (Adams, 2010; Davies, 1996). The work of Davies (1996) on women in healthcare emphasizes the way in which women were incorporated into healthcare professions in ways that were based on stereotypic gender norms, and which primarily involved supporting the work of men. For example, nurses were instructed to follow the doctor's (who were typically men) orders unquestionably and, in the words of Florence Nightingale, "to be a good nurse one must be a good woman" (as cited in Gamarinkow, 1978, p.115).

The notion of professions being built upon traditional gender norms is problematic insofar as it puts all people of all sexes/genders into jobs based on unfounded and sexist assumptions of what constitutes sex/gender. And yet, such ways of thinking have concretely contributed to the coding of successful professions or professional designations as masculine and to the active exclusion of women (and/or sexual minorities) from said occupations and professions. For example, as noted above, formal education and the capacity to affiliate one's designation with standardized and recognized educational credentials (i.e., university education) has been a pivotal element in the professionalization process for nascent professions such as medicine; and yet, there is a long history of girls and women having limited or late access (if not outright exclusion) to formal education – in such cases, women's exclusion from formal education doubly reinforced the construction of professionhood as the uncontested terrain of men

(Adams, 2003; Witz, 1992). There remains a need for continued critical scholarship on work, professionalization, and gender broadly and, given the focus of this research project, there is a pressing need to examine how work, professionalization, and gender articulate with one another in the context of sport coaching more specifically.

### **Sport Coaching in Canada: Work, Leisure Pursuit, or Volunteerism?**

To date, the existing literature on sports coaching has assumed that sport coaching is a job, occupation, career or profession where coaches engage in the labour or work of sport coaching. Studies have described the work of sport coaches as “complex and dynamic...” (Cushion et al., 2003, p. 220), constitutive of a career that develops through a pattern of sequential stages (Schinke et al., 1995), a difficult profession that some coaches opt out of (Dixon & Sagas, 2007), a “volatile profession”, a “precarious profession” (Cacesse & Mayberg, 1984) and an important site for neoliberal policy initiatives to redefine “coaches as highly skilled and educated ‘professionals’” (Piggott, 2015, p. 284). These statements or arguments about sport coaches as workers are often presented in the literature as unquestioned facts such as sport coaching is work/labour/a career/a profession and sport coaching is deserving of recognition and compensation as work/labour/a career/a profession. Yet, little critical attention seems paid to such things as: the interchangeable use of the language or concepts of labour and production when discussing what coaches do; the social, political and cultural contexts that frame what coaches do and how their activities are understood by others; relations of power within the institution of organized, competitive sport in contemporary society; as well as the socio-historical development of sport coaching as a body of knowledge and praxis.

The lack of critical attention to and the *de facto* assumptions of sport coaches as workers and coaching as a profession are similarly mirrored within federal government policy documents

such as the Canadian Sport Policy (CSP), federally funded research initiatives and projects (e.g., Canadian Heritage, 2010; Sport for Life, 2019), and federally supported coaching organizations such as the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). As mentioned previously, the CSP recognizes the need for volunteers and salaried workers; however, neither is it made clear who those ‘salaried workers’ are nor how the term is defined (i.e., what constitutes a worker). Another example includes the Long Term Athlete Development (LTAD) model, recently renamed the Long Term Development (LTD) model, which proclaims that, in order for the LTD to be effective, “world-leading coaches” as a part of the enhanced training environment are required” (Sport for Life, 2019, p.45). However, it does not specify in what ways and how these coaches are to be classified as “world-leading.” In the document, no explicit claim is made that coaches are workers or professionals, but they are identified as individuals with specialized knowledge and ability that is not shared by all sport participants.

The majority of sport coaching studies that attempt to examine coach knowledge and what coaches ‘do’ stem largely from the sport psychology and/or the sport management domains, with very few socio-cultural studies taking up the study of sport coaching as work. Some of the sport psychology studies: focus on the ways in which coaches learn the knowledge necessary to engage in the practice of sports coaching (Côté, 2006; Gilbert et al., 2006; Gilbert & Trudel, 2001, 2004; Irwin et al., 2004; Leymre et al., 2007); some examine coaching effectiveness (Côté et al., 1995; Côté & Gilbert, 2009; Côté & Sedgwick, 2003; Gilbert et al., 2006); and others investigate the role of sport coaches within specific sport environments (e.g., Côté & Fraser-Thomas, 2007; Gilbert & Trudel, 2001). These works are helpful insofar as they provide an understanding of what informs the practice of sport coaching, as well as important forms of coaching knowledge (i.e., formal and informal), coach-related tasks (i.e., teaching and

developing sport skills), and coaching outcomes (i.e., skill improvement and success). However, these studies assume that sport coaching is work and do relatively little to clarify in what ways and how coaching is considered work (e.g., full-time job or pastime).

The sport management studies included in this review of literature draw on the U.S. sport context, and largely focus on how a coach's worker role exists in tension at times with other personal and social roles (e.g., family life) and additional forms of employment (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007; Graham & Dixon, 2017; Leberman & LaVoi, 2007). Within this set of studies, one project examines sport coaching as a form of volunteerism (Leberman & LaVoi, 2007), one study examines coaching as a low-security contract job (Graham & Dixon, 2017), and the remaining studies (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007) focus on sport coaching within the collegiate or NCAA eco-system and thus as a job with some degree of stability. Interestingly enough, despite covering a range of occupational statuses afforded to coaches, these studies appear to converge on the belief that sport coaching is, at the best of times, a vocation that requires role conflict management, much like other occupations. Furthermore, this literature highlights gender-based differences, often in examination of differences for mothers who coach versus fathers who coach. Although Graham and Dixon's (2017) study on male coaches concludes that men face challenges in managing their father-coach roles, they do note that the pressures mother-coaches faced were different as noted in the high proportions of women who leave their occupations voluntarily when raising young children. Although these studies provide more clarification on the kind of coach work (e.g., volunteer versus full time job) and the gendered nature of sport coaching work, they still remain unclear of how and in what ways sport coaching is considered work.

Finally, the socio-cultural literature on the ‘work’ of coaching from Canada and the UK has examined: notions of ‘coach power’ using Foucauldian analysis (e.g., Denison, 2010; Denison et al., 2017; Zoe et al., 2017); athlete abuse/maltreatment at the hands of coaches (e.g., Fasting & Brackenridge, 2009; Kirby et al., 2000; Holman et al., 2013); coach philosophy (e.g., Cushion & Parrington, 2016); as well as coach education including the need to incorporate socio-cultural factors into coach training (e.g., Burden & Lambie, 2011) and the need for more formal coach education (e.g., Piggott, 2015). While these studies are more critical of sport coaching and unpack a host of considerations surrounding the constraints and limitations of sport coaching, they remain unclear on the designation and conditions that frame sport coaching as work and or labour, and do little to address the intersection of political, economic, and social circumstances that impact sport coaching.

The literature highlighted in this section attempts to demonstrate how and in what ways the work of sport coaches has been examined. As noted above, there are a number of studies that draw attention to the important role of the coach in the sporting experience (Côté, 2006; Cushion & Parrington, 2016; Gilbert & Trudel, 2001; Denison et al., 2017); however, very few unpack notions of ‘coach work’ and what coaches do as work on a daily basis. These studies have also exemplified how currently there is a range of employment designations used in the description of ‘coach work’ including a non-permanent contract job (Graham & Dixon, 2017), a contract job with some security (Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Bruening, 2007), and as a form of volunteerism (Lebermen & LaVoi, 2007). It is this range of coach-work designations that is further examined below; specifically, how and in what ways has the literature more predominantly attended to notions of coaching as a leisure pursuit and/or a form of volunteerism, rather than as labour or work.

### **Sport coaching as a leisure pursuit and/or volunteerism.**

In order to highlight the vague ways in which sport coaching is conceptualized, with particular emphasis on when and how sport coaching work is devalued or delegitimized, this section will draw on the Canadian literature addressing sport (including coaching) and leisure. This literature is offered as a means to address the challenge with determining sport coaching as work. Most notable amongst this scholarship is the research of Stebbins (1982; 1992; 2014) on *serious leisure*, which unpacks how a career and fulfillment (necessary elements to developing a positive lifestyle and well-being) can be achieved in amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer pursuits that exist outside of remunerated work. In order to highlight the range of leisure pursuits that exists, Stebbins (2014) draws on Hartel's (2011) schema which expands leisure to the categories of: 1) casual leisure; 2) project-based leisure (further subdivided into 'one-shot projects' and 'occupational projects'); and 3) serious pursuits (further subdivided into serious leisure and devotee work). Hartel (2011) categorizes sport as serious leisure under the amateur designation, which Stebbins (2014) uses in his analysis of how sport can be a route to self-fulfillment (i.e., realizing or the fact of having realized, to the fullest one's gifts and character, one's potential). Unfortunately, Stebbins (2014) limits his analysis to athletes – in fact, the only mention of coaches within Stebbins (2014) analysis is that retired athletes may become coaches – and does not clearly define sport coaching as employment, serious leisure, or volunteerism. The lack of attention to sport coaches by Stebbins (2014) may further contribute to the lack of clarity on sport coaching as a worthwhile self-fulfilling pursuit.

The Canadian literature on volunteerism in sport has identified the over-reliance of the Canadian sport system on volunteers, including sport coaches (Doherty, 2005; Donnelly & Harvey, 2011; Safai et al., 2007). The CSP (2012) acknowledges that the competitive sport

context, which may include university sport, "... is still fundamentally dependent on volunteers at a time when numbers are declining and the need for salaried positions is growing" (p. 11). However, the question of whether or not coaches are included as salaried workers, let alone professionals, remains unknown. Doherty's work (2005) on volunteer coaches draws on statistics gathered from the 2000 *National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating* and reports that roughly "1.17 million Canadians volunteer in organized sport..." (p. 4) and that, of those 1.17 million volunteers, "sixty percent of sport volunteers are involved in teaching or coaching" (p. 16). Although this study is somewhat dated and conducted in the non-profit sport and recreation sector (which is different than university sport), it highlights that, at one point in time, coaches made up a significant portion of volunteers in sport and it contributes to the murkiness surrounding sport coaches as workers.

If it is the case that sport coaches may be both salaried employees and volunteers, critical attention needs to be paid to the circumstances that shape and frame these experiences. In other words, clarity on how and when sport coaching is considered work rather than an act of volunteerism is needed as these tensions are linked to issues such as status, rank, rights and responsibilities, compensation and benefits. For example, in the Canadian university context, limited data highlight that coaching salaries range from small honorariums to salaries concurrent with that of other university faculty members (Statistics Canada, 2021; Ontario Government, 2017). Additionally, this lack of clarity on sport coaching as work creates an even more precarious situation for those individuals/groups who continue to remain on the margins of sport coaching (i.e., women, BIPOC and LGBTQ2S+ persons).

The sport coaching work landscape is fraught with tension surrounding how and in what ways sport coaching is defined as work. Further contributing to this strain is the concept of

professionalization and the view of sport coaches as professionals which, as noted previously, many studies refer to sport coaching as a profession and yet there is currently a limited basis on which this claim is being made (Taylor & Garret, 2010a; 2010b; 2013; Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006). As such, the proceeding section will examine the literature on the professionalization within sport coaching, drawing particular attention to the unique nature of the professional project in coaching.

### **Sport Coaching and Professionalization**

The critical socio-cultural literature on professionalization of occupational groups in the sport system is limited – some exceptions include studies in the fitness industry (Sappey & Mocaonachie, 2012; Smith-Maguire, 2000), research on sports and exercise medicine (e.g., Safai, 2005), a study on the professionalization of sport management (Dowling et al., 2014), and one study on the professionalization of sport coaches (Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006). Dowling et al.'s (2014) examination of notions of professionalization in sport management is noteworthy as the article does draw attention to the sport coach as a professional, a statement that appears to contradict scholars whose primary research focus is the professionalization of sport coaching (Taylor & Garratt, 2010a; Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006). Telles-Langdon and Spooner's (2006) study is notable as it highlights how, in the wake of exposed unethical coaching practices within the Canadian sport context in 2003, the federal government – through the use of a taskforce called the Coaching Implementation Group (CIG) – recommended the professionalization of coaching in Canada. Additionally, the CIG appointed the CAC as the organization through which coaching would become recognized as a profession and this would be achieved through granting coaches a Chartered Professional Coach (ChPC) designation. However, as Telles-Langdon and Spooner (2006) point out: "...deciding to be a profession is one

thing: achieving the public acceptance and benefits accorded to practitioners with professional status similar to those in other vocations is the challenge” (p. 1). As such it is critical to examine the role that the CAC has played in professionalizing sport coaches within Canada.

### **The Coaching Association of Canada (CAC).**

The CAC was created following the passage of the Fitness Amateur Act in 1961, which at the time was only passively supported by the Canadian government. However, with the election of Pierre Trudeau and his emphasis on sport as a “powerful source of national unity” the act and many of its by-products became the pathway for high performance sport in Canada (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990, p. 4). Canada’s poor international sport performances became a topic of much conversation during the 1960s and eventually led to the development of a Task Force on Sport in 1968, the result of which was direct government involvement in sport (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990). The appointed Minister of Health and Welfare, John Munro – a strong advocate for government involvement in sport – urged the federal government to create the National Sport and Recreation Center (NSRC) and to inaugurate the CAC. The CAC ultimately set to work on the creation of a coaching certification program that would eventually become the envy of many other Western nations striving to improve the quality of their sport coaching (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990).

Today, the CAC is still recognized as the national governing body of coaches in Canada: “Through its coach education, research, and advocacy programs, the CAC unites partners and stakeholders in its commitment to raise the skills and stature of coaches, and ultimately to expand their reach and influence” (CAC, 2020a, para. 1). As noted in its mission statement, the CAC is responsible for the training and educating of sport coaches in Canada across a range of sports and levels of sport, chiefly through the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP).

According to the CAC, roughly 60,000 coaches will take an NCCP course each year and: “The National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) provides standardized, inclusive, and safe sport education to coaches and coach developers across 65 sports” (CAC, 2020b, para. 1).

Of particular importance to the study of Canadian sport coaches and, again adding to the confusion about sport coaching as work and sport coaches as professionals, is the CAC’s ability to grant sport coaches the title of ChPC. As noted above, the ChPC was the result of the Canadian federal government creating a taskforce in 2002, the Coaching Working Group (CWG), to professionalize sport coaching in order to address public concerns about coaching malpractice within the Canadian sport landscape (Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006). In particular, in 2002, the Coaching Implementation Group (CIG) formed as a sub-committee of the CWG and pushed forward the motion to “professionalize coaching as a legal entity” (Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006). The ChPC was meant to be the professional accreditation required for designation; however, as Telles-Langdon and Spooner (2006) note: “Although many coaches often display professionalism, the vocation of coaching is not professionalized” (p. 3). Nonetheless, the CAC today still offers coaches in Canada a ChPC designation.

In order to obtain the ChPC title, a coach must meet such designated criteria as possessing a post-secondary degree, having a high level of coach certification in the NCCP program, time spent coaching within a particular sport, as well as paying a set fee, submitting a police record check annually, and not breaching the CAC’s Code of Conduct (CAC, 2018). Although the CAC requires all coaches to follow their Code of Conduct, how it specifically regulates the behaviour of coaches is unclear. For example, there are no details given on how the CAC will deal with coaches in the case of malpractice. One way in which the CAC may sanction coaches is if coaches do not attend to the maintenance of their coach certification through

continuing education or, more specifically, the obtainment of professional development (PD) points over the course of their career. Specifically, the CAC states that: “within Lifelong Learning, Professional Development (PD) prepares you for the challenges you will encounter as a coach. The more development you pursue, the more positive your impact on your athletes and participants both on and off the field” (CAC, 2020c, para. 1). Although the CAC is clear that coaches must collect PD points in order to maintain their coach certification (and if coaches do not, the CAC may render a coach inactive through their online coach certification tracker, known as The Locker), this statement about PD does not in any way elude to how PD is an integral part of being a designated professional nor does it make clear how the CAC is measuring the quality of coach professional development such that athletes do, in fact, benefit from a coach’s continued education.

### **The unique professional project of sport coaching.**

The work of Andrews (1980) exploring the occupation of coaching as moving towards a professional designation demonstrates that coaches have been able to acquire “special status, power, and prestige and that society has accepted the idea that coaching enjoys the mystique of a profession, and is worthy of special rights, privileges, and obligations” (p.151-152; cf. Massengale, 1981). Therefore, many have labeled coaches as professionals. However, as previously noted, the lack of clarity on what a professional is alongside the lack of consistency in both the process and the requirements of coach professionalization, across sports and at different levels of sport, points to a reality more accurately acknowledged by Telles-Langdon and Spooner (2006) where sport coaching is yet to be professionalized. This is, in part, tied to the aforementioned ambiguities of sport coaching being portrayed or understood as work or a career

or a past-time, hobby, or voluntary pursuit, which is in line with Taylor and Garratt's (2013) recognition of the sport coaching domain as fractured or fragmented in nature.

Taylor and Garratt's (2010a; 2010b; 2013) studies draw attention to inconsistencies on what constitutes a sport coaching profession and, similarly, what constitutes a 'coaching practice.' They highlight how, unlike professions such as medicine "where there is a broad and common agreement and understanding with a shared vocabulary defining the profession" (Taylor & Garratt, 2010a, p. 101), sport coaching has diverse meanings making an agreed upon vernacular difficult. This aligns with insights raised by Telles-Langdon and Spooner (2006) who highlight how: "Only by requiring a university-based education can coaching hope to command the academic respect required for the public to receive coaches as professionals" (p.4). Indeed, and of particularly critical importance in this research project, coach education has been the topic of much heated debate among scholars and practitioners where many have noted that, under some circumstances and conditions, a sport coach's capacity to provide mentorship and their previous experience as a successful athlete or coach are more highly valued by others in the sport system than their formal education or rigorous commitment to professional development (Côté, 2006; Cushion et al., 2003; Jones et al., 2004; Piggott, 2012).

The education versus experience debate is longstanding and long-winded in the study of sport coaching, where many maintain that experience is just as important – and some argue more important – as coach education or the possession of particular credentials (Gilbert & Trudel, 2001; Gilbert et al., 2006). Côté (2006) suggests that the development of effective coaching skills occurs in three ways: 1) from coach education programs; 2) from their lived experiences as coaches; and 3) from their lived experiences as athletes. Additionally, he suggests that because of the complexity involved with coaching (including ambient and behavioural components), the

learning environments of a coach need to be “consistently revisited and adapted” and that coaches only reach competence when they have acquired a specific amount of experience (Côté, 2006, p.221). This idea of requiring a certain degree of coaching experience aligns with Gilbert and Trudel’s (2001) work which examined how youth sport coaches used the tool of reflection in order to learn from their coaching experiences. Based on their findings, Gilbert and Trudel (2001) suggest that coach education workshops should use ‘common coach issues’ in order to bridge coaching theory and practice, and that collaborating with other coaches or creating coach networks within in a sport (i.e., coaching pods) are helpful insofar as they assist coaches in developing a comprehensive view on and about issues they may be facing (e.g., poor athlete behaviour and/or technical/tactical teaching issues).

Within the socio-cultural tradition, Piggott (2012) critically unpacks formal coach education within the UK. In particular, Piggott (2012) points out how formal coach education programs in some cases are less effective in part due to assumptions held by sport administrators within sporting organizations. For example, Piggott (2012) highlights how these administrators wrongfully assume that coaches are “empty vessels waiting to be filled with technical, tactical, and bio-scientific information” (p. 538). This lends itself to the creation of standardized coach education programs and tools that learners are expected to embody. As such, this re-enforces the views of sport scholars from other disciplines (e.g., Côté, 2006; Gilbert & Trudel, 2001) whose work have led to “one of the few consistent and global findings in the coach learning literature... that coaching knowledge and practices, in both elite and non-elite coaches, are derived overwhelmingly from informal and non-formal sources” (p. 538). This finding is at odds with the literature on professionals and professionalization which clearly states that aspiring professionals

must obtain a high degree of esoteric knowledge – typically afforded through post-secondary institutions – and credentials as a part of signifying their professional status.

When examining the professionalization literature within sport coaching, attempts have been made by sport scholars to document the place that coaching is at within the professionalization process (Taylor & Garratt, 2010a). Most of these attempts have stemmed from the structural-functional approach to professionalism, which Taylor and Garratt (2010a) note as not ideal given that: “... at no time was any conceptual understanding showed of the cultural, historical and situational complexities engendered within the individual sports systems of different countries” (p. 103). Thus, they argue for a need to move beyond locating an agreed upon set of principles and/or outcomes (e.g., university education) to be applied to all coaches within varying national and international communities in favour of more fulsome research. Specifically, they advocate for more critical examinations of a range of questions on coaching and professionalization, taken up through various methodologies (including ethnographic research) and which are driven by the particularities of the sporting context under examination, in order to acknowledge and demonstrate the differences within the global sporting community (Taylor & Garratt, 2013).

Within Canada, the discussion of professionalizing sport coaching requires researchers to examine the aforementioned tensions surrounding sport coaching as work and/or a volunteer pursuit largely because as, Telles-Langdon and Spooner (2006) note, “professionalization is not feasible until there is a stable, recognized, well-paid vocation with an inherent career path” (p. 8) which, in the case of sport coaching in Canada, has yet to be distinguished. One study that attempted to designate the developmental paths of coaches within Canada was conducted by Gilbert and colleagues in 2006. However, this was a pilot study and the authors remarked that

much more remains to be known about the coach development pathways, including whether or not a similar pathway is experienced by successful sport coaches. Since the publication of this article, there have been a bevy of studies conducted on the career path of coaches both within (e.g., Erickson et al., 2006; Lemyer et al., 2007) and outside of Canada (e.g., Barker-Ruchit et al., 2014; Christensen, 2013; Dawson & Phillips, 2013; Koh et al., 2011; Nash & Sproule, 2009), all of which appear to converge on the finding that sport coaching career paths look different for all coaches. As such, the challenge to professionalize sport coaching is truly unique in that it will likely require a different approach to professionalization as compared to other occupational groups. Lastly, it is important to acknowledge that, of the studies outlined in this section on the professionalization of sport coaching, very few have explored the intersection of gender, sport and work; to this end, I unpack these considerations in the final section of this chapter.

### **Women in Sport Coaching**

Although some women may have been coaching prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, women were not formally recognized as coaches in Canada until the latter half of the century (Demers et al., 2013; Hall, 2002a). The initial absence of women from sport coaching can be viewed along similar lines as the sexual division of labour in the workforce, where women are only present in certain jobs and in certain capacities (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2001; Cranford, et al., 2003; Vosko, 2000). Like most jobs in the historical context, coaching required both technical knowledge and hands-on experience that many women were lacking given their limited experience in sport as athletes arising in part from their limited access to, if not outright exclusion from, sport (Demers et al., 2013). Over time, women have had drastically more opportunities to participate as athletes (IOC, 2021), but the same cannot be said for women in sport coaching.

In the contemporary moment, women are under-represented in sport coaching positions at every level of sport – from grassroots through to university, nationally and internationally (Demers & Kerr, 2018; Norman et al., 2020; Safai, 2013). Even in volunteer coaching positions, as noted in Doherty’s (2005) report, “a substantially greater proportion of sport volunteers are men (64%) than women (36%)” (p. 11). Even more to the point, of the 60% of total sport volunteers that are coaching, “...73% are male and 27% are female, which indicates an even greater under-representation of women in this particular volunteer role” (p. 16). Within men’s sports, women have been reported as occupying just 1% of head coaching positions, and yet men occupy well over 80% of the head coaching positions in women’s sport (CSPS, 2017). These statistics represent a troubling reality that women in sport coaching are facing a ‘concrete ceiling’ where they are cemented into lower-level sporting careers with little opportunity to advance (Norman et al., 2018).

As indicated in the literature, the study of low rates of women in high-performance sport coaching is well established to the point that Norman and Rankin-Wright (2018) have positioned it as “reaching saturation” (p. 425). Nonetheless, research findings indicate that issues surrounding the dearth of women in high-performance sport coaching include poor recruitment of former athletes into high-performance coaching positions (Kerr & Banwell, 2014), a lack of formal and informal peer support (Demers, 2015), a lack of organizational support for women with families (Kerr & Marshall, 2007), and biased hiring practices that serve to protect the “Old Boys Network” of sport (Kidd, 2013). Additionally, some research has sought to share the narratives and stories of women’s experiences within the high-performance Canadian coaching context (Demers et al., 2013), and findings in support of women coaching both within lower levels (LaVoi & Leberman, 2015) and higher levels of sport (Belding & Dodge, 2016;

Robertson, 2017). However, shifts in the educational and social experiences of women have yet to impact the working realities of female sport coaches (Gilbert & Rader, 2001; Steil, 2000). More pointedly, the widely held ideological beliefs that women do not possess the necessary technical coaching knowledge, nor the applied sport work experience as athletes, prevail (LaVoi, 2016). These views have further enabled the structure of sport and many people within it (particularly people with power) to reinforce the underrepresentation of women in sport coaching as a women's issue and not a structural issue or human rights issue in sport.

Although there are a range of studies within the extant literature that focus on the intersection of women and sport coaching as their problematic (Demers et al., 2013; Banwell et al., 2019; Hall, 2002b, 2003; Theberge, 1993; Bray, 1983), there are currently no studies that examine the sport-work-gender nexus. This is particularly troublesome for women who remain under-represented in sport (Norman et al., 2020; Demers & Kerr, 2018), most notably because of the previously highlighted murkiness around sport coaching as work. Taken together, the lack of clarity on how, when, and in what ways sport coaching is considered work and the low numbers of women in sport coaching create a situation where women are working in both a system of sport as well as an economic system that works against them. Thus, there is a need for critical scholarship to highlight and unpack the intersection of coaching, work, and gender and this research project addresses this gap in the scholarship, with specific attention paid to the sport-work-gender relationship in the Canadian university sport context.

### **USports and female coaches.**

Before delving into the scholarship on women sport coaches in Canadian university sport, this may be an opportune time to briefly outline its historical development. Originally, Canadian university sport was known as the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU) (Moriarty &

Holman-Prpich, 1987). Established during the year of 1906, the CIAU grew out of demands from students for athletic programming and furthered by other university members on claims that successful athletic programs would attract more students to the university (Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1967; Sage, 1975). These programs are noted as historically providing students who played sport, known as student-athletes, with “quality coaching, facilities, equipment, and competition within the philosophical framework of an educational environment” (Danylchuk & MacLean, 2001, p. 364) and are noted today as remaining centered on the student-athletes and their experiences. In 2001, the CIAU was rebranded to Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) with the mission of providing “...opportunities for student-athletes to pursue excellence in both athletics and academics” (CIS by-laws, policies and procedures, 2009 as cited in Banwell & Kerr, 2016, p. 1-2). Today, university sport in Canada has been rebranded and is now known as USports (2020a), a more bilingual and social media-friendly name.

University sport in Canada has undergone much transformation since its inception and, with each transition, new policies, practices, and procedures have been ushered in (Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Danylchuk & MacLean, 2001; Moriarty & Holman-Prpich, 1987). For example, the work of Banwell and Kerr (2016) discusses the shift towards adopting a high-performance model of sport in the university context, which has ultimately served to place extra pressure on coaches to achieve results – in fact, shifting the focus away from an experience that is centered on the student-athlete to an experience that is centered on winning. As noted by the coaches in their study, there was no mistake that winning was more important than athlete development because without those results, coaches were less likely to keep their job. Additionally, the coaches interviewed commented how not only was the emphasis on winning reinforced by their superiors

(e.g., athletic director), but from their coaching colleagues as well. For example, one coach said “... if a less successful coach talks... nobody listens because they haven’t won” (Banwell & Kerr, 2016, p. 8). Lastly, they discuss how shifts within USports programs have ultimately led to budget cuts and relocation of funds, which the coaches remarked as another major hinderance to emphasizing athlete development. Clearly the changes outlined by Banwell and Kerr (2016) have had and are continuing to have an impact on sport coaches working within Canadian university athletic departments. This shift towards emphasizing wins over athlete development, may further encourage universities to hire coaches with winning experience and not coaching credentials, which as pointed out in the previous section is at odds with professional standards.

In addition to changes within the structure of university sport, which has been noted by some as a male-defined structure (Hall et al., 1989), exists a small sociological body of knowledge that examines the gendering and gender hierarchies within Canadian national sport organizations (NSOs) (Hoerber, 2007; McKay, 1999; Whitson & MacIntosh, 1989) including some on university sport (Inglis, 1988; Inglis et al., 2000; Vickers & Gosling, 1984). Of particular interest within these studies is the data collected by Vickers and Gosling (1984) accounting for shifts over the years of 1978 to 1983 in the number of female sport programs and women in coaching. This study highlights how during the 1970s, the CIAU was divided into the CIAU and the Canadian Women’s Intercollegiate Athletic Union (CWIAU), keeping men’s and women’s sport separate from one another. Vickers and Gosling (1984) highlight how during the 1978-1979 season, 50% of the head coaches were women, reflecting a better overall average as compared to more recent numbers of women in current sport coaching positions (e.g., in 2016-2017, only 16% of head coaches were women), suggesting that perhaps separating men’s and women’s sports is helpful insofar as it might serve to place more women into leadership

positions including coaching. Similar research exploring the historical decline of women in sport coaching positions acknowledges the under-representation of women in university coaching and athletic director roles and some scholars suggest that, in order to change the overwhelmingly negative narratives of women within these sporting spaces, serious structural reform of university sport is necessary (e.g., Inglis, 1988; Inglis et al., 2000). To this end, the recent work by Norman et al. (2020) is noteworthy.

Norman et al. (2020) discuss how gender inequality in university sport leadership positions has worsened as a result, in part, due to the shift towards a high-performance sport model which emphasizes top results. The emphasis on results brings the education versus experience debate within athletic departments back into focus, as overemphasizing winning to the neglect of addressing systemic sexism, further serves to reproduce sport as contested terrain for women in sport coaching. Norman et al. (2020) further discuss how equity policies adopted by USports have been ineffective as these policies do not identify or put forward clear solutions to addressing gender inequity. Thus, Norman et al.'s (2020) study notes that: "With regard to coaching and administrative leadership, our data highlight the failure of Canada athletics departments to hire women in these roles and of USports to enact equity policies that compel its members to do so" (p. 12). Lastly, they suggest the partnering of USports with the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS, now known as Canadian Women & Sport) and the CAC in order to address the gender disparities in leadership.

Interestingly, in an effort to address the disparity of women in coaching positions, the CAC has partnered with USports to initiate the University Female Coach Mentorship Program (CAC, 2020d). In its first year (2018-2019), this program provided three female coaches with mentorship opportunities (i.e., female coaches were partnered with a university program and a

head coach to mentor them) at three separate universities. In its second year of operation (2019-2020), the number of mentored coaches grew to fourteen, with some universities having multiple female coaches being mentored (e.g., University of British Columbia and St. Thomas University). This mentorship model is an extension of other longstanding mentorship models that have been in place at the CAC including the Canada Games Apprenticeship program; mentorship being upheld by the CAC as part of the solution to advancing more women into sport coaching (CAC, 2020e).

Although the CAC is noble in its intentions to better support female coaches through such programs, the lack of connection between these mentorship programmes and policies within USports, the CAC, and other federally funded sport programs is concerning (Krahn, 2019). Furthermore, apart from the University Female Coach Mentorship program, which is in its third year of operation, much remains to be known about the effectiveness of these mentorship programs on advancing women into sport coaching positions within the high-performance sport context. Furthermore, providing mentorship is only relevant for those women who are already coaching or who have made a commitment to enter into sport coaching, which as outlined by the literature, is not a common pursuit even for female athletes participating in university sport (Kerr & Banwell, 2014). Finally, a mentorship program does not necessarily reduce the barriers that some women face in getting into coaching, it does nothing to materially improve a female sport coach's life, nor does it meaningfully contribute to the greater clarity of sport coaching as work or as a profession for women.

The scant literature available on women in Canadian university sport coaching highlighted here demonstrates a need to examine more closely how the university sport environment is contributing to the dearth of women in head and assistant coach roles (Norman et

al., 2020). While Norman et al.'s (2020) study certainly notes some of the issues as related to the high-performance sport environment and the lack of effective sport policies, it does not examine how the coach as a worker and/or professional role may implicate the representation of women in sport coaching positions. As such, this study explores the issue of gender inequity from a political-economic standpoint, by examining how and in what ways the nature of sport coaching work and /or profession may be contributing to the underrepresentation of women in sport coaching roles.

The current study aims to examine the work and professionalization of USports coaches with particular emphasis on examining the nature of sport coaching as work and a profession for women. The existing bodies of literature highlighted in this section have done well to address socio-cultural dimensions of work, professionalization, sport coaching and, in some cases, gender; however, many questions with respect to sport coaching as work, the professionalization of sport coaches, and the implications of gender on sport coaching as work and as a profession within the sport remain either unaddressed or limited. This chapter has endeavoured to put forward key issues and themes as points of departure for continued research in this topic including: discussion of how shifts in the political economy have impacted how and in what ways work is taken up in Canadian society and the impact of these shifts on women and women's work; the power-laden and boundary-building nature of professionalization as a process, including the ways in which professions (much like sport) are contested terrain for women; and the ambiguities and inconsistencies that surround sport coaching including questions of its conceptualization (serious leisure? hobby? volunteering? work?) as well as the historical trajectory and current status of women as sport coaches in the Canadian university sport system. More critical analyses of the sport-work-gender nexus are needed broadly both to

add clarity to the ways in which we conceptualize (or not) sport coaching as work, and to more effectively address the barriers that women coaches are facing as a result of working in a sport-work system that is already economically and politically difficult for them to operate within.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

As noted in the introduction, the aim of this institutional ethnography is to make plain the political, economic, and social aspects of sport coaching within Canadian university sport in efforts to explore and unpack both sport coaching as work, as well as the gendered and gendering nature of sport coaching as work. In this chapter, I highlight the theoretical underpinnings of this study, which include: (1) the broader social, political, and economic systems in which the work of Canadian citizens is conceptualized; (2) the ways in which Feminist Political Economy (FPE) serves to expose these social, political, and economic systems as gendered and gendering; and (3) an exploration of how sociology of sport scholars have employed the theoretical traditions of political-economy and feminism (critical approaches-materialist, socialist, Marxist) to the study of sport and sport coaching within Canada. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the absence of FPE analyses within the sociology of sport coaching literature in attempt to demonstrate how an FPE lens can contribute to more fulsome understandings of sport coaching as gendered and gendering work.

#### **Political Economy**

Political economy is a materialist approach to the study of social, political and economic systems that are understood, *a priori*, as inextricably linked and therefore only able be understood as connected with one another. A materialist approach assumes that “social relations between people are fundamentally shaped by the way in which society reproduces itself” (Clement, 1996, p. 3). In other words, how one experiences everyday life activities – that which are shaped and influenced by broader political and economic institutions, forces, and processes and which, in turn, shape and influence those very same political and economic institutions,

forces, and processes – profoundly impacts them as a social being. For example, the type of work a person does, the amount of time one commits to that work, and the earnings that one receives in exchange for their work efforts, function to shape in part their existence in the social world. Political economy, as a disciplinary area, foregrounds the political and the economic in dialogue and engagement with one another whereby: 1) the economic aspect of political economy is addressed through the identification and analysis of the mode of production (or the specific means and organization of economic production) within a particular society; and 2) the political aspect addresses modes of governance that insulate modes of production and thus regulate and maintain activities of daily life (Clement, 1997; Clement & Vosko, 2003; Gill & Bakker, 2003). Political economy offers a critical form of analysis that continually questions the dominant economic and political systems present within societies and how these systems have constructed normative ideologies, discourses, and practices within and in relation to one another (Clement, 1997; Clement & Vosko, 2003). As such it claims to be a historically, socially, and politically relevant study of life, and a means by which to examine the ways in which daily life serves to structure, maintain, and reproduce ways of being while simultaneously illuminating the inequalities in power that exist across human relations (Clement & Vosko, 2003).

Within Canada, inequities across social relations have emerged as a result of the capitalist mode of production and hence are not naturally occurring, but rather socially constructed as a set of relations emerging from a specific historical context (Clement, 1997). The construction of these inequities as a normal part of everyday social relations have proven to make changing these inequities a particularly difficult task. Although the state is seen in this case as enforcing class rule, it is important not to overlook the pockets of resistance that have arisen to confront these social injustices (Armstrong et al., 2001). As such, the study of political economy has sought to

be critical of how social relations are socially and historically shaped, who benefits and who does not from the current organization of these social relations, and how these social relations may be used in order to be reconceptualized and form more equitable arrangements.

At the heart of these endeavours lies governance, and the interplay between states and markets. Governance includes both public and private processes and mechanisms operating within societies as well as governments that implement and regulate laws (Gill & Bakker, 2003). Governance extends beyond the physical and material to include the ideological as a means to justify "... or legitimate political power and influence, institutions through which influence is stabilized and reproduced, and patterns of incentives and sanctions to ensure compliance with rules, regulations, standards and procedures" (Gill & Bakker, 2003, p. 7). Within Canada, and many globalized Western economies, the dominant framework that survives and thrives within a capitalist mode of production is known as neoliberalism.

As noted in Chapter Two, neoliberalism is a political philosophy that aims to liberate capital accumulation or wealth through adopting a free market mentality, thus allowing citizens to compete freely with one another for their ideal working conditions, without direct government intervention (Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Gill & Bakker, 2003). Neoliberalism presents in economic, political, and cultural ways and it is particularly important to draw attention to how it functions as a governing rationality, infiltrating all dimensions of economic, political, and cultural life (Hamann, 2009; Rose, 1999). Specifically, critical attention must be paid to how neoliberalism hollows out the promotion of collective wellbeing and encourages the construction of individual responsibility above all else (Brown, 2015; Safai et al., 2016). The promotion of the idealized free individual further allows political ideologies like meritocracy, which propagates the notion of a classless society, to exist (Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Gill & Bakker, 2003).

Meritocracy is the view “...that outcomes such as wealth, jobs, and power are distributed on the basis of merit (i.e., intelligence and efforts”) (Son Hing et al., 2011). Although meritocracy has been expanded to further include training and experience, it remains a view that is fixated on a person’s individual efforts at the neglect of the larger social structure surrounding them. Within work and labour, meritocracy functions to perpetuate the belief that a person’s work-class distinction is based solely on their individual efforts and that factors such as inheritance, social advantages, and discrimination do not impact individuals (Son Hing et al., 2011).

Major criticisms of neoliberalism point out that it fails to examine the changing economic and political conditions within the context of citizens’ everyday lives, and thus overemphasizes the role of the state and market at the neglect of the home (Bakker, 2003; Braedley & Luxton, 2010). Moreover, its view of the citizen as a free agent limits its capacity to examine social relations that citizens are born into, raised, and live in and how these social relations impact the course of a humans’ natural life (Braedley & Luxton, 2010). In this way, neoliberalism neglects the ways in which wealth and class are inherited and how such dimensions as sex/gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, dis/ability, age, etc. serve to reinforce these distinctions. Lastly, the overreliance of neoliberal governments on quantitative measures of policy success (e.g., via narrowly transactional in focus cost-benefit analyses) overlook the actual levels of policy success within citizens’ households and thus lives. As such theoretical approaches that emphasize and examine the intersections between the political, the economic, and the personal (e.g., the state, market, and home) are necessary to “effectively capture the full range of regime effects” as well as the impacts of neoliberalism across the range of dimensions of one’s social location (Braedley & Luxton, 2010, p.11).

## **Feminist Political Economy**

Early political economy scholarship focused primarily on class and economic relations as the defining features of capitalism and the source of inequitable social relations. The absence of gender from these analyses has been the focus of much feminist critique (Luxton, 2006; Maroney & Luxton, 1987), as overemphasizing class and economic relations of paid work overlooks matters of gender, social reproduction, and how capitalist economies have depended upon the unwaged labour of women in the home (Bakker, 2003; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006). These oversights became the focal points of critique and analysis for feminist scholars exploring political economy. Feminist Political Economy (FPE) emerged as a result of critiques made about mainstream political economy's over-reliance on class-based analyses to the neglect of sex/gender as a category for analysis (Luxton, 2006; Maroney & Luxton, 1987).

Developing most evidently during the 1970s, FPE scholars began to problematize how modes of production within economies were gendered, calling into question the views of scholars like Marx and Engels whose studies contributed to the construction of production (or work outside of the home) as a male task and social reproduction (or work inside the home) as a female task (Maroney & Luxton, 1987; Luxton, 1997). Questioning these views was essential as they eventually materialized in a gendered division of labour, confining women to work within the home, except in times of need (e.g., wartime).

As shifts have occurred within Canada's political economy, FPE scholarship has taken up a range of analyses which include deconstructing the gendered division of labour, the emergence of women into public economy sectors, the deregulation and degradation of women's work as a result of their emergence in the public workforce, and most recently, the repercussions of neoliberalism on women's work (Bakker, 2004; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Strauss & Fudge,

2014; Vosko, 2000; Vosko, 2006; Vosko et al., 2009). In many ways, the FPE literature has mirrored the development of feminist scholarship where liberal approaches to the study of women's work eventually gave way to more critical (radical and socialist) analyses. Specifically, liberal feminist critiques of work and the gendered division of labour were adamant that categories such as sex/gender and class were causing women's oppression (e.g., Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Blau & Ferber, 1987; Freedman & Phillips, 1988). Liberal feminist scholars fought for equal opportunity with the goal in mind of having more women enter the public workforce. While equal opportunity is a noble cause worth fighting for, liberal feminist studies have paid little attention to dominant ideologies that intersect with and reinforce the structured and structuring of women's work within and outside of the home and, as a result, have inadequately addressed the oppression that women are facing both within private and public working domains (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Hall, 1982; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002).

In contrast, social feminist analyses have called into question how capitalism and patriarchy, dominant systems within the global political economy, intersect to reinforce the working realities of women from a range of class backgrounds (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Hall, 1982; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002). Furthermore, they have centralized women's daily work (private and public) activities in order to unpack how the specific social locations of women impact these activities and therefore have highlighted how women across a wide range of social realities experience work. Socialist feminists' acknowledgment of the deeply embedded systems of capitalism, patriarchy, neoliberalism and their espoused values of competition in a free market where government intervention is decentralized, has focused their efforts on lobbying for more state support of households (Bray, 1988; Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002; Thompson, 1999).

As was the case with traditional feminist approaches to the study of women, FPE has been criticized for its lack of attention to important social identifiers such as race, sexuality, and ability (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006). Specifically, FPE studies to date have focused largely on the working realities of white, heterosexual, and able-bodied women while giving little attention and/or mention to the realities of women from other social backgrounds. Given that FPE cites one of its strengths as grasping multiple realities and subjectivities (LeBaron, 2015) it seems fitting that FPE would attend to the realities of women who occupy locations other than white, heterosexual, or able-bodied. In this way, FPE, like political economy, has been slow to account for racialization and racism (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006), which as Indigenous/Aboriginal and anti-racist scholars note "...a failure to theorize race undermines the power and significance of feminist political economy" (Bannerji, 1991; Carty, 1993; Dua & Robertson, 1999).

Building from the collective efforts of both liberal and social feminist studies of work, FPE examines social relations from a materialist perspective with particular, although not exclusive, emphasis on the interconnections between socio-economic status, sex, and gender (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Maroney & Luxton, 1987; Mutari, 2000). FPE seeks to shed light on the lived realities of people, including those whose work gets legitimated or not and, in so doing, provides a strong analytical foundation for the ways in which, work and labour are taken up in gendered and gendering ways within a range of contexts (LeBaron, 2015). As a result, FPE offers three analytical advantages, which include viewing: (1) labour as a phenomenon deeply enmeshed in and shaped by broader relations of daily life; (2) labour as not having to be exclusively linked to market relations (i.e., social reproduction); and (3) humans as diverse and complex with varying degrees of agency (LeBaron, 2015).

FPE seeks to further expand the scope of political economic analysis by including consideration of the tensions between agency and the social, political, and material boundaries that act to constrain agency, as well as the multiple and intersecting axes of identity which may include sex, gender, class, race, age, ability and oppression (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Coburn, 2001; LeBaron, 2015; Maroney & Luxton, 1987; Mutari, 2000). In so doing, FPE accounts for the identification of “how forms of production and exploitation of labour are related to class-based, racialized, gendered and sexualized aspects of labour supply and control and to understand the variegated power relations that apply to different workers” (LeBaron, 2015, p. 7). This kind of analysis lends itself to examining the ways in which Canadian citizens increasingly find themselves working in various forms of employment within a shifting neoliberal political economy that is increasingly defined by precarious employment (Bakker & Gill, 2004; Jackson & Thomas, 2017; LeBaron, 2015; Vosko, 2006).

As a form of critical social inquiry, FPE offers scholars a way in which to examine how the intersection of the state, market, and household, have shaped “...the complex and multiple subjectivities and agencies of human subject...” (LeBaron, 2015, p.6), and how people have engaged in production and social reproduction. FPE achieves this through centralizing activities of daily life, which in turn allows for a much broader understanding of labour under capitalism, unwaged labour, highly precarious forms of labour and labour that exists outside of the capitalist mode of production (LeBaron, 2015; Peterson, 2010). When the study of work is limited to paid employment, the time consuming, demanding, and difficult work of social reproduction is overlooked. As such, it is crucial for analyses to remain critical, as doing so acknowledges the view that women make up the vast majority of the informal paid economy, which hinges on traditional capitalist views of women as less educated and skilled and thus poorly remunerated

for their employment (Peterson, 2010). Women's informal production satisfies the needs of the formal economy for free labour in order to sustain households, keeping intact both the public (productive) and private (reproductive) responsibilities of women.

The neoliberal or market-oriented view of citizenship alive within many global political economies has witnessed an increase in the cost of living with a subsequent decrease in state support (Bakker, 2004; Bakker & Gill, 2004; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006); this form of economic structuring ultimately serves to reproduce and reinforce a division of labour based on class, gender, and race, inherent to the capitalist mode of production (Bakker, 2004). In many ways, the rising cost of living in capitalist, neoliberal states like Canada has depended upon the feminization of the workforce (as noted in Chapter Two) – more women have been required to enter into the workforce, which for liberal feminists (who focus more so on same/equal opportunity) is a positive sign. However, this viewpoint is uncritical in that it shifts the focus of political economic analyses to the outcome of more women entering the workforce, and does not investigate properly the ways (i.e., the experiences) in which labour under capitalism continues to remain problematic for many citizens including women who have recently entered the workforce (Bakker & Gill, 2004; Bakker, 2004; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006).

### **Political Economic and Critical Feminist Contributions to the Sociology of Sport**

In this section, I briefly explore the emergence, growth, and current status of political economic and critical feminist analyses within the Canadian sociology of sport literature and to the Canadian sociology of sport coaching literature. This section does not attempt to be an exhaustive account or analysis of the sociology of sport and sport coaching in Canada; rather, it aims to highlight how political economy and critical feminist theoretical orientations have been

taken up in the literature. This section concludes by highlighting how studies adopting an FPE theoretical orientation are lacking within the sociology of sport coaching literature.

### **Political economic contributions to the Canadian sociology of sport.**

The sociology of sport in Canada emerged amidst a more global emergence of the sociological study of sport. Specifically, sport sociology in Canada mirrors closely the European, in particular UK, efforts to examine how social theories produced by the likes of Gramsci, Marx, Foucault and Bourdieu apply to the context of sport (Safai, 2016). Overall, Canadian sociological studies of sport have been noted as consisting of “a complex and contradictory configuration of studies” (Rowe et al., 1997, p. 346), including those examining how the Canadian political economy has shaped and continues to shape modern day sport.

Initial political economic studies examining the emergence of sport within Canada highlighted how late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Canadian sport was conceptualized as a “liberal democratic endeavour” and thus available to all Canadians (Beamish, 1976; Gruneau, 1988; Ingham, 1975). Grounding sport within a liberal ideology served to produce and reproduce views that the political economic context of Canada was supportive of its citizens’ (regardless of their class distinctions) participation in organized sport (Beamish, 1976). Specifically, upholding the ideals of ‘sport for all’ contributed to notion of Canada as a classless society, where sport acted primarily as a cite of resistance from traditional class designations and discrimination within the political, economic, and social structuring of Canadian society (Gruneau, 1988).

The belief that sport operated as a space for people to transcend class boundaries was problematic in that many workers were still being excluded from leisure pursuits, including sport (Gruneau, 1988). As such, critical sport scholars during this time made considerable efforts to demonstrate that the traditional class systems had not disappeared as suggested by a liberal

democratic view of sport, but rather that new class distinctions had begun to take form (Beamish, 1976; Gruneau, 1988; Gruneau, 1999; Ingham, 1975; Kidd, 1996). For example, value increasingly was placed on exchange within the market, which made securing certain privileges (e.g., property) possible. Changes like this exposed how sport within in Canada was always (and remains to this day) a capitalist endeavour rather than a classless space of participation (Gruneau, 1988; Kidd, 1996). However, the government continued to maintain and reproduce the view of sport in 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada as freely meritocratic and available to all, constructing an image of Canada as “an affluent leisure society where the problems of inequality are best thought of as personal troubles of milieu rather than issues of social structure” (Beamish, 1976, p. 122).

As sport continued to develop into the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada, political economic analyses noted how it remained a middle-class pursuit, as well as how sport began to adopt a cursory of terms including physical activity, recreation, and human movement (Harvey & Cantelon, 1988). These terms are noteworthy, as they marked a shift occurring within sport, from a pastime activity of daily life, to influencing other aspects of modern life which included social, political, and economic objectives such as mass entertainment (e.g., professional sport), health promotion (e.g., social policy), and education (Harvey & Cantelon, 1988). As such, sport began to adopt an institutional character of its own by creating a distinct set of rules, patterns, and conduct which lead to the construction of normative views on how sport ought to be pursued and played (Gruneau, 1988).

The institutionalization of sport has also been noted as responsible for teaching us about “...the gendering of bodies, social opportunity, and performance...” (Kidd, 1996, p. 7) which, in turn, has secured certain socially dominant cultural practices (e.g., who participates in sport). Power, in this case, operates through the ability of certain citizens to use their resources in order

to secure specific outcomes, which included the rules of sport, sport traditions, and normalized sporting practices. The structuring of sport, like the political economy of Canada, has tended to reflect dominant class ideologies, which include the values of hard work, discipline, and achievement (Ingham, 1975). This meritocratic view of sport is problematic as it posits the same outcomes for people regardless of their class background. Critical social inquiries of sport have established that this meritocratic viewpoint focuses collective attention on individual efforts (agency) versus structural constraints (class distinctions) (Gruneau, 1988; Harvey & Cantelon, 1988; Ingham, 1975; Kidd, 1996). Therefore, when one fails it is because of the lack of their own efforts, rendering the structure surrounding them as a passive or neutral force.

As result of sport being institutionalized, traditional conceptions of class (power-laden distinctions) were reinforced rather than disrupted. This, in turn, became highly attractive to the capitalist state and thus resulted in state-led programs that tended to reproduce capitalist interests (Donnelly & Harvey, 1999). The role that sport plays in social reproduction has led to a view of sport as an “ideological product” of capitalist social relations (social classes) and productive forces (technology).

More recent studies in the global political economy of 21<sup>st</sup> century sport have turned to examine topics surrounding the commodification of sport, sporting identities, mass media regimes (i.e., marketing and advertisement), and the urban development of sporting spaces (for examples, see Bélanger, 2009; Carrington & MacDonald, 2009; Jackson & Andrews, 2005; Nauright & Schimmel, 2005). As noted by Bélanger (2009), “the leisure and entertainment industries have become increasingly significant components of transnational capitalism ...” (p. 50), which have “helped generate popular consent for the current gospel of free trade, deregulated markets, economic competitiveness, and the privatization of public goods and

services” (Gruneau & Whitson, 1997, p. 360 as cited in Bélanger, 2009). Globally, these relations are most visible within professional sport, which is increasingly becoming a prime commodity in the global entertainment economy. While a robust body of knowledge on professional sport exists, the focus of this study is university sport, which remains underexamined within the Canadian sociology of sport literature. I now turn to the literature on critical feminist (including materialist, socialist, Marxist) analyses of Canadian sport in order to further highlight the need for studies adopting FPE as a theoretical approach to the examination of sport coaching broadly and university sport coaching specifically.

### **Critical feminist contributions to the Canadian sociology of sport.**

Critical feminist scholarship in the sociology of sport emerged as a result of the broader feminist and civil rights movements occurring from the 1960s onwards. During this time, much of the feminist sport research focused on more categoric or distributive analyses of sport and gender (Safai, 2016; White & Young, 1999). In other words, these studies used both sex and gender as separate and distinct categories, with associated roles, to analyze women in sport. In particular, initial material (socialist) feminist studies of sport were critical in their analyses of the impact that sport as a social institution had on women and their work (Hall, 1985; Lenskyj, 1986; Theberge, 1987). These studies highlighted how traditional political economic analyses of sport over-emphasized the capitalist mode of production in sport (class-based), overlooking how patriarchy (gender-based) operated in conjunction with capitalism to oppress women (Bray 1983; 1988; Hall, 1985; Vertinsky, 1994). Specifically, these studies noted capitalism as the system that served to structure sport in specific ways and patriarchy as the system that served to select who the sport participants were. Often referred to in the literature as the ‘dual systems approach,’ these studies highlighted how sport has selected certain people for specific roles (e.g., team

owner, head coach, team manager, administrative assistant), with specific levels of power much like they do in the daily economic (i.e., public and private work) activities of citizens (Bray, 1983; Bray, 1988; Hall, 1985).

Additionally, at this time, feminist studies illuminated how sport has mirrored society's separation of public and private work along gender lines, thus reinforcing a gendered division of labour (Donnelly & Theberge, 1982; Theberge, 1987; Vertinsky, 1994). Within sport, this gendered division of labour demanded that men were represented in positions of power in order to control and dictate sporting practices, disallowing them to engage in nurturing behaviours, as to do so would undermine their authority and dominance (Bray, 1982). In turn the nurturing work of sport (which is devalued work) was to be taken up by women reinforcing, instead of challenging, traditional views of work (e.g., unpaid work of social reproduction as less valuable) in society (Bray, 1982; Hall, 1985). These categorical approaches to the study of gender (as defined by sex and gender roles) and sport, did not account for all dimensions of gender and the gendering process including how some resisted traditional gender roles within sport.

Missing from these distributive analyses of sport were expanded views of gender and how gender operated in relationship to and with sport to construct normative views and narratives about women and men in sport (Young & White, 1999). The contributions of more relational analyses are imperative as Young and White (1999) note:

... that the relationship between sport and gender has not developed in a smooth, uncontested, linear way that always privileges males and discriminates females; and that the relationship between sport and gender can be best understood sociologically by tracing the intersections between sport, gender, and other ways that Canadian life has been and remains stratified such as social class, age, race, ethnicity and sexuality. (p. 1)

Adopting a relational analysis approach allowed for connections to be made between feminist and materialist scholars during the 1990s (Safai, 2016), which highlighted how sport was (and remains) largely impacted by the distribution of resources and that Canadian sport culture represents broad social relations which not only examine class, but gender as well. These studies adopted a view of gender as a dynamic and relational process, which assisted them in more fully unpacking the dimensions of gender and gender relations.

For example, some critical feminist scholars used this expanded and dynamic view of gender to examine the relationship between gender, the political economy, and sport, which assisted in further studying how the work that women conduct (including social reproduction) maintained and enhanced the participation of both men and children in sport (Donnelly, 2016; Thompson, 1999). These scholars highlighted this as a function of being confined to the narrowly defined category of ‘woman’ and a woman’s associated role within the formal political economy. They further noted these problematic gender relations as stemming from the Canadian sport systems over reliance on volunteers or minimally paid workers (Donnelly & Harvey, 2011). Specifically, within the economy of sport volunteerism, mothers and fathers of child or youth athletes take on roles and activities that are different in their scope, opportunity, presence and reward. In order to flush out how the work of women facilitates opportunity for men and children and constrains their own participation in sport, Thompson’s work is particularly illuminating and well aligned with critical Canadian feminist sport scholars<sup>1</sup>.

In her book *Mother’s Taxi: Sport and Women’s Labour*, Thompson (1999) illuminates how the relationship between sexuality, family, and domestic labour construct sport as a contested terrain for women. She details the roles of sporting mothers and wives as ‘behind the

---

<sup>1</sup> Related literatures on women’s leisure include Green et al. (1995); Green et al. (1990); Green et al. (1987); Woodward et al. (1988)

scenes' as chauffeur, laundress, snack maker, costume designer and team event planner and how these roles ultimately serve to limit women as active sport participants or leaders. Specifically, women are expected to support the participation of people around them in sport rather than engage with and/or in sport on their own terms. As such, Thompson (1999) highlights the extent to which women are incorporated into sport and yet, how women do not reap the benefits of sport. This important finding highlights a connection between critical feminist studies on women in sport and FPE analyses of women's work, where both bodies of knowledge advance the claim that the work of women is a part of reproducing the very institutions (e.g., sport, education, work) and relational processes responsible for oppressing women.

Not only have relational analyses examined the oppression of women, but also of certain sporting males. These studies highlight how sport has not only served as an institution that largely excludes women, particularly in leadership positions, but also an institution that narrowly defines 'sporting men' (Messner 1992; Messner 1997; Norman, 2011). At the heart of these studies is the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity', which serves to construct the normative male sport identity as in direct opposition of femininity and embodying characteristics such as strong, aggressive, dominating, heterosexual and cis gender (Connell, 1995; Messner, 1992). These studies argued against the aforementioned dominant sport male and nurturing sport female dichotomy in defense of men who also want to be nurturers and women who also want to lead.

As a result of relational analyses of gender and sport, feminist work began to further explore marginalized sport participants including women of colour and homosexual athletes (Adjepong & Caarington, 2014; Griffin, 2014; Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014; Lenskyj, 1999, 1994; Lucyk, 2011; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001;). Examining the extent to which sport was both gendered and racialized, these studies exposed how sporting practices and participants were

operating in a system rooted in history that was (and remains) socially constructed and culturally defined to preserve the needs and interest of those in power (Bandy et al., 2012). For example, the study by Borland and Bruening (2010) highlighted how black women who have increasingly been represented on university (NCAA) sports teams as athletes, remain under-represented in coaching positions within the NCAA. This study found that this was a result of the multi-layered experiences of oppression that black women face in collegiate sports spaces and their exclusion from white networks that dominate university sport (Borland & Bruening, 2010).

Studying sport through a relational approach that is both embedded within and connected to a historical and cultural context further allowed for more complex and interrelation approaches to studying gender within sport. These more multi-dimensional approaches to sport and gender included intersectional analyses of sport, which enabled scholars to "...further analyse identity and oppression and to challenge the hierarchical, hegemonic nature of modern sport" (Bandy et al., 2012, p. 669). In particular, this framework allowed for the expansion of gender beyond two categories based on the recognition that gender intersects with other major social (e.g., race, social class, religion) and individual (e.g., age, ability, sexuality) statuses. Stemming from this expanded view, scholars began to redefine gender and sexuality as fluid concepts and to further recognize how multiple systems of oppression operate in the construction of sport and its social practice (Bandy et al., 2012; Borland & Bruening, 2011; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001).

The efforts of critical feminist sport scholars in their pursuit of relational and more intersectional analyses of sport and gender cannot be understated as they are directly related to this study's examination of the political, economic, and social conditions framing the work of university sport coaches. Alongside Canadian political economy of sport studies, these feminist

works have illuminated how patriarchy functions in conjunction with capitalism to oppress women and how women (particularly BIPOC, LGBTQ2S+ women and women with a disability) will remain on the margins of sport, as long as the dominant gendered division of labour is present. They further offer insight into how gender (in its fluid sense) interlocks with other statuses such as race, class, ability and sexuality to perpetuate multiple systems of oppression for male and female sport participants.

### **Critical feminist contributions to the sociology of sport coaching.**

The Canadian sociology of sport scholarship has employed both political economy and critical (including materialist) feminist approaches to the study of sport in Canada and yet, currently, there is no sociology of sport or sociology of sport coaching literature that has employed feminist political economy as a theoretical framework to the study of sport. In light of the dearth of FPE analyses of sport coaching, I offer a brief overview of sociology of sport coaching studies that have employed critical feminist theoretical approaches in order to draw attention to the need for FPE studies examining sport, coaching, and gender. Although I attempt to limit this section to Canadian critical feminist studies, I do include the work of scholars from outside of Canada in order to account for more analyses of women in sport coaching within North America.

In her article *Gender, Work and Power: The Case of Women in Coaching*, Theberge (1990) examined female coaches' experiences of and with power. In particular, she drew attention to the fact that the construction of sport as a male space, in conjunction with the influence of patriarchy operating within these spaces, makes sport coaching a difficult occupation for women. Although she notes pressures on coaches within university sport as different (i.e., more focused on the welfare and development of athletes), she highlights the

difficulties for women in sport coaching as linked to democratic views of sport (where differences are justified as natural), ideological views of women in sport (e.g., sexy athlete or angered sportswomen), and the difficulty with adopting more humane approaches to coaching (i.e. empowering athletes) when sport remains focused on performance. In a subsequent study, she comments on how sport, as a significant cultural practice, upholds the construction of gender (Theberge, 1993). Using the viewpoints of female coaches, she explored the significance of their token status, the ideology of male superiority, and gender marking in sport. Theberge (1993) concludes that like the economic world, where men historically have remained in positions that secure economic advantage over women, women's increasing involvement in sporting spaces poses a threat to the advantages of men who have "... historically gained from their near exclusive access to and control of the world of sport..." and that "...the reconstitution of gender in coaching and the location of men's superiority in natural differences are important aspects of the reassertion of men's hegemony" (p. 312). Taken together, these studies highlight particular gendered and gendering aspects of sports coaching.

Similar to Theberge, Hall (2002a; 2003), Lenskyj (1986; 2003), and Travers (2008) have challenged the male-defined models of sport that have reproduced authoritative power over athletes and focus disproportionately on the performance aspect of sport. All of these authors mention women in sport coaching in a variety of ways. For example, Hall's work on women in coaching draws attention to how most women in sport coaching coach at the lowest levels of sport and that university sport programs are largely led by men in both athletic director and head coach positions (2003; 2002a). She discusses how women's increased participation in the labour market (as a part of the process of feminization in the workforce) in conjunction with their domestic roles and family responsibilities makes it exceedingly difficult for them to participate

in sport at any capacity, but more specifically in coaching. Although much of Helen Lenskyj's work remains focused on female athletes and the construction of femininity and sexuality as facilitated and constrained by homophobia and heterosexism (1986; 2003), she does mention how sexuality impacts the world of sports coaching for women (1999). In particular, she highlights the case of Betty Baxter (the only woman to ever head coach the national volleyball program in Canada), who was fired under suspicions of her being homosexual. Lastly, Travers (2008) mentions feminist principles including shared power and decision making as critical to end hierarchical relations in sport, which include the coach-athlete relationship.

Additional North American studies existing outside of Canada, have examined the role of sport policy (e.g., title IX) in contributing to the steady decline of women in university sport coaching (Knoppers, 1987; LaVoi, 2016; LaVoi & Dutove, 2012; Staurowsky, 1995). Specifically, the study by Knoppers (1987) discussed how the creation of the Title IX policy in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) contributed to the decline of women in sport coaching beginning in the 1980s. She highlights how the lack of female coaches in the NCAA means that female athletes have few coaching role models and that the absence of women in sport coaching (which is viewed as a powerful figure in American life) further contributes to keeping women out of sport leadership, re-enforcing stereotypical views of women in sport (Knoppers, 1987). Staurowsky (1995) also uses the Title IX policy to frame her study on the gender division of labour in the NCAA.

Stemming from a materialist feminist theoretical foundation, Staurowsky (1995) advances the argument that within the NCAA male athletes are viewed as the traditional 'breadwinners' and female athletes as the 'passive consumers.' In using the backdrop of these traditional economic roles, she argues that male sports in the NCAA are viewed as more

profitable than female sports and that as a result the gender order is maintained in NCAA sport, hindering any meaningful resolution to gender inequity (Staurowsky, 1995). Building from the insights of these studies, more recent feminist examinations of gender and sport have applied an ecological approach to understanding the low numbers of women in sports coaching (LaVoi 2016; LaVoi & Dutove, 2012). These studies also conclude that a lack of women coaching from various social locations is detrimental to young athletes. They also point to a need for more intersectional analyses of women in sport coaching, including those that examine how neo-liberalism functions to limit women's opportunities as sport coaches (LaVoi, 2016; LaVoi & Beath, 2018).

The vast majority of studies on women in university sports coaching have examined women coaching women, with very few looking at women coaching men. Among the studies that examine women coaching university male athletes is Young's (2005) critical feminist analysis. In his study, Young (2005) highlights that a mere 2% of women are coaching men at the NCAA Division I level, marking a significant decline from other occupations where women are traditionally underrepresented (e.g., criminal investigators (23.8%) chemical engineers (14.7%), and welders (6.8%)). Although women are better represented at the lower levels of NCAA (i.e., Division III) and in mixed-gender sports like golf, tennis, and swimming, they still report experiences of gender-based discrimination. Overall, Young (2005) concluded that women coaching within male sports had mostly positive experiences, but also had to deal with discrimination at times and that in order to combat gender-based discrimination, programs should become aware of women's experiences with discrimination, program hiring committees should emphasize playing women's sport as equally as valuable as playing men's sport, and sport organizations should hire women to coach men/boys at all levels of sport.

The aforementioned feminist studies of women in sport coaching and in university sport coaching are critical in that they offer insights into the working world of women in university sport. However, as noted here there are few Canadian critical feminist studies on women coaching university sport and none of the studies on women in sport coaching have employed FPE as a theoretical underpinning. As such, FPE is well suited for the study of university sport coaching in order to account for the gendered division of labour occurring within these sporting spaces. This would serve not only to highlight the problematics for women in sport coaching, but for men as well, who are also impacted by the gendered division of labour operating within these spaces.

### **FPE as a Future Approach to the Study of University Sport Coaches in Canada**

FPE is well suited to this study of university sport coaching given the ways in which it attends to the sex and gender blindness of both political economy and Marxist approaches to the study of work (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Maroney & Luxton, 1987; Mutari, 2000). In particular, FPE scholars critique analyses of labour that fail to demonstrate how states, markets, and households are inter-related and, as a result, shape the work of citizens (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Maroney & Luxton, 1987; Mutrai, 2000). FPE's ability to speak to these intersections can further be applied to its strength of accounting for multiple subjective agencies in so far as to account for the range of people who may be working within university athletic departments.

Citizens' lived experiences are directly linked to their social locations which include, but are not limited to social, political, and economic identifiers such as marital status, level of education, sexual orientation, racial background, working status, number of children, physical ability and domestic responsibilities. The study of sport as work has yet to unpack how the

varying social, political, and economic situations of sport coaches working within university athletic departments, impacts coaches' experiences of work. Feminist political economy's focus on the materialist study of social relations, expanding the scope of political economic analysis (i.e., intersection of gender, class, race, age and geography), social reproduction, and emphasis on the gendered division of labour (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015) fits well with a study aimed at exploring the notions of work and professionalization in sport coaching as well as the multiple agencies of sport coaches and the conditions that frame their lived experiences, with particular emphasis on the gendered nature of these experiences.

Finally, given that much remains to be understood about university sport coaching as work, a job, or a profession and the arguments articulated in the review of literature to support that sport coaching is a precarious form of employment, it is fitting for this study to be grounded in a theory that speaks directly to precarious work and its workers (LeBaron, 2015; Peterson, 2010). In this sense, FPE is able to account for how sport coaching is structured in a certain way that exemplifies precarious employment within the capitalist mode of production, how this situation may be exacerbated for women who currently remain on the margins of Canadian university sport coaching, and finally how a neoliberal state intensifies this experience for households where women's work is sport (e.g., coaching).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

As identified in the first three chapters of this study, the unquestioned and variable conceptualizations of sport coaching as work and sport coaches as professionals, the lack of clarity around the status of sport coaching and sport coaches within Canadian sport policy and university athletics departments, and the precarious nature of sport coaching as work for women coaches in the university sport context suggest the need for a critical analysis of university sport coaching centred on unpacking how sport coaching in the Canadian university sport context intertwines with work and professionalization, and how gender crosscuts the sport coaching-work-professionalization nexus. In order to address these considerations, this dissertation takes as its focus four key overarching goals:

- 1) *Critically examine whether sport coaching within the university sport context is work and, if so, what type of work;*
- 2) *Critically examine whether university sport coaches are professionals, in what way and why;*
- 3) *Identify and explore the conditions that frame the daily practices of sport coaches in relation to and within their university (academic and athletic) settings; and*
- 4) *Explore the gendered and gendering nature of the practices of university sport coaches.*

In attempt to achieve these goals, this study employed institutional ethnography (IE) to examine the economic, political, and social conditions that frame the practices and working realities of university sport coaches with particular consideration of the gendered and gendering nature of university sport coaching work. In this chapter, I outline IE, including its epistemological and ontological underpinnings in order to highlight how FPE (i.e., the theory)

and IE (i.e., the methodological approach) are in dialogue with one another and, as such, how they both fit within the context of this study. Further, I outline the research design of this study and identify the methods used for data collection and analysis. In the final section of this chapter, I take an opportunity to situate myself within the research as (including but not limited to) a woman, former athlete, current sport coach, and university worker in Canada.

### **Institutional Ethnography: Philosophical Considerations**

Ethnography represents a thorough and comprehensive approach to research, involving the study of people, processes, and relations within a particular setting. Researchers adopting an ethnographic research design typically employ a range of methods in order to account for complex forms of data, which may occur as a result of dynamic processes and relations unfolding within a particular area of study (Flick, 2011). Institutional Ethnography (IE) is a feminist approach to research stemming from the tradition of ethnographic research. Specifically, IE is a methodology that seeks to prioritize the voices and lived experiences of participants as a point of departure for further sociological inquiry of contextually based beliefs and practices (Smith, 1987; Smith, 2005).

IE sees the world as invariably social, which Smith (1987) describes as the daily activities of people that are sustained through the purposeful coordination of everyday life. In this sense, participants are viewed as “knowers” within their social context (Campbell & Gregor, 2002), which is critical given that the social relations of everyday life organize the activities of people within institutions. This further allows for IE to “make power understandable in terms of relations between people...” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 61). The social relations that exist within a particular context are referred to as *ruling relations* (examined in greater depth below), which not only address and include people in power, but also how people perceive certain

concepts within an institution. As such, IE is used to explore the life of others in a specific context in a methodological way, and aims to investigate policies and social practices in institutional contexts; put differently, IE is a form of analysis that places emphasis on experience, particularly within institutions (Taber, 2010).

*Outlining the* ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions of institutional ethnography are important in order to draw out the connection between IE and the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of feminist political economy (FPE). I will use this information as a foreground to address how the research design, including methods of data collection, is well suited for this study.

### **Ontology.**

Ontology primarily concerns itself with the nature of being and reality. Specifically, it seeks to question the existence of reality in the social world independent of one's knowledge (Hanson, 2012; Marsh & Furlong, 2002). Both institutional ethnography (IE) and feminist political economy (FPE) take as the focal point of their ontological assumptions that reality is constructed through the process of people's social interactions within their lived experiences. Specifically, IE adopts an ontology that "views the social as the concerting of people's activities" (Smith, 2006, p. 17), thus centralizing the interaction between citizens as agents and their social surroundings which are shaped by variable political and economic structures. While there is a tendency to emphasize the social as being located external to an individual, it is important to consider the internal aspects of the social. For example, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus is helpful here in articulating how the social is reproduced as a result of one's internalized learning process and as "ensuring the active presence of past experiences" (as cited in Smith, 2005). This IE ontological viewpoint is aligned with that of FPE, which rejects traditional social science

language and viewpoints—given that they are viewed as sexist and androcentric (i.e., highlighting the experience, knowledge, and voices of men)—in favour of prioritizing women’s and other marginalized persons’ experiences, rooted in their specific realities (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Stanley & Wise, 1993). Taken together, reality begins in the lived experience of the social for both IE and FPE.

### **Epistemology.**

Where ontology questions the existence of reality, epistemology concerns itself with how one obtains knowledge and whether that knowledge is linked to one’s reality. An epistemological framework not only dictates what knowledge can be known, but also who the knowers are and how they come to know what they do (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Some scholars assert the claim that reality and knowledge exist independent of one another, that observing and measuring social phenomena can occur and that, as a result, these observations and measurements inform one’s knowledge, which may or may not be a part of creating one’s reality (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). For institutional ethnographers, knowledge and reality are co-created and result from one’s direct participation in daily life, including the specific ways that these lived actualities are patterned and coordinated by institutions (Smith, 2005; Smith, 2006). As such, individuals are not solely responsible for the creation of their knowledge and reality as the organizations they operate (often unconsciously) through direct their experiences of daily life.

Certain forms of knowledge and certain knowers have been constructed as unquestionable, creating normative and/or dominant discourses about how we know what we know (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006). Feminist scholars, including those who adopt FPE as theoretical underpinning, have questioned ‘whose knowledge counts’ only to reveal that many fields of inquiry are dominated by positivist, androcentric, and sexist approaches to the study of

knowledge (Smith, 1987). In line with IE, feminist political economists view knowledge as co-created and pay close attention to the power relations that operate in the production of knowledge (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006).

Central to the concern of power relations for feminist qualitative inquiry is recognizing and accounting for women's, particularly marginalized women's, perspectives (Olesen, 2011). These perspectives are further linked to the theoretical concept of standpoint which, in the contemporary context, has been transformed from an essentializing or universalizing category of all to a concept that takes into consideration a person's specific location and how this location is impacted by ruling relations (Olesen, 2011; Smith, 2005). IE adopts a view of standpoint as

...a point of entry into discovering the social that does not subordinate the knowing subject to objectified forms of knowledge of society or political economy. It is a method of inquiry that works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience. (Smith, 2005, p. 10)

This approach to research lends itself well to the theoretical orientation of FPE, which also seeks to understand and capture the multiplicity of subjectivities and agencies that exist within political, economic, and social contexts (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Maroney & Luxton, 1997; Mutari, 2000). Thus, IE and FPE work together to highlight the knowledge of the researcher and participant both as key contributors to the research process including the collection, interpretation, and understanding of data. In addition to accounting for the philosophical underpinnings of IE as an approach to inquiry that fits well with FPE, understanding its functionality as a methodological apparatus is necessary.

## Methodology

IE is not so much a methodology as it is a method of inquiry. Specifically, IE exists as an alternative sociology that “blends together Marx’s materialist method and Garfinkel’s ethnomethodology with insights from the feminist practice of conscious-raising” (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 16). IE operates from the viewpoint that truth is located in the lived actualities of participants’ lives and that these lived actualities are directly impacted by social and historical contexts and power relations. Therefore, IE acts a way to examine how social and ideological processes operate within institutions to produce experiences of oppression. By prioritizing the lived experience in the context of one’s daily life, IE is able to identify how one’s subjective experience is organized by structures, rules, and power operating within organizations (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Smith, 1987).

Central to these subjective accounts is the notion of ruling relations, which Smith (2005) defines as “*extraordinary* yet ordinary complex of relations that are textually mediated that connect us across space and time and organize our everyday lives—the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic, and professional discourses mass media, and complex interrelations that connect them ” (p. 10). In order to exemplify how ruling relations, impact the local setting (a coach’s work context), IE prioritizes the experiences of a participant whose life is embedded and organized by the local (in the case of this study, the practice of coaching) and the extra-local social setting (in the case of this study, the university athletics department). As such, the ruling relations within an organization have a direct impact on the lives of its workers, coordinating worker intentions, desires, and opportunities. Central to this process is the way in which power operates unequally through text (e.g., legislation, policy, manuals, etc.) to advantage certain people who occupy specific roles within an organization (Smith, 2005). It is often the case that

the people whose lives are impacted most by ruling relations are largely unaware of how power is operating (Smith, 2005) and further how these relations serve to re-enforce and reproduce the social structures responsible for oppressing certain participants more than others (e.g., women). Engaging in the process of illuminating ruling relations enables participants to better understand how these ruling relations impact their own lives which, for some, may offer opportunities for resistance (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Smith, 1987; Smith, 2005). In the practice of university coaching, ruling relations would include the sport, work, and gender-based norms which guide sport administrator and coach behaviors as well as the worker-status of a particular coach (i.e., full time or part time, faculty member or contract employee).

In the practice of university sport coaching, an additional concern includes the history of women who were often not viewed as agents within ruling relations and for some, whose work as mothers has served to reproduce the gendered organizations that have subordinated women (Smith, 2005). As noted in Chapter Three, capitalism and patriarchy operating within sport have confined women to roles that support and facilitate the participation of men and children in sport, while simultaneously excluding themselves (Bray 1983; Hall, 1982, 1985; Thompson, 1999; Vertinsky, 1994). Not only do women who participate in these ruling relations impact their own position and performance as university head coaches, but they further impact how men participate in university sport as coaches. For instance, a woman who chooses to coach at the university level may be viewed as not fulfilling her child rearing and/or spousal support duties or if it is the case that a female coach chooses not to have children or be married, she may be viewed differently entirely; subsequently a woman who is married to a university head coach may be fulfilling unseen duties that serve to support her spouse as a university head coach. These

ruling relations may also extend further an invisible power over how the work of a university coach is organized and regulated.

Expanding beyond the local and extra-local context brings the social context, made up of social processes and institutions, into focus. It is within this larger social context that Smith (1990) urges us to examine how an even broader web of ruling relations (i.e., bureaucracy, government, and professional organization) impacts daily life and how institutions, structure, order, and coordinate citizens lived experiences over time and space (Smith, 2005). To this, Smith (2005) adds that institutions are functional complexes focused on functions such as education, law, and healthcare, and that language, organized in the form of texts (e.g., policy, codes of conduct, and other legislation), is central to how institutions exert control over citizens' lives. IE attends to the "phenomena of consciousness, thought, culture and the like, as they have become objectified in the trans-local organization of people's work and as a product of that work" (Smith, 2005, p. 69). Given that people's activities are material, IE must adequately address language and what is accomplished as a result of language. After all, "people's ideas, concepts, theories, beliefs and so on become integral to the ongoing coordinating of people's doings" (Smith, 2005, p. 76).

In accounting for language and the subjective experience, IE resists and challenges the purely objective, scientific knowledge process, and centers on highlighting the lived experiences (daily activities, knowledge, and language) and voices of participants (Smith, 2005). Thus, by employing IE, researchers and participants are actively engaged in the processes of continuing, disrupting, and creating knowledge of the world within which they exist (Smith, 2005; Smith, 2006). IE is "distinct among sociologies in its commitment to discovering how things are actually put together, how it works." (Smith, 2006, p. 1) and, as a result, resists any kind of

orthodoxy (how to conduct, write, and talk about it). It is not about "...studying institutions, as such. Rather it proposes a sociology that does not begin in theory but in people's experience" (Smith, 2006, p. 2). This epistemological repositioning requires the researcher to begin where people exist, and to draw on the lived experiences of those people to examine the social that extends beyond them and coordinates their lives.

This qualitative approach to research views the researcher as an instrument collecting, interpreting, and reporting on particular aspects of participants' social life and the distinct organization of social life. The researcher views participants as a part of the research process, actively engaging them in data collection through interviews, observations, and the assembling of important texts (e.g., policy) (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Diamond, 2006; Smith, 2006). These methods, unique to IE (Creswell, 2003), allow for the researcher to critically examine and unpack how social, economic, and political processes and, the power that these processes have, impact the lived actualities of people working within institutions. Unlike other ethnographic methodologies, Smith (2005) is adamant on illuminating and resisting the ruling relations at play between the researcher and the participant, acknowledging that a power imbalance exists between participants and researchers. Maintaining the voice of participants (linked to the feminist notion of consciousness raising) is essential to IE, as it empowers the participant to gain awareness of the ruling relations responsible for organizing much of their daily life, thus providing them with the opportunity to resist. Given that analyses are researcher's interpretations it becomes critical for researchers to be clear about their value systems and investments in the research (Scotland, 2012). Therefore, it is important for this ethnographic account to acknowledge my epistemological and ontological assumptions as the researcher, which I do in a subsequent section later in this chapter on researcher reflexivity.

## **IE, FPE, and the Research Questions**

IE and FPE have strong theoretical connections to each other, which is most notable in FPE's commitment to illuminate the political and economic circumstances of individuals and IE's use as a methodological apparatus for examining how people, organizations, and institutions are interrelated. Both IE and FPE insist that knowledge of civilizations and citizens can only be known when the lived experiences of many people are examined in relation to the political, economic, and ideological systems operating within these civilizations and thus within citizens' lives.

Additionally, IE and FPE are feminist frameworks that were developed in order to address the exclusion and experiences of oppression faced by certain groups of people, namely women. FPE works to illuminate how daily social relations (e.g., political or economic) contribute to the production and reproduction of societies across time and space (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Clement & Vosko, 2003), while IE provides the means necessary to examine how ruling relations function to shape the local lived experience of participants (Smith, 2005; Smith, 2006; Campbell & Gregor, 2008). As feminist frameworks, IE and FPE are concerned with advancing societies towards the inclusion of all citizens with particular emphasis on those who remain on the margins (i.e., women, BIPOC, LGBTQ2S+, and those who have been labelled as disabled, to name a few). IE and FPE do not aim to generalize people's experiences into one universal, objective, known reality, rather they prioritize the lived experience of their participants by recording participant perceptions (e.g., through interviews) and taking into consideration the broader social and institutional forces that shape them (e.g., through textual analysis and observation). Both frameworks acknowledge the pivotal role that power plays in the organization

of ruling relations and, in so doing, highlight how institution's structure and influence the experience of workers within specific workplaces.

The methodological foundations of IE and the theoretical framework of FPE are well aligned with this study's goal of examining the work and professionalization of university sport coaches with particular emphasis on the gendered and gendering aspects of coaching. This is most obvious given that the work and professionalization of sport coaching within the Canadian university sport system remains unexamined altogether. Additionally, both IE and FPE allow for a deep dive into the world of university sport coaching through the lived experiences of coaches and those who organize their work (e.g., athletic directors and associate athletic directors), are committed to raise consciousness surrounding the gendered aspects of sport coaching as work and seek to draw attention to the organization of coach work within the institutions of sport and higher education. Conceptualizing this study as an institutional ethnography rooted in a feminist political economy theoretical orientation has shaped the sampling, procedures, and analysis utilized in the completion of this study. In the following sections, I outline the project's research design, research setting, participant recruitment, data collection and process of data analysis.

### **Research Design**

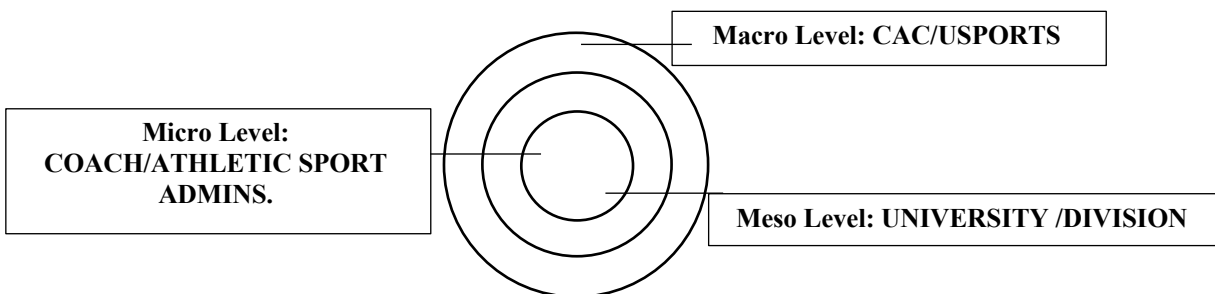
The research process of IE begins with identifying an experience or problematic embedded within the daily lives of people, marking a point of departure for further social inquiry (Smith, 2006). In other words, people's daily experiences are used to drive the research process, illuminating along the way how social dimensions extend beyond local experiences in order to shape citizens' (often unconscious) participation in daily life. The standpoints of participants are prioritized through the range of data collection methods that IE employs, such as interviews, observation, and document analysis (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Creswell, 2003; Smith, 2005;

Smith 2006). Additionally, these methods serve to assist the researcher through the process of mapping the broader web of relations linked to participants' organizations and they allow the researcher to be reflexive throughout this process. This research project takes, as its problematic, the experience of work and professionalization from the standpoint of coaches and sport administrators working within university athletics departments, with a particular interest in understanding how the work of sport coaching is gendered and gendering.

**Research setting.**

The research setting for this project (see Figure 1) includes the institution of university sport in Canada as framed by: the national university sport system (USports) which involves the national governing body for sport coaches in Canada, the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC); the university including the division that the university is geographically located—there are 56 member universities in USports divided into four regional conferences: (1) Atlantic University Sport (AUS), Réseau du sport étudiant du Québec (RSEQ), Ontario University Athletics (OUA) and Canada West; and, lastly, the coach, athletic directors, and senior sport administrators within the university. As such, a brief description of each layer of this institution is warranted.

*Figure 1: Research Setting*



### *USports and the CAC.*

Both USports and the CAC are recognized by Sport Canada as national Multisport Service Organizations (MSOs), governing both university sport and coaching in Canada separately. For this reason, I have shown both USports and CAC as operating at the same level within the research setting. First USports, as highlighted in Chapter 2, has been subject to changes in structure, organization, and branding (e.g. CIAU, CIS, and USports). Currently, university sport in Canada has fifty-six member institutions, further divided into four regional divisions (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA, and Canada West), which field and service a plethora of sport programs (e.g., volleyball, basketball, hockey, football, rugby, track and field, swimming, etc.). The member institutions must follow specific USports membership rules and regulations which include coach, athlete, and university specific policies as determined by USports. For example, all member institutions must abide by recruitment, eligibility, anti-doping and financial award policies to name a few. USports is further responsible for organizing annual championship tournaments across the range of sports it services.

Second the CAC, which was created in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to spearhead coach education (more commonly referred to as certification). This MSO positions itself and its partners (e.g., 65 NSOs and PSOs including USports) as "... stewards of nation-wide standards and ethics in coach education and development" (CAC, 2020a, para. 1). It further outlines its vision to "Inspire a nation through sport...", its mission to "Enhance the experiences of all athletes and participants in Canada through quality coaching...", and its values as "To understand, cultivate inclusion, be curious and courageous and to lead and serve with gratitude" (CAC, 2020a, para. 2-4). The CAC is widely recognized as responsible for educating coaches

through the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) and thus credentialing sport coaches within Canada.

Specifically, the CAC “manages and delivers NCCP training through its partner network of 65 National Sport Organizations and Provincial/ Territorial Sport Organizations” (CAC, 2020b, para. 1). The NCCP includes three coaching streams (community, competition and instruction), based on five coaching competencies (problem solving, valuing, critical thinking, leading, and interacting), and positions seven coaching outcomes (to make ethical decisions, to analyze performance, to provide support to athletes in training, to design a sport program, to plan a practice, to manage a sport program, and to support the competitive experience) as a result of participating in its programming (CAC, 2020b, para. 2). Lastly, it is important to mention that the CAC can grant sport coaches the title of *Chartered Professional Coach* (ChPC), provided they meet such CAC-designated criteria as possessing a post-secondary degree, a high level of coach certification in the NCCP program, and time spent coaching within a particular sport as well as paying a set fee, submitting an annual police record check, and not breaching the CAC’s Code of Conduct (CAC, 2018). It follows that the policies and procedures of USports and the CAC have implications for Canadian university sport coaches. However, the extent to which USports and the CAC impact university sport coaches has yet to be unpacked. For these purposes, this study was also conducted with the senior sport administrators responsible for directing USports and the CAC.

### ***The university and division of university.***

Athletics departments are structured in different ways across Canada, which may include being part of an integrated (i.e., where an academic unit and the athletics department are combined) or a non-integrated organization (i.e., where academics and athletics remain separate

from one another). This study was conducted within two university athletics departments (AD) operating within the USports system: one integrated AD (IAD) and one non-integrated AD (NIAD). Participants from one IAD and one NIAD were recruited for this study in order to compare and contrast how the structure and organization of each AD frames the working conditions of university sport coaches, as well as coordinates the activities and ruling relations of university sport coaches. Additionally, both were included in order to account for the range of structures that exist within the university sport landscape. The inconsistency within AD structuring, coach employment designations, the loose language used to describe work (e.g., volunteer, job, career, vocation, occupation, profession and professional), and the implications of these factors on university sport coaches are therefore important considerations for this study. In conjunction with the university is the regional division that the university fits within (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA and Canada West). It is for this reason that both the university and division of university sport are depicted at the same level within the research setting.

***Coaches, athletic directors, and senior sport administrators.***

The base of the research setting includes the participants whose experiences are central to understanding the aim of this study. I represented these participants at the bottom of the triangle because these are the agents who's daily 'on the ground' experiences in university sport are both structured by and a part of structuring the broader political, economic, and social processes operating within the institutions of university and sport. More specifically, while the CSP, USports, the CAC, and the university impact the lives of these participants, the actions of these participants create a foundation for reproducing current ideologies, discourses, and patterns operating within university sport coaching. Additionally, these participants may also provide

powerful narratives of resistance occurring within post-secondary sport, that are important to account for.

### **Participant recruitment.**

I collected data from coaches and senior sport administrators (e.g., Deans, Vice-President, Athletic Directors, and Associate Athletic Directors) from two university athletics departments, and senior sport administrators (e.g., CEOs and COOs) from USports, two regional conferences within USports, and the CAC. This was to be achieved through contacting the most senior administrators within the ADs, USports, and the CAC (See Appendix A for initial sport administrator recruitment letter), given their role as gatekeepers. In this section, I outline how I recruited participants from both universities (IAD and NIAD), as well as from USports and the CAC.

### ***Recruitment of IAD and NIAD.***

Using the contact information for all fifty-six USports member institutions as identified on the USports website, I emailed invitations to universities within the two largest university divisions – the Canada West division (17 universities) and the OUA division (20 universities). I chose to send my recruitment materials (see Appendix A) to these divisions first based solely on their large size in hopes of getting a robust positive response. Following this initial recruitment blast, one university (an IAD) confirmed interest in participating (I do not specify the division of IAD in order to protect anonymity). With permission from the IAD Athletic Director, I contacted the IAD coaches (same letter as Appendix A with necessary changes), Associate Athletic Directors (same letter as Appendix A with necessary changes), and senior sport administrators (same letter as Appendix A with necessary changes) by email with my study information and an invitation to participate. I adopted the same outreach strategy for coaches, Associate Athletic

Directors, and senior sport administrators once I secured an interested NIAD. Overall, the IAD/institution was easier to recruit than the NIAD/institution, and coaches in general were more difficult to recruit than Athletic Directors and Associate Athletic Directors. It is important to acknowledge that, the Associate Vice-President responsible for athletics at the NIAD proved to be the hardest participant to involve in the project; despite their agreement to participate and rescheduling an interview eight (8) times to meet their scheduling needs, eventually no interview occurred with this high-ranking individual.

In sum, I interviewed eight participants at the IAD (one Dean, one Athletic Director, two Associate Athletic Directors and four coaches) and seven participants from the NIAD (one Athletic Director, two Associate Athletic Directors, and four coaches) for a total of 15 (n=15) university sport participants. Of the 15 participants, four were female: one coach, one Athletic Director and two Associate Athletic Directors. Additionally, I was able to retain a copy of the following documents from both the IAD and NIAD: (1) a sample coaching job posting, (2) a sample head coach contract, (3) a department wide code of conduct and (4) a sample of a year-end coach evaluation and (5) a maternity and/or parental leave policy. Lastly, I collected observations at the NIAD only and not at the IAD given the COVID-19 pandemic, which I address in greater detail below.

### ***Recruitment of USports and the CAC.***

I located contact information for senior sport administrators working at USports on the USports website. After contacting USports by email (see Appendix B for the USports/CAC administrator recruitment letter), I was able to set up interviews with two senior sport administrators. In conversation with one senior sport administrator, it was suggested that I reach out to the four regional governing body representatives for more specific information on

university sport coaching; this USports participant further took it upon themselves to connect me through email directly to the four representatives. Ultimately, only two of the four regional senior executives participated in interviews. The other two were contacted several times over email for a formal interview and, eventually, contacted by email to provide short responses to the important questions asked to the two administrators who did participate in interviews; however, neither replied. In addition to the four interviews that I was able to conduct (none of which were with women sport administrators) with USports executives, I was able to attend one day of the USports annual general meeting (AGM) that took place in the summer of 2018. Initially, I had asked to observe the AGM in its entirety but was restricted access to one day and I had to sign a confidentiality agreement saying that I would not take anything away from attending the conference other than my observations as they related to my study.

In addition to contacting USports sport administrators, I also located contact information for CAC sport administrators on the CAC's website and, once in contact with one of the administrator's assistants, I was able to set up an interview with two (one male and one female) CAC senior sport administrators. The CAC directed me to the two senior sport administrators they felt were the most qualified to answer my questions and, when I asked to interview additional CAC administrators, the CEO was quick to say it was "unnecessary." Rather than conducting two separate interviews with the administrators, the CAC requested one single group interview where the administrators would be able to answer simultaneously and add pertinent details where the other was "less experienced."

### **Data Collection**

Data collection (and participant recruitment) occurred once the study protocol was reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board at York University (STU-2019-013). Data

collection roughly spanned a two-year time period (March 2018 to March 2020) and was ‘officially closed’ due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and in discussion with my supervisor, I determined that it was not feasible or safe for myself or my participants to continue trying to secure the final interview I had planned (the Vice President for the NIAD noted above) or collect fieldwork/observational data from the IAD. A summary of the participant pool across sport settings is provided in Table 1 below.

My original plan was to interview senior sport administrators and coaches within two university ADs, and to conduct fieldwork/observations of coaching staff meetings and actual sport/coaching practices in both institutional settings. Unfortunately, but obviously, the unforeseen and unfolding circumstances of COVID-19 radically curtailed that plan. The decision to formally end data collection was made in consideration of the profound stresses that universities, university athletics departments and, most importantly, the people working within areas were and continue to be placed under. I did not want the data collection for this research study to be an additional commitment for those who were implementing, and are continuing to implement, significant changes to the structure and organization of work and workers (including coaches) within their athletics departments at the end of the 2019-2020 season. Furthermore, due to social distancing measures and other health restrictions (e.g., travel) put in place, I would not have been able to observe the meetings and practices had data collection proceeded. The missing set of observations, from the IAD, marks a limitation of this research.

### **Interviews.**

Twenty-one (21) participants volunteered to take part in an in-depth semi-structured interview: Dean (n=1), Athletic Directors (n=2), Associate Athletic Directors (n=4), USports (including divisional) senior sport administrators (n=4), CAC senior sport administrators (n=2),

and coaches (n=8). Of these 21 interviews, five participants were female and 16 were male; it is noteworthy that this sex/gender disparity in this study parallels the current context of university sport in Canada where only 16% of head coaches and 22% of athletic directors are women (Norman et al., 2020).

All of the interviews were digitally recorded using two digital recording devices, and interview data was stored securely on a password protected computer. The interviews took place during times and dates, and at locations, that were best suited for the participant; this resulted in ten (n=10) interviews being conducted over the phone by request of the participant. The interviews ranged from 60- to 100-minutes in length and were guided by a semi-structured interview guide. The interview guides (see Appendices C-F) were used to help direct the conversation while allowing for flexibility in both the questions asked and the responses given.

*Table 1: Summary of Participant Pool across Sport Setting*

<b>Position Title</b>	<b>Research Setting</b>			
	IAD	NIAD	USports	CAC
<b>Dean</b>	1	-	-	-
<b>Athletic Director</b>	1	1	-	-
<b>Associate Athletic Director</b>	2	2	-	-
<b>Sport Administrator</b>	-	-	4	2
<b>Coach</b>	4	4	-	-

According to Campbell and Gregor (2002), interviews provide a rich source of data in IE. Interviews allow for participants to share and reflect on their daily experiences, which as Smith (2005) points out, are embedded within the social and, as such, highly organized. Where possible, I encouraged (and hopefully made possible a comfortable space for) the participant to speak freely about their daily experiences of work within their university’s AD, their personal reflections on their work/profession, and their thoughts on and experiences with gender and

gendering in sport coaching. When and where necessary, I would ask additional follow-up questions to probe their descriptions of their experiences and occasionally, I used my own experiences as a coach working in university sport to encourage further sharing.

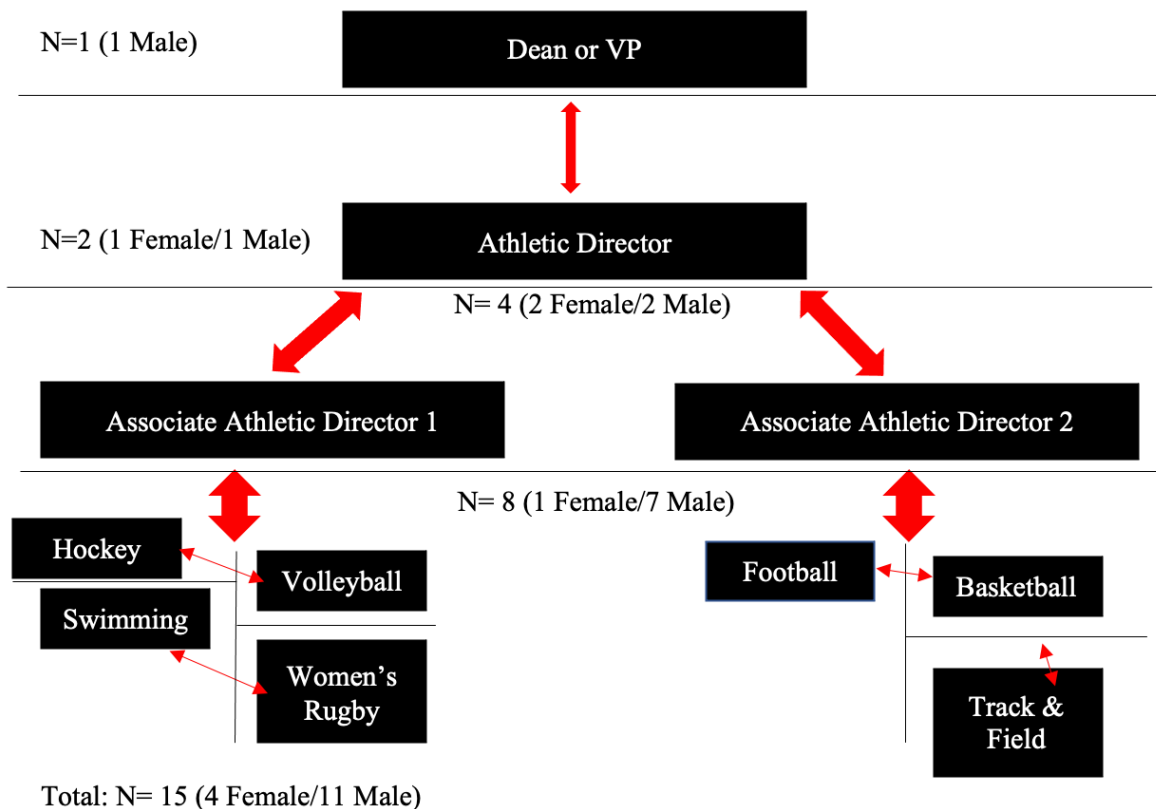
***Participant categories.***

Five categories of participants were interviewed for this study; (1) senior university administrators (i.e. Dean and Vice President), (2) Athletic Directors, (3) Associate Athletic Directors, (4) MSO (i.e. USports and CAC) senior sport administrators and (5) coaches. Participants from these five categories were selected based on the perceived impact that each has on the work of sport coaches. Although the work of sport coaches is most formally experienced by the coaches who are performing the daily work-related tasks of a coach, senior sport and university administrators have a major impact on the lived experiences of coaches, as they are the ones who organize and maintain the workspaces of sport coaches. University senior sport administrators include the Dean, the VP, the Athletic Director and Associate Athletic Directors, whose job it is to structure and manage the functioning of university ADs and thus the coaches working within them. These senior sport administrators represent powerful figures who are positioned between coaches and the ruling discourses of the university and sport, as social institutions. By conducting interviews with these key informants, I used their insights as points into social relations that, when ‘mapped’ out, (see figure 2) helped to illuminate the ruling relations that exist to impact the lived realities of those operating within universities and within university sport (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; DeVault & McCoy, 2002).

The map of ruling relations, depicted below, is meant to show the hierarchy of workers within university athletic departments. The black lines show the clear designation in contract type, and the red arrows delineate the level of communication between each contract worker. In

universities where athletics and academics are integrated (IAD), Athletic Directors report to Deans versus in universities where athletics and academics are not integrated (NIAD). In the case of an NIAD, Athletic Directors report to a Vice President or Provosts and, in general, Athletic Directors communicate the most with Associate Athletic Directors, whose responsibility is chiefly to communicate with the sport coaches. The thickness of the red arrows is meant to demonstrate the frequency and/or volume of communication that occurs between each contract worker. This map also attempts to show the relatively little interaction that occurs between sport coaches, which demonstrates how sport coaches are siloed into their own areas of work.

Figure 2: Interactions Map



Additionally, university administrators must consider how USports (the regulatory body of university sport) and the CAC (the credentialing body of sport coaches) impact coaches working within their athletic departments. It was important to include the sport administrators from both USports and the CAC because both entities implement policies, rules, and regulations that impact the work of Athletic Directors and university sport coaches alike. Additionally, the CAC (the national governing body of all coaches in Canada) is primarily concerned with coach education and the credentialing of coaches which is clearly an important consideration as both education and credentials have major impacts on the status of sport coaches.

*Senior university administrators, athletic directors, and associate athletic directors.*

In total seven (7) university sport administrators were interviewed, which included four (4) from the IAD (one dean, one athletic director, and two associate athletic directors) and three (3) from the NIAD (one athletic director and two associate athletic directors). Three (3) of the university sport administrators identified as women, the remaining four (4) identified as men, and based on my observation all were visibly white. The university sport administrators had anywhere from ten (10) to forty (40) years of experience in sport administration, at varying levels of sport, within and outside of the university sport environment. Much like the university coaches, many of the university sport administrators had a connection to sport; some had experiences as athletes, some as coaches, and some as both athletes and coaches. The university sport administrators came from individual and team sport athlete and/or coach backgrounds, many had completed various forms of coach education, and all but one, had obtained a minimum of a master's university degree. These interviews were on average much longer than the coach interviews and were packed with rich and informative data.

*MSO senior sport administrators.*

As previously noted, the MSOs that were included in this study are USports, a sample of the divisional governing body bodies within USports (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA and Canada West), and the CAC. A total of six (6) administrators participated in interviews, two (2) from the CAC, two (2) from USports, and two (2) from two different divisional governing bodies. All but one MSO sport administrator identified as male and, based on my observations (either in person or in viewing online website pictures), all were visibly white. Their collective range of experience in sport administration was between three (3) and thirty (30) years and like the university coaches and sport administrators, some identified as former athletes, some as former coaches, and others as both former athletes and coaches. Interestingly enough, all of those who had experience in sport were team sport athletes and/or coaches. Other important details include: two (2) administrators had long term careers outside of sport and transitioned into sport as a result of networking and/or a deep seeded love for sport; a separate pair of two (2) had a longstanding history of work within the university sport system, as coaches and/or athletic directors; one (1) had a career that was exclusively in sport administration from outside of the university sport environment; and finally, (1) one had a career that began outside of university sport, but eventually lead to a sport administration position in conjunction with university sport. Therefore, although all of these administrators were in fact working in sport, they appeared to have more diverse backgrounds, some of which were from outside of sport altogether.

*Coaches.*

Finally, a sample of four (4) coaches were interviewed from the IAD and four (4) coaches from the NIAD for a total of eight (8) university sport coaches. Seven (7) of the coaches identified as male and one (1) as female, and to my eye all of these coaches identified as white.

The range of coach experience spanned from three (3) to forty (40) years and all of the coaches had some background in sport as an athlete; two (2) represented their country at the national level, three (3) were varsity student-athletes, and the remaining three (3) were high school and/or club sport athletes. Finally, the majority (i.e., six coaches) of the interviewed coaches had experience coaching both male and female athletes. The coaches interviewed for this study were from a range of sports including both female and male individual and team sports. Most of the coaches interviewed were well educated through various sport organizations including the CAC (i.e., NCCP coach certification) as well as through university programs (i.e., masters or PhD degrees). Specifically one (1) coach has a high performance sport specific coach certificate, one (1) coach is a certified performance coach through the NCCP and has a degree in sport coaching and development from outside of Canada, two (2) coaches are certified performance coaches through the NCCP, two (2) coaches are certified performance coaches and hold an Advanced Coaching Diploma (ACD) certificate from the NCCP, one (1) coach is a certified performance coach, holds an ACD certificate from the NCCP, and has a master's of coaching degree and one (1) coach had no formal coach education, but had two master's degrees (one in sport administration and one in motor learning) and a PhD (also in motor learning). Collectively, this was an experienced and well-educated group of coaches with a wealth of insight into the work and professional aspects of university sport coaching.

### **Texts, governing documents, and coach contracts.**

The texts, governing documents, and coach contracts analyzed for this study were obtained from the Athletic Directors of each athletics department respectively. When I spoke to Athletic Directors about the document analysis aspect of this study, both individuals initially agreed and confirmed it would be no problem to review their documents. However, I had to send

several emails in order to follow up about document collection and it took both Athletic Director's considerable time to collect and send over the documents. For this study, the following texts were reviewed: 1) a sample of a job posting/description of a head coaching job; 2) a sample of a head coach contract (i.e., full time, part-time head coach); 3) coaching codes of conduct; 4) a sample of the year end coach evaluation document; and 5) a maternity and/or paternity leave policy. Interestingly, both universities did not have a maternity leave policy specific to coaches; rather, in the case of the IAD where coaches are considered faculty, the faculty maternity leave policy was applied to coaches, and in the case of the NIAD, the general campus wide maternity and/or parental leave policy was applied to.

In addition to reviewing texts and documents that operate within ADs specifically to regulate the work of sport coaches, I reviewed governing/policy documents from USports and the CAC that may also impact the work of sport coaching. The governing documents used from USports and the CAC were accessible online and as such publicly available. The documents selected from the USports website included: 1) the Code of Conduct; 2) Eligibility Rules; 3) Recruiting Regulations; 4) Financial Awards Regulations; and 5) Anti-Doping Rules. These five documents (and the rules and regulations therein) were selected because they were ones most routinely referenced by USports administrators, Athletic Directors, and coaches during the interviews.

The CAC texts analyzed in this study included: 1) the chartered professional coach (ChPC) information (two documents total); the ChPC appeal procedure; the ChPC professional practices committee information; 2) the CAC's Code of Conduct and disciplinary procedures; and 3) the NCCP Code of Ethics. These documents were again selected based on the influence they had on coaches. Although the coaches who participated in this study were clear on the fact

that the CAC had minimal to no influence on them as university sport coaches, the CAC is recognized as the only coach governing body that provides a professional coach designation (ChPC). I decided to include both codes of conduct listed above, because the coaches who do obtain a ChPC designation (some of whom participated in this study) are required to abide by these codes of conduct in addition to the codes of conduct in play at their institutions.

### **Fieldwork Observation.**

As mentioned previously, the COVID-19 pandemic forced data collection to end early, which meant I was unable to collect the observational data from the IAD. However, the observational data that was collected came from the USports' AGM and the NIAD. This data included observations from: one AD-wide coach meeting; three meetings between coaches (who participated as interviewees for my study) and their own coaching staffs (e.g., assistant coaches, mental performance head coaches); three team practices; and finally, one day of the 2018 USports AGM. Observations are an important method of data collection in IE, as they can provide information on the local experiences of participants as well as how those activities are organized. The data collected from the observations was used in conjunction with the data from the semi-structured interviews and documents in order to glean important insights about coach work. During this fieldwork, I tried my best to collect the data that centred on the coach, which included how administrators spoke to coaches, how coaches interacted with their staff (e.g., assistant coaches), how coaches interacted with the athletes and/or other coaches during the practices and, at the AGM, how Athletic Directors and Associate Athletic Directors spoke about rules and regulations that had direct impacts on coach work.

## **Analysis of Data: IE and Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis (TA) (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Flick, 2009) was employed in order to analyze the data collected from this study. By explicating the social relations of the setting, how different actors constitute the setting and, how texts operate as extensions of ruling relations, IE worked to provide a picture of the social realities of coaching as work within the Canadian university sport landscape in this study. The traditional analytical goal of IE is not centered on theorizing understandings and experiences, as to do so would lose its situated meaning. Therefore, formal analytical strategies are not commonly given primacy, as Smith (2006) is concerned that traditional methods of sociological inquiry “deploy the political effect of theory to master other voices” (p. 2). Additionally, the purpose of analysis in IE is not to produce generalizable results of participants’ experiences, but rather to “find and describe social processes that have generalizing effects” (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 18). In the case of this study, participants are viewed as providing insights into the set of relations operating within their sport organizations to frame their daily experiences of work. As such the analytical focus of this IE study was on the process and coordination of interviews, observations, and text analysis in order to “map out complex institutional chains of action” (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 39). This study aimed to link the experiences of coaches to the organizational processes operating within the IAD or NIAD, as framed by the larger university, where they work. Therefore, for this study, the order in which data was reviewed and coded reflected the prioritization of voices followed by an examination of observational data and, eventually, the linking together of peoples’ experiences with or to particular governing documents.

### **Thematic Analysis.**

I approached the analysis of data with the goal of IE in mind, which seeks to prioritize the experiences of participants; something that is well aligned with TA. Specifically, TA is an approach to data analysis, which allows the researcher to examine both the breadth and depth of a data set, which is achieved through the identification of patterns and/or themes across a data set in order to describe and interpret the meaning and importance of such themes (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Braun et al., 2016). TA requires the researcher to engage in the recursive and reflexive process of working through data familiarization, coding, theme development, revision, naming and writing. As such, "...analysis is produced through the intersection of your theoretical assumptions, disciplinary knowledge, research skills and experience, and the content of the data" (Braun et al., 2016, p.7). Given that TA is one of the most commonly used methods of analysis used to interpret both semi-structured interviews and textual data, it was the best choice for this study.

Additionally, TA is thought of as a flexible approach to data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012), which allowed me to examine the data in different ways, at different stages throughout the research process. Specifically, I was able to explore and organize the data in a systematic way across interviews, observations, and texts while keeping in mind that the goal of this analysis was not to generalize the experiences of coaches, but rather to use their lived experiences and those of sport administrators in order to map out the broader web of ruling relations within their institutions (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Smith, 2005). As such, I was able to use the interview, observation, and document analysis to help guide my understanding of the ruling relations that were recurring.

Once the interviews were transcribed verbatim, I went through and read each interview over in order to familiarize myself with the interview content and to ask questions where I was uncertain of the data's meaning. Following this, I went back through each interview and coded all of the interviews paying close attention to my research objectives and highlighting areas of analytical relevance (Braun et al., 2016). After the initial coding took place, I then circled back to perform a second round of coding in order to ensure that codes were consistent across the data set. This process involved adding new codes and, in some cases, getting rid of a code, as some pieces of data were re-arranged into already existing codes. Once the codes were finalized, I then engaged in theme development in order to further organize the data, moving from very specific codes to higher level categorizations (Braun et al., 2016).

After grouping the codes into themes for each set of interviews (i.e., coaches, university sport administrators, and MSO sport administrators) I was able to interpret and make sense of the data, which was useful for extrapolating key quotes to communicate the relevance of each theme to the research objectives. Specifically, these themes were useful in highlighting important aspects of the data, which were used to develop robust and detailed answers to the outlined research objectives. In order to ensure the quality of the themes, I followed Braun et al.'s (2016) recommendations to ensure (1) that there was a central organizing concept enabling all data and codes to adhere to specific point, (2) that the centralizing concept was distinct for each theme, (3) that the relationships, interconnections, and/or boundaries between the themes were highlighted and (4) to address whether or not the themes were telling a coherent story about that data in relation to the research objectives (p. 12). The above outlined steps of analyses were often occurring and recurring throughout the data analysis process.

The insights I gleaned from analysing interviews were useful in framing the observations I made of coaches within their working contexts (i.e., athletic department coaches meeting, individual coach meetings, and practices). Specifically, I was able to make note of specific forms of work (that coaches had mentioned in their interviews) in relation to their context, which allowed me to make connections with interview data and further map out the web of relations within the university environment. Additionally, I used learnings from interview and observational data to assist in my review and analysis of governing texts and documents from the CAC, USports, USports conferences, as well as from both the IAD and NIAD.

Initially I scanned the policy documents in order to highlight sections and language specific to coaches and coach work. I also made note of sections that were unclear, the settings and procedures to which these documents pertained, and the overlap between these documents and the insights from interviews with both coaches and university administrators. Eventually, I applied the themes and my analysis from interview transcripts to the governing texts and policy documents in order to illuminate how these institutional documents structure the lived experiences of coaches.

During the analysis extensive notes were taken in order to keep track of my interpretations of interview content, to help with the identification of codes, categories, and themes and to record decisions that were made to keep or discard any of the identified themes. Notes also tracked my connection to the literature and theory, producing a record of ongoing dialogue between data, literature, and theory. These notes were kept in journals and used as tool to assist in researcher reflexivity.

## **Researcher Reflexivity**

As previously mentioned in this chapter, reflexivity is an important part of any research process that serves to remind the researcher that they are part of the social world they study, and that their values and worldviews position them to perceive and explore the research problem in a particular way (Creswell, 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Thomas, 1993). I am a nascent socio-cultural researcher who is also an assistant coach within the USports context. As such, I acknowledge my position in this research and recorded my reflexive thoughts in a researcher journal in order to be transparent about the ways in which my experience as both researcher and practitioner has influenced this study, including the theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices made.

I chose to conduct an IE study framed within the theoretical positioning of FPE in part because of what I see as a clear alignment between IE and FPE and also in part because of my own personal and political resonance with both IE and FPE. My experiences and observations as a female sport coach working for and with university sport head coaches—as informed by my social location, theoretical orientation, political commitments and lived experiences—situate me in a context that is responsible for shaping my worldview and, therefore, framing the beliefs and assumptions I have about this research. As such, attention must be paid to these assumptions and their influences on this project. Below I offer a reflection as a point of departure for further acknowledging my contested researcher-coach identity.

### **Straddling my researcher-coach identity: Contested terrain.**

I am a young white, able bodied, heterosexual, cis-gendered women born to a working-class family in Canada. I am a feminist, I locate myself as progressive in my political stance, and privileged in my formal education as a consequence of my numerous university-based

credentials in the multi-disciplinary study of Kinesiology including a Bachelor of Science, a Master of Arts, and my current pursuit of a Doctor of Philosophy. I am a university sport coach who has worked in the capacity of an assistant coach, in three separate and distinct university athletics departments (2 NIAD and 1 IAD) and within two different divisions of university sport (Canada West and OUA). I have been sought out for my sport coaching abilities and, to date, I have assisted female (two) and male (one) head coaches in my ten-year long university sport coaching career.

For many years, I have been grappling with the complexities of the awakening of my own sociological imagination by more closely examining how my private struggles of being a woman in competitive sport coaching are connected to the public struggles surrounding the under-representation and lack of meaningful (quantitatively and qualitatively) sporting opportunities for women in sport coaching. This awakening process has proved to be far from simple, but I draw assurance and, to some extent comfort, from the large and small connections I make between the theoretical/abstract study of sport/sport coaching, and my own personhood in my social contexts. I already recognize that my work in these regards is lifelong and backdropped by the contested terrains of sport, sport coaching and, to some degree, the critical socio-cultural study of sport coaching, where many academic scholars are critical of coaches and where many practicing coaches are either unaware or outright dismissive of the work of critical socio-cultural scholars and their scholarship. Nonetheless, I see no other option but to push forward in my constant search for deeper understanding of my professional worlds.

I began developing and carrying out this project being aware that I am one of few females coaching in university sport. As a white woman, who does not face the added challenges associated with race, ability, socio-economic status or sexuality, I acknowledge that my

experience is not indicative of all women coaching university sport, but that my position represents the majority of women (white, able bodied, working class, heterosexual) coaching in university sport. I also assumed that the status of sport coaches was undervalued within university sport settings and that coaches did not have the same experiences as their purely academic counterparts. Thus, I entered into this research with the belief that coaching was not considered meaningful lifelong work and, that as a female, coaching university sport would be much more difficult for me than for my male colleagues. This aligns with my assumption that many sporting spaces operate as key social sites where inequities are constructed and reinforced. These views are consistent with my view of higher education and sport broadly, as institutions marked by unequitable power relations and as spaces that reinforce and reproduce these power inequities over time. As such, I entered into this study being both personally and professionally committed to capturing the inequitable arrangements that exist within university athletics departments and to bridge these inequities with the social injustices that exist as well.

Through the process of familiarizing myself with the sociological literature on work and professionalism, I further came to adopt the perspective of coaching as a precarious form of employment or as work marked by inconsistencies such as job security, salary, degree of control over labour and regulatory protections (e.g., collective agreements and employment laws) and that coaching was an even more precarious form of labour for women, who remain on the margins of university sport coaching. I believe that viewpoints such as these contribute to the view of sport coaching as a less desirable form of work and yet, the status and prestige of some coaches who practice within professional sport (e.g., NBA, NHL, and MLB) and certain NCAA sports (e.g., men's football and men's basketball) cannot be denied. This represents another

example of how sport as an institution is inequitable, advancing very few people, and brings into focus how many lived experiences in sport have been overlooked.

And yet, I still participate in sport despite the inequities! I believe that the institution of sport is complex and exists as a social paradox where inequities are reinforced and reproduced and, at the same time, one's experience in sport can function as a powerful demonstration of resistance. I believe that participating in sport at a high level both as an athlete and a coach provided me with an opportunity to resist sexist claims about what women can and cannot do. Therefore, I took my lived experience as a point of departure for this study in order to examine how other people (those who identified and did not identify like me) experienced sport firsthand for themselves. I resist objective truth claims about knowledge and believe that we can only fully come to know any particular phenomena through our experiences of interacting in the world as social beings. Therefore, I believe that knowledge about the work (including the gendered work) and professionalization of sport coaches can be gleaned from a range of sources and that intersubjectivity is a requirement if I am to capture the complex, dynamic, and context-dependent nature of the lived experience of sport coaching as work.

My personal experiences, academic training, alongside my social and political viewpoints have informed the assumptions outlined above and, in turn, have shaped why I chose to study university sport coaches. This includes how I have engaged in the process of studying sport coaches, the kinds of questions I have asked, and the data I have collected on and about university sport coaches. I have acknowledged these assumptions so as to make plain my involvement as the researcher in gathering data and how the position I occupy is deeply rooted in the construction of knowledge (Simon & Dippo, 1986).

During the process of data collection and analysis, I made sure to record inner nudges and how my position (e.g., social location, assumptions, beliefs and values) impacted the ways in which I both interpreted and analyzed the data. For example, during data collection I struggled most with my personal viewpoints when asking interview questions about the gendered and gendering aspects of sport coaching work. Specifically, I had to work hard to manage my facial expressions, my body language, the intonation of words, and my inner urge to educate participants on women in sport coaching during the portion of the interview on gender and university sport coaching. For example, I experienced visceral reactions when, during interviews with coaches and administrators (most of whom were male), would start their response to my questions with such statements as: “There was no difference between coaching for men and women,” or that “A coach’s gender did not matter.” Or, when probed further on why there were not more women coaching, would often give answers that were altogether disappointing and reinforcing gendered views about women’s roles inside the home. As such I sought out fellow female coaches (including my mentor coach) and my supervisor in order to reconcile these frustrating moments. The conversations I had with coaches and my supervisor alike not only helped me with acknowledging myself and my reactions in the research process as valuable points of data and identifying important findings from within the participants’ words, but also in understanding the broader social, political, institutional complexes within which my participants were embedded in. For example, whereas my first reaction to the above statements from male study participants as undeniable *proof* of their sexist and misogynist ideologies, conversations with my mentor-coach and my supervisor allowed me to recognize that the social construction of hegemonic masculinity and idealized femininity operate to disadvantage men as well as women,

and that the feminist agenda is to free women and men from the tyranny of sexist/misogynist misconception for the better of all individuals regardless of their sex or gendered location.

This chapter has outlined the study methodology in terms of epistemological and ontological assumptions. The chapter began with an outline of the methodological framework IE guiding this study in order to further address the topics of research setting, participant recruitment, and data collection. The aim of this institutional ethnography is to make plain the political, economic, and social aspects of sport coaching within Canadian university sport in efforts to explore and unpack both sport coaching as work, as well as the gendered and gendering nature of sport coaching as work. I used a research design in which qualitative data were collected using IE methods (e.g., interviews, observations, and documents) and the findings were analyzed using TA and as informed by my own FPE theoretical orientation. These findings are discussed thematically in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESULTS & DISCUSSION I: COACH WORK AND CONDITIONS OF COACH WORK

#### Chapter Five Take Aways

- As illuminated in the governing texts and interview insights, sport coaching is: boundaryless work (i.e., knowing no bounds in terms of time and/or activity) qualified work (i.e., it must always be tethered to additional tasks), and precarious work (i.e., risky work on behalf of the employee).
- Collectively, these findings demonstrate how sport coaches work in a capitalist economy, which when coupled with a neoliberal governing rationality, re-enforces the ideology that good citizens are equated to good workers.
- Notions of meritocracy add fuel to people seeing their individual efforts as the sole reason for their successes and their failures, to the neglect of critical questioning or collective action on issues of access and opportunity to good jobs, secure work, stable pay, or even occupational status or prestige
- The system of university sport is one that includes entities such as university institutions across Canada (e.g., The University of Toronto), USports (i.e., the national governing body of university sport in Canada), as well as the four divisions that fit within USports (e.g., RSEQ).
- Coaches interact chiefly with Associate Athletic Directors operating within their respective institutions, who communicate the rules of the Division and, in some cases USports to them. Thus, as outlined in the reconfigured research setting diagram (p. 130) coaches are impacted most by their institution, their division and USports.

As highlighted in Chapter Two, there is an inherent assumption in the sport coaching literature that sport coaching is work/labour/a career/a profession, and that sport coaching is deserving of recognition and compensation as work/labour/a career/a profession. And yet little critical attention has been paid to such assumptions. This chapter begins to address this gap in the literature by focusing on the first and third questions of this study: is university sport coaching considered work, in what ways, and why? In addition, what conditions frame the daily working experiences of coaches in their university (athletic and/or academic) settings?

Data from study participants (IAD and NIAD university sport coaches and sport administrators, administrators from both MSOs) and relevant organizational documents (e.g., job descriptions, employment contracts, performance evaluations) made clear that these questions

are interwoven together, and thus the chapter first examines how university sport coaching is considered work, before then examining the conditions that framed the working experiences of the study participants in the second half. A reminder that pseudonyms are employed for all interview participants and that potential identifying characteristics have been modified where necessary to help ensure participant confidentiality to the fullest extent possible.

### **Section I: University Sport Coaching as Work**

As will be demonstrated below, the data from document analysis and interviews highlight sport coaching as “qualified,” “boundaryless,” and “precarious.” Firstly, the university and its athletic departments (i.e., the IAD and NIAD) have constructed sport coaching as work, chiefly through the existence of legally binding contracts. These official documents formalize sport coaching as work and, interestingly, illuminate sport coaching as ‘qualified’ work which, in this research project, is understood as the way in which coaching must be tethered to additional responsibilities (e.g., administration and service to the community) and/or coach qualities (e.g., passionate and hard-working) in order to ‘qualify’ coaching as work. Coaching in and of itself is not viewed by the university institution as stand-alone work and thus its value must always be qualified by being more than coaching. This contributes to sport coaching work becoming “boundaryless” work as the sport coach finds themselves engaging in activities that know no boundaries in terms of task and/or time commitment. This porosity of boundary between work and non-work time and space, as well as lack of job security in some university sport contexts, in turn contributes to sport coaching work being undocumented and/or unregulated, causing a sense of “precarity” in the sport coach-worker. As noted in Chapter Two, precarious work is “uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker” (Kalleberg, 2008, p. 2).

Not only do the documents analyzed in this chapter structure and shape the views of sport coaching as ‘qualified’, ‘boundaryless’, and ‘precarious’ work, but they further have direct impacts on the lived experiences of sport coaches working within the athletics department who report a range of feelings towards their work. These feelings and the associated experiences reported by coaches – summarized below – lend support to the conceptualization of university sport coaching as qualified, boundaryless, and, at times, precarious work.

### **University sport coaching as work: Texts and governing documents.**

Texts, governing documents (i.e., policies), and coach contracts were gathered from both the NIAD and the IAD in order to analyze their construction of coach work. Each institution provided a sample of pertinent coach governing texts, which vary considerably from one another given that the NIAD and IAD represent distinct university sport structures. The analysis of these governing texts is of central importance to this study as they illuminate the relationship between the NIAD or IAD and their coaches. In particular, these documents are important in so far as they operate to construct and categorize sport coaches as workers. The subsequent section on coach work conditions will unpack this in a more fulsome way; however, the purpose of this section is to examine how these documents frame coach work broadly, and coach work within the NIAD and IAD specifically.

#### ***NIAD documents.***

In reviewing the documents provided from the NIAD, the position description for the *Coaching/Program Manager USports* and the *Coach Contract* are of critical consideration as they clearly outline and define the work-related expectations and responsibilities of coaches as well as the coaches’ terms of employment and evaluation. The position description for the *Coaching/Program Manager USports* outlines in detail the position purpose, specific

accountabilities, knowledge/experience/skills, direct reporting relationships, typical contracts of working relationships, initiative/problem solving/key issues/challenges, decision making, dimensions and working environment and conditions (i.e., physical effort, physical environment, sensory attention and mental stress). In addition to highlighting tasks that clearly outline the work-related expectations of coaches, the document also uses terms like ‘work’ – or variations of it (e.g., working) and job. In using the term job – “a very demanding part of this job” (p. 3) – the position description suggests that coaching is a job rather than a career and/or profession.

The *specific accountabilities section* highlights in detail the tasks involved in university sport coaching, which include “... Coaching (60%), Program Management (30%), and Marketing, Communications, and Community Outreach (10%)” (p. 1). This phrasing is interesting given that coaches made clear statements during the interviews about how sport coaching was the smallest portion of their overall coaching work; for example, Mike said: “it’s 90% problem solving and 10% coaching”. This may be indicative of the difference for coaches who are living their work versus how the university and the NIAD structure the work of a university sport coach. Although the coaches offered different percentages than the one’s listed in the position description, they did comment on the broad elements of their job as constitutive of coaching (e.g. Jonathon said: “I schedule in the coaching of the week and then I build around that”), administration (e.g., Will said: “there’s administrative things that have to be done”), and service to the broader community (e.g., Rachel said: “we do a lot of community outreach, so we do a lot of high school skills programs”). Additionally, the structuring of coaching work as more than just coaching on the court, pitch, or pool further constructs coaching work as ‘qualified’ work in that it requires coaches to take on additional tasks like administration and service to the community.

Under the descriptions of Coaching, Program Management, and Service, there are twenty-three (23) qualifiers listed; some of which include: “In coordination with the head athletic therapist, be responsible for the supervision of all student-athletes and student therapy staff” (p. 1); “Liaise with the Student Athlete Services Officer regarding the support and guidance of student-athlete scheduling, academic performance, mentoring requirements, counseling and the allocation of Athlete Financial Awards” (p. 2); and “Facilitate the involvement of the USports Program’s student-athletes in community outreach and on-campus promotions” (p. 2). These are just three of the shorter twenty-three (23) expectations of coaches, some of which are longer in description and include multiple qualifiers. In turn, these qualifiers construct coach work as not only qualified work, but ‘boundaryless’ work that includes an array of work-related activities.

Finally, in addition to outlining three distinct areas of coaching work with qualifiers under the *specific accountabilities section*, the remaining seven sections of the document emphasize additional requirements of coaches including: “developing an innovative training culture” (p. 3); “mentoring support staff and assistant coaches” (p. 3); “investigating and listening daily to student-athletes” (p. 5); and adhering to “regular deadlines for administrative work” (p. 5). These comments further lend support to the notion of sport coaching as qualified and boundaryless work in that they outline additional tasks coaches must take on to qualify their work. These sections of text – alongside others such as coaches: “must constantly be looking for creative ways to enhance service delivery” (p. 3); must be “extremely active for 60% of the day” (p. 4); must “concentrate on developing programs efficiently while in a busy physical environment” (p. 5); and are required to deal with “rescheduling, multi-tasking, working weekends and long hours” (p. 5) – support notions of coach work not only as qualified work, but also as boundaryless work (e.g., working weekends and long hours) and, in some circumstances,

precarious work (e.g., managing unpredictability through rescheduling and a high degree of task switching).

The *head coaching contract* is brief (two pages) and includes clear examples of language specific to work and/or employment. In particular, this document describes coaching as employment and the coach as an employee and/or staff member of the NIAD. Examples of this language include “duration of employment... work schedule... salary... insured benefits... and pension plan” (p. 1). Furthermore, the contract refers to the coach as “long term staff” (p. 1) and uses additional work and/or labour related language such as “your conditions of employment...” (p. 2), “...during your employment here” (p. 2), and “the terms of employment...” (p. 2).

Although the *head coaching position description* is much more thorough and explicit about the range of work-related activities, it is interesting to note that the sample *head coaching contract* lists the *work schedule* as “35 hours per week” (p. 1). This is clearly at odds with what the *head coaching position description* outlined (e.g., working weekends and long hours) and what NIAD coaches and sport administrators had to say about the time commitment of university sport coaching (to be shared in the subsequent section), representing another example of how sport coaching may be viewed as messy (unclear), which may lead coaches to experience precarity.

Taken together the position description, coach contract, and annual review documents construct coaching within the NIAD university environment as work and therefore not a hobby and/or pass time activity. Moreover, these documents outline a number of qualifiers of coach work, which contributes to further constructing coach work as boundaryless and precarious. The next section will outline how the same constructions of coach work exist within the IAD documents and will compare and contrast the NIAD and IAD documents.

### ***IAD documents.***

In shifting attention to the IAD, the sample *Academic Teaching Staff (ATS) agreement or head coach contract* (the equivalent to the NIAD *head coaching/program manager USports* description) does not explicitly use the words work and/or employment; however, it does use the term staff "... a staff member under the ATS agreement..." (p.1) to refer to coaches, thus implying that coaches are working for the university. Rather than use additional work and/or labour related terms, this contract emphasizes "teaching related duties and activities (coaching)" (p. 1). For example, the head coach contract states that a coach is to be "...a scholar who must be responsible for teaching a university level course, remaining current in the discipline and/or profession, [perform] duties related to research and/or scholarly activity and duties related to service" (p. 1). Not only does this statement outline qualifiers of coach work (e.g., teaching a university level course), but it also aligns with the insights that the IAD coaches shared during interviews on their work as including teaching and/or additional coach-work requirements. Eddie shared: "I teach a [second year] coaching course as well," and Karl said: "I work for the faculty in our [sport] system so I'm in charge of the coach development [and] I'm in charge of all employment for summer camps".

The coach contract goes on to outline the work of a head coach as "teaching a university credit course (20%), teaching related activities or coaching (60%), service contribution (10%) and research and scholarly activities (10%)" (p. 1). Under these categories, twenty-four (24) qualifiers or coach work activities are listed to include "organizing and managing competitive events," "booking required facilities," "financial management of program," "recruitment of athletes throughout the province and country," and "build the brand for the sport through social media" (p. 2) to name a few. As was the case with the NIAD coaches, during the interviews, IAD

coaches implied that coaching was in fact much less than 60% of their work-related activities. Matthew said, “I have faculty council meetings, maintaining the [area] rental with the city when I help coach at [club], making sure the times are all right, paying bills, equipment management, maintain club records, all those things.” Logan said: “there’s roughly 8-10 hours of face-to-face coaching in the week”. Overall, the presence of twenty-four (24) coach work tasks not only serves to construct coach work as qualified work, but again to re-enforce the notion of coach work as boundaryless work.

The range of activities listed in the coach contract further constructs coach work as boundaryless work. This was clear under sections that highlighted additional expectations of coaches including to be the principal instructor for “one or two undergraduate classes” (p.1) as well as “to participate in the governance of the department and disseminate knowledge to the general public”, and “support the role of research being conducted by academic staff/graduate students” (p. 2). These statements highlight the qualified and boundarylessness of coaching work, which may cause coaches to feel overwhelmed. In short, university sport coaches are not just coaches – they must be an administrator and community service provider and a teacher that is expected to fulfill a range of qualifying activities (e.g., department meetings and participation in academic studies). Lastly, this contract is written as if to assume that coaches have no additional responsibilities in their personal and/or home life (a point to be raised in the final discussion chapter).

The *coach commitment letter* (the equivalent to the NIAD *coach contract*) is short (one page) and begins with a concise sentence explaining the appointment of the “*ATS* staff position” and that, should the recipient accept this “letter of employment,” they will be subject to the university’s *Collective Agreement*. As highlighted here, the terms ‘staff’ and ‘employment’ are

used to denote this position as a working position. Next the specific terms of the appointment are listed, including position rank and title, contract status, department, period of appointment, probationary period, full-time equivalent, special conditions (if any) and a reminder that the signee is eligible for a removal grant in accordance with the *Collective Agreement*. The remainder of this document explains how the signee is responsible for remaining eligible for employment in Canada and an explanation that all personal information collected by the university shall be done so under the appropriate provincial protection of privacy act. In sum, this brief *letter of commitment* indicates that a coach has a contractual relationship with and is an employee of the university therefore, suggesting that sport coaching within this institution is deemed work.

In comparing both the NIAD and IAD governing texts, documents, and coach contracts it is clear that their use of language is varied. For example, the NIAD uses the label *head coaching description* and the IAD uses the label *coaching contract*. Additionally, although the policies and coaching contracts at both the NIAD and IAD viewed coaching as a job and coaches as staff and/or employees and thus workers, the structuring of coach work within each university context is distinct. For example, coaches at the IAD are regarded as *ATS* staff, which both makes them subject to different forms of work including teaching and which affords them certain protections under the *Collective Agreement*. Conversely, coaches operating within the NIAD are considered staff members, who are non-unionized and thus have less protection than their IAD counterparts. Not only does this demonstrate the difference between an integrated and non-integrated athletics department, but also how the construction of coach work within the IAD (where coaches must teach) and NIAD (where coaches are not required to teach) contributes to differences in the daily lived experiences of sport coaches. Moreover, that sport coaches operating in the NIAD may be

subject to more precarity (i.e., lower salaries, less benefits, more unregulated work) than those at the IAD. These differences were further reflected in the year end coach evaluations, which are structured to include different sections.

Although the use of specific language is varied, in both the NIAD *coach contract* and the IAD *coach commitment letter*, both are brief documents outlining the overall important components of head coaching. An additional similarity includes that both sets of documents from the NIAD and the IAD refer to sport coaching as a job and not as a career and or a profession. Although there are differences in how the documents construct coach work (including teaching at the IAD), there are similarities including the long lists of coach work qualifiers, which contribute to the construction of university coach work as qualified, boundaryless and, at times, precarious.

Collectively the documents and policies analysed from both the NIAD and IAD construct sport coaching within the university environment as work, which suggests that university coaching is not a hobby and/or a past-time activity. Although it may be the case that some coaches operating within the university environment are volunteers insofar as they are not being paid for their services (to be highlighted in the subsequent section on conditions of coach work), these volunteers are not serving in head coach roles. The long lists of coach qualifiers present within these documents underscores coach work as boundaryless, and, at times, risky. The construction of coach work as qualified, boundaryless, and precarious within these documents is important, given that these texts impact and shape the lived experiences of university sport coaches, who are performing daily coach work; it is these lived experiences to which the rest of the chapter turns.

### **University sport coaching as work: Interview data.**

When asked to comment on whether or not university sport coaching was considered work, a range of answers were elicited from university sport coaches. Some coaches asked a clarifying question in response such as: “Work, like as in a job?” (Matthew) or “Do I consider being a head coach, who’s paid full time by a university, to coach a varsity team to be work?” (Logan). Other coaches stated outright that it was work: “So I’ll start by saying yes of course it is work” (Karl), “I do consider it work” (Eddie), and “I think that it is a very challenging and demanding job, so when you ask if I think it’s work... I don’t think it’s that simple” (Mike). The remaining three coaches had responses that resisted the idea of coaching as work. For example, Rachel said: “No I don’t have a job. That’s what I tell people like I don’t work. It’s just a complete joy, I don’t know how you can call coaching work;” Will stated “Oh no, no this is not work for me. No, no. this is not work at all. I’ve never had a bad day here;” and Jonathon said “The label of what I do is a job... I happen to do sport coaching, but in terms of my emotional attachment to it, I’ve literally never told anybody I have to go to work”.

A range of replies were also present when the coaches were asked to comment on the kinds of labour and/or work-related language they use to describe coaching. Labour and/or work-related terms that were used to describe coaching included: work (Logan, Matthew, Karl, Eddie); a job (Jonathon, Eddie, Rachel, Will); a vocation (Will); a lifestyle (Logan, Eddie); a career (Mike, Jonathon, Eddie, Will, Logan and Matthew); and a profession (Rachel, Eddie, Karl). Not only was this array of terms used initially by individual coaches to describe their work, but coaches also used these terms interchangeably throughout the course of their interviews.

The varied replies from coaches continued when asked to comment on what it was like to work within their athletics department. For example, coaches from the IAD said it is “the best

job ever” (Matthew), “a pretty unique place to work” (Logan), “a great place to work” (Karl) and “very humbling” (Eddie); and NIAD coaches included “aside from being pretty male dominated, pretty open” (Rachel), “It’s a lot of fun [and] stressful at times” (Mike), “[university] athletics is a small city on its own... yet my particular sports world feels like my high school sport department, and I love the feeling of a close-knit group of people” (Jonathon) and “It’s fine. We are on our own island out here, so I don’t get these people bothering me that much” (Will). The replies from both the IAD and the NIAD coaches highlight a tension where university coaching on one hand is the best, great, open, fun, close-knit and free and on the other hand it is unique, male dominated, humbling, stressful, and just fine. The range of responses given from the sport coaches on sport coaching as work, the work-related terms they used to refer to coaching, and their feelings towards working further illuminate the boundaryless (e.g., a lifestyle, not simple, demanding) and in some cases, precarious (e.g., stressful, male dominated, humbling) nature of university sport coaching work.

When speaking to the university administrators who supervise coaches within their athletic departments, the administrators unanimously felt that sport coaching was work: “Obviously I consider it work” (Andrew); “I definitely think it’s more work than play” (Ella); “Well, it’s definitely work. I also think there’s a huge passion for it. If you’re not passionate, you’re not doing the work” (Kurtis); “It’s definitely hard work, but it’s usually done by people who are passionate about the work” (John); “I think it’s work” (Margaret); “Yes I mean it’s definitely a job” (Sophie); and “Not only it is labour, its labour intensive” (Tim). The range of labour and/or work terms used (not including work) to describe coaching included a career (Margaret, Andrew, John, Sophie), a job (Sophie), and a profession (Margaret, Tim, Ella,

Kurtis). Thus, the replies and language employed by university sport administrators also contributes to the construction of coach work messy and/or boundaryless.

Of particular interest in the replies from the university sport administrators were the additional themes of passion and hard work. Even the administrators that did not initially include passion and hard work in their replies, went on to further clarify, that passion and hard work were essential to university sport coaching. For example:

- Passion and work ethic. Those are the two things without those two things, there's no brand building. There's no brand building then there's no relationships, right? You've got to have those and when people come into [our] program the first thing I tell them is it's not for everybody (Andrew).
- It's a labour of love for most of them because it takes a lot of hard work, so you have to be driven too (Margaret).

The yoking together of passion and hard work also came up for some of the coaches; "I'm passionate about my work" (Eddie); "I think it's a passion for a lot of people" (Karl); "I'm passionate about [coaching]" (Jonathon); "There's a lot to this job outside of coaching and I think it's hard" (Mike); and "It is hard work" (Jonathon). The quick and go-to combination of passion and work expressed by interview participants, when being asked to defined sport coaching as work or not, illuminated almost an ambivalence among some participants – on one hand, a need to emphasize that sport coaching was not work-like (it is passion-inducing!) or, on the other hand, sport coaching is not just fun and exciting, it is serious and worthy of being recognized as work.

Additional university coach and administrator insights on sport coaching as work that are critical to highlight include the range of coach work-related activities that were identified when

asked to unpack what made up the daily and weekly tasks of sport coaches. Specifically, all of the university sport coaches and administrators acknowledged that sport coaches do much more than just coaching their athletes on the court, pitch or pool. University sport coaches and administrators alike came up with the following list of coach work-related activities: winning; building relationships; supporting athletes on/off the court; problem solving; developing team culture; academic support; teaching undergraduate courses; scheduling; planning/running practice; video analysis; yearly performance planning; supporting/mentoring coaching staff; recruitment; administration; daily communications; budget and finance; equipment management; travel preparation; sponsorship management; fundraising; alumni relations; community engagement; service to the university and developing their sport outside of the university context. Although, this is not an exhaustive list, it is clear that coaches are not just coaching their teams and that the majority of coaching is not coaching in and of itself. This list of activities communicates that not only is university sport coaching qualified, but further that university sport coaches are engaged in boundaryless work (both in terms of range of activities and time) and that university sport coaching may be considered precarious labour.

When discussing the range of work-related activities that coaches were responsible for it was immediately evident that coaches do not just coach. Coaches communicated this by sharing insights such as: “There’s so much more that we offer these athletes” (Logan), that coaching was “90% problem solving and 10% coaching” (Mike), and that “My work is not only coaching the team. I’m also teaching a class” (Matthew). In some cases, coaches referred to their coach work as being more than the above suggested 10%, but it was clear from all of the coaches that coaching did not make up the lion’s share of their daily responsibilities as suggested in the IAD and NIAD documents (i.e., listed as 60% of coach work). In discussion with university sport

administrators, they admitted that the coaches who were the best at doing their jobs “are actually able to put the blinders on and maybe not worry about this and that all the time” (Kurtis) and that, at times, others have underappreciated “How much [coaches] kind of take the time to figure out what pieces and what athletes are going to fit their style and their program” (Ella); this all lends credence to the suggestion that there are many aspects to the work of a sport coach that extend far beyond on-court/pitch/pool action.

The notion of coach work as qualified, dovetails with the finding of coach work as boundaryless work. In addition to listing the work-related aspects of coaching and making comments about how coaching was so much more than just coaching, coaches also commented on the time it took to perform their duties as a coach. Comments on their time commitment as coaches included: “I’m typically here by 8am and out of here by 9pm” (Eddie); “I’m working or coaching you know until sort of 7 or 8 o’clock at night” (Karl); “There’s administrative things that have to be done, but I try to usually do that around midnight” (Will); and “It’s not a 9-5pm job right? It’s probably more than forty hours a week plus the weekends I’m spending at events” (Matthew); and “[In] the coaching world the hours are just so messed up” (Rachel). These comments suggest that in addition to doing a range of work-related activities, coaches are also working non-standard hours in order to complete all of their duties as a coach. University administrators echoed these sentiments about the time involved in coaching saying, “It’s Thursday nights, Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays, but in the background there’s another 40 hours of prep work supporting that throughout the week” (Tim); “Certainly during their season coaches work anywhere from 12 to 16-hour days” (Kurtis); and “Our coaches are recruiting all the time... they’re on the front line all the time” (Margaret). Statements like these from both

university sport coaches and administrators demonstrate the notion of coach work as boundaryless both in terms of the work-related tasks and time commitment involved in coaching.

It is important to note that the boundaryless nature of sport coaching work extended not just to hours in a week, but also to the porous nature of the year (i.e., in-season or off-season). Specifically, coaches remarked on their yearly schedules noting that their work changed depending on the time of year. What stood out during these parts of the conversation were the “off-season” activities that coaches reported on. For example, Rachel discussed how in her off season she worked with the national team program and that any time-off from coaching during the season was spent in the community coaching at local high schools to promote her sport. Similarly, Matthew and Karl talked about coaching all summer long; Matthew, coached at a local club in order to stay connected to potential and/or future incoming athletes and Karl ran the university’s summer camp programming in addition to running his own sport academy during his off season, again in order to contribute to the promotion of his sport and stay connected to local high school athletes. Other coaches (Eddie, Jonathon, Mike, and Will) talked about the summer programming that they were involved with, some of which were hands on coaching activities at the provincial sport level, and others which were classified as professional development activities (e.g., coaching conferences or shadowing a national sport level coach). Finally, given the nature of his sport, Logan mentioned how his coaching was year-round. For example, he stated that: “It is very unique for us, we’re supposed to be coaching these people year-round” meaning that he does not get a break or time off from coaching. These comments in addition to the above findings from university coaches and sport administrators clearly demonstrate that not only is coach work considered boundaryless work based on the range of work-related activities

and the time it takes to do these activities, but also that coaches are responsible for additional coaching commitments during their “off seasons”.

The construction and lived experiences of boundaryless coach work, were also tied to stories from coaches about precarity. For example, Will said: “I’m accused of working too much, I typically work from 4am-1am” and “I did not get married and chose not to have kids because of coaching.” Logan commented on how “day-to-day coaching changes” and having no boundaries cost him his first marriage. Eddie stated that: “It’s an overwhelming job. It’s 365, 24/7 and we know that.” Additionally, comments about coach health were made such as “coaches are dropping like flies... I’m young, but I feel like I’m a lot older” (Mike), “I try to do some activities so I can stay healthier, and I can [coach] longer otherwise I’d probably die quick” (Eddie), and “You got to be able to put up boundaries... so few [coaches] monitor their hours of work because they just do what needs to be done” (Logan). Lastly, coaches made comments about how their coach education did not support the work that was required of them. In particular, Jonathon and Mike discussed how none of their coach education prepared them for the sport administration and recruitment aspects of university coaching, and how such activities were required duties and made up the majority their coaching work. The insights mentioned here on longer than normal working hours, decisions around certain social benefits (i.e., choices about family life), the decline in coach health as well as a lack of adequate training, demonstrate that university coach work can, at times, be precarious for these sport coaches.

Although many of the university sport administrators did not offer up comments that portrayed coaching as precarious, they did make comments including: “Coaching does not make for great work-life balance” (Kurtis); “University coaching is to me the hardest job in the world, there’s nothing, you have such limited resources and such high expectations” (Andrew); and

“The coach also needs to understand, not just the academic and the sports specifics, but everything else that's included with the development of a human in this time of their life” (Sophie). Comments like the ones shared above certainly portray risk (e.g., lack of work-life balance, little support, high expectations), unpredictable and/or uncertain aspects (e.g., all that goes into sport coaching and human development) of coaching, and lack of time for both social and self-care (e.g., family life and wellbeing).

Taken together, the comments shared in the interviews with university sport coaches and administrators support the analysis that coach work is constructed as qualified work. Additionally, the lived experiences shared by both the university sport coaches and administrators indicate that coach work is also boundaryless, which can lead coaches to experience precarity within their working circumstances. Thus, the experiences and insights of university sport coaches and administrators not only mimic the NIAD/IAD documents—which portray university coach work as qualified and boundaryless—but they further demonstrate that the lived realities of university sport coaches performing the work of coaching are both boundaryless and, in some cases, precarious.

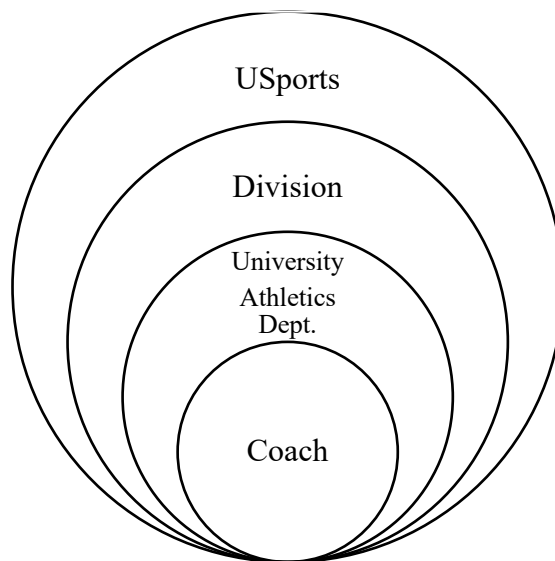
## **Section II: The Conditions of University Sport Coaching**

The results presented in this section will discuss and unpack the third research objective for this study: what conditions frame the daily working experiences of coaches in their university (athletic and/or academic) settings? In particular, this section will illuminate the circumstances affecting the ways in which university sport coaching work is carried out, which includes the impact of how the athletics department (i.e., the NIAD or IAD) and sport administrators working within it structure, organize, and supervise the work of coaches as shaped by the broader university institution; and how this structuring is further influenced by the institution of

university sport in Canada (i.e., USports and divisional governing bodies—AUS, RSEQ, OUA and Canada West).

In discussing the data, the initial research setting figure presented in Chapter Four has been reconfigured to more accurately depict the impact that each layer of sport has on the university coach. As such, this section will begin with a discussion surrounding the conditions operating within the university and athletics department (i.e., IAD or NIAD), progressing to the impact of the Division—in which the NIAD and IAD are located, and lastly will explore the influence of USports. The final section will briefly discuss the areas of Canadian sport (i.e., the CAC and the CSP) that do not appear implicate the work of university sport coaches.

*Figure 3: Reconfigured Research Setting*



**Conditions of coach work: University and athletics department.**

In order to unpack the conditions framing coach work operating at the university and athletics department level, texts and administrator insights from the IAD and NIAD will be shared. Specifically, this section will begin with the analysis of key university documents, which

have direct impacts on the coach job descriptions and contracts shared earlier. These texts include the *Collective Bargaining Agreement* and the [Title] *Committee Terms of Reference*, as well as the year end coach evaluation (IAD) and the policy on *Working Conditions for Short, Medium, or Long-term Non-Union Contractual Employees* and the year-end sport program evaluation (NIAD). The insights gleaned from the analysis of these key documents will be considered alongside the insights from administrators who work within the IAD and NIAD.

### ***Document analysis.***

Collective agreements are policies or agreed upon standards negotiated between two separate unions and/or employment related entities. In this case, the unions represented are the broader university under investigation and the Academic Teaching Staff (ATS) union. The schedule that pertains to coaches within the *Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA)* includes nine articles that detail aspects related to work including appointments, responsibilities to the university, supplementary professional activities (SPA), delegation, probationary period, evaluation, unsatisfactory and unacceptable performance, notice period and layoff, and salaries and benefits. Also, included at the end of the document are appendices one through ten on topics such as salary schedule, sample letter of appointment, and position profile template to name a few.

The purpose of this schedule is outlined in the preamble as providing: “the tools to recognize and reward educational leadership, curriculum development, and outstanding teaching” (CBA, 2018, p.187). Additionally, the university’s commitment to creating a “teaching-intensive career path” confirms the importance of all academic work to the university, and the critical support that “teaching-intensive colleagues” provide for “academic staff colleagues in carrying forward the University’s mission/goals” (CBA, 2018, p.187). Thus, the

CBA draws a clear designation between those who are academic staff from those who are teaching-intensive staff which, at this institution, includes coaches.

Amongst the nine articles (fourteen pages) of this schedule the areas that stand out are the ones that mimic the coach contract, analyzed at the start of this chapter. In particular, it is clear that the coach contract borrows specific language from the CBA. For example, phrases like: “A staff member under the ATS Agreement shall be a scholar who” (CBA, 2018, p. 190). However, within the CBA, the emphasis is placed on teaching. In the coach contract, the emphasis is on coaching; nonetheless, the CBA does include “the coaching of athletic teams” underneath the *Teaching and/or Teaching-Related Responsibilities* section. Other sections of the CBA that appear on the coach contracts are *Research and Other Scholarly Activities* as well as *Service*, which are described in greater detail within the CBA.

Additionally, the CBA outlines the structured system—referred to as a career path in the interviews shared below with the IAD’s Dean and sport administrators — which closely mimics that of teaching staff and through which coaches are promoted. Specifics on this pathway are not unpacked in order to maintain the confidentiality of the institution under investigation. Another section that stands out is an article on *Supplementary Professional Activities*, where the following statement is made “One means of accomplishing professional development may be through professional activity which is supplementary to the primary obligations to the University” (CBA, 2018, p. 192). This section is of interest given that many of the coaches and university administrators shared the importance of coaches growing their sport outside of the university. For most coaches this included taking on additional coaching roles, and yet this is not a legally recognized or formally stated requirement in their contract. What is mandated is that coaches partake in *Service* which includes “governance of the Department/Faculty through

committee membership,” and dissemination “of knowledge to the general public by making available their expertise and knowledge of the discipline” (Coach Contract, p. 2). As such, coaches may be taking on additional roles that are not necessarily required of them.

The remainder of the coach specific schedule outlines the particularities of ATS members who do not fulfill their duties and who may be subject to probation or other disciplinary procedures and finishes with a section on salaries and benefits. As will be reported on below during the interview with John (the Dean of the IAD), the details on salaries listed in the CBA, certainly suggest that coaches “make a strong dollar” and that coaches are subject to a career structure that mimics that of non-coaching ATS. Furthermore, the benefits section includes details on health, vacation pay, and pension plan, which echo the statements (shared below) of university sport administrators on having a good benefits package in place.

The *[Title] Committee Terms of Reference* document, which was written in 2018, outlines the details about the committee including the status, purpose, membership, terms of office of the membership, responsibilities, and the coach/staff members evaluation schedule. This document pertains to the process of promotion for ATS (i.e., head coaches) members and the sections that will be emphasized in this analysis include *2.3 Description of Key Performance Areas (Head Coaches)* and *2.3 Promotion of Head Coach*. Under the first section on key performance areas, it is clearly stated that coaches will not only perform traditional coaching duties (i.e., practice planning and implementation), but also “planning and logistics, technical research and development, financial management and fundraising, program development, alumni development, recruitment, public relations and communications, athlete evaluations and counselling, and the mentorship of developing coaches” (CBA, 2018. p.6).

Additional teaching responsibilities are outlined as “participation in undergraduate and graduate teaching programs include classroom teaching, personal interactions with and advising students” and service responsibilities as “service to the community of [conference] and USports and where possible Provincial, National, and International Sport Organizations”, which also includes service to “the profession, participation in the governance of University and Faculty, and dissemination of knowledge to the general public by making available the staff member’s expertise and knowledge” (CBA, 2018. p.6). This small section of text further illuminates how, in the eyes of the institution, the role of a coach extends far beyond the court/pitch/pool and that the vast majority of coach work is constructed to include a range of activities that are not limited to sport coaching. These insights further lend support to the findings that coach work is qualified, boundaryless, and, at times, precarious work. Moreover, this section clarifies the confusion noted above about coaches taking on additional duties that may not be required of them. Specifically, this document makes clear that if a coach wishes to be promoted, they must demonstrate how and in what ways they have participated in service to the broader community, which may include coaching within organizations that are external to the IAD (i.e., provincial/territorial/national teams).

Also included under the first section on key performance areas is the description of the evaluation objectives and performance guidelines and evaluation criteria (for coaching, teaching, and service). Under each section of coach work— coaching, teaching and service (from the coach contract)— various areas of evaluation (roughly 30) are outlined in order to assess if the coach has met a “reasonable standard of productivity” (CBA, 2018, p. 6). Not only is it unclear what a “reasonable standard of productivity” is, but this assessment is also based on “comparisons between staff” (CBA, 2018, p. 6). This kind of in staff comparison may ultimately

drive coaches to compete with one another and to further extend themselves in taking on additional work. Moreover, the ambiguity about reasonable productivity lends itself to creating a work environment where productivity is judged solely on the basis of taking on more or less work. The perception of more work as better than less work, overlooks the quality of work being done, an additional consideration that is not accounted for in this document. Although there are a range of subjective and objective measures outlined, quality of work is not one of them.

Under the second section on promotion, it is made clear that the evaluation for promotion is on the basis of “performance over the complete career” (CBA, 2018, p.8), that staff members become eligible for promotion once “his or her current salary is within one increment of the salary minimum of the next classification level” (p.8), and that promotion will occur on the basis that the staff member has filled out an application and that the supervisor of said staff member has also recommended them for promotion. Although it may be the case that the staff member being evaluated is made aware of when they are able to apply for promotion, the writing of this document appears to suggest that the awareness and application for promotion is the responsibility of the staff member and no one else. Once the letter has been forwarded to the Dean, there are a set of procedural steps to be completed in assembling a committee, collecting required materials for promotion from the candidate, and a letter “regarding the candidates’ suitability for promotion” (CBA, 2018, p. 9). The final section outlines two lists of criteria for promotion at different steps within a clearly outlined tiered promotion system.

Not only are coaches operating within the IAD subject to the *[Title] Committee Terms of Reference* for promotion, but coaches must further complete the athletics department’s yearly evaluation; an eight-page document requiring coaches to report on a range of work-related

aspects<sup>2</sup>. The presence of an additional coach review represents another way in which the work of head coaches is qualified. Not only do the sixteen key areas of this annual report detail both the range of qualifications and the boundarylessness of coach work, but this report represents another work-related activity required of coaches. Although it is not clear what the outcome of this report is, administrators and coaches confirmed in the interviews (e.g., Kurtis said “at the end of each year you’re re-evaluated and if you receive anything, but a negative evaluation your contract is extended” and Eddie said “our evaluation is I’m sure someone else has told you too, but pretty serious and significant versus a lot of other places across the country”) that it was a major part of the coach maintaining their status as a coach and thus a worker within the IAD.

The final documents for analysis in this section are the Policy on *Working Conditions for Short, Medium, or Long-term Non-Union Contractual Employees* and the year-end sport program evaluation from the NIAD. The Policy on *Working Conditions for Short, Medium, or Long-term Non-Union Contractual Employees*, was read alongside an administrative procedure as per instruction. Overall, the document’s purpose is stated as to “define working conditions and underlying principles” and as stemming from the University’s desire to “offer fair and equitable working conditions to contractual employees” (p.1). Coaches and administrators alike confirmed that coaches were long-term non-unionized management employees. Margaret said: “[Coaches]

---

<sup>2</sup> 16 Sections: (1) personal information (i.e., name, position); (2) their coaching information (i.e., years coaching, NCCP level, coaching awards); (3) sport performance summary (for team and individual sports) including their win/loss record for all league play (including pre-season play) as well as any distinguished athlete achievements (e.g., awards and recognitions); (4) teaching and administrative duties (i.e., courses taught, meetings attended, teaching assignments, role on additional work committees); (5) contributions to coaching development including external coaching development activities (e.g., mentoring, hosting/organizing events/clinics) and internal coaching development activities (e.g., mentorship/development activities); (6) Integrated Support Team (e.g., all the elements of this team including how they support the team and how the head coach managed this); (7) [university] sport system (e.g., head coaching contributions to this system); (8) professional development activities (e.g., external coaching provincial/national sport, courses taken, talks given); (9) community development activities (e.g., appearance and support at community events); (10) supplemental professional activities (e.g., employment by another employer, consulting, personal service contracts, private practice); (11) sport development including public appearances/presentations by invitation, special events (e.g., clinics/tournaments), and media communications (interviews to promote sport/university); (12) alumni activity; (13) fundraising; (14) recruiting results; (15) memberships in organizations (i.e., NSO, PSO, USports, division); and (16) publications/journals/articles.

are non-unionized,” and Jonathon noted, “We’re treated like a full-time management member of the university, but we are non-unionized.”

At the end of the section on *Long Term Contractual Employees*, there is a line that states “these employees must not work more than 23 hours per week” (p.2) which, as was the case with the coach contract (i.e., 35 hours per week), does not fit with the workload that coaches and sport administrators alike outlined in the interviews (e.g., Tim said “it’s Thursday nights, Friday nights, Saturday’s and Sunday’s, but in the background there’s another 40 hours of prep work supporting that throughout the week”). The remainder of the policy document itself does not pertain to employees under the long-term contract designation, however under the employment conditions section it is suggested to refer to the associated administrative procedure in order to clarify the unique employment conditions for all employees.

In referring to the associated administrative procedure, the additional definition given for “Non-Union Management (NM)” as a “management, specialist, and professional positions” (p.1) clearly pertained to coaches, given that coaches and sport administrators referred to coaches at the NIAD as “non-unionized program managers” during interviews. Categorizing coaches as long-term contract employees, as well as NM staff, assisted with comprehending the remainder of this administrative procedure which outlines details on eligibility, benefits, leaves and pension. According to this chart coaches are eligible for “core group benefits”, pension (after two years of work), tuition support (for their families as well), short- and long-term sick leaves, maternity/paternity leaves, paid holidays, workers compensation, over time and severance pay (after five years of work).

In analysing this chart, notable areas included the sections on leave and workers’ compensation. These sections stood out as no coaches or university sport administrators

mentioned leaves or workers' compensation during the interviews. As such, it is unclear if coaches do or do not exercise these employee rights. Additionally, and perhaps of more interest, was the section on over-time work. Below the over-time work section for long term employees is the wording "If pre-approved" which begs the question: what is pre-approved over-time work? Further, if coaches and sport administrators know that coaches work more than the allotted thirty-five (35) hours (as per their coach contracts) and the twenty-three (23) hours cited in the policy, then does pre-approved overtime pay apply to coaches? And if so, how does it apply to coaches? The lack of clarity on coach over-time work demonstrates a discrepancy between what the policies instated by the university and the contracts designed within the NIAD are saying and the lived reality of sport coaches who appear to be working over-time hours.

The annual sport program evaluation document outlines what the year-end report is to include and, although the document does not explicitly state it as such, the sport administrators interviewed in this study noted that the head coach is the person responsible for the completion of this report on a yearly basis. The report is to include eight sections, spanning no more than twenty (20) pages of writing and is to include annexes for performance metrics, a depth chart for recruiting priorities, and a complete list of staff with contact information<sup>3</sup>.

Completion of the evaluation is listed as one of the twenty-three (23) qualifiers of coach work as per the coach's contract. Specifically, under the *Specific Accountabilities* section coaches are required to "develop, implement, and evaluate the program's long-term sport development and strategic plan on the basis of a sport gap analysis" (p. 1). The coach in question is then to present and discuss the report with a sport review panel, which includes the athletic

---

<sup>3</sup> 8 Sections: (1) Key achievements (e.g., performance, recruiting, staffing or new initiatives); (2) Game Winning Strategy (GWS) and Performance profile (i.e., how the team will win league games and a national title); (3) Past Season Performance review (i.e., how your team or athletes used your GWS to achieve top results); (4) Major Gaps to close in order to be a national title contender (e.g., technical, tactical, physical, mental, program); (5) Performance Plan for the next season; (6) Recruiting plans; (7) Integrated Support Team and technical leadership (i.e., current staff effectiveness and needs); and (8) Key success factors for the program's success (i.e., national titles) over the next four years.

director and two associate athletic directors. This evaluation represented significantly more work for sport coaches and, as shared by coach study participants, this evaluation was much more focused on improving the program rather than evaluating coaches. Jonathon noted: “Our high-performance director, or assistant director, his mandate was put the model [gap analysis] to support in place to allow success to happen,” while Rachel said: “We got a new high performance director and after their gap assessment, they were like, ‘Yeah, we probably should have a full time [sport] coach and so here I am.’”

Collectively, the documents analyzed from both the IAD and NIAD serve to suggest that there is a need to clarify key tenants of the policies and administrative procedures, and how these policies and procedures apply in full to coaches working within the IAD and NIAD. What is clear is that the policies operating within the extra local setting (i.e., at the university) and within the local setting (i.e., the athletics department) of university sport coaches have implications on the structuring of their coach work. As such, the analysis of these documents allows for the ruling relations operating within these contexts to be further mapped out, offering critical insights about the impact of these ruling relations on coach work.

### *Administrator insights.*

The insights of administrators who structure and supervise the work of sport coaches in accordance with key policy documents, must also be considered when mapping out the ruling relations at play within the athletics department and university. When the university sport administrators were asked what the primary role of coaches was within the athletics department, the responses included: “Our coaches are appointed in both a coaching role and then they have some form of teaching and service as well” (John); “Coaches provide tone and structure for the program” (Andrew); “They need to set a tone or the structure for a program, so it’s defining what

the team's needs are, what they want for the team and how to get there" (Ella); "They are the leaders of their sport" (Kurtis); "They are recruiters and ambassadors for the university" (Margaret); "They are required to recruit athletes, develop athletes, do in game coaching, understand the landscape and level of sport and know how that is linked to the bigger picture of sport in Canada" (Sophie); and "A coaches primary role is to coach and to ensure the athletic and academic success of our athletes, academic success being the more important of the two" (Tim). Among this range of responses outlined here, it was clear that coaches were viewed as leaders, and that they were responsible not just for the specific coaching and/or sport elements of their programs (e.g., teaching, academic success, program development).

When expanding upon their initial responses, the IAD administrators added that: "coaches must first build a program and that can be done in a number of different ways. A coach's day to day job is fundamentally and most importantly recruiting" (Andrew); that coaches have to work to "...find the pieces that fit with their vision" (Ella); that "We expect [coaches] to tell us what it is we need to do in order to get us to the top;" and that the coaches service was "...service to the broader community or to the university" (John). Not only does each response given clearly articulate the qualified and boundaryless nature of university sport coaching as work, but these responses further reflect the position of each sport administrator within the structure of governance at the IAD. More pointedly, coaches and administrators during the interview conversations remarked on how coaches report to the associate athletic directors (Ella and Kurtis), who report to the athletic director (Andrew), who then reports to the Dean (John). Thus, the administrator remarks demonstrate their proximity and position of supervision over the coaches working within the IAD.

The NIAD administrators also added to their initial replies, with responses that highlighted a range of coach responsibilities. For example, Margaret said: “Our coaches are recruiting all the time and so they are not only recruiters, they’re ambassadors for the university. The programs they run and the kids they bring in, bring profile and visibility to the university.” Sophie added: “It’s linking your yearly training plan, recruiting plan, and development to the sport in order to have the most success,” and Tim stated that coaches: “have to find the balance of pushing [student-athletes] as far as [they] can on the athletic side without having a negative impact on their academic success. That’s a pretty particular mandate.” These replies included very specific elements of coaching (i.e., yearly training plan, recruiting plan, development of sport) as well as additional aspects (e.g., support, psychologist, athletic and academic success) used to qualify the work of coaches. Additionally, these replies mirrored the IAD remarks in that they also appeared to reflect the proximity of each administrator to the coaches. As was the case with the IAD, coaches and administrators in the NIAD confirmed that the chain of command involved coaches reporting to the associate athletic directors (Sophie and Tim), who reported to the athletic director (Margaret), who then reported to the VP (who was unable for an interview).

In comparing the replies from the IAD and NIAD administrators, it is clear that an administrator’s supervision over a coach not only informs their understanding of coach work, but also the importance of that work. For example, both athletic directors Andrew and Margaret identified a coaches’ ability to recruit as the most important in “building the program” (Andrew) and “bringing profile” (Margaret) to the university. Alternatively, the associate athletic directors made comments on the daily requirements of coaches like “figuring out their vision” (Ella), asking for support (Kurtis), linking the elements of their university job to the broader trends in sport (Sophie), balancing the athletic and academic needs of the athletes (Tim) and success

(Kurtis, Sophie, Tim). Lastly, the Dean's reply focused initially on the other aspects of a coach's job (i.e., teaching and service), reinforcing that coaching in and of itself is not stand alone work and thus coaches must be engaged in other forms of work in order to be seen or deemed as doing legitimate work (i.e., service to the university and broader sport community).

When asked about the coach contracts and how coaches were designated within the university, all of the IAD administrators confirmed that coaches were thought of as "academic faculty" because "twenty-five years ago somebody in a senior admin position agreed that teaching and coaching are the same thing" (Andrew). The Dean of the IAD, John, also mentioned how the IAD has "structured [coaching] so there is a strong career path for a coach at this institution and they make a very strong dollar regardless of the sport that they're coaching". Adding to this, the associate athletic directors clarified that "unless there was an issue, [a coach's] contract would be rolling" (Ella) and that depending upon where a coach was in that career pathway "there's bigger expectations" (Kurtis). In addition to having solid contracts and a clearly defined career pathway, all of the administrators clarified that the coaches were entitled to "full benefits," which the athletic director Andrew described as "the best benefits deal in the history of the universe. It's really expensive, but it's really good".

When discussing coach contracts with the NIAD sport administrators, the athletic director Margaret mentioned how the coaches were on contract, but that they "have not been regularized." In other words, Margaret clarified that coaches "still get benefits and there is little difference between a full-time regularized position and the coach contracts." One of the major differences was that coaches were "non-unionized," and that was cause for much debate in the athletics department: "Do we regularize them? There's pros and cons to each side" (Margaret). In addition to debating whether or not coaches should be regularized, there was debate around

their contracts which, for head coaches, is a “three-year contract and for assistant coaches, after their first year [is] a two-year contract” (Tim). Sophie also added that: “For anyone else on [a coach’s] staff, they could range from a volunteer to most commonly people paid on an honorarium. And those are more the after-4pm people who come after their real job.” Therefore, while most head coaches (and in some cases, assistant coaches) were on contracts, there were also coaches who were on volunteer contracts and who coached outside of their “real job.” Unlike the IAD, there was no mention of any formal career pathway at the NIAD but, like the IAD coaches, NIAD coaches were entitled to a “...salary scale that they work through as they gain years of experience” (Sophie) as well as full benefits, which included: “Everything. They get their holidays. They get vacation packages. They get their medical coverage. They get their long term. They get it all!” (Margaret).

Taken together, the presence of full-time coach contracts with a robust benefits package – and for the IAD coaches, a formal career pathway – suggests that the coaches interviewed in this study have more stability than other coaches operating within the Canadian sport system. Furthermore, given the range of institutions across Canada, the very few of which have integrated athletics departments, it is clear that these coaches’ situations are unique.

Interspersed throughout the conversations with administrators about contracts and benefits were comments about the year-end evaluation and the role it played in supporting coaches. Specifically, it was viewed as “a strength of our program” (Ella) and as a means to effectively “communicate to coaches where they stand” (Sophie). Within the NIAD, Tim discussed how the evaluation or gap analysis was a new addition and how coaches are required “...to demonstrate how they’re closing the gap on the top teams in the country.” He further added that this evaluation was an on-going process that “...goes down to what [coaches] do on a

day-to-day basis with the athletes.” Within the IAD, Andrew discussed how he “created this evaluation system so that head coaches are evaluated by a committee of their peers.” This was in addition to the process through which coaches were evaluated for promotion within the Faculty, which involved the consideration of their yearly activities as well as the coaches’ level of education and experience. As such, the administrators appeared to suggest that the athletics department’s specific evaluation was not only in place to assess coaches, but further to assist coaches in the running of their programs.

The replies from university administrators echoed the contents of their respective documents and reinforced the findings that coach work is qualified, boundaryless and, in some cases, precarious. Additionally, as noted in this section, it is clear that coaches’ contracts and benefits are not fixed and thus may vary from institution to institution, suggesting that the degree to which coaches experience formal support from their university and athletics department is specific to each member university. Although these coaches appear to be well compensated and protected, some reported feelings of precarity (e.g., comments from Eddie, Logan, and Mike), which may be heightened for coaches working in other university athletic departments.

#### **Conditions of coach work: The division.**

As depicted in the reconfigured research setting image, the next layer of influence includes the division (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA and Canada West) that the university – and athletics department – is embedded within. In this section, the views of the coaches, university administrators, and two divisional governing body representatives (Nate and Jim) will be reviewed, alongside the analysis of key policy documents that were selected based on their relevance shared during the interview discussions. Overall, the divisional governing bodies or

conferences have a direct and clear impact on the work of university sport coaches, particularly with respect to scheduling as well as certain rules and regulations.

***Coach, administrator, and division head insights.***

When coaches were asked to comment on the influence and relevance of the divisional governing body on their work, responses included: “There’s no real impact, but there are certain things I have to follow” (Matthew); “Not really...you know in terms of dealing with them, it would all go through the athletics department” (Logan); “It’s hard to quantify, but I’ve always found them easy to work with” (Karl); “Ya, I mean I’m the president of our coaches association” (Eddie); “Very open minded, easy to work with” (Rachel); “That's a good question. My personal role, probably zero. Now, in dealing with our program, I guess they're the police at times” (Mike); “The only role to me that they play is rules, regulations, and eligibility. They really don't have an effect on my job [and] how I do it [or] how I run my organization” (Jonathon); and “Yes, it's significant. I mean they are setting guidelines for us. They set the schedule, which I'm never happy about. They set the rules and choose the officials.” (Will). Despite the ambiguity noted in some of the coach replies, coaches were clear that the division did impact certain elements of their work (e.g., scheduling, rules and certain regulations).

These same sentiments were echoed by the university administrators who said: “Ya I think that there’s episodic times in a year [or] in a cycle when things are done at the conference level, which effects the coach a lot, like the schedule” (Andrew); “Schedule and rules, all of that does certainly effect a coach and I would say it probably frustrates them more than anything” (Ella); “So we do attend all of the [division] athletic director meetings, all 3 of us do [ name], [name] and you know deal with the evaluation of how we’re structuring our leagues and what not and how we play and what rules we have and that sort of thing” (Kurtis); “They play a huge

role” (Sophie); “They own the leagues we play in. So, we are subject to their governance when it comes to anything that has to do with the games, the schedules, the rules of competition” (Tim); and “We don't have anything if we don't have our conferences and USports” (Margaret). As was the case with the coaches, the administrators clarified that the most important impact that the divisions had on the coaches included scheduling as well as certain rules and regulations.

Out of the four divisional governing bodies (referred to by the participants as conferences), two divisional directors agreed to participate in interviews for this study. The other two directors were contacted several times over email with no response. When discussing the role of conferences both directors, Nate and Jim, commented that each conference functioned as a board of directors and that this board was made up of athletic directors and associate athletic directors from within the specific conference (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA or Canada West). The tasks assigned to the board of directors includes representing the interests of the member institutions, enforcing policies and procedures that mostly impact scheduling, playoff structures, and rules of play, and advocating for university sport within the broader system of Canadian sport.

In following up on how each conference board worked with and impacted coaches working at member universities, Nate shared: “Well that’s a good question, I think it’s evolved over the years, and I think a lot of the time it comes down to what is the role of the coach in conference related matters.” To this response, he added the range of opinions on the role of coaches in conference related matters that had been shared with him over the years, which included that “coaches should just coach and that’s it” and that their “expertise and skills” were helpful and required when making decisions about schedules and playoff structures. Additionally, he provided an example of his experience as a convener for a particular sport.

Specifically, he remarked that there were times when insights from coaches were crucial particularly as it related to rules of play. Additionally, he stated that the conference did involve coaches "...for the most part on a phone call, usually about twice a year on a lot of the playing regulations and eligibility and scheduling matters" and that he and the board members further encouraged coaches who wanted more input to work through their athletic directors.

Alternatively, Jim remarked that when coaches reached out to him, he "pushes them right back to their athletic director" so for him "when it comes to their work there's no contact. That's all HR and the institution." When asked to comment on if the work the board did impact coaches, he added that it "certainly did" and that their board adopted a model where there was direct communication from the board representatives to sport coaches on those impacts. He further stated that he had been a representative for a specific sport and when he was in that role, he "had a lot of contact with those coaches." Lastly, he added that the board oversaw policy implementation and:

...coaches are employees of the institutions, so they fall under the policies of the institutions, on the field of play. So for example, let's say bad behaviour or whatever occurs, that's when we can step in and say 'ok we're sanctioning that coach' or we can have some impact on that coach because of these negative things that are happening.

As such it is clear that the rules and policies put in place by the divisions have a direct impact their member sport coaches.

Finally, Nate and Jim remarked on how most of their work was spent working with the athletic directors and associate athletic directors. For example, Nate said, for "any changes in scheduling you need to work through your athletic director and your athletic director needs to work with you because it's your athletic director that has the vote." Jim remarked: "We have a

management group which is the athletic directors. We call them the management council. So, I work day-to-day, weekly, monthly, with that group to support them.” That said, it was clear that at a conference level there is more input from coaches on specific matters including decisions around adopting new rules or sport specific considerations.

The insights from coaches, sport administrators, and division heads shared above highlight the direct impact and influence that the division has on the work of sport coaches operating within the Canadian university sport landscape. Specifically, the rules, regulations, and schedules that these divisions put in place have direct implications on coaches. Although the divisions have a range of policies and procedures outlined on their respective websites, the texts and governing documents selected to be analyzed in this section were chosen based on the insights gleaned from the interview discussions.

#### ***Texts and governing documents.***

Under the divisional governing body section, the documents that were selected for analysis include: a sample scheduling policy (AUS), a sample policy for playoff and championship games (OUA), as well as the policies on rules of play for both men’s and women’s hockey (Canada West) and men’s and women’s basketball (RSEQ). These documents were selected because they were brought up during the interviews with coaches, university administrators, and conference directors when discussing the impact of the divisions on the work of coaches. Specifically, as highlighted in the previous section the conference directors felt that the policies on scheduling, playoff and championship games, and rules of play had the most impact on coaches, as coaches were required to be aware and to abide by them. These policies were selected at random from the divisions in order to protect the anonymity of the two

conference directors who participated in interviews, as well as to provide a basis for some comparison across the different divisions within the Canadian university sport landscape.

The AUS policy on scheduling is embedded within the larger *AUS Operations Manual* (See Appendix G) document provided to administrators and coaches on an annual basis. The policy outlines regular season play (for fall and winter sports), sport specific considerations (e.g., for football), when/how scheduling meetings are to occur, pre-season/non-conference and exhibition play, schedule development and scheduling parameters, and lastly, the ratification of schedules/changes and postponed games. Throughout the document emphasis is placed on the AUS board of directors as the ultimate authority on league matters, the AGM as the cite for determining the AUS schedule, and the role of the AUS executive committee in scheduling conflicts. This emphasis illuminates the role of the conference in league matters and, again, reinforces the need for a divisional governing body, who among other things, is charged with the structuring of league play within the conference. This is noteworthy given that the structuring of league play ultimately impacts how coaches perform and carry out specific work-related activities (e.g., yearly training plan, travel, athlete/staff management).

The AUS schedule policy, and others like it, serves to structure the overall process of determining the annual league schedule. As mentioned in the interviews with the conference representatives, this is one area of conference activity that includes coaches, where coaches are expected to work with their athletic directors to read and understand these policies. As such, this requires additional effort on behalf of the coach to meet and discuss with administrators, to potentially adapt their yearly training plan, and to make decisions that prioritize the league above all else. Although the content of each leagues' scheduling policy varies considerably with respect to conference size (i.e., given the number of participating in each division) as well as conference

geography, it is clear that the scheduling process is complex and dynamic for all parties involved.

The OUA *playoff and championships framework* is brief (ten short sections) and outlines the structure for determining playoff and championship games (See Appendix H). This policy clarifies the cost of championships, outlines clear and specific rules that host institutions must follow, and discusses additional administrative tasks of the host institution (e.g., the host institution creating and submitting a financial report). As was the case with the scheduling policy, it is clear that the presence of conference playoff and championship frameworks and/or rules must involve the coach given the impact on key team performances. Specifically, this policy will impact a coach with respect to end of year training, management of athlete health, and potentially, travel considerations. Although there was some confusion with respect to key terms (i.e., the guarantee model, revenue generating sports, and the OUA bid book) it is reasonable to assume the people (i.e., coaches, athletic and associate athletic directors, and OUA administrators) who work with these documents have more clarity as a function of their familiarity with such texts and processes. Nonetheless, as was the case with the AUS scheduling policy, it is clear that this policy also articulates the role of the conference in league play and thus the impacts of the conference on the work of coaches.

The final set of documents that were analysed for this section included the rules of play for hockey in the Canada West division and for basketball in the RSEQ. The two sports of hockey and basketball were selected on the basis of their popularity within Canadian university sport and two different sports and divisions were selected in order to allow for some comparisons to be made. First, the rules of play for hockey in the Canada West Division are divided (i.e., separate documents) for men's and women's hockey. Each set of policies outlined specific

areas<sup>4</sup>, which were similar for both the men's and women's game; However, reading and analyzing these documents side by side aided with the identifying key differences between the two. In contrast to the men's and women's hockey rules of play documents, which were separated and both over ten pages long, the RSEQ Basketball rules of play policy was short (5 pages) and was not designated based on gender. The document included sections on rules and regulations, eligibility, competition, scoring, host institution responsibilities, officials, disciplines, awards and appendices. These documents were selected given the impact that they have on sport coaches in their respective sports. In particular, these policies outline clear procedural rules and conduct that coaches and the athletes on their teams are required to abide by; demonstrating yet another way university conferences impact the work of sport coaches.

Policy documents enforced by conferences (like the ones mentioned here) serve to justify the presence and role of the conference in league matters. The analysis of conference policies illuminates the extent to which the conference structures the work performed by coaches working within conference member institutions (i.e., NIAD and IAD). Thus, reviewing these policies helps to clarify the ruling relations that operate between the local (university) and extra local (conference) settings of university sport coaches. Specifically, coaches are expected to know, adhere, and be compliant in the uptake and implementation of these policies, which in turn implicates how they perform certain work-related activities.

### **Conditions of coach work: USports.**

The final layer of influence includes the role of USports, the national governing body of all university sport in Canada. The analysis below will include the views of the coaches,

---

<sup>4</sup> Sections: sport format, team composition (e.g., team size), league/season format (e.g., tie breaker rules, points system), playoff/championships format (e.g., number of teams and host responsibilities), uniforms, rules, awards, sport administration (e.g., coaches committee chair), Medical support services, game protests, film exchange, results/stats/score sheet management and appendices.

university administrators, and two USports representatives (Bob and Christopher) on the impact and/or influence of USports on university sport coaches and their work, as well as findings from key policy documents that were selected based on their relevance shared during the interview discussions. Specifically, this section will highlight how despite the feelings of university coaches and administrators towards the utility and recent re-structuring of governance within USports (i.e., a CEO Model), USports does influence the work of university sport coaches operating within the Canadian sport landscape.

***Coach, administrator, and USports administrator insights.***

When the university sport coaches were asked what the impact of USports was on their work as a university sport coach, the responses given included: “Um, national championships and that’s it” (Rachel); “I don’t even know if I’ve ever received an email from somebody from USports” (Mike); “Their number one role in my mind is the governing of the eligibility, recruiting, the nuts and bolts of the rules and regs” (Jonathon); “Well, it’s interesting, I sit in with the coaches, and I can tell there's some of them that are a lot more informed than I am” (Will); “[They don’t] directly impact my work, but I know that there are complaints that there’s no response from their office” (Matthew); “I’ve actually had considerably more dealings with them”(Logan); “I don’t do a whole ton with USports, but I still feel like I could pick up the phone and [talk to them]” (Karl); and “I don’t know who USports is! I have no clue what they want. I’m not sure anybody does yet and if they want elite sport in our country, they are not providing it” (Eddie). Although it appeared that some coaches had more dealings with USports than others, the majority of the coach responses suggest that USports is much more removed from university sport than the division. In addition to having some impact on the work of sport coaches, USports was described as a frustrating entity to deal with.

This frustration was particularly obvious in the follow up comments that coaches made. For example, Rachel questioned: “Do we need them? I don’t know. Like they run national championships from my understanding, that is it and they don’t even run them, they just vote.” Eddie remarked that: “I mean obviously they’re the governing body for all the eligibility and for scholarship and for running the championship and saying you can play or you can’t, but I don’t believe there’s any vision for what elite sport can or should look like within our country.” Logan stated, “I don’t understand what it is they’re doing. They’re supposed to be our direct support or our direct sport support to that office and yet there’s nothing there from them,” and Jonathon mentioned how:

I believe they have not played a very big role in helping me improve the visibility of my school, my sport, my game, but I do believe that is a role that they have tried to have, and have wanted to have, and are continuing to try to have. But as a governing body, I think that is an important role that I don’t think they honestly fulfill it all that well.

These further elaborations clarify that there is tension surrounding the role of USports in the lives of university sport coaches. As stated here, it is clear that coaches recognize some key roles played by USports (e.g., rules and regulations on recruiting, eligibility and national championships) as well as some of USports inadequacies (e.g., support, promotion of sport, elite sport programming).

These same tensions were noted in some of the university administrator responses. For example, the athletic director of the IAD (Andrew) stated:

So I think both USports and the [division] have a huge impact on coaching and the coaches don’t have much to say about it, but to be honest at USports, the athletic directors don’t either! Because they changed the model to four presidents and four

athletic directors and a CEO that's supposed to make daily decisions and I have nothing good to say about it.

Both associate athletic directors from the IAD confirmed specific impacts of USports on coaches. For example, Ella said: "It's very similar to [division], ultimately the highest level or first level of rules and championship birth structure;" and Kurtis said: "They make decisions about who can play and how long they can play for and where the championships are going to be). Kurtis further clarified that "...they don't necessarily provide enough support for coaches because they don't see that as their role" (Kurtis). The IAD Dean (John) noted how the decisions made at the USports table implicate his work as "the decisions that are made [at USports] can impact the costs of our programs. If suddenly we're playing 50% more games and spread across [area] Canada and travel costs go up incrementally, we struggle with that." He also noted that because of this potential impact, Deans across Canada who are a part of the Canadian Council of University Physical Education and Kinesiology Administrators (CCUPEKA) now have a member who is "a representative on the [USports] management committee."

Although tensions between USports and university sport programming were also commented on by the IAD sport administrators, these same tensions were not so clear with the NIAD administrators. In particular, the athletic director Margaret said: "So for me, what USports is doing is critical. Right? And they are helping to raise the profile and visibility of sports with their brand." Sophie, an associate athletic director, said: "the eligibility people are extremely important, and I would rely on them for a lot and we are hosting [sport] national championships this season so we have been constantly talking with them." Tim, another associate athletic director, commented: "It is a work in progress, and there's been a lot of

governance changes recently and I do think that the changes were appropriate, so you have to be ready to put up with three steps forward, one step back from time to time. But everything's moving in the right direction." These contrasting views and replies of the sport administrators with regards to USports likely exist for a host of situational and perhaps personal factors; nonetheless these insights highlight the reality that USports does influence, to some extent, how university's structure, organize, and work with coaches in their respective athletic departments.

In discussion with the USports administrators, both Bob and Christopher acknowledged that USports' jurisdiction was limited to running national championships for university sport in addition to overseeing "...rules and regulations related to play, eligibility, recruiting, athletic financial awards, and anti-doping" (Christopher). They also both added that USports was responsible for working with NSOs and member institutions to promote and grow university sport at the national sport level. Bob also discussed the more recent change in governance at USports:

We have four presidents of universities, four athletic directors and one at large. So one president and one athletic director come from each of our four conferences. They're actually appointed to our board, which is an issue, but it is what it is for the time being. He added that there was a great deal of authority now given to the office which meant that, in his role as the CEO, he had "significant decision-making authority as opposed to the more traditional board structure that was slightly more operational" and finally that:

We're really membership driven. So our members are involved with a lot of what we do. They run our championships and sit on our committees and make a lot of the decisions at the technical level of our sports.

Building from the answers on the role of USports and its new structure of governance, Bob and Christopher commented that USports itself interacts with university sport coaches in limited ways given that “USports does not employ coaches” (Bob), but that they do impact coaches in some very specific ways. The specific ways that coaches interact with USports included on sport technical subcommittees, selection of coaches for the international university sport federation (FISU) games, selection of Allstars for their men’s hockey Allstar game, and through interactions at events such as national championships and the governor general awards given annually to the top eight academic athletes in Canada. Given their limited interaction with USports coaches, it came as no surprise that the USports administrators said they had very little jurisdiction over coaches working within USports member institutions; however, there are certain policies that coaches must adhere to. Christopher outlined the policies that have a strong impact on coaches as “the code of conduct, eligibility, recruiting, AFA’s and anti-doping” and when asked whose responsibility it was to ensure that coaches were updated on the most recent version of these USports policies, Christopher made clear that it was the responsibility of “the member institutions to understand and comply with the rules and if something is not clear to raise it with us”.

Overall, the responses given from the USports administrators on the role of USports are aligned with the replies from coaches and/or administrators in that they acknowledge clear areas where they implicate coaches, while acknowledging that overall, their role is limited. What is clear is that USports does have an influence, but that this influence is limited to national championships as well as rules and regulations related to play, eligibility, recruiting, athletic financial awards, and anti-doping. These interview insights were the justification for the selection and analysis of the documents presented below.

### *USports document analysis.*

The documents that were collected from USports for analysis include the *USports Code of Conduct* as well as the policies on eligibility, recruitment, financial awards and anti-doping. The *USports Code of Conduct* is broadly applied to all USports members, which includes volunteers, student-athletes, officials, support personnel, coaches, athletes, USports staff and administrators. The first section states that “USports is committed to the highest ethical behaviour in all of its’ activities” (USports, 2019b, p.1), and that in order to achieve this high standard of ethical behaviour, four general principles (different than the strategic plan values and principles) are to be followed.

Firstly, under the principle of “respect for all participants” guidelines are outlined like treating individuals with respect at all times, provision of feedback in a caring manner, no tolerance for demeaning descriptions of others in sport/workplace and recognizing the rights of others and treating all participants in sport and the workplace equitably (pp.1-2). Next, under the “responsible leadership” principal guidelines are listed as achieving a high level of professional competence, providing leadership that fosters a positive experience and acknowledges athletes’ academic requirements, and ensuring that athletic programs are designed to develop individuals (e.g., physically, psychologically, and socially) to their full potential (p. 2). Thirdly, the “fair play” principle includes the guidelines of discouraging performance enhancing drug use, respecting the authority of officials, and being up to date and informed about the rules of play (p. 2). Finally, to “advocate for the fundamental values” means to promote values such as human excellence, fair play, honest competition, self-discipline, integrity, personal growth and achievement (pp.2-3). Additionally, the following guidelines are encouraged: adherence to both the spirit and letter of rules, maintenance of high personal standards including projecting an

image that reflects the values of USports to all those within the sporting environment, and reporting incompetent/unethical behaviour to the appropriate authorities (p.3).

The final two sections of the *Code of Conduct* outline “the public image of USports” and a “code of conduct at USports events,” which include additional considerations as they relate to upholding the image of USports in a respectful manner and conduct at USports events.

Embedded at the end of the *Code of Conduct* is an additional policy on the *Relief of USports Policies*. This additional policy states that: “At times it may be more appropriate to use good judgment, and to focus on learning and improvement, rather than simply rigidly applying a policy and imposing a punishment” (p. 1); therefore, suggesting that occasionally there is exemption from the USports *Code of Conduct*.

In general, there is the lack of clarity on key guidelines such as “treating all participants in sport and the workplace equitably” (p.1). Specifically, it is unclear who the participants are, what counts as in sport and the workplace, and further what equitable treatment looks like for all potential participants. In addition to vaguely worded statements that are potentially confusing, under the “responsible leadership” principle, the coach is not considered to be under the care of leadership, rather this clause appears to refer to the coach’s treatment of athletes. As such, coaches are seemingly left unprotected from this principle which may leave them exposed to irresponsible leadership at the conference level, as well as within their own athletic departments. This finding highlights a problematic assumption that sport coaches are well taken care of and/or responsibly compensated for their daily working efforts.

The final documents analysed in this section are the USports policies on eligibility, recruitment, financial awards, and anti-doping. While each policy pertains to a different topical area, all of these policies are written in a similar fashion. Each policy begins with the same

preamble, stating who the policy applies to, that these participants must uphold the core values of USports (i.e, honest, integrity, fair play, sincerity, and honourability), and that USports:

...as a legal entity has the authority to establish policies to govern its own affairs and to prescribe, monitor, and enforce the conduct of its member institutions and the conduct of other individuals involved directly or indirectly in USports activities pursuant to such policies. (2019, p.1)

Following these statements, the policies proceed by including principles (financial awards and eligibility, recruitment), definitions (recruitment, eligibility), position statements (anti-doping), restrictions (financial awards) and objectives (antidoping). Finally, each policy outlines specific conditions of the policy, some of which are sport specific. For example, the recruitment policy has a whole section dedicated to football, the financial awards policy discusses the specific “ceiling limits” of awards given per sport team, the eligibility policy discusses athletes who are entering into member institutions (i.e., university) from high school/college/other university sports teams and the anti-doping policy has clauses that pertain to hockey and football. Unlike the other policies, the financial awards policy has an additional embedded policy, which is the *reporting/approval guidelines for awards* policy.

The presence and language of these policies suggests that USports has more jurisdiction over sport coaches than was shared during the interviews. In particular, the USports administrators (Bob and Christopher) commented that they had relatively little influence over coaches, yet these policies clearly define rules that coaches must abide by. For example, rules for recruitment include that: “An institution may fund, in whole or in part, a prospective student-athlete’s visit once every 365 days to a maximum of two visits in the prospective student-athlete’s lifetime” (USports, 2019b, p. 6). As such, failure of a coach to abide by these rules

means that a coach could face a violation and/or sanction and be placed under investigation by USports. As stated in the interviews, the enforcement and understanding of these policies is ultimately the responsibility of the member institutions, which calls into question the role of USports.

Aside from the events (e.g., national championships, Hockey All-star game, top 8 academic all Canadian event) that USports is responsible for, it is clear that USports puts in place policies that have direct implications on the work of university sport coaches and that their policies are enforced by the member institutions themselves, which will only involve USports when and if there has been a violation. This raises concerns with respect to the recent change in USports governance, which has increasingly removed the coach (an athletic direct according to Andrew) from its decision-making tables in favour of specific administrators and a CEO, who although organize the policies that implicate, and direct work of sport coaches, are not themselves performing the work of sport coaches.

### **The CAC and CSP.**

This final section is dedicated to briefly outlining the role or lack thereof of the CSP and the CAC in the lives of university sport coaches. First, the CSP was not mentioned and/or discussed at any point during the interviews with university sport coaches and administrators as well as administrators working within the conferences of university sport, at USports or at the CAC. The lack of awareness and/or attention to the CSP may be a reflection of the CSP's lack of consideration for university sport in Canada. Specifically, at no point in its twenty-four pages does the CSP mention university sport. The scholarship of Kerr and Banwell (2016) cited in Chapter Two appears to suggest that universities are moving towards a high-performance sport model and yet the CSP considers high-performance sport to be the area of sport where

“Canadians are systematically achieving world-class results...” (CSP, 2012, p. 12). Given that university sport only competes at the “world level” during the FISU games, as noted above, it is clear that university sport in Canada does not fit cleanly into high-performance sport nor does it into competitive sport described as “Canadians have the opportunity to systematically improve and measure their performance against others in competition...” (CSP, 2012, p. 11). As such, the inclusion of university sport may be an important consideration for the CSP update set to be published in 2022.

Second, although administrators from the CAC were interviewed and coaches were asked to comment on the role of the CAC in their daily lives as coaches, both admitted that the role was minimal if not all together absent. In particular the CAC administrators commented on their role as “a shared resource of coaches and coaching” (Sarah), which included resources like their recently developed (as of 2018) University Female Mentorship Program. Sarah also added that the “sport is in the driver’s seat and we’re there to support”, which in the case of the university sport system means the university is in the driver’s seat. In other words, the CAC’s role within the university sport environment is determined on a case-by-case basis, whereby the university must “invite the CAC into the institutions” athletics department.

The CAC administrators also discussed how the structure of sport within Canada was “like a matrix with a lot of different layers and dynamics” and that this implicates “our relationship with sport and our relationship with coaches” (Kenneth). Sarah added that part of this was linked to the confusion around whose jurisdiction university sport was. In particular she stated:

At the national level, that team is the jurisdiction of the federal government, but it’s not clear as soon as you go to university sport and Canada Games and look at that whole

pathway, it's very confusing. So, delivery is actually part of what's challenging sport delivery.

Given the answers provided above it came as no surprise that the CAC does not act to regulate university sport coaches, again unless they are invited to.

The responses from university coaches and administrators echoed the limited role of the CAC in university sport broadly and in the lives of university sport coaches specifically. For example, when coaches were asked about the CAC's impact on university sport coaching, they remarked that: "...not so much CAC, more... more [NSO] or [PSO]" (Matthew); "It's difficult and they're not empowered to do a lot. So there's really no reason for me to call them" (Logan); "We don't necessarily have to follow their confederations because we're employed by the universities" (Karl); "I would say day to day it feels like zero" (Eddie); "It does not. I seek out professional development opportunities from them" (Rachel); "None. I don't really know much about it" (Mike); "Not very much. So the most impact they have is the one that I go looking for" (Jonathon); and "I don't know" (Will). Answers from administrators further confirmed that the CAC did not impact coaches. For example, Andrew said "[The CAC] doesn't [impact coaching];" John said "Well basically [the CAC] doesn't!;" and Margaret remarked "I think it's not 100% there yet". Some, however, suggested that there was room to improve the relationship. For example, Sophie said "I think the conferences and the national body could benefit a little bit more with a stronger relationship between the Coaches Association of Canada just because of the volume of coaches we have". Some others felt that the issue was not so much with the CAC, but with the universities; Tim said: "Well, the problem isn't them. The problem is the universities. The universities aren't requiring standards.". finally, many of the administrator remarks included comments about the CAC's role in regulating the "profession of coaching" (e.g., Tim said "I do

think that they need to get to licensing the profession and exercising control over the profession, which right now they're not doing”) to be unpacked in the subsequent chapter.

### **University Sport Coaching Work and Work Conditions Conclusions**

Collectively the documents and policies analysed from both the NIAD and IAD construct sport coaching within the university environment as work, which suggests that university coaching is not a hobby and/or a past-time activity. More pointedly, and as demonstrated in this chapter—through the analysis of sport coaching documents and the lived experiences of sport coaches and administrators— sport coaching work can be defined as ‘qualified’, ‘boundaryless’, and ‘precarious’ work. The views of university administrators and sport coaches in this chapter, on “passion” and “work ethic” as essential to sport coaching, rationalize the qualified and thus, boundarylessness of sport coaching work, which in turn may lead to coaches experiencing precarity (e.g., Logan said “so few [coaches] monitor their hours of work because they just do what needs to be done”).

In examining the social, political, and economic conditions that frame the daily experiences of university sport coaching, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that both the institutions documents and the views of administrators supervising sport coaches, not only informs a coaches’ understanding of coach work, but also the importance of that work. Additionally, it is clear that contracts and benefits are not fixed and thus may vary from institution to institution, suggesting that the degree to which coaches experience formal support from their university and athletics department is specific to each member university. As such, while some coaches may appear to be well compensated (the ones in this dissertation), this does not mean that coaches working in all university athletic departments experience the same level of support, which may heighten the level of precarity experienced by some sport coaches.

In examining the division that a coach operates within, it is clear that the division implicates the work of sport coaches. This influence is played out through the enforcement of rules and/or regulations, which again vary across Canada, depending on the division a coach resides within. These rules and/or regulations are typically implemented through the presence of formal policies, which are enforced by the conferences; Therefore, justifying the presence and role of the conference in league matters. Additionally, USports the national governing body of university sport coaching in Canada, like the division, impacts the work of sport coaches through the presence of policies that coaches must adhere to. In the case of USports, these administrators are even more removed than divisional representatives, who as indicated in their interviews, have more contact with sport coaches. However, despite being removed it is clear that, decisions made at the USports level have clear implications on sport coaches; The hesitancy of USports administrators to acknowledge this influence is noteworthy.

Lastly, despite the framing of the CSP as universal to all sport in Canada, it is evident that university sport is not included in this document. This may or may not be due to the role of federal and/or provincial/territorial governments in university sport; Given that universities are publicly funded institutions it seems odd that university sport is not included in the CSP's contents. Similarly, despite the CAC being the national governing body for all sport coaches in Canada, CAC administrators and university sport coaches/administrators alike, acknowledged the limited role that the CAC had in university sport matters. As such, while the CAC offers programs to university sport coaches (e.g., mentorship programs, professional development opportunities) and ultimately controls NCCP coach certification (e.g. the Locker), they do not factor into and/or impact the daily work of a university sport coach. As suggested in this chapter,

where the CAC may have more of an influence is on the professionalization of sport coaching in Canada.

## CHAPTER SIX

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION II: THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF SPORT

#### COACHING

##### Chapter Six Take Aways

- The sport coaching professional project, which is being advanced by the Coaches Association of Canada (CAC) is contested, given the overall lack of influence and/or power that the CAC has over university sport coaches.
- Additionally, the CAC has adopted a technocratic approach to the sport coaching professional project, requiring coaches to obtain a certain level of education, coach certification, experience, an enhanced police record check and agreeing to adopt the CAC's Code of Ethics. In so doing entry into the sport coaching profession is too porous, thus undermining a central facet of the professional project, which is to constrain and control the production of producers.
- Lastly, university sport administrators are not requiring sport coaches to have a ChPC designations. As such, although sport coaches view their working efforts and thus themselves as professionals, they do not believe that doing the additional work involved in obtaining a ChPC designation is an important or necessary part of being a professional.

When conceiving this research project originally, the second research question asked: are university sport coaches professionals and, if so, in what ways, and why? As the study progressed, what emerged was an appreciation that this question could be seen as an evaluation of coaches' behaviour or conduct which – while critically important given my professional and personal commitment to ethical, responsible, and caring sport coaching – seems tangential to my central research interest in exploring if sport coaching can be understood as a profession in Canada. In other words, it became clear that asking whether sport coaches are professionals presupposes that sport coaching *is* a profession. I argue that the question of whether university sport coaching is a profession needs unpacking in the first instance.

The data gleaned from documentary analysis and interviews, highlights that the notion of sport coaching as a profession, is somewhat contested among different university sport stakeholders. As such, in addition to examining whether sport coaches are professionals, this

chapter explores the contested nature of sport coaching as a profession, by focusing on the CAC's efforts to advance the Chartered Professional Coach (ChPC) designation as the preeminent professional sport coaching credential in Canada. The ChPC can be understood as a foundational component to the CAC's sport coaching professional project – a mechanism by which to transform one form of scarce resource (education) into another (occupational prestige and status). However, its reception and uptake among members of the university sport coaching community (at least as evident by the participants in this study), highlights at best an ambivalence towards the CAC's efforts.

Specifically, this chapter will illuminate how although the coaches interviewed in this study, view coaching as a profession and thus themselves as professionals, they do not believe that the CAC's Chartered Professional Coach (ChPC) designation is a part of their professional status. This is a critical consideration given that the professional project is “not a process of upgrading the essential character of a kind of work but a political process of gaining greater control over work” (Johnson as cited in Shudson, 1980, p. 219). Gaining greater control over an area of work cannot be achieved if the stakeholders are ambivalent about the process of control, which in the case of the sport coaching professional project, includes the ChPC.

### **Revisiting the Professional Project**

An important component in Larson's professional project (1979; 1977) is the degree to which a professional group establishes uniformity, a process that involves reconciling differences in opinion and interpretation within the group and which translates into the establishment of 'objective' knowledge and ultimately social closure (i.e., insider group status) (Larson, 1977). Not only does this process allow for a common language and system of 'cognitive legitimation'

to be achieved, but it also further affords the professions power over their training centers, and thus who is and who is not worthy of a professional title (Larson 1977).

In addition to convincing the public that attending and conferring from a state-sanctioned professional school is a necessary requirement, professions are afforded the power to police the punishment of unsubstantiated professional claims (i.e., a person proclaiming to be a doctor or lawyer or engineer when they are, in fact, not), as well as determine a common set of aspirations, values, and morals, thus establishing their professions as *moral communities* (Frankel, 1989). Larson (1977) argues that the power afforded to professionals further supports their ability to construct their education and work as rare and highly valuable, and contributes to their monopolization of social status and marketability.

At the heart of the professional project is the ability of professionals to establish status independent of their organizational affiliations (Shudson, 1980). In his review of the professional project, Shudson (1980) notes that:

A profession is not a particular social evaluation of an occupation but a particular form of political control over work which an occupation gains. The ‘mandate’ is not to define an area of meaning so much as to control a political-economic domain. This can mean both control over conditions in the workplace and control over market position. The emphasis in the sociology of professions is on the latter, particularly on how professions restrict access to the training and certification that provides membership. (p. 218)

As such, through the lens of the professional project, a profession is not merely a kind of occupation, but rather a means through which an occupation is controlled.

Revisiting the concept of the professional project is critical to the contents of this chapter, which will begin by using the ChPC designation, afforded to coaches through the CAC, as the site

of analysis from which to examine the professional coaching project in Canada. Specifically, this first section will illuminate the ways in which the CAC adopts a structural-functional approach (an early sociology of professions approach), that emphasizes a checklist of requirements through which coaches are afforded social recognition as professionals and, which contributes to the contested nature of sport coaching as a profession. More pointedly, this section will emphasize how the CAC's goal is in fact to equate the ChPC with evidence of professionhood, and thus higher status, prestige and value.

### **The CAC and the ChPC**

As articulated in Chapter Two, the CAC is recognized as the national governing body of coaches in Canada and, through the NCCP, is responsible for the training and educating of coaches across Canada. Additionally, the CAC has developed a ChPC or professional coaching credential, which is outlined extensively online through web-based content, including a thorough description of the ChPC, information on pathways to a ChPC designation, and professional coach policies (e.g., codes of conduct) that ChPC coaches must adhere to.

This section begins with outlining the CAC's web-based content on the ChPC, followed by an analysis of the CAC policies referenced throughout the contents of these web-based documents, including the CAC's *Code of Conduct and Ethics with Reporting Procedures*, the *NCCP Code of Ethics*, the *Professional Practices Committee Terms of Reference*, and the CAC's *Professional Coaching Appeal Procedure*. The analysis provided in the sections on the CAC's web-based content and policies will serve as the point of departure from which to examine the perspectives of participants including sport administrators from the CAC, as well as university sport coaches and sport administrators, to highlight how athletic departments and people operating within them, contribute to the contestation and ambivalence of sport coaching as a profession.

### **Web-based ChPC content.**

The web-based content outlined in this section centers on the ChPC designation and includes the CAC's views of the ChPC, the supposed benefits of becoming a ChPC, the technical requirements of coaches and the application/renewal processes that coaches must go through in obtaining a ChPC designation. The structural-functional approach to the study of the professions, accepts the view of professionals as foundational and steadfast with little to no question or skepticism. As a result, scholars that studied the professions in this way, did so with intent of collecting a list of traits and/or functions of a profession, which in turn was taken as evidence of a profession (Greenwood, 1957; Macdonald, 1995). The analysis provided in the section below will use examples from the web-based ChPC content in order demonstrate how the CAC has attempted to construct the ChPC as the preeminent coaching credential in a similarly structural-functional manner. The analysis will also demonstrate that in so doing, the CAC is attempting to construct itself as the ultimate authority on the professionalization of coaching and, will draw attention to how these constructions are problematic given that there is little to no evidence on which the CAC has based these claims. The analysis provided here supports Taylor and Garratt's (2010a) research finding that most of the attempts to professionalize sport coaching globally have stemmed from the structural-functional approach to professionalism.

Understandably, the language on the CAC's website as it pertains to the ChPC is quite glowing and promotional; this is the CAC's public-facing representation of its program and is, no doubt, intended to promote the ChPC to others in (again understandably) efforts to establish the ChPC as the premier coaching designation and to get more individuals to earn and hold this designation. First, the ChPC/Registered Coach Program website explains that the CAC is responsible for granting the ChPC designation to coaches and that this program "promotes the

profession of coaching” as well as “regulates coaching and protects the public interest” through ensuring that the coaches who come through this program “abide by the highest standard of professional and ethical conduct” (CAC, 2021, para.1- 2). ChPC and Registered Coaches “represent all sports, both professional and amateur” and are acknowledged as coaches who “value coaching excellence and its impact on enhancing athlete experiences” (CAC, 2021, para. 3). Finally, the preamble states that “ChPC’s have demonstrated their competence as NCCP certified and experienced coaches, who value the technical and ethical standards of the profession” (CAC, 2021, para. 4). These opening remarks position ChPC coaches as representing the best and most ethical coaches in Canada. Next, under the section on ‘Why become a ChPC or registered coach,’ the CAC 172ntario172ns those with the ChPC designation as coaches who have demonstrated the standard of excellence in the profession and as “valuing their credibility and experience, forming a professional community, having exclusive professional coach benefits, adhering to ethical/professional standards, and raising the confidence of Canadians in coaches through “responsible coaching practices” (CAC, 2021, para. 7).

To state the obvious, the representation of ChPC on this website positions the CAC as *the* authority on sport coaching in Canada and the CAC’s ChPC designation as *essential* for Canadian sport coaching as a field of practice and for any individual seeking to do sport coaching in Canada. However, a critical review of the web-based content highlights either gaps in information or a disconnect between what the CAC/ChPC *aims* to provide program participants and what it actually *can* accomplish for those who take on the designation. For example, where the website articulates that the ChPC encompasses “the highest standard of professional and ethical conduct” is for ChPC coaches, it actually does not define what the standard is or how it (i.e., the CAC) has come to be the arbiter of the highest standards for sport coaching as a profession. In another example, in a

section entitled “Coaching as a Profession,” a professional coach is defined by the CAC as one who has: “1) trained to deliver expert and safe coaching, which benefits everyone, 2) has learned the shared body of coaching knowledge, 3) follows ethical standards and 4) is accountable to stakeholder expectations (Sports organization and community)” (CAC, 2021, para. 2). Again, there is no clarity on these four tests serve as the foundation for defining a sport coach, nor even who constitutes the ‘stakeholders’ to whom a sport coach is accountable.

Assumed throughout the web-based text is the positionality of the CAC as the authoritative body who seemingly knows what constitutes the appropriate ethical standards or stakeholder expectations for sport coaching in Canada. What is concerning with this positionality is that the CAC attempts to buttress its self-construction as *the* authority on sport coaching through its own enforcement committees. The web-based content on the ChPC identifies two separate committees – the Professional Practices Committee and the Licensing and Registration Committee – who serve to ensure that these coaches “meet or exceed appropriate standards of ethical conduct and behaviour” (para. 8). This involves requiring ChPCs signing off annually on the CAC’s Code of Conduct, as well as the CAC’s Licensing/Registration agreement upon renewal. One could argue that the presence of these committees is evidence of the CAC’s legitimacy as the authoritative body for sport coaching in Canada as it demonstrates how the CAC acts to regulate ChPC coaches through ensuring that they are held to a particular standard (a key step in the professional project). However, these committees are only used in the case that there is a formal complaint launched against a ChPC coach and therefore, it is not clear how the committee ensures that ChPC coaches are meeting or exceeding “appropriate standards of ethical conduct and behaviour” beyond those instances where there is a known breach of conduct.

The “Following Ethical Standards” section discusses the coach’s position of authority and states that, because of this authority, coaches are required to follow “even higher ethical standards than non-coaches” (CAC, 2021, para. 10). The CAC requires ChPCs and registered coaches to commit annually to following the CAC’s Code of Conduct, as well as declare their ethical conduct, complete an enhanced police record check (E-PIC) every 3 years, and provide two coaching-related references to vouch for their ethical conduct. Additionally, it is stated that “the CAC promotes coach accountability” and that “every ChPC designated coach must embrace [this] accountability” (CAC, 2021, para. 11); however, nowhere does it fully articulate what “coach accountability” means for a ChPC designated coach.

Beyond the issues of ethical conduct or standard, close examination of the ChPC web-based content also highlights how the CAC constructs the ChPC designation as a driver of work opportunity for interested participants. The website notes that ChPCs may be paid and/or volunteer coaches, but they must “always meet the four tests of a professional” outlined in the “Coaching as a Profession” noted above. As such, in the eyes of the CAC, having a ChPC designation:

...positions you as a committed professional, shows your commitment to a higher standard of excellence, allows you to coach at major international games, connects you with other professional coaches, demonstrates to students and the community that you are a trusted and reliable mentor, differentiates your program in the eyes of potential customers, helps you land a coaching position more quickly, improves your ability to transition between roles at all levels and grants you the right to use the ChPC designation after your name (CAC, 2021, para. 4).

While the ChPC designation may grant some of the privileges listed here (e.g., credentials, connection with other coaches), it is important to note that the website does not provide any data

on the number of coaches in Canada with the actual designation nor does the CAC have any actual mechanism by which to guarantee that all ChPCs will be the recipient of benefits outlined above, including getting a coaching position more quickly or having an easier time transitioning into different sporting roles (e.g., assistant coach, head coach, administrator). It is important to note that only half of this study's participants possessed the ChPC designation.

***Pathways to ChPC Designation.***

On the ChPC website, the ways in which an interested individual can enter into the ChPC program and thus designation are outlined in a section entitled "Pathways to ChPC Designation."

The four pathways are:

- Pathway One Requires NCCP Certification (Advanced Coaching Diploma (ACD)- or Competition-Advanced Gradation- CDAG or equivalent) and an undergraduate/graduate university or college degree (non-CAC accredited), CAC Safe Sport training, and four years of coaching experience (roughly 3000 hours).
- Pathway Two requires NCCP Certification (Competition-Development – Comp-Dev or equivalent) and an undergraduate/graduate university or college degree (non-CAC accredited), CAC Safe Sport training, and five (5) years of part-time or two (2) years of full-time coaching experience (roughly 4000 hours).
- Pathway Three requires a coach to be enrolled in the ACD and Comp-Dev certified, CAC Safe Sport training, and five (5) years of part-time or two (2) years of full-time coaching experience (roughly 4000 hours).
- Pathway Four requires a post-secondary degree from a CAC accredited Coach Education Program, CAC Safe Sport Training, and five (5) years of part-time or two (2) years of full-time coaching experience (roughly 4000 hours) (CAC, 2019).

As outlined in these four pathways, coaches wishing to obtain a ChPC designation are required to have: (1) education which includes either or both NCCP certification as well as post-secondary education (undergraduate/graduate/college degree); (2) CAC Safe Sport Training; and (3) coaching experience (3000-4000 hours). Of particular interest in this study is the range of what are deemed *acceptable* educational requirements of coaches as per the CAC. Some coaches are not required to have post-secondary education (e.g., Pathway 3) and, of the coaches that are required to have post-secondary education, undergraduate, graduate, and college degrees appear to be treated as equivalent by the CAC.

If we consider the canonized professions, we see much more clear and limited pathways into the field. For example, in Medicine, all those seeking to become physicians must complete a minimum of an undergraduate degree from a post-secondary educational institution, must successfully pass a competitive and rigorous application process in efforts to get acceptance into medical education, must complete a rigorous undergraduate medical program (which includes an elaborate apprenticeship or residency) and pass comprehensive licensing exams before then being permitted to practice Medicine. As indicated above, Pathway 3 allows a coach to obtain a ChPC given that they are enrolled in a particular level of coach education (i.e., ACD and/or Comp. Dev.) – and not necessarily that a coach has completed this education – and that they have certain hours of experience. The pathways above indicate how entry into sport coaching broadly, and sport coaching as a profession specifically, is porous with many points of entry. This is at odds with the professional project where restricting access to professional training, certification, and ultimately membership is central (Shudson, 1980).

As demonstrated in this section, the CAC has attempted to define the ChPC as the preeminent coaching credential, using a structural-functional approach to defining coaching as a

profession, as is evident through the CAC's outlining a list of ChPC requirements, which are to be taken as evidence of professional competence and status. By outlining on their website, the pathways, steps, and requirements of sport coaches wishing to become ChPC certified, the CAC has further constructed themselves as the gatekeeper of the ChPC designation and thus, themselves as the ultimate authority of the coaching profession. Yet as illustrated here these articulations are fraught as the CAC does not provide solid evidence on which to base these claims, nor does it examine the ways in which power operates through or around the ChPC designation to afford coaches professional status.

### **The ChPC as a moral community.**

The moral elevation of the ChPC designation is replete throughout the website. Under the header "Serve a Higher Purpose," the CAC states that ChPC designation facilitates the delivery of safe programs that promote "the mental and physical health and wellbeing of all participants" and that this commitment "ensures coaches make a safe and inclusive sport environment for all" (CAC, 2021, para. 5). Although the completion of such NCCP courses as "Make Ethical Decisions (MED)" and "Psychology of Performance" and non-NCCP courses as "Supporting Player Health and Wellbeing" and "Inclusiveness and Diversity" is required for an individual to obtain coach certifications (i.e., their completion represents a step along the ChPC pathway), there is no way of knowing if this education translates into a coach creating a safe and inclusive sporting experience. And yet the CAC's language on the website constructs an understanding of all ChPCs as possessing the skills and knowledge to create safe and inclusive sporting experiences.

The establishment of professional communities as moral communities is an important aspect of the professional project as, in so doing, professionals are afforded by the public at large or by the state the power to police unsubstantiated professional claims as well as establish a

common set of values, morals, and aspirations for a professional group (Frankel, 1989; Larson, 1977). Despite a lot of reference to CAC committees, policies, and ethical codes of conduct, the evidence on which the CAC is grounding their claims of sport coaches as a moral community and themselves as the moral authority of coaches is limited.

The ChPC website is rife with mention of different CAC and NCCP statements, policies and guidelines specific to good moral conduct in sport coaching including, but not limited to: the *Code of Conduct and Ethics with Reporting Procedures*; the CAC's recognition of the recent *Universal Code of Conduct to Prevent and Address Maltreatment in Sport* (UCCMS); and identification of the NCCP core principles (i.e., leadership/ professionalism, health/safety, and respect/integrity); *mention of the Professional Practices Committee Terms of Reference*; and the *Professional Coaching Appeal Procedure*. The identification of these statements and policies with the ChPC serves to associate the ChPC as morally purposeful, but a critical analysis beyond the presence of the text makes obvious that there is no specific outlining of how these codes and principles are learned, demonstrated, or how coaches are held accountable for upholding them. And yet, the moral elevation of the ChPC adds legitimacy both to the designation as well as to the CAC – the entity that is responsible for delivering and administering the designation.

The ambiguity around the moral authority of the CAC is further highlighted in the analysis of two policies: *Professional Practices Committee Terms of Reference* and the CAC's *Professional Coaching Appeal Procedure*. The *Professional Practices Committee Terms of Reference* policy begins with a statement that the “Professional Practices Chair” is a CAC representative that will act “... as a resource to the Board, Staff and CAC on matters related to professionalism in coaching” (CAC, 2014, p.1). Further the Chair is to oversee the “implementation of the Code of Conduct with regards to Discipline Procedures” and to provide

additional support on/around the profession of coaching. The *Professional Coaching Appeal Procedure*'s purpose is stated as “the procedure that individuals can use to appeal a decision related to Professional Coaching” (CAC, 2018, p.1). The decisions of this procedure are applied to Registered and ChPC Coaches as well as the License and Registration Committee, the Professional Practices Chair, and any persons who are “delegated authority to make decisions on behalf of Professional Coaching” (CAC, 2018, p.1).

Although these policies do outline the role of the *Chair of the Professional Practices Committee* and the implementation of the *Appeals Procedure*, when necessary, they do not acknowledge who else makes up the rest of this committee nor how this committee works together to resolve disputes or provide guidance on the matters mentioned above. Furthermore, they deflect attention away from the fact that CAC is both setting the conditions for how an individual becomes a ChPC, as well as how an individual will be managed should they breach the ethical norms/standards defined as appropriate by the CAC itself. The CAC's actions here speak to its desire to self-define and self-regulate – a distinctive feature in the professionalization project and yet one that is problematic given the ambiguity and lack of transparency. As Larson notes (1979), self-regulation and the policing of professionals is one form of political power that professionals have been afforded through their professional projects. This kind of self-regulation can also be seen as a form of social closure, clearly demarcating an insider group of people who are entrusted to deal solely with the punishment of other insider group members. The codes of conduct and policies examined in this section demonstrate the CAC's desire to position itself as *the* ultimate authority for ChPC certified coaches (i.e., not the public and/or the government). However, as already raised in Chapter 5, the experiences and observations raised by coaches make clear that the CAC has limited impact and/or influence on university sport coaches. In the

following sections of this chapter, data from interviews with university administrators and university sport coaches will highlight the ambivalence among sport coaching practitioners of the CAC's attempt to professionalize sport coaching through the ChPC credential.

### **CAC administrator insights.**

As noted by Larson (1977), professional projects are most effective when social closure is created as it serves to foster a sense of collective buy-in to processes and/or core requirements of the profession. Social closure not only creates an exclusive insider group, but it further empowers the social mobility of that group, which lends itself to the political processes involved in creating greater control over the kind of work being performed (Shudson, 1980). The interview insights in this section will serve to reinforce the analysis of the CAC documents, which illuminate the way in which the CAC is attempting to professionalize sport coaching as well as highlight tensions related to buy-in (i.e., social closure), and which contribute to the ambivalence of the coaching professional project. Where on one hand sport coaches view themselves as professionals and sport coaching as profession, on the other, coaches question the role of the CAC and the ChPC as a part of the coaching profession. The viewpoints of the CAC administrators will provide further context from which to unpack the ChPC and the professional coaching project and, when considered alongside the university coach and administrator views (in the final section of this chapter), will clarify the challenges faced by the CAC as more related to the construction and contestation of power among university sport and sport coaching stakeholders, rather than the translation of the ChPC designation into professional coaching status.

When asked if university sport coaching was considered a profession, Sarah stated that: “Yes, I do think it’s a profession even if it’s not regulated or recognized as a profession;” and

Kenneth said that: “A coach is a professional... I think our expectation is that they are professional regardless of the level that they’re functioning at, but at the university level, absolutely.” As noted in Kenneth’s reply, the terms profession and professional were used interchangeably throughout many of the interviews with both administrators and coaches; a noteworthy distinction as being in a profession (recognized or otherwise) is different than behaving in a professional way. Sarah further added that: “The challenge we have is that the expectations of the [coaching] profession can be somewhat silent because it’s not regulated.” As such, although both administrators were adamant that coaches – including university sport coaches and volunteer coaches<sup>5</sup> are professionals – as noted by Sarah, coaching within Canada remains unregulated by the government as a profession. This comment raises an important point with regards to regulation, and the role of the CAC as a regulatory body. Although the CAC has attempted to construct themselves as the authority (as well as the moral authority) of the sport coaching profession, as articulated by their own employees, they have yet to regulate sport coaching as a profession. This brings into focus the question of how the CAC—the national sport governing body of all coaches in Canada—has not been able to regulate coaching as a profession; further highlighting an important consideration with respect to power. The CAC has not been able to convince the greater public, sport coaches, and sport administrators (as will be highlighted below), that sport coaching is a profession. Thus, their attempts to outline the pathways, the codes of conduct, and themselves as gatekeepers (to name a few) remain limited. Without buy in from the communities highlighted above, the CAC’s power and ability to create social closure, to control the production of coaches, and the body of sport coaching work, will remain contested.

---

<sup>5</sup> During the interview, Sarah discussed how volunteer coaches could be professionals. Specifically, she remarked: “Can you be a professional and not be paid? Well, the argument is yes, no, yes, no, but ultimately yes.”

In turning to the discussion of the ChPC designation, Sarah discussed how “there are different models for professions that exist out there” and highlighted the actuarial association as a profession that has a “national body” and that the CAC “is trying to model [the actuarial profession] in its national affiliation with a profession.” She and Kenneth both highlighted how this has been the approach due to the lack of provincial buy-in to professionalize sport coaching. Kenneth noted that, “It’s not got the uptake at the provincial level at this stage,” while Sarah said that: “The provinces are not engaging and regulating the profession” due to the “challenges and dynamics around setting [coaching] up [as a profession] and sustainability” (Sarah). As such, the lack of provincial buy-in was upheld as the reason for creating “a national model,” which both Sarah and Kenneth commented “was being rebranded” from a past version of the ChPC<sup>6</sup>. Sarah also added that the ChPC designation affords sport coaches:

...enhanced respect for the profession to perspective employers and peers etcetera, clarity of a code of conduct that is becoming of the profession, certain member benefits in line with a financial model that is established for the profession, access to support within a profession and it affords national sport federations the ability to designate individuals with the [ChPC] designation or to remove it.

To this end, Kenneth jumped in to provide details on the rebrand that was occurring to the “pro-coach program” with the aim of “bringing a degree of credibility to the profession,” which will include: “things like screening, core courses that are expected, [and] practical coaching hours.” He also added some of the benefits as “access to legal services” and that there are “lots of benefits, you know like building credibility, building trust, screening, safe sport to enhance athlete experiences, networking, access to services that will benefit the pro-coach.” Although

---

<sup>6</sup>During the interview the CAC administrators referred to the rebrand of the ChPC as the pro-coach program

Kenneth did not clarify with whom this credibility and trust was being built, it is reasonable to assume that this could include the general public, sport coaches, sport administrators and sport organizations; however, this comment suggests that, in general, there is a lack of credibility and/or trust in the current professionalization project of sport coaching, which as articulated above, may be linked to the contested power of the CAC.

The comments provided here by both Sarah and Kenneth lend support to the findings at the beginning of this chapter, which illuminate the approach that the CAC has taken to the professionalization of coaching by elevating the ChPC as the highest (and most legitimate) level of education and praxis in sport coaching. Specifically, Sarah outlines all the benefits that come with the ChPC title, including “enhanced respect for the profession” to which Kenneth adds “bringing a degree of credibility to the profession”. These comments are evidence that the CAC and the people working within the CAC are operating from the belief that the ChPC designation should equate to professional status and prestige, and that the CAC plays a key role in serving as *the* regulatory body for the sport coaching profession. Interestingly, these comments also expose the CAC’s awareness of the ambivalence around sport coaching as a profession operating within the Canadian sport system. In particular, it is clear that coaching has not garnered the same “respect” and/or “credibility” that other professions like Medicine have.

When asked to comment on how many university sport coaches were ChPC designated, Sarah answered: “Not many! What we see is better [buy-in] from our national sport system,” which included “Olympic Committee and Paralympic Committee, or Commonwealth Games and our Pan Am games. So, the multi-service agencies who want a level of quality assurance to ensure that those coaches come to the games with a minimum standard around the safety and ethics components.” She also clarified, “I would argue that universities are a part of the national

sport system, but I would tell you that the system itself is still trying to figure that out.” This comment relates to Kenneth’s earlier remark about the “splintered” nature of the university sport system:

...really quite splintered. And you’ve got different dynamics. So, you’ve got large well-developed programs, which have much more of a profession, work-related characteristic where people can make a living off of [coaching] and smaller programs, smaller schools, smaller sports, [where] its very much volunteer based. So, it’s confusing I suspect. I think it’s quite confusing for people who are looking at going into [coaching], like can I make a career for the next 20 or 30 years off of this?

These comments speak to the tensions mentioned in Chapter Five surrounding university sport coaching as work, a job, a career and/or a profession and further underscore how the ambiguity surrounding the professional project of sport coaching is, in part, related to the system of sport itself. In particular, there is confusion both within the university sport system (“...the system itself is still trying to figure that out”) and with discerning how university sport fits within the broader system of Canadian sport. It was clear from the comments of these sport participants that the work and professionalization of university sport coaches is a complicated challenge for the institution of sport within Canada broadly and the CAC specifically.

In tackling the question of who does the CAC require buy in from, it appeared that this was not just from respective coaches but also the sport organizations and systems that coaches were a part of (e.g., MSOs, ADs, NSOs). Sarah’s comment about the importance of the ChPC rebrand as being able to “provide a safe sport service in some ways, which supports our multi-sport agencies, versus the way we work with university or national sport system” further indicates that the CAC does not have the same kind of power and influence on and/or over all

sport organizations in Canada. Moreover, Sarah's comment above about the university sport system "trying to figure itself out" – in addition to her observation that: "We're invited to the table by different universities, and that's a really critical component. Those universities where we don't have a role is because we're not invited in" – indicate that the CAC especially lacks power and influence within the university sport system. Comments like the ones mentioned above reiterate the contested relations of power that are operating between the CAC and university stakeholders. As previously noted, without the obtainment and monopolization of particular skills, credentials, and recognitions (which may come through a central credentialing body), social closure cannot be created and, without social closure, the power of a profession to persuade folks on the value of their work, as well as to enhance their market position and social mobility remains limited (Freidson, 1970; Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995). More pointedly, if the CAC cannot control the production of sport coaches as *the* producers of sport coaching knowledge, then the professionalization of sport coaching is unlikely to be achieved.

As noted by Sarah, where the CAC was working with university sport was through CCUPEKA, "...or the deans of Kinesiology and Physical Education programs to try and create and foster more partnerships and accrediting through undergraduate and masters in coaching programs." In Sarah's eyes, this was the part of the rebranding exercise as "creating and fostering more undergrad and masters [programs]" was a big part of getting people to see the profession of coaching "as a viable option and a viable career." Sarah articulated that the hope for these programs was to further "generate research into the professions" and that, in so doing, "help to rise the standards of the profession," which would ultimately result in "motivating universities to hire professional coaches who have undergrads and designations, as part of their coaching ranks." Having these undergraduate degrees and designations was important as,

according to Sarah: “Right now, universities typically just hire a coach based on their own perspective” and that different universities had “different levels of robustness around who they hire, who they pay, how they pay them, and other criteria used to employ coaches.” As such, for Sarah: “...until we get [into] the academic side of universities, we don’t think we’re going get into athletic departments in a way that’s meaningful! We have relationships with some, but not with many.” These comments illuminate the tension and, seemingly, the lack of support from university stakeholders of the coaching professional project as constructed by the CAC.

The comments made by Sarah here in relation to education through academic institutions are connected to the literature on the professional project highlighted at the start of, and throughout, this chapter. It is clear from the CAC comments that educational requirements are an important aspect of the professional project as they establish uniformity which, as per Larson (1977), is central to reconciling differences in opinion and interpretations within the group; a process that is required to establish ‘objective’ knowledge and social closure. The objectification of knowledge is a part of the power provided to a professional group in deciding who counts and who does not as a professional (Greenwood, 1957; Larson, 1977). As such these reasons, along with the limited power of the CAC on university sport programs and the previously discussed porous nature of sport coaching, may be influencing Sarah and Kenneth to view education through academic institutions as a critical step in advancing the sport coaching professional project.

Finally, when asked to comment on why a university sport coach may not become a ChPC/Registered Coach, Kenneth said: “lack of awareness in the community or in the country about the professional coach designation.” He also stated that previous versions of the pro-coach label were targeted too wide “where with the rebrand, we’re trying to really move to being more

targeted, more specific about what the value proposition is, which will kind of build into the awareness part so as to promote it, and we believe [the ChPC], will much more strongly resonate with the targeted communities we're looking at." This quote demonstrates the ways in which the CAC is attempting to transform sport coaching into a profession and sport coaches into professionals. The narrowing and/or more targeted approach of the pro-coach rebrand lends support to the notion of social closure, or the defining of an insider group (Larson, 1979), as important to the overall advancement of sport coaches as a professional group.

As previously discussed, by creating social closure and structuring coaching education and work as highly valuable, the CAC stands a better chance of advancing the professional project of coaching in Canada (Larson, 1977). Kenneth indicated that overall, there is lack of clarity and: "structure around the [coaching] profession. And so, because [the profession of coaching] is not widely entrenched throughout the country, coaches often think 'Why bother if I do not technically need this designation to be employed.'" This comment was echoed by the university sport coaches and some of the administrators, whose insights I now turn to, in order to highlight the fraught power relations operating between the CAC, coaching, and the university sport system.

### **University Coach views on Coaching as a Profession**

When asked to comment on their understanding of what a profession or a professional was, coaches gave a range of replies including:

- "The word profession or professional implies some sort of training, usually a college or university degree" (Rachel).

- “It’s tough because I’m not technically a professional coach because there’s a professional [sport] league out there, but I think I carry myself like a professional” (Mike).
- “A professional to me has nothing to do with whether I’m being paid or not. It has to do with my mindset on [coaching], [also] being as educated as possible, being resourceful” (Jonathon).
- “There’s usually some sort of standard of conduct like ‘do no harm’. There’s a position title and a structure around that position. There should be some remuneration of some kind, but that doesn’t always happen, and then I think too it comes back to publicly indicating that you are accountable” (Logan).
- “I would suggest that at our university [coaching] definitely is treated like a profession and it might not be at other universities” (Karl).
- “Constant learning and a certain level of academic background, doing ongoing certification within your sport to show your professionalism” (Eddie).
- “Even if you only coach it’s still something you do, there are requirements and certain things you have to fulfill, so why would it not be a profession?” (Matthew).

Based on the responses offered by study participants, coaches were clear that the sport coaching profession included an advanced educational degree of some kind, appropriate behavioural conduct, a long-term and intentional career path, accountability to the public and ongoing education. Of further interest were the comments made about the level of sport (i.e., university versus professional sport) and the payment of professionals, which in the case of coaches could include volunteers.

Although the coaches all felt that coaching was a profession and that coaches were professionals, not all of the coaches had obtained or were even aware of the ChPC designation. Specifically, only half of the coaches (Jonathon, Karl, Eddie and Logan) interviewed for this study were ChPC-certified. The coaches at the IAD were certain that having this designation was required of them – Eddie noted that: “It’s mandated, it’s got to be done by this date.” For some participants, their university covered the cost of the designation: “They will pay for the [ChPC]” (Karl). Nonetheless, Matthew—an IAD coach— did not have a ChPC designation, and his reasoning was that: “I didn’t think it was important. I didn’t think just to put ChPC beside my name would make me a better coach or a better person” and that: “If it would matter than I would probably go and get it.” Alternatively, many of the NIAD coaches were not ChPC-certified, and their reasons included: “I get lost in the whole process. I can’t be bothered to complete the process” (Rachel); “It’s just something I haven’t done yet” (Mike); and Will was not aware that the ChPC existed: “To be honest, this is the first time that it’s been brought up.” Will added that “I’ve never done any of those certification things” and, when asked about the CAC, he did not know what or who the CAC was – “Are they the ones that provide all the different levels and training and what not?”

The one NIAD coach who was ChPC-certified, Jonathon, said his reason for doing so was “to support the system that wants to develop that name and what it’s all about.” When asked how the ChPC benefited him as a coach, he added that: “Right now it does not deliver me anything. It doesn’t give me a higher salary.” This comment demonstrates some of the ambivalence surrounding the CAC’s professional project of sport coaching. Specifically, these comments demonstrate how Jonathon recognizes the struggle that the CAC is having in professionalizing sport coaching and yet, he equates being a professional to someone who earns

a higher salary which, in and of itself, is not a necessary requirement of professionhood.

Furthermore, given that the CAC does not hire and/or supervise sport coaches, they have no direct say in how sport coaches are compensated by the intuitions and/or organizations that coaches work for. This exposes how institutions that coaches are working for, may not be working with the CAC to elevate sport coaching as a profession, which—as suggested by Jonathon’s comment—may be further linked to their unwillingness and/or limitations around providing coaches with additional support (e.g., higher salaries, better benefits etc.). Collectively, the concerns raised here speak to some of the ambivalence with regards to the sport coaching professional project.

In discussing the ChPC, many coaches also offered answers for why they felt that more coaches were not ChPC-certified, which ultimately reveal and lend support to the weak hold of the ChPC within the sport system. For example, Matthew felt that the ChPC designation “is not what makes me a professional.” Specifically, he remarked on the process of application and how “writing a letter to say I have all this stuff, does that make me more professional?” He also stated that if the ChPC mattered or would make a difference he would apply, but narrowly defined ‘difference’ as a higher salary: “If I would get a salary raise, I would apply, but it won’t change anything.” Additionally, Rachel stated that “if my employer or my boss doesn’t think it’s necessary then... I mean I’m always going to be a lifelong learner and look for opportunities to improve, but I don’t think that [the ChPC] will help me in any way.” She also mentioned all the educational requirements of coaches “in coaching, it’s like what’s next? What do I have to get and why? How do I get there? It’s very foggy and the ChPC just adds to the fog.” These comments illuminate how some coaches contest the ChPC designation, how university athletic departments are not working together with the CAC to advance the sport coaching professional

project (as highlighted above), and ultimately, these comments expose the lack of power currently operating through both the CAC and university athletic departments to convince coaches that they must be ChPC certified.

Similarly, Jonathon mentioned the struggle around the term ‘coach.’ Specifically, he remarked on how he had “sat on a committee with the CAC and they’re like ‘Ok we don’t own the word ‘coach,’ anyone can be a ‘coach.’ It’s not copyrighted, so what do we do?’ Not everyone can be a physiotherapist. So how the heck do we professionalize the word ‘coach’?” If we return to Larson’s work on the professional project and consider that a major component of the professional project is the ability of a professional group to police unsubstantiated professional claims, which is also linked to attending and conferring from a state-sanctioned school, then we can see how this is not so much about professionalizing the term coach, as it is about controlling the production of sport coaches. In particular, this quote illuminates the tension surrounding the porous nature of entry into sport coaching, which further demonstrates the lack of power operating through the ChPC designation to afford sport coaches professional status. Additionally, this calls into question the role of the CAC as the professional authority of sport coaching.

Connected to tensions surrounding the porous nature of entry into the sport coaching profession, Logan discussed how he did “not see enough uptake from coaches on accepting that there are minimal standards of conduct that would place all [coaches] in the same breadbasket so to speak.” He went on to comment about how medical doctors and accountants have designations and conduct that they adhere to:

So how do coaches compare to that? I think there are opportunities especially in Canada with the CAC and being a Chartered Professional Coach. I think the organization and

structure is there for us, but what I don't see is a lot of rubber meeting the road whether it's politicians or whether it's sport administrators or maybe it's just cultural, but it's not pushing forward enough, and some sports are worse than others<sup>7</sup>.

Clearly for Logan, there was a lack of buy-in from his fellow coaches, a tension similarly noted by the CAC administrators. This was also reinforced by Sarah, who noted elsewhere in the interview, that many coaches in Canada (especially university sports coaches) do not obtain and/or pursue a ChPC designation and the ones that do are typically working in a higher level of sport (i.e., the national level). Logan's comment lends support to the ambivalence of sport coaches, some of which are clearly not convinced that the obtainment of a ChPC designation is necessary, especially in some sports (i.e., "some sports being worse"). This ambivalence is further connected to the lack of clarity on how power and power relations operate within the Canadian system of sport. More specifically, Logan's questioning of why 'the rubber is not meeting the road' and remark that it may be because of politicians, sport administrators, and/or culture is important as it speaks to the broader system within which sport coaching and sport coaches operate – perhaps coaches are not "buying in" because the systems they exist within does not require them to.

Additionally, Logan felt that "there is not enough political push behind making [the ChPC] mandatory" and also that another kind of politics was at play with regards to the ChPC:

In Canada, you're supposed to have a minimum level of coaching education to qualify for [the ChPC], but those things seem to be pushed aside if somebody wants to put a friend of theirs on a national team. So, there's politics, there's sort of bureaucratic 'I'm going to turn the other cheek', and that erodes trust in what the organization is doing.

---

<sup>7</sup> In discussing "some sports being worse than others," Logan was referring to how some sports have more ChPC certified coaches than others

When asked how the ChPC benefits him, he said, “I honestly don’t think I can answer that question” and went on to say that it was not the ChPC that afforded him his job but rather his resume including his education (e.g., a master’s degree and an Advanced Coaching Diploma designation) and his success (i.e., win loss record) as a coach. Although Jonathon admitted that he did not get any sort of benefit from having the ChPC designation, he felt that: “It connects me to a community of people that I want to help in the next 20 years professionalize coaching in the eyes of the Canadian sport system.” Again, these comments lend their support to the ambivalent and contested nature of the ChPC designation in and through the Canadian sport system.

When talking about Professional Development (PD), all of the coaches made clear that PD was important to them, regardless of whether or not their institution required them to do PD, and that part of their reasoning for doing PD was linked to their views of themselves and other coaches as professionals. For example, coaches made comments such as:

- “I go way above and beyond because if you want to be treated like a professional, you have to act like a professional. You have to look for ways to improve and stay relevant” (Rachel).
- “If you’re not moving forward then you’re falling behind, right? So, standing still doesn’t work” (Jonathon).
- “It’s huge. I mean you have to be able to be cutting edge. You always have to bring in new ideas not only for yourself, but for the players” (Will).

When asked to comment on if PD was a requirement, many of the coaches began by making comments such as, “Well, required is not really the word” (Will); “I’m not sure required is the right word” (Jonathon); “They don’t require you to do any” (Eddie); and “There’s no direct push” (Matthew). However, as they reflected more on the PD they did as coaches, they made

comments like: “I suppose the fact that’s it’s in [the year-end review] makes it a requirement” (Karl); “I mean on our evaluations every year it says ‘What professional development did you do this year” (Eddie); and “As part of your annual evaluations and tasks and assessments, you must reflect on [PD] and make some decisions about it” (Jonathon) suggesting that PD might be more of a requirement than previously thought of.

All of the coaches (except Will) commented on having to do PD for the maintenance of their CAC coach designations (e.g., Logan said, “You know with NCCP, you have to have those maintenance points” and Rachel said “You’re expected to update your locker”), and some of the coaches also made comments about supporting their assistant coaches in pursuing PD (e.g., Karl said, “I tell my assistant coaches all the time, I will pay for any professional development that you want to do” and Will said, “We do professional development. Our other coaches go to clinics and things”). It was clear from these comments that PD was important to coaches, as well as to their institutions. (e.g., the IAD, the NIAD, and the CAC). The remarks about coaches wanting and needing to stay current in order to deliver top level programming and, as a means to act professionally and, thus be treated as professionals, were motivators for pursuing PD. Additionally, whether conscious of it or not, it was clear from the comments made by coaches and the presence of their yearly evaluations and CAC “Maintenance of Certification” texts (which indicate that coaches must document and/or fulfill PD), that PD was a requirement of their sporting institutions.

The insights of sport coaches on the CAC and the ChPC, as well as PD, are fascinating. On one hand, coaches are clear that coaching is a profession and that coaches must act (although they do not always) professionally; And, that this view of themselves as professionals is a main motivator for pursuing PD. Yet, on the other hand, the remarks made by coaches in relation to

the ChPC designation (“It won’t change anything”, “Right now it does not deliver me anything”, and “I don’t think that [the ChPC] will help me in any way”) illuminate a tension within the coaching professional project. In particular, while it is clear that a professional project is occurring to some degree within sport coaching (e.g., through the presence of the CAC and the ChPC designation), the extent to which the professional coaching project is occurring within the Canadian sport system broadly and the university sport system specifically remains unclear. This ambivalence has led some coaches to question the value of the ChPC which raises concerns around how any group can professionalize when its own members are ambivalent the designation that is being constructed as signifier of professionalization.

This ambivalence acts as a barrier to social closure, which can only be achieved when all members of the professional group buy in to the view of their work as rare and highly valuable (Manza, 1992) and as requiring specialized and standardized education (Greenwood, 1957). Without social closure, sport coaching cannot professionalize. As such, sport coaching has yet to be regulated and/or recognized by the Canadian government and public as a profession. A noteworthy tension is the fact that presently, university sport coaches are not required by their university athletic departments to have a ChPC designation. In not requiring university sport coaches to be ChPC certified, athletic departments (and athletic directors) are contributing to the ambivalent and contested nature of sport coaching as a profession, given that coaches are not autonomous, but dependent on their university athletic departments (and athletic directors). In the next section, the insights of athletic directors and administrators will be shared in order to highlight how athletic departments and people operating within them contribute to the contestation and ambivalence of sport coaching as a profession.

## **University Administrators views on Coaching as a Profession**

The university sport administrator remarks shared in this section will illuminate how the university athletic department (AD) and administrators operating within the AD, may be contributing to the ambivalence of the Canadian sport coaching professional project. Although this section will feature the insights of all university sport administrators, the insights of the most experienced and senior administrators, Andrew and John, are heavily featured; Both offered insightful responses, which not only indicate their years of experience and seniority in athletic department leadership, but also their dedication to thinking through the sport coaching professional project.

When it came to discussing if coaching was a profession, the majority of university administrators (Margaret, Ella, Tim, Kurtis, and Sophie) felt that coaching was a profession, while both Andrew and John were clear that coaching had not yet been regulated and/or recognized by the Canadian government and the Canadian public as a profession (e.g., Andrew said “I don’t think [coaching] is a profession, I think it’s a career. I don’t think it will ever be a profession” and John said, “coaches should be professionals, at this point, no one is because we do not have a profession”). For the administrators who believed coaching was a profession, some gave personal viewpoints to explain why they thought coaches were professionals (e.g., Ella said “I just think that there are unique qualities, and abilities that truly successful coaches have and I think it’s come from different places, but I think it helps us to continue to recognize coaching as a profession because I think it’s really important what they do”), some gave reasons linked to the ChPC (e.g., Tim said “I label [coaching] a profession as I am myself a chartered professional coach”), and others simply stated that it was a profession (e.g., Margaret said “It’s a profession, that people choose to take on”).

Andrew, the Athletic Director at the IAD, provided a particularly thorough explanation with regards to coaches as professionals and raised some very specific coaching professional project concerns. He remarked that an issue is that: “A professional is not a person who gets paid! A professional athlete is an athlete who gets paid, and an amateur athlete isn’t. So, people in sport tend to think ‘Well, a coach gets paid, so they must be a professional’.” Similarly, John remarked on the challenges that came with professionalizing coaching, one of which was the public’s understanding of a profession broadly, and a profession in sport, specifically. For example, he said that lay people and people in sport alike: “Think that a professional means either you’re very elite, you only work with the very best, and/or you’re paid in a way that you’re making your living.” The responses given by both Andrew and John highlight some unique considerations with regards to sport coaching. As noted here, the perception of sport being elite or amateur was important, as well as the payment of sport coaches; neither of which, according to the sociological literature on the professions (e.g., Greenwood, 1957; Macdonald, 1995) and the professional project (e.g., Larson, 1977; Shudson, 1980) have any bearing on the status of a particular occupational group.

Andrew went on to discuss how professions require “regulatory bodies and inclusion criteria” and, like the literature conducted on the professionalization of coaching within sport (Taylor & Garratt, 2010a, 2013; Telles-Langdon & Spooner, 2006), highlighted how: “We haven’t agreed on that [for coaches] and you’ll never get people to agree on that.” From his viewpoint, although the conversation on professionalizing coaching in Canada over the last ten years had been “progressive,” it still did not address questions like “What does it mean to be a Chartered Professional Coach?” and that the conversation “has been based on the idea of what a profession is” and that idea has not been aligned with “the real definition of a profession in terms

of legal language.” As such, for Andrew, the conversation about professionalization “is the wrong conversation. I think it’s got to be more about respecting the body of work as a career and that there’s different approaches to that kind of a career.” Alternatively, John was “very focused on trying to move the profession of coaching forward and to make coaching a profession and therefore coaches professionals.” John added that while the ChPC has begun to come “through a university degree in an accredited program, we have yet to accredit any programs” and that “the CAC and CCUPEKA are working together to accredit university programs”. For John, it was obvious that “professional coaching is the next step,” but that coaching was not recognized as a profession currently.

Further connected to his resistance towards the professionalization of sport coaching and, linked to the remarks on education noted above (i.e., accrediting university programs), Andrew gave the example of Kinesiologists who are regulated as health professionals in Ontario but not in other provinces such as Manitoba. To this point, he stated: “You’ve got a Kinesiology degree, or you don’t. Well, what are you gonna do in coaching? Are you gonna say you have to have a coaching degree to coach?” He then went on to say how coaches “will never go for that” because they will say “I need an exemption. I need to be grandfathered in, aren’t you going to recognise my twenty-five years of playing professionally?” As noted in Chapter Two, the education versus experience debate in sport coaching is ongoing and must be considered in the discussion of professionalization of sport coaching. Andrew’s comments illuminate that, without a mechanism to control and narrowly define what it means to be a coach (including legally defining sport coaching as a profession and education), sport coaching will not professionalize.

For John, in order to address these tensions and thus “to advance coaching into a profession, we need to address public trust so that the public understands what they’re getting

when they're getting a professional coach." This is a noteworthy comment as it begins to demonstrate the need to understand the social conditions and political decisions, a part of creating a professional coaching designation. He added: "A key next step is to address the confidence of the public and public safety concerns" given the Safe Sport movement happening in Canada. He expanded on this comment by providing the example of how a teacher, who is a member of a professional group that involves a regulatory board, is dealt with when they behave poorly: "There's an independent mechanism to deal with [poor behaviour] because the profession has to regulate itself in a manner that is independent of any conflicts of interest." He mentioned this point because of the issues that sport has when it comes to addressing poor coaching behaviour. In particular, he said:

A coach can behave very badly and, I've seen it in club sports where athletes and parents believe that a coach is the way for them to achieve the goals they want, and they overlook those bad behaviours so much so that clubs will petition National Sporting Organizations against the sanctions that NSOs have put on the coach, all because the families want their children to train with that coach.

As such, John mentioned how the next steps in the professionalization process require the "ability to control license" such that: "If you don't have a license you can't coach at the level you want." Therefore, in addition to addressing the education concerns – raised by Andrew – there is a further need to address the public's understanding of what a professional coach is, as well as what it means to hold coaches accountable for unethical coaching behaviour.

The insights shared here by Andrew and John clearly demonstrate their awareness of the contested and fraught nature of sport coaching as a profession; They are both calling into question the multiple and complex power relations operating within the Canadian sport

landscape, that are connected to the professionalization of sport coaching. As indicated above, for Andrew this is concretely focused on educating and legally defining sport coaching as a profession, and for John, this is linked to the lack of public confidence in sport coaches as well as the ability to address and control ethical and/or unethical coaching conduct. Both are noteworthy concerns that the system of sport, which includes the CAC, must consider.

In discussing the ChPC designation, the sport administrators were all aware of the designation and, for the most part, had positive views about it. Some of their comments included:

- “I think it’s part of our criteria to hire. [Coaches] have to have some level of certification” (Margaret)
- “Our coaches have all been encouraged to sign up for [the ChPC] and in fact, they’ve been supported to sign up” (Ella)
- “For me it was critical because I was a national team coach” (Tim); and
- “It’s pretty much an expectation, we let them know in the hiring process that we expect them to get to the top of their designations” (Kurtis).

However, Andrew was clear that the ChPC designation was not as important given his view of the NCCP. Specifically, he said “the NCCP means nothing to me because there’s no reason for me to believe that because somebody has NCCP they’re going to be a good coach. There’s no correlation between the NCCP and the ability to coach university.” This is noteworthy a comment given that the IAD coaches were certain it was a requirement of them to obtain NCCP certification. The comment above made by Tim echoes the statements made by Sarah and Kenneth, with respect to the ChPC being more successful at the national sport level (e.g., Sarah said: “What we see is better buying in from our national sport system”).

With respect to the relevance of the ChPC designation to university sport coaches, John discussed the importance of getting “broad acceptance of [the ChPC]” and how these discussions need to “go on with USports” if the ChPC is going to be taken more seriously. He also added that in the past “we’ve opened that discussion up with USports and it hasn’t gone very far at all!” When asked why this was the case, he remarked that it had to do with governance (“USports doesn’t govern athletic departments”) and that while USports could dictate certification for coaches at national championships, “it hasn’t risen to the level where they need to address it at this point” and that maybe this had to do with the fact that university sport does not have the “NSO or PSO hierarchy and the funding from Sport Canada”. This is certainly an interesting consideration given the previous comments from Sarah and Tim about better buy-in at the NSO level.

When the administrators were asked to comment on how many of the coaches working at the university had a ChPC designation, the IAD administrators were clear that most of the coaches had a ChPC (e.g., Andrew said, “I think about eighty percent of [our coaches] have the [ChPC]” and Ella said “we have several coaches who have it”), while the NIAD administrators indicated that very few coaches were ChPC-certified (e.g., Tim confirmed that “I know two who have it, so I will say two out of roughly eighteen [coaches] have it”). The high number of coaches at the IAD with ChPC certification was surprising given the remarks that Andrew (the Athletic Director at the IAD) made about not being a fan of the NCCP, or the ChPC. As indicated above, he does not outwardly support the CAC and their designations, yet he also encouraged his coaches to get the ChPC designation: “Coaches have the right to put coach on their business card, but you can’t put ChPC on there unless you have got it and done all the stuff” (Andrew). Additionally, although Tim made NCCP training mandatory (“We’re requiring our

coaches to re-engage formally with their NCCP training. We are tracking that training and establishing base standards for future positions going forward”), obtaining a ChPC designation was not a requirement: “We haven’t required them to have [the ChPC] yet.” These comments suggest that whether administrators appreciate and/or see the value in NCCP training, at a minimum they must acknowledge that it is the primary form of coach education in Canada to date. Nonetheless, their concerns about the validity of the ChPC as a professional designation are noteworthy and contribute to the coaches, working in their institutions, apprehensions around acquiring a ChPC designation.

Next, administrators were asked to comment on why they thought the ChPC was important and to this end, they made comments like:

- “I think it elevates [a coach’s] profile and it’s a stamp of approval that you’re part of an organization that recognizes coaches as professionals. I think it’s a very positive thing” (Margaret)
- “It is a treasury board recognized title that you’ve been through the professional practices review” (Tim)
- “I think [the universities] have a part to play in the professionalization of coaches and I think we hire the most full-time coaches out of anyone in Canada, so it’s important we endorse [the ChPC]” (Sophie)
- “In order to progress through the [coach career pathway] here they have to continue to develop professionally” (Kurtis); and
- “We need to clearly designate the profession and, in Canada, that’s definable. It’s the Chartered Professional Coach status under the CAC” (John).

They also made comments like, “I don’t think [the ChPC] is important from the perspective of hiring, but as a concept in our country it’s important” (Andrew) and “to an athlete a coach’s biggest credential is that they’re a university coach, not that their a ChPC” (Ella). The comments made here about the relevance of the ChPC further contribute to the ambiguity surrounding the ChPC designation and the CAC’s role in the professionalization of coaching and, illuminate some of the power relations at play between the CAC, the university sport, and the Canadian sport system.

### **Concluding Considerations on the Professionalization of Coaching**

This chapter used the CAC’s ChPC designation as the site from which to examine the Canadian sport coaching professional project. As was highlighted in the first section of this chapter, the CAC’s attempt to define sport coaching as a profession, has chiefly been through listing the traits an individual comes to earn through the ChPC, through constructing the ChPC as the most elevated coaching designation in Canada and, in turn, the CAC themselves as the ultimate authority (including the moral authority) of ChPC coaches and thus, the professional coaching project. However, their attempts to outline the pathways, codes of conduct, and themselves as the gatekeepers of the sport coaching professional project, remain limited and feed into sport sector ambivalence about the ChPC. Specifically, the CAC has not addressed how power operates through the ChPC designation to afford sport coaches professional prestige. Additionally, their lack of attention to, and inability to create buy in from sport coaches, sport administrators, and the general public has resulted in the contestation of the CAC’s power to create social closure, to control the production of sport coaches as producers of sport coaching knowledge, and the body of sport coaching work.

Although the CAC administrators interviewed for this study were adamant that sport coaches were professionals, the points they raised about the power relations operating within the Canadian sport landscape (including the dynamics between the CAC and university ADs), further illuminate the fraught and contested nature of the sport coaching professional project. While the CAC's solution is to address these tensions through a rebrand of the pro-coach movement, which includes a narrowing of the pro-coach target audience and accrediting university sport programs, they have yet to accredit any programs, and much more remains to be seen with regards to how these programs (and this rebrand) will address concerns surrounding buy in from coaches and sport administrators operating within the USports landscape.

The coach insights included in this chapter clearly articulate that the sport coaches (the CAC's target audience) themselves are ambivalent about the professional coaching project, which brings into focus the need to address how a group can professionalize when its own insider members are undecided. The ambivalence felt by coaches may be linked to the current lack of requirement for sport coaches operating within university ADs to have a ChPC designation. The comments from both John and Andrew demonstrate, that, despite their best efforts, the CAC has done little to convey and exercise their power as the moral and/or legal credentialing authority of the sport coaching professional project in Canada. As such, sport administrators are left questioning the role of the ChPC in advancing the sport coaching professional project. In the next chapter, I will unpack the connections between professionalization, work, and gender in order to illuminate the ways in which gender does or does not contribute to the structuring of university sport coaching as work and/or a profession.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION III: GENDER AND UNIVERSITY SPORT COACHING

#### Chapter Seven Take Aways

- The contestation of sport coaching as job and/or a profession is felt hardest by sport coaches who identify as women. Not only do these coaches face the boundaryless, qualified, and precarious work outlined in Chapter Five, they must further face unique challenges that exist solely because of their gender identity.
- Some of the challenges explored in this chapter include essentialist constructions of women as better caregivers, communicators, and administrators, as well as a lack of opportunity and access in sport coaching and being a mother.
- Not only are female identifying sport coaches facing such challenges, USports and the athletic departments in this study, further did not adopt equity and access policies.
- Collectively the findings outlined in this chapter communicate that the system of sport and people operating within it view the lack of women in sport coaching as a women's issue and not a system of sport issue. As long as the system holds women accountable for their lack of representation in sport, women will remain underrepresented in sport coaching positions.

The final research objective of this study was to explore the gendered and/or gendering nature of university sport coaching. As previously highlighted, despite the rise in initiatives focused on advancing women into sport coaching roles (i.e., the CAC's University Female Mentorship Program), the number of women coaching university sport in Canada is at an all-time low (Norman et al., 2020). Moreover, the scant literature exploring the sport-work-gender nexus in university sport, in addition to the absence of analyses adopting FPE as a theoretical orientation, highlight the need to examine more closely how the university sport contributes (or not) to the dearth of women in head and assistant sport coaching roles.

This chapter will begin with the interview insights of university sport coaches, university sport administrators, and MSO (whether CAC or USports) administrators on the gendered dynamics of university sport coaching and will progress to include the analysis of such texts as maternity/parental leave policies from both the NIAD and IAD, and the USports *Equity Policy*.

Overall, the results highlighted in this chapter demonstrate that there is a clear gendered division of labour operating within the university sport context. This is supported by the data which demonstrates that sport coaching work is gendered work, that women remain limited in sport coaching roles for various reasons (e.g., limited opportunities and occupational barriers), and that current structural forms of support in place for women in university sport coaching remain limited and subject to the university athletic department (AD) they work for.

### **Interview Insights on Sport Coaching and Gender**

This section will begin, by outlining participant perspectives on sport coach work as gendered work, before unpacking and examining more closely, some of the reasons for why sport coaching work has been constructed as work predominantly performed by men. The data collected from interviews illuminated that a gendered division of labour exists within the NIAD and IAD, and that this gendered division of coach labour was reproduced and reinforced by the gendered nature of sport coach work, the construction of gender in sport coaching, the limited opportunities that female coaches experienced throughout their coaching careers, and specific occupational barriers experienced by female coaches. It is important to acknowledge that while contemporary societal conceptualizations of gender are more tolerant of fluidity than ever, gender as a binary remains fixed in sport (i.e., divided along traditional male and/or female gender lines) – a point reflected by the language employed by study participants in this chapter. Keeping with these traditional conceptualizations of gender, participants further equated their gender identity with their biological sex, presupposing that all person's (in this case coaches) gender identity and biological sex are aligned with gender as a binary.

### **Sport coaching work as gendered work.**

Analysis of the interviews highlighted the views of participants on sport coaching work as gendered work. When asked if their gender impacted their work as a coach, four of the coaches clearly agreed that they perceived that gender impacts sport coaching work:

- “I think I have the success I do partly because I’m a female.” (Rachel)
- “I think it would be I of [coaches] to think that [gender] doesn’t impact our coaching.” (Logan)
- “I think sometimes maybe, I’m sure there are some females that don’t want to talk to me about certain things.” (Karl)
- “Definitely my gender plays a part of it. It must.” (Eddie)

Two of the coaches offered responses that were illuminating due to what was tacked on to their preliminary thoughts. Mike stated, “I don’t know because I’ve never really thought about [my gender], but I do know that it would be harder for me if I was coaching women”), and Matthew noted, “There’s nothing physically more demanding in [coaching] that a woman could not do, so it must be to do with those traditional roles, like you can’t travel as much because you have kids to take care of.” The secondary parts of their responses highlight a personal tension (at best) around gender and coaching (“...it would be harder for me if I was coaching women”) and preconstructed associations (i.e., that only women assume parental duties). The remaining coaches seemed more definitive in their responses that they did not believe gender impacted sport coaching. For example, Will said: “If they can coach, they can coach. That’s it. I don’t care if you’re a man or a woman;” and Jonathon remarked “No [it doesn’t impact me], but I think it might be one of the toughest self-awareness things, to ask yourself, is gender affecting me right now.”

The coaches also offered examples of specific kinds of gendered work in their interviews. Specifically, Rachel spoke about investing less time and/or effort into the kinds of work she witnessed her “male colleagues doing” (i.e., technical and/or tactical parts of coaching and video) and investing more time and/or effort into “constantly building relationships,” “building team culture,” “doing schoolwork” (“I’ll do schoolwork with the girls, like proofreading essays”) and “leadership stuff.” The male coaches from this study who had female assistant coaches (Eddie, Jonathon, Karl, and Matthew) discussed certain kinds of work that they would have their female assistants do. In particular, their comments were directly related to their assistant coaches being female (e.g., Matthew said “my assistant coach is female so there’s certain times when I ask her to interfere because she would do a better job than I would”); discussing certain topics (e.g., Karl said “I find the girls struggle to come to me with mental health issues, so having a female presence within the program – our team manager is a female, so is the therapist – is important;” and Jonathon said “if there’s a sensitive medical issue we want to approach the athlete on I would probably ask [female assistant coach] to start that conversation”). In Eddie’s case, the female assistant coach serves as his touchpoint for evaluation of his approach: “I’ve always tried to have as many women on our staff as I can, for me to say ‘Hey, like am I way off base, the way I’m treating the team right now? Or how I’m thinking about our team? Or how I’m communicating with the team?’”

The male coaches who did not have female assistant coaches offered insights about what work they thought a female coach might do more of. For example, in a conversation about what areas of coach work might be gendered, Mike said “...there are probably conversations that I would be less comfortable having,” implying that female coaches may be better communicators. Will mentioned how women in his sport were often not “positional coaches,” but rather were

involved in (arguably, caring/nurturing) roles like a “trainer or therapist or sport psychologist.” He recounted an anecdote of a “trainer” who really “understood the kids:”

I’m sitting there and I’m yelling at this kid, and it’s like a month of this and finally our trainer came to me and she said, ‘This really does bother him.’ And it doesn’t dawn on me because this kid is just a man-of-war and never shows it. In a game he never shows it. He gets beat up, he never shows it. And yet, she somehow found out this was something that was really bothering him.

Much like Eddie, the anecdote highlights how the female “trainer” ends up serving as a resource to him and for him.

For Logan, as he did not have any women working on his staff, he reflected on the different approaches he took when it came to dealing with athletes who identified as male and/or female. In particular, he said: “I view my role with young male athletes as I’m trying to turn them into men” and admitted that, in doing so, he was “harder on the men than I am with the women.” He viewed his role with the woman as trying to “turn them into young, confident, independent women that can operate in a male dominated world, that don’t have to rely on anybody else to forge their path forward for them.” For him, this meant that “probably more emotion is involved [with the women] than with the men.” Clearly, Logan’s comments reveal very stereotypical and entrenched understandings of gender including his own self-understanding as the male leader (father) figure.

University sport administrators seemed more divided in their views of sport coaching work as gendered. Specifically, three of the participants felt coaching was gendered: “There’s differences in approaches, so I absolutely think there will be a different way, whether you’re a man or a woman, how you manage things” (Margaret); “I think women do their jobs differently

than men” (Andrew); and Tim said “I know that my male head coaches with female assistant coaches, use [the females] to plan the travel more and the recruiting. So, the more demanding administrative tasks are done by females.” This trope of women-as-more-organized was similarly highlighted in Andrew’s, the Athletic Director from the IAD, comments: “If I wanted to hire a person that I knew was uber organized I wouldn’t even consider a male. Women are way better organized.”

Alternatively, the administrators who felt that sport coaching was not gendered work remarked:

- “I would say how somebody views the world and how somebody interprets the situation, and somebody’s communication skills are gendered, but none of the work is gendered.” (Sophie)
- “I think we have great examples of both male and female coaches that do all different aspects really well and maybe some not so well.” (Ella)
- “No, I just think that communication is different from a male coach. I think women can be aggressive, I think women can be technical, I think they can be physical too, so no [coaching is not gendered].” (Kurtis)

What is noteworthy in Ella’s and Kurtis’ remarks is that they reflect not on the ways in which particular sport coaching work is gendered, but rather whether or not women can similarly perform sport coaching duties like male coaches. In other words, the ways in which male sport coaches work is held as the unspoken standard to which women sport coaches’ work is compared. Even though Sophie is singularly in suggesting that sport coaching work is not gendered, the comments from the other administrators (and even the coaches) suggest otherwise.

In further discussing sport coaching as gendered work, administrators also brought up differences between women and men and the impact that being a woman and/or man had on the work of a sport coach. Specifically, Margaret, the Athletic Director at the NIAD, mentioned how “there is a nurturing side to women that we have naturally.” Although she went on to clarify “that doesn’t mean that males can’t have some nurturing things too,” she made clear that “I do think women bring a certain wonderful perspective to coaching in that nurturing [way]....” As raised already by other participants, we see again the construction of women as natural nurturers as part of the sport coach-gender-work nexus. For Andrew, the ‘nurturing female’ connection arose in relation to a coach’s personal life and choices: “A female coach is way more likely to have a baby than a male coach.” Here, the discussion was singularly about a woman’s reproductive biology as intertwined in discussion about work outside of the home; it is critical to note that not one participant raised the point that a man may want to have biological children and spend time with them outside of sport coaching work.

Where the insights shared by study participants seemed to position male sport coaches as the standard to which women must aspire or that women coaches seemingly excelled in soft skills like nurturing, the gendered construction of male coaches as deficient in certain ways was also noteworthy. As already noted, study participants associated the capacity to communicate better with female coaches. Both Associate Athletic Directors at the IAD made such comments as: “I think where [gender] has come up in the evaluation or discussion in evaluations is communication differences” (Ella); and “Our male head coaches in women’s sports tend to have difficulty communicating effectively with their athletes” (Kurtis). Both Ella and Kurtis went on to further reflect about whether communication: “is a gender thing or a just a communication thing;” (Ella). For example, Ella said: “I can say that there’s been communication challenges

between female coaches and female athletes, male coaches and female athletes....” Kurtis was more pointed in stating that communication with female athletes was something that male coaches tended to struggle with the most: “For whatever reason, the message that the male coach is attempting to [ah] provide for the female athletes is not being received the same way it is to the male athletes). Kurtis went on to acknowledge that these views were “somewhat stereotypical,” but that “What we have seen or what I have observed is where we have difficulty in communication with our teams is where we’ve got a male coach, coaching female athletes.” We cannot ignore the construction of the female athlete as problematic in these above excerpts (there was no concern expressed about talking to or with male athletes); however, the participants reproduce notions of male sport coaches being unable to do communication work as somehow a consequence of their gender or gendered approach to sport coaching.

Finally, all of the MSO administrators believed that sport coaching work was most certainly gendered work:

- “Absolutely just like any other segment of society, there’s a looking glass mirror effect. You can’t be what you don’t see.” (Sarah, CAC)
- “I would suggest to you that [gender] does [impact coaching], no different than parenting in my household is impacted by whether my wife is home, or I am.” (Bob, USports)
- “I mean people impact coaching right? So yes [gender] does, but I’m not sure if that’s positive or negative. It all depends on who the person is.” (Nate, Div. Rep.)
- “This isn’t a coaching issue, it’s not a sport issue, it’s a societal issue.” (Christopher, USports)

Although the final administrator (Jim) began his reply by saying “From my observation I think [men and women] approach [coaching] the same,” he then went on to add “[women] maybe with more compassion and sympathy.”

Many of the MSO administrators reflected on larger structural issues (e.g., society, the institution of sport). For example, Sarah said coaching “is not different than any other profession that’s dominated by one gender and I don’t think that’s healthy in any way shape or form;” Christopher was adamant that “This was a larger societal issue;” and Jim remarked that “We are battling tradition” in larger society when it comes to women in coaching. With respect to the institution of sport, the administrators commented: “In my opinion, there is a natural delineation between male and female leadership styles [in sport]” (Bob, USports); Jim said: “if you look at males in coaching, often they coach because their sons and maybe daughters are in sport, are females doing the same thing?”; and Sarah remarked: “Sport has such a gender biased lens” and that “this strong male dominated mindset is not healthy for sport development.” She also remarked that “You don’t even have to talk about it from a gender lens, you can about it from a, white, second or third generation Canadian perspective,” implying that gender was not the only social identifier that impacted coaching in Canada. These comments are particularly poignant as they emphasize how sport is largely constructed as a ‘natural’ male space (e.g., Hall, 2003) as well as some of the tensions that feminist sport scholars have noted such as the lack of BIPOC women in leadership positions (e.g., Borland & Bruening, 2010), the essentialization of women in sport (e.g., Theberge, 1992; Travers, 2008), and the role of women in sport as a passive and supportive sport participants rather than an active (e.g., Thompson, 1999).

Taken together, the replies from participants confirm that gender impacts coaching in a variety of ways and that sport coaching work is gendered work. Whether in relation to approach

to work, work-related tasks, or the opportunities and challenges with types of athletes coached, to name but a few examples, the gendered and gendering nature of sport coaching work is clearly woven within and throughout these participants' perspectives and experiences. While the excerpts above offer so much to unpack, I feel it is critical to highlight that all of the participants – whether coaches, Athletic Directors, or MSO administrators – all predominately focused on women sport coaches when asked to reflect on the gendered and gendering nature of sport coaching work. In other words, the majority of participants took up 'gender' as chiefly 'female, woman, or feminine' without much reflection on 'male, man, or masculine.' Furthermore, it is noteworthy that none of the participants questioned or disrupted the unspoken standard of sport coaching as a male standard or questioned or disrupted the ways in which women's sport coaching work was constructed along essentialized conceptualizations of women's strengths.

#### **Contributors to the gendering of sport coach work.**

This section will unpack more explicitly the dearth of women in university sport coaching positions. Specifically, the participants' responses centre on three subthemes pertaining to: constructions of gender in sports coaching; limited opportunities for women in sports coaching; and barriers women face in the occupation of sports coaching. Further, as will be shown below, participants' replies, from sport coaches and administrators alike, appear to hold both women (i.e., role modeling and parenting) and the system of sport (i.e., patriarchy, lack of opportunity, occupational barriers) accountable for the lack of women in sport coaching.

#### ***Sport coaching as male/father terrain.***

Throughout the interviews and particularly when asked why women were not coaching, participants often referred the ways in which sport has been constructed as a male-dominated or as male terrain:

- “It’s still a bit of an Old Boys Club in terms of people who have been in places for years and years.” (Kurtis)
- “The sports world is more conducive to the male brain potentially.” (Rachel)
- “There’s that thing out there that, you know girls don’t know as much about the sport, women are not as good, they don’t know as many things.” (Karl)
- “For all the wrong societal reasons, the kids who play at my school came here because I’m a man.” (Eddie)

The comments above highlight how male coaches are perceived as ‘better’ than female coaches based on the positions of power they hold, their biology (“the male brain”), their perceived sporting and/or coaching intelligence and, in some cases, the notion that female athletes would rather play for male coaches. These insights underscore tensions raised in the literature surrounding the construction of sport as a male space, protected by patriarchal views, which contribute to making sport coaching a difficult space (if not occupation) for women (Theberge, 1990).

Other participants’ insights confirmed the notion that sport and sport coaching is male terrain, and that women are Other in this domain: “I think guys take up a lot of space on the sporting field or arena, men are bigger, have louder voices, and take more space. So, when a woman walks into that space, she tends to get overcrowded” (Rachel); “Female coaches are more compassionate. I don’t see a lot of yelling and screaming and all those things from male coaches per say, but it’s an intensity [male coaches] have” (Jim); and “I don’t know many women close to me that would be able to do what I do every day” (Mike). These comments are not overtly dismissive of women as sport coaches per se, but they do further serve to insulate patriarchal views of sporting and sport coaching spaces/practices as masculine or “more conducive” to men.

Connected to the views above were comments surrounding the disproportionate number of girls and women in sport as well as the lack of female role models in sport, and how this acted as a barrier of entry into sport and sport coaching for some women. For example, participants made comments like: “Girls drop out of sport early so less girls are playing sport [means] less girls will turn to sport coaching” (Rachel); “Young female athletes drop out sooner, at like age 15 the graph spikes” (Logan); and “[Men] start from a young age thinking well ‘If I can’t be a professional athlete, I might be able to make my living as a coach.’ That may not enter into the conscious thinking of a woman because they don’t see any women doing it” (John). Later in the interview, John added in a very prescriptive manner – almost as though women must be held accountable for the lack of female representation in sport coaching: “She needs to accept the head coach posting to show other women that there’s a future for women [in sport coaching].” Rachel confirmed the lack of female role models, saying: “I had no [role models] that were female when I came through club sport” and, where there were female role models, their work or workload were not necessarily perceived as inspiring: “I had a female head coach when I was in university, and I thought ‘Holy shit, this job sucks!’ I mean it’s cool, but over the long term it’s not! You burn out” (Sophie). Sophie’s quote is noteworthy as it connects to a view of women in sport coaching as operating in positions where “burn out” is imminent and a “long term” career is not possible.

To be clear, the participants never suggested that women were wholly absent from sport coaching. Rather, the participants’ insights made clear that women sport coaches hit ceilings in terms of opportunity and advancement in ways that men coaches did not. Andrew shared a story of when he polled a group of female alumnae on why they were not coaching:

I pulled a whole bunch into a room that were alumni and said, ‘What the heck, how come you guys aren’t coaching?’ and they all looked at me and said ‘Well we are coaching. I’m coaching my kid here and I’m coaching my kid here.’ And I said, ‘Oh ok. So then do you have aspirations to move on?’ and they said, ‘Well no. I don’t want to get into that bullshit at all! There’s too many politics. There’s too much crap. I don’t need that. I don’t need to fight with men all the time. Screw that, I don’t want it.’

Margaret similarly spoke to her challenges with the additional work arising from the “politics”, “crap”, and “fighting with men,” reflecting on her own experiences as “somebody involved in sport who coached as a mother for 15-20 years.” She noted that when she coached, her and the other mothers did it as a team: “We were coaching young boys and it was a team of women and it was so helpful because we were all young mothers, we all had kids, and we were all going ‘Oh my God!’” Margaret’s story lends support to the female coach perspectives highlighted in Andrew’s conversation with the alumnae.

Other participants also commented on the long-term prospects of women in sport coaching and, interestingly, often in relation to parenting and child-rearing. The comments from some of the participants foregrounds a certain ambivalence about men/women and fathers/mothers in sport coaching. For example, Jim said: “Males in coaching often coach because of their sons and now their daughters are coming through [the system], are females doing the same thing?” Will also asked: “How many people have been brought up in Canada, where they would say their father was exclusively their coach?” Karl communicated the ambivalence in a different manner in observing: “If you can get a good female [assistant] coach for like three or four years you’re doing fairly well, before they move on to something else or marriage or kids” (Karl). Eddie remarked: “Most of my young players sadly grew up playing for

their fathers and then other men” (Eddie). Connected to these comments were statements about other “roles” that women took on: “Females are at home taking care of the kids more than guys” (Matthew); “Culturally, whether we like it or not it’s more normal for the mother of the kids to take the lion’s share of care going on at home” (Jonathon); and “Women take on other roles, more feminine roles” (Will). These comments reproduce essentialist notions of woman as productive solely as mother, carer, nurturer and highlight tolerance of women’s social reproductive work including their active supporting of their (given such heteronormativity) husbands’ and/or children’s participation in sport at the expense of their own participation opportunities (cf., Thompson, 1999). Furthermore, these comments reinforce an unspoken polemic between women sport coaches and parenthood where participants spoke of parenting and childrearing as almost singularly a woman’s problem, with little to no discussion that men may also face challenges in navigating their roles as sport coaches and as parents.

Many of the participants remarked how both male and female coaches had to choose between raising family and/or working as a coach, but the choices for women as far more limited than for men. For example:

- “I do think that coaches do feel it’s often a choice of family versus profession and I don’t know why the men don’t feel it’s a choice as much.” (Ella)
- “[Women] probably say I’m not gonna give up a family just so I can coach.” (Logan)
- “Once [a woman] has a baby the chances that [she] will say ‘Yeah, that kid’s not really important, coaching is really important. So I’m just going to set [the kid] aside and I’m just going to do my job’ is unlikely.” (Andrew)
- “It’s a choice and there are challenges to it and one of them is, and it’s not a bad thing, we are the childbearing gender.” (Margaret)

The framing of coaching as a choice for women who also want to be mothers is problematic in that it places the responsibility of women to choose coaching and/or parenting without paying careful attention to the conditions of the sport system that make coaching and parenting so difficult to co-navigate. More pointedly, rather than figuring out ways in which women can both be parents and sport coaches, the IAD and NIAD administrators comments appear to reinforce that women either must choose between or are inevitably forced into one role (i.e., mother).

The absence of critical attention to the ways in which the sport system works against all coaches in relation to work-life balance (specifically as it pertains to parenting and childrearing) was especially noteworthy as three of the male coaches explicitly noted their choices to not have children because of their sport coaching work. Eddie remarked that: “My wife and I choose not to have children as an example mostly because of this job and because I couldn’t give equal time to the raising of a child.” Logan noted: “If I had kids there’s no way I could travel as much, I’m making a choice in not having children.” And Will stated: “I’m not married. The thing is I never really wanted that type of responsibility because I wanted to coach, but I can see where people make that decision. I’ve asked people to come and coach here, and family is always big pull away from [coaching].” It is important to note that there was only male coach who spoke differently of his choice as a sport coach/parent – Karl noted, “I was a stay-at-home dad for a while” and “When I was a young coach, I got married and had two kids under the age of 5. So, I went to my school and said ‘I want to do this, but here’s the model. I’m bringing my kids on the bus. My family is coming with me.’” Karl’s experiences are singular among all the study participants and highlight how he dictated the way in which he could balance his personal and professional commitments. The questions arise: was he able to do this a consequence of the

capital he possessed as a male coach? And do women coaches feel empowered enough to demand similar models of work if they so wanted?

***Limited opportunities in sport coaching.***

In addition to illuminating how sport has been constructed as a space that privileges men, the participants also commented on the limited opportunities that female coaches had in sport coaching. For example, participants said:

- “There’s only two out of sixty coaches at [program] that are women and getting the opportunity to head coach and prove they can run a program right now. That’s not good enough.” (Eddie)
- “There’s no reason that [men or women] would be better at [coaching] than the other, other than the fact that there might have been limited opportunities for women.” (Sophie)
- “You have to be given opportunities and so I think at the end of the day we do still need to be doing more of that, giving [women] opportunities.” (Ella)
- “Until you give [women] a head coaching job, and really give them the mandate and the power to be a head coach, that [low] number is only going to rise by 1% every year.” (Tim)

These insights on the low (quantitative) number of coaching opportunities for women are particularly important as they challenge meritocratic views that operate in sport to protect those in power (typically men). As noted above, without the opportunity to run a program as a head coach, getting a job as a coach is next to impossible. When considering that there are only few full-time coaching positions across Canada (to be discussed later in the chapter), this is a serious

disadvantage for all those individuals (including, but not limited to, women) operating outside of the narrowly constructed views of who sport coaches are or should be.

Having been in university administration for over a decade, John's perspectives on opportunities for women coaches stood out in contrast to some of the other male participants. Specifically, John went into the discussion of opportunities at length when discussing the shifts in universities hiring more female Research Chairs. In particular, he stated, "We're trying to ensure there is equal opportunity right now for people" and he clarified that: "So, [that means] if the best candidate for the job has had other opportunities than the other [candidates], how do we get the person that doesn't have the resume or CV, how do we get [them] that resume or CV?" He went on to remark how "sport is lagging behind in other efforts like affirmative action" and that so far there had been "relatively passive efforts to achieve gender equity [in sport coaching]." John was the only administrator to state: "I think it's going to require some action from the very top, so someone saying, 'we need equal number of genders [in coaching]'." He commented that when people discuss hiring "the best person for the job," it's often "male and not because they are male, but because they've had more opportunities than their female counterparts."

John's comments stand in contrast to other male study participants who either seemed to fall back on more socially desirable equity language or fairly simplistic understandings of how to ameliorate the inequity of the sport system for women coaches. For example, some other participants who were quick to comment that "you hire the best person for the job (Matthew)" and, in some cases, added comments like "whether black, brown, yellow, male, female, gay, straight whatever" (Matthew) and "I wouldn't care if [they were] a Russian or an elephant with polka dots" (Will). Tim said, "I would hire the best women coach over the best coach for a

female team” and that, “If we had a policy that said, ‘It’s a women’s team, it’s got to be a women’s head coach’ I mean that sounds crazy, but if we just went there, it would be solved.” For Tim, the problem (i.e., what needs to be solved) is just a function of low numbers of women in sport coaching, not the actual sport or sporting coaching system that prevents equal or equitable participation for women or men.

In turn, there were some study participants who expressed concern over what seems like ‘too much’ of a commitment to equity and inclusion; this was often wrapped up in meritocratic language. Bob from USports discussed his personal views on the lack of women in sport leadership and opportunity. Specifically, he stated: “You know, there’s the comment [that] we should have 50/50 in athletic directors. Well maybe we shouldn’t, and we don’t, but I don’t think that the numbers that we have now are reflective of a broken system, as long as our system allows for opportunity.” He then went on to comment on job applications today and how it seemed to him that “the only truly eligible person is the handicapped, female, you know indigenous person because [people in hiring positions] are just trying to be politically correct!” Bob followed this comment up with “what I think everybody wants is the best person, and they want to ensure you know, someone who isn’t the best person isn’t given an advantage because of one of those other traits, either gender or whatever.” Matthew echoed a similar sentiment is stating: “People should not hire somebody by gender. They should hire by the best person for the job” and, later in his interview, that the number of women in sport coaching “is not the main issue we have.” He went on to say: “It’s getting so out of control, some female may be hired because [administrators] are afraid of what other people or the public would say” and again re-stated that “...you hire the right person whether black, brown or yellow or female or male or gay or straight it’s doesn’t matter.” He further indicated that the situation was “getting out of control”

because “we’re hiring people just because of who they are, but that have no idea about the job maybe.”

These statements are problematic for a range of reasons. First, the language used in these remarks reproduces problematic ideologies (e.g., racism, ableism, heteronormativity), that operate to privilege and reinforce sporting spaces as only open and accessible to a very specific and narrowly defined group of people (i.e., white, able bodied, heterosexual men). Next, they illuminate a myth that there is an surge in the amount of people who are being hired into sport coaching not because of their skills as sport coaches but solely because of markers of their social location, specifically, or because of identity politics more generally. The demographic data on sport coaching continue to reinforce that certain individuals are privileged in sport coaching, particularly in high performance sport – a recent study conducted in the OUA highlights that coaches in the OUA overwhelmingly identify as white (78.5%) (IDEAS Research Lab, 2021) and, as noted in earlier chapters, data on women coaching in USports show that only 16% of head coaches and 22% of assistant coaches are women. Despite Bob and Matthew’s suggestion otherwise, it is clear that while affirmative action is not happening within sport such as that “the situation is getting out of control.”

This was underscored in other interviews where participants spoke of women not applying to positions. Nate provided a story about an athletic director “who really wanted to hire a woman, [they] just had no qualified [women] apply for the job, so they couldn’t fill it with a female.” Christopher also shared a story about an athletic director who “posted a position for a female sport coach for one of their sports and out of 23 applicants, one was female.”

Additionally, Kurtis added that: “If we opened a national coaching search for a women’s team

coach right now, 80-90% of the people who would apply would be men.” Sarah said, “We all know the research about women deselected if they don’t think they have 100% of the job.”

***Backhanded compliments and other barriers.***

Other problematic ideologies emerged from the course of the interviews to further highlight barriers faced by women sport coaches within the university sport environment. For example, in a perversion of the “blame the women narratives” (LaVoi, 2016), some study participants spoke to how women are “too smart” to get into coaching. For example, Margaret recounted a conference she attended where another woman had said: “Look, maybe women are smarter than most because they understand [coaching] might compromise some things they’re not willing to compromise.” In his interview, Bob remarked: “Females are smart enough to know that working for \$60,000 isn’t the best career move that they can make.” And Tim said: “I almost get the feeling that women are just too smart to pursue coaching. They see the male dominated environment and the craziness of coaching. There’s so many barriers to break down.” Setting aside the inference that men are not smart and the complete absence of critique of the sport system itself which facilitates “the craziness of coaching,” this narrative of “the women are too smart” serves as a backhanded compliment and one that yet again blames women for not doing more as sport coaches or in sport coaching.

Another set of occupational barriers in sport coaching raised by study participants pertained to the current job structure and/or working demands of university head coaches. Many participants discussed how the nature of sport coaching as a job was not appealing to women:

- “I think women struggle to see coaching necessarily as a profession and I think historically its’ tougher for them to be in the profession.” (Karl)
- “There’s no money in [coaching] so why would these [women] stay in it.” (Eddie)

- “We haven’t changed the model of how coaching works in terms of schedule and demands.” (Jonathon)
- “It’s a grind. What I do and it’s not glamorous and I’m not exactly accomplishing a ton.” (Mike)
- “The role of a coach is not very appealing. Coaches are overworked and underpaid, and the expectations are through the roof.” (Sophie)
- “It’s a difficult career for anyone” and “there’s a lot of women who would not view [coaching] as a career, where more men would view it as a career.” (John)
- “It’s a tough gig!” (Andrew)
- “There are probably other professions that are more female-oriented that males don’t do like whatever they might be. But it’s a shame that women don’t see [coaching] as something they can always do.” (Margaret)

Lastly, MSO administrators’ comments with respect to the structure of sport coaching work included “spending 240 days on the road a year is not conducive for everybody. It takes a certain specific type of person” (Sarah, CAC). Bob discussed how “if we [paid coaches more] the number of women in [coaching] would probably go up”, and Christopher said “the biggest factor I know that challenges coaching, is generally you work a ton and you don’t get paid much. So, there’s a lot of barriers to entry into the profession generally, that [might be preventing] women from getting in.”

The lack of full-time coaching jobs in Canada seemed, for participants, to accentuate the challenges face by women sport coaches. For example, Logan remarked: “There are not a lot of [coaching] positions so that leads me to believe it’s not something from an academic standpoint that people are targeting, people aren’t saying ‘I’m going to go to school so I can be a coach!’”

(Logan). Eddie noted: “It’s very difficult to get one of these jobs unless you have experience.” This is a particularly important observation in relation to education, credentialing and also support for those starting their coaching careers. In discussing the hiring of more women into sport coaching positions, Andrew mentioned that because there were so few full-time coaching positions in Canada, “You might need to hire [a female] before she’s ready” and that “You need to put [women] in the position and then you need to support the shit out of them for a lot of years.” To this end, Eddie also shared a story about a former female coach colleague who went on to head coach elsewhere: “I challenged the Athletic Director with ‘What are you putting in place to help this young coach to be successful in your context, that does not involve being mentored by the men’s coach? Because that’s a load of crap!’” He added that the Athletic Director did not have “good answers” and that, overall, the experience “didn’t end well.” The comments in this section come as little surprise given the Chapter Five findings on sport coaching work as boundaryless, qualified and, at times, precarious labour. However, the treatment of women as a monolithic category of identity, the assumption that men (also constructed as a monolithic group) are not constrained by similar barriers to men, and lack of critical attention to how the sport/sport coaching system creates problematic work conditions stand out here. In efforts to better understand the structural supports (or lack thereof) for female coaches working in university ADs specifically, and university sport broadly, the final section of this chapter will explore equity and access policies in the USports’ landscape.

### **Equity and Access Policies in University Sport**

This section will begin by briefly highlighting the lack of equity and access policies operating within both the NIAD and IAD before turning to some of the policies that were present in both ADs (i.e., maternity and parental leave policies) and the USports *Equity Policy*. When the

participant coaches were asked to comment on whether their athletics department (AD) had any equity and access policies, all of the coaches – from both the NIAD and IAD institutions – replied no. Some remarked that it was “less our athletics department and more the university” (Logan), and others connected to their PD obligations on equity issues: “[There are] expectations of us to complete certificates and get PD within those equity [areas]” (Rachel). Notably, when asked, one coach volunteered his experience with “having my roster cut” in order to “accommodate another women’s or men’s team.” The participant coaches in this study were not exactly sure or aware of specific equity and access policies and/or practices that their AD endorsed when hiring coaches.

Some of the coaches very quickly moved to speak of their own commitments to equity, diversity and inclusion in their practices as sport coaches. Rachel recruiting athletes “from different provinces” and how she actively seeks out “visible minorities” because the school she coached at was so diverse, and she wanted “the team to represent that diversity.” Additionally, she added that “as a white person, I’m very conscious of my being white and having white privilege because I have kids [on the team] that have lived all over the world” so creating “a safe environment” was important. In a follow up conversation with Rachel, she also discussed how her team actively works with an Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) specialist from outside of the AD. Jonathon remarked that: “I’m constantly challenging the definition of equity” and that for him, it meant trying his best to think of “what equitable delivery of coaching perspectives, viewpoints, and experiences” looks like. In other words, he wanted to supply the coaches on his staff with “the most diversity” in terms of athletes. Interestingly, at another point in the interview, he spoke of a “formula for diversity” and the need to “figure out the formula of diversity.”

When the university sport administrators were asked about specific equity and access hiring policies and/or practices endorsed by their respective ADs, they confirmed that there were none. The NIAD administrators remarked: “It hasn’t happened in the hiring so much, but certainly we have more with varsity sport teams, and the balance of students athletes” (Margaret); “There’s nothing I think right now, which is, now that you mentioned it, pretty precarious because it’s in the hands of the person who’s doing the hiring” (Sophie); and “I mean we have an intent to hire female coaches. I know that I asked my HR department if I could post the position and see that female candidates will have precedence over male candidates, and I was told I couldn’t do that” (Tim).

The IAD administrators echoed similar sentiments:

- “I don’t know [if there is], I don’t think so. Let’s just say no, but we did work in the university policy.” (Andrew)
- “I would say right now that we have only within the last year opened the discussion at the faculty about EDI in athletics. The athletics at this university from an equity, diversity, and inclusion perspective is lagging behind the rest of the university.” (John)
- “There’s probably not a ton of firm policy. It’s more the small things like encouraging [coaches] to bring their child along.” (Ella)
- “That’s an excellent question, obviously every person we hire [for a position] we have to consider both genders. Equality is hugely important factor in everything we do, [but] we’ve never been told ‘oh well you’re going to hire a women for this position.’” (Kurtis)

University administrators did speak to gender representation on certain committees within the AD. For example, Margaret said “We have committees we try to put our coaches on, and we put a female and male coach [in charge]. So, we look at it that way when we do our committee work.” Kurtis mentioned how “on all our committees we ensure that we have gender balance, to some extent.” Interestingly, Ella remarked: “I get the girl card a lot. That’s how I get on to a lot of committees and a lot of different things because they need that balance and there aren’t that many female [associate athletic directors] to pull from.”

In addition to making remarks about committees within the ADs, the IAD administrators also discussed and brought up USports’ committees that “used to require a male and a female to have two votes at the meeting” (Andrew); a feature that no longer exists. Specifically, Andrew had been his Division’s committee leader for a long time and noted that, when he was no longer in that position: “They listened to this legislation expert that said ‘Well, you can only have one vote per school.’ So now you only have to have one vote and you look around the room and suddenly there’s less women.” To this end, Ella, Kurtis, and Nate, noted the negative impact that this decision—made at the USports level—had on the gender representation of USports committee members. Again, none of these committees noted by study participants – whether in the university, the Division, or in USports – related to hiring.

When discussing equity and access policies and/or practices and their impact on university sport coaches with the CAC administrators, Sarah remarked that “[equity] is a developing area with USports” but that the CAC’s policies did not have impact on USports coaches. She also commented on how the CAC has “48 females and 52 males” on their member board and that “we try to walk the talk here.” The USports administrators were more divided in their observations on equity policies or practices. Bob said: “We don’t have any formal policies

because we have no governance over any of it.” When asked if USports was involved in any initiatives looking at gender representation in coaching, Bob said “I’m going to say no to that, not in my three years.” He also added that “we wouldn’t wake up tomorrow and say we should do [a policy on gender equity]”, but “sure, if our members brought this to our table and wanted to study [gender equity], where we come in, is we would bridge all four conferences together.” Alternatively, Christopher remarked “that we have an equity policy on our website, and it outlines principles” and that “we support the schools and their institutional autonomy, so we don’t mandate a lot, but we have certain minimums.” In mentioning “certain minimums,” Christopher clarified that to “be a USports member, you have to have four or more sports declared and two or more of those have to be team sports, and at least two of them have to be of each gender.” As such, based on the replies given from Bob and Christopher, gender equality within university sport was important in so far as there must be programs for male and female athletes. However, these same principles are not applied sport coaches.

When the divisional representatives (Nate and Jim) were asked about equity and access policies and/or practices, Nate replied, “We’re working on that right now. We’ve got an ad hoc committee that actually brought this forward [recently].” He added that: “Where I think we are going to go with the coaching piece is, I think, perhaps mentorship” and that mentorship was important part of keeping women coaches “inspired.” When asked the same question, Jim referred to a document that their division had written and endorsed: “We call it a [title] because we thought that our association probably shouldn’t have a policy that we enforce on members because equity and inclusion is bigger than an institution and we might be stepping on some toes.” Therefore, it was clear from these replies that Divisional leads were aware of the

importance of gender equity for sport coaches but that, like the CAC and USports administrators, maintained that their role in enforcing gender equity was at an arm's length.

### **IAD and NIAD governing text analysis.**

Although neither AD had an equity and access policy to review, this section examines the maternity and parental leave policies of both institutions given the comments made by study participants in relation to sport coaches as parents. This section will begin by briefly outlining how the analysis from the coaching contracts discussed in Chapter Five can be considered alongside the analysis of the Maternity and/or Parental Leave policies that were obtained from each institution, and to which coaches are entitled, as stated in their Letters of Appointment. Finally, the USports *Equity Policy* will be analyzed to assess the ways in which USports, as the national governing body of university sport in Canada, seeks to address issues of equity with emphasis on university sport coaching.

Each Letter of Appointment includes a statement with respect to terms of employment under which benefits, including leaves of absence (i.e., Maternity and Paternal Leave) are listed. Specifically, the NIAD coach Letter of Appointment states, "For the period of your contract, you are entitled to annual, special and/or sick leaves for long-term staff (2yrs+) as per Policy [#] and Administrative Procedure [#]." The IAD Letter of Appointment states: "Should you accept this offer, your employment will be governed by the Collective Agreement for [specific title]."

As indicated in Chapter Five, the Coach Contracts and Letters of Appointment are written in such a way that constructs a coach's work as boundaryless work, in terms of both coach work activities as well as the time that coaches dedicate to these activities. Additionally, these contracts are temporary in that they have a start and a renewal date indicated on them and coaches are subject to an annual sport review that can either support renewal or termination.

University sport administrators remarked that these are “not the most secure contracts on campus” (Ella) meaning that there were people on campus who had more secure contracts than sport coaches working within the AD, and therefore, that sport coaching contracts may be considered precarious. The conceptualization of coach work as boundaryless and precarious work is revisited here given the remarks made by some study participants on how coaches feel they must choose to have a family or to be a coach.

***NIAD maternity and parental leave policies.***

The Maternity and Parental Leave policies at the NIAD are combined and begin with the statement: “The University wishes to ensure that non-unionized, regular, administrative employees applying for a maternity or parental leave are treated appropriately.” It then proceeds to outline the policy objectives, one of which is “to retrain competent employees by offering a salary and benefit continuance program.” Following this, information on definitions, eligibility, duration, limitations, and benefits for both maternity and/or parental leave are provided, before finishing with a section on supplemental income.

Under the Maternity Leave section, important considerations include that the employee “who was hired at least thirteen weeks prior to the expected date of delivery is entitled to maternity leave, during which time her position or an equivalent position must be kept for her” (same for parental leave); that a Maternity Leave “normally lasts seventeen consecutive weeks” and “may not end before the sixth week following the date of delivery”; that the University “reserves the right to require a medical certificate confirming pregnancy and expected date of delivery”; and, that employees on Maternity Leave “continue to accumulate years of service” and “may continue to participate in the University’s benefits plans by continuing to pay the employee contribution.” Under Parental Leave, many of the same stipulations are noted (e.g., uninterrupted

years of service, and benefits) and it clearly states that the birth mother “is eligible for parental leave of 35 weeks at most” and that all other parents may take up to “37 uninterrupted weeks.” It further clarifies that Parental Leave must be taken within “fifty-two weeks following the child’s birth date.” The sections outlined here, clearly indicate the timed conditions under which a mother and/or additional parent may take maternity and/or parental leave, as well as the terms and conditions of that maternity and/or parental leave.

Pay is addressed under the section on *Supplemental Income* which, in the case of a “non-unionized administrative employee” is done so in accordance with the provincial and/or territorial law. In this case, the employee is entitled to said provincial and/or territorial benefits and “the University shall make up the difference between those benefits and up to 95% of the employees’ regular salary for 17 weeks.” Under the *Conditions* section, it states that “if the University determines that any or all the supplemental income should not have been paid, the surplus paid shall be withheld from subsequent supplemental income payments or from any other amount payable by the University.” However, there is no information on how or on what grounds the university is allowed to determine if that supplemental income should not be paid. Under the sections on *Restrictions* or in situations where supplemental pay is not provided, two clauses are worth noting. These include: “the employee was suspended for disciplinary reasons before advising the University of a pregnancy or adoption;” and “the employee is participating in a strike or work stoppage.” Again, there is no information on what qualifies as a “disciplinary suspension” or how this is determined and, to not support these members during a strike, seems at odds with the opening statement of wishing to “ensure that non-unionized, regular, administrative employees applying for a maternity or parental leave are treated appropriately.”

As noted above, coaches have contracts that may be considered precarious, thus the condition that a university may decide if an employee should or should not receive supplemental income is concerning. Perhaps more concerning is the temporary nature of the coach contract which could be terminated at any point in time, and which could leave a coach unprotected and/or supported during a maternity and/or parental leave. Additionally, given that this is a university-wide policy, there are no details provided on ‘who’ or ‘how’ the sport program will continue when and if a coach should take a maternity and/or parental which, for a coach, may be contributing to the belief that they must choose to have a family and/or be a coach. We cannot discount that this could lead to placing excessive pressure on coaches to plan pregnancies around their seasons, so as to not miss out on their seasons and/or worry about who would be replacing them during their maternity leave.

***IAD maternity and parental leave policies.***

The IAD Maternity and Parental leave policies are even shorter than the NIAD policies. They are listed one after the other in the University’s Collective Agreement and include details on purpose, length, application, top-up benefits payments, and additional clauses specific to maternity leave (e.g., coordination with medical leave and designation as service) and parental leave (e.g., conditions). As was the case with the NIAD Maternity Leave policy, the workers at the IAD are subject to provincial/territorial law and it is stated that: “the length of Maternity Leave shall not extend beyond the end date of a Temporary Appointment.” Next, it is stated that the “staff member who wishes to take Maternity Leave shall inform their department chair/supervisors in writing as soon as possible, indicating effective date of leave.” Maternity Top Up Benefits Payments are outlined as occurring for up to “15 weeks” and include that the Staff Member be paid “95% of weekly salary” and that there should be “continued coverage in

those benefit programs for which the Staff Member was covered immediately prior to Maternity leave.”

Additionally, the policy states that “a Staff Member whose physician certifies that for medical reasons the Staff Member should be absent from University duties for a period longer than the maximum allowable Maternity Leave” will be covered under Medical Leave. The inclusion of this section is important given that there are several reasons for why a mother may need to extend her maternity leave (e.g., complicated pregnancy and/or associated mental health conditions). Lastly, it is written that “Maternity Leave shall be considered as service for purposes of Academic Faculty Members’ sabbatical eligibility.”

Under the Parental Leave policy, similar statements about associated provincial and/or territorial laws are made (the duration of which is noted as being updated to 62 weeks), the employee’s supervisor requiring written notice of impending parental leave, and parental leave also being considered for sabbatical eligibility. Under the Top Up benefits section, differences are noted as the staff member only being covered “up to 10 weeks, 95% of weekly salary” and “up to 10 weeks of continued coverage in those benefit programs for which the Staff Member was covered immediately prior to parental leave.” Finally, it is noted that the employee under parental leave must “give a written undertaking to the Department Chair/Supervisor either to return to the service of University for six months following such leave or, alternatively, to reimburse the University for all salary payments made to or on behalf of the Staff Member while on Parental Leave.”

To ensure consistency between the sections of the Collective Agreement on Maternity and Parental Leave and the section specific to sport coaches, I searched the section of the Collective Agreement on sport coaches for any additional stipulations that may apply specifically

to sport coaches on Maternity and/or Parental Leave. Under the section on “Eligibility for Supplementary Health, Dental, and Ancillary Benefits,” it is stated that “an eligible Staff Member who has been granted leave with full pay, Maternity Leave, Parental Leave or who is on sabbatical/professional leave shall remain eligible for full participating in the Benefits Program” – thus clarifying that coaches are eligible for said benefits.

Comparing the Maternity and Parental Leave policies from each institution reveals some similarities and notable differences. In terms of similarities, neither the NIAD or the IAD policies offer clarity on what would happen if a parent suffers a loss (stillbirth or miscarriage) nor if a parent welcomes multiples. In terms of differences, unlike the NIAD policy, the IAD policy makes no explicit mention of the coach that is on Maternity and/or Parental Leave still contributing to their years of service, which may be important for additional employee benefits and/or salary raises. Second, the NIAD outlines parental leave as 35 (mother) or 37 (other parent) weeks, where the IAD policy states that parental leave is up to 62 weeks in length. This is likely impacted by the different provincial and/or territorial laws to which the coach is subjected. As such it may be the case that some coaches are experiencing a Maternity and/or Parental Leave that is much shorter in duration than coaches in other parts of Canada. Third, as noted above, there is no mention in the NIAD policy of a mother potentially requiring Medical Leave post Maternity Leave. Fourth, there is a noticeable difference in the benefits afforded to IAD versus NIAD coaches on Maternity and/or Parental Leave. Specifically, the IAD coaches: “Shall remain eligible for full participation in the Benefits Program” throughout the duration of their leave, whereas the NIAD coaches are subject to receive their benefits provided they continue to “pay the employee contribution.”

The presence of Maternity and Parental Leave policies at both NIAD and IAD institutions is important for employees wishing to raise families. However, the perception of university sport coaches and administrators working within these institutions, is that coaches often must make the choice to be a parent and/or to coach; thus, these policies may not be protecting coaches in the same way they are protecting other university employees. This not only speaks to the all-consuming and demanding nature of sport coaching as work (discussed in Chapter Five), but also to the lack of applicability and specificity of these university-wide policies to coaches running sport programs that require their constant effort and input. As such, it is obvious for coaches and administrators that a coach must decide to run a sport program or to be a parent. As touched on in the data from the interviews, the decision to be a parent or not weighs on sport coaches in complex and restrictive – prompting some to perceive parenthood and coaching as exclusive of one another.

### **USports equity policy analysis.**

The USports *Equity Policy* was difficult to locate on the USports website and I was only able to locate it after one of the administrators (Christopher) guided my search. The policy itself is embedded within a group of policies listed online as *Administration Policy 80.50-80.100* – a document that contains six policies including the *Equity Policy 80.80*. The *Equity Policy* begins with the statement that: “USports accepts the principles of equity and equality and will ensure that these principles are adhered to in all its activities” (USports, 2019b, p. 1). Next, it defines what equity and equality are and outlines twelve specific equity goals; one of which is “that USports continue to participate in and lead the development and perpetuation of women in coaching initiatives at the post-secondary level” (USports, 2019b, p. 2). The final area of the USports policy outlines the “position for male and female participation in Canadian university

sport” (USports, 2019b, p. 2). Specifically, under this section, it is noted that: “USports encourages the participation in interuniversity competition by as many males and females as can be accommodated, both as student-athletes and in the fields of coaching and sport administration.” (p. 2). Lastly, it is noted that: “All USports member institutions should have a policy that allocates resources in a given sport on a relatively equal basis between all-male and all-female programs” (USports, 2019b, p.2).

These sections of the USports *Equity Policy* are highlighted here given their direct reference to and influence of university sport coaches. First, the statement about USports being committed to equitable and equal representation in all its activities is perplexing when considered alongside the comments made by study participants, specifically Bob (from USports). While it certainly may be the case that equal representation occurs at USports Championships (i.e., the same number of events held for women’s and men’s sport), there are initiatives that USports supports that do not foster equal representation. For example, the East-West Bowl is a major sporting event for men’s football and there is no equivalent for a women’s sport. Additionally, while USports has done well to ensure there are equal numbers of male and female athletes as well as sport programs for those athletes to participate in, the same cannot be said for coaches. Moreover, how USports participates in providing equity is unclear. In particular, there are no reports and/or comments on how equity is being provided to USports members, nor is there clarification on how equity is being measured and/or accounted for. This is even more so the case for women in university sport coaching to which Bob confirmed (i.e., “not in my three years here”).

This brings into focus the problematic positioning of USports as participating and leading “the development and perpetuation of women in coaching initiatives at the post-secondary

level.” As stated above, there are no clear-cut examples of how or in what ways USports has participated in and/or led the development of women in coaching initiatives at the university level, as was obvious in Bob’s statement. One initiative that did come up during the CAC interview was the “University Female Coach Mentorship Program,” a program that is led by the CAC, supposedly in partnership with USports as indicated on the USports’ website. However, neither Bob nor Christopher (the CEO and COO of USports) mentioned this important initiative in their evidence. This could lead one to believe that USports is not actively involved in the implementation and promotion of this program; rather, that sport coaches who participate in this program are from the USports environment. For USports to include a clause on the importance of women in sport coaching in its *Equity Policy* and yet to not be actively involved in the delivery of any programming and/or initiative directed at the dearth of women in sport coaching represents a clear USports policy failure.

Finally, it is noteworthy that USports recommends all member institutions to have “a policy that allocates resources in a given sport on a relatively equal basis between all-male and all-female programs.” This recommendation is notable in that it says nothing about supporting women in sport leadership positions (e.g., coaching) specifically, just a reference to programs broadly. This prompts reflection of Bob’s statement of “how these numbers are not necessarily indicative of a broken system;” it is no wonder that he states this given how he holds the presence of more female athletes as evidence of gender parity throughout the entire sport system. More pointedly, if this is the viewpoint of the leadership at USports, than advancing women into these leadership positions seems unlikely.

## **Concluding Remarks on Gender and Equity and Access Policies**

As indicated in this chapter, sport coaching work is gendered and gendering, and a gendered division of labour exists within university ADs. This is supported by the interview data that both touched on sport coaching work as gendered and gendering work in different ways (e.g., stereotypes of women and their approach to work, barriers to entry into and retention in coaching, work-life/family tensions, etc.). The results from this study illuminate the relationship between coaches (agents) and the institution of university sport (structure) and reveal how the institution of sport disproportionately constrains women in university sport coaching. The viewpoints of study routinely reinforced the notion of gender constraints in sport/sport coaching as a women's issues, deflecting attention from the real institutional and structural barriers that women and men in sport coaching face.

The absence of clear equity and 240ntss policies endorsed by the NIAD or IAD adds to the complicated landscape within which women sport coaches work. Although policy, in and of itself, does not necessarily dictate all action, policy is an important step in guiding and holding the university sport system (and those who govern it) accountable for the lack of women in sport coaching. Institutions like USports have equity policies that, frankly, stop short of supporting women as sport leaders as they focus on encouraging “the participation in interuniversity competition by as many males and females as can be accommodated, both as student-athletes and in the fields of coaching and sport administration.” (USports, 2019b, p. 2). As indicated by Bob, not only was equity in sports coaching was not a top priority for USports (“We wouldn't wake up tomorrow and say we should do [a policy on gender equity]”), it was seemingly not important unless the member institutions agitated for it (“...[but] sure if our members brought this to our table and wanted to study [gender equity], where we come in, is we would bridge all

four conferences together.”) On one hand, this quote may be read as USports offloading the responsibility of hiring female coaches onto the member institutions and yet, on the other hand, it may indicate the lack of power that USports has within the university sport landscape.

Nonetheless, it is perplexing that USports requires “certain minimums” in some areas (e.g., as per Christopher, “. . . four or more sports declared and two or more of those have to be team sports, and at least two of them have to be of each gender”), but not in all areas (i.e., gender parity in sport coaching).

Lastly, the lack of clarity on the role of the CAC in university coaching matters, also contributes to the confusion on their role in promoting female sport coaches in university sport spaces. As mentioned previously, although the University Female Sport Mentorship Program marks a step in the right direction, this program is relatively new and does not guarantee that mentee coaches will go on to be hired by university institutions. As such, much more remains to be seen about how this program will assist with increasing the number of women in university sport coaching and how it will contribute to the inclusion of women coaches in university sport coaching environments. Given the lack of literature addressing the structural forms of support for women in university environments and on the sport-work-gender nexus, in addition to the findings of this chapter, much more critical attention must be paid to addressing the lack of institutional support for female coaches, if achieving gender equity in sport coaching broadly, and university sport specifically, is the goal.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In *The Sociological Imagination*, Mills (1959) states that “neither the life of an individual nor the history of society can be understood in isolation from one another” (p. 3). In other words, the ways in which members of society attach meaning to their daily, lived experiences is dependent upon their context both in space and time. The careful interrogation of our individual actions, reactions, experiences, and perspectives within the context of historical, political, economic, and social structures and institutions is at the heart of Mills’ sociological imagination such that as we view the world through this lens, we can see how our private concerns are, in fact, attached to much larger public concerns.

This research project is a product of my efforts to engage my sociological imagination. The seeds of this study were planted from my own need to make sense of why it was so hard to locate myself in my own sport coaching vocation and avocation. The need to make sense has certainly be an impetus to my development also as a nascent scholar in the socio-cultural study of sport, with specific attention paid to the critical sociological study of sport coaching. Moments like the one shared in the Introductory Chapter have forced me to pause and consider such questions as: where are the women in sport coaching? What are women sport coaches doing in the course of their days? And what is happening in the sport system such that so few women are working as sport coaches, despite the many skilled female athletes who populate the athletic ranks? While the magnified moment in the Coaches’ Lounge perhaps represented the initial mobilization of my sociological imagination (albeit without my awareness of such a concept), I have since worked as a sport coach with various teams and, furthermore, have had the rare

opportunity to be part of two female-led coaching teams (as an assistant coach) over the past ten years.

For one of those teams, my ability to be part of a coaching staff depended, in part, on me ‘being at the right place at the right time.’ Although the calibre of my coaching credentials and my previous coaching experiences with athletes and teams speaks for itself, I cannot overlook the reality that entry into the coaching position I now occupy was to some degree dependent upon luck and who I was connected to through my coaching network. My doctoral journey has assisted me in realizing that any system where some people are dependent upon luck or being in ‘the right place at the right time’ is structurally flawed, and how this is a reality that impacts many, if not most, women in sport coaching. More pointedly, when coaching credentials and experience are not enough, a female sport coach becomes reliant on who she knows and/or a show of good faith from the person with hiring power. Statements like the one made by Andrew (a person with hiring power) that “you have to hire a female coach before she’s ready,” underscore how female sport coaches may be dependent on more than just coaching credentials.

I have worked in my current coaching position for five years and, during this time, I have chiefly performed work that is socially reproductive. Although I have run technical drills to help the athletes with their physical training or skill development, the vast majority of what I have been asked to do is attend to the social and emotional needs of the athletes on the team. I have done this by being available to athletes if they need to talk outside of practice, assisting in team activities around goal setting or leadership, as well as performing tasks like preparing and/or ordering food and communicating with parents during playoff times. To be clear, I have enjoyed (some of) this work and know my contributions have been valued and appreciated by the head coach, who herself often performs socially reproductive work. However, I cannot help but be

reminded of the ways in which feminist scholarship has illuminated that work performed by women is a part of reproducing the very institutions and relational processes responsible for oppressing women (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Bray, 1983; Hall, 1985; Thompson, 1999; Vosko, 2000). As such, I call into question the institution of sport, which claims to be an area of social life that is open and available to all citizens and, yet which functions in ways to reproduce a gendered division of labour, confining women to specific roles and duties and ultimately encouraging them to accept their work in these roles as just ‘the way it is.’

As I have pursued my own sport coaching career, alongside my development as a researcher and teacher, my curiosity about and irritation with why sport coaching work for women ‘is the way it is’ has taken root. As the sociological imagination invites us to connect personal troubles with public issues, I connect that my experiences are not singular or specific to me. If anything is singular to me, it is my confidence in the fact that I have enjoyed more opportunity and less resistance in my sport coaching career because of my privileged position as a former elite athlete who identifies and presents as a white, middle-class, able-bodied, and cis-gender woman. Even with all this privilege, however, my experiences and struggles as a sport coach are, in fact, attached to much broader and public struggles for women in sport coaching in the Canadian sport system broadly, and in Canadian university sport specifically. Again, any system where some people seeking work are dependent on being in the right place at the right time and then, once ‘in the job,’ meet and confront glass ceilings, has structural flaws.

Examining and addressing those flaws requires thoughtful analysis of social and power relations between people, practices, and institutions. To this end, my efforts to unpack sport coaching as work and as a profession, as well as the gendered and gendering nature of sport coaching work in university sport, have benefitted from the use of Institutional Ethnography (IE)

and Feminist Political Economy (FPE). Employing FPE within an IE study brings into focus the pivotal role that power plays in organizing ruling relations and highlights how institutions structure workers' understandings of what counts as work and what does not, and thus how individuals experience the labour they are performing within a given workplace. This approach is further valuable given that the work and professionalization of sport coaching, with particular emphasis on the gendered and gendering aspects of coaching, remains unexamined altogether.

As noted in Chapter Four, IE is designed to illuminate the connection between the ruling relations that operate at the level of the institution and the lives of people in local settings (Smith, 1987). IE unpacks the world as invariably social and participants as “knowers” within their social context (Campbell & Gregor, 2002) – a critical point given that the social relations of everyday life organize the activities of people within institutions. IE “[makes] power understandable in terms of relations between people...” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 61), such that the social relations that exist within a particular context are referred to as *ruling relations*, which not only address and include people in power, but also how people perceive certain concepts (including governing texts such as policies and contracts) within an institution. This approach fits well with political economy (PE) in general as PE theorists examine the complex relationships between political, economic, and ideological systems in interaction with one another.

More specifically, the IE approach aligns even better with FPE, given that both draw on or are grounded in feminist frameworks that emphasize how knowledge can only be acquired when the lived experiences of people are examined in relation to the political, economic, and ideological systems that function to structure their daily lives (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; LeBaron, 2015; Smith 2005). Both IE and FPE came into existence based on the exclusion of

non-dominant social groups (i.e., women, BIPOC, LGBTQ2S+, people living with a disability) and lack of attention to experiences of oppression among individuals within these groups. Specifically, FPE illuminates how daily social, political, economic, and ideological relations contribute to the production and reproduction of societies across time and space (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006), and IE provides the means necessary to examine how ruling relations function to shape the local lived experiences of participants (Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Smith, 2005). As informed and underpinned by feminist theory(ies), both IE and FPE are concerned with advancing societies towards inclusion of all citizens, particularly those who remain on the margins. As such, IE and FPE do not aim to universalize the lived experiences of participants into a singular and/or unified reality, rather they prioritize the lived experiences of all participants, while ensuring that the broader social and institutional forces that shape them are considered (Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Campbell & Gregor, 2008; Smith, 2005). In so doing, both frameworks emphasize the pivotal role that power plays in the structuring of ruling relations and thus, how institutions organize and influence the experiences of people working within specific settings.

In the context of this study, the FPE/IE emphasis is on the ways in which university athletic departments (AD) are structuring the lived experiences of female sport coaches and, further, how this has contributed to a gendered division of labour. The challenges that women face as sport workers, in many ways, have mirrored the challenges that women faced upon entry into the formal, paid economy (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2001; Cranford et al., 2003; Vokso, 2000). While there is data to support that women have increasingly gained more access to sport/sporting spaces as athletes (IOC, 2021; Norman et al., 2020), the same cannot be said for women in sport leadership roles including in sport coaching where women remain

underrepresented in coaching positions at every level of sport in Canada (Demers & Kerr, 2018; Doherty, 2005; Norman et al., 2020; Safai, 2013). The underrepresentation of women in sport coaching has been directly related to constructions of sport as a male dominated space, which presents as a major barrier for women in sport coaching, who are already facing a job market with few, full time, paid coaching opportunities. Therefore, as previously highlighted in my own experience, women are often reliant on their networks and/or a benevolent other (e.g., sport administrator) who has knowledge on the challenges that women coaches face and who is willing “to hire a female coach before she is ready.”

Although scholarship over the last fifty years has increasingly examined the construction of sporting spaces as male and the need to disrupt and dismantle systems of power that privilege men in sporting spaces (Hall 2003; Theberge, 1993; Kidd, 2013; Norman & Rankin-Wright; 2018), there has been an absence of studies (e.g., Staurowsky, 1995) that emphasize the work and/or labour aspects of sport coaching broadly, and the gendered division of labour in sport coaching specifically. Further, there have been no studies on the sport-work-professionalization-gender nexus operating within the Canadian sport system, which includes university sport. This research project attended to these gaps by addressing the following research objectives:

- 1) *To critically examine whether sport coaching within the university sport context is work and, if so, what type of work;*
- 2) *To critically examine whether university sport coaches are professionals, in what way and why;*
- 3) *To identify and explore the conditions that frame the daily practices of sport coaches in relation to and within their university (academic and athletic) settings; and*

4) *To explore the gendered and gendering nature of the practices of university sport coaches.*

This study is the first of its kind to critically analyze university sport coaching in a way that centres on unpacking how sport coaching in the Canadian university sport context intertwines with work and professionalization, and how gender crosscuts the sport coaching-work-professionalization nexus. In the proceeding sections, I will provide clear statements related to the findings of this study, following this, overarching takeaways will be raised, as well as the strengths and limitations of this study before a concluding section on future directions for scholarship in this area.

### **Statement of Findings**

Building from the results and analysis, the strengths of IE and FPE, and the literature, which informed the objectives of this study, I will provide a clear statement for each of the research objectives outlined above. My goal in this section is to provide concrete findings from this study in relation to the broader literature by emphasizing the connections between IE, FPE, and analysis, before shifting my attention to the innovations and conclusions of this study.

First, in response to objective one and three and as articulated in Chapter Five, sport coaches are constantly engaged in the work of sport coaching, which when considered within Canada's capitalist-neoliberal political economy, clearly demonstrates that coaches are working tirelessly because of the belief that "good workers" must work constantly (Strangleman & Warren, 2008). Some of these sentiments were captured in quotes from participants like "[Coaching's] an overwhelming job. It's 365, 24/7" (Eddie); "My work is not only coaching the team. I'm also teaching a class" (Matthew); "I did not get married and chose not to have kids because of coaching" (Will); and "Coaches are dropping like flies. I'm young, but I feel like I'm

a lot older” (Mike). Quotes like the ones shared here, help to clarify that not only is sport coaching work, but it is boundaryless work knowing no bounds in terms of activity and/or time; it is qualified work in that coaches are not only allowed to just coach, but must also do administration, teaching, and community outreach; and, that as a result of the boundaryless and qualified nature of sport coaching work, sport coaches often experience precarity. I would be remiss to not highlight that all of the quotes noted above are from men who are working in sport, a system which privileges them. This begs the question: if male coaches are experiencing this kind of boundaryless, qualified and precarious work in their lives, what does this look like for women?

The use of FPE as the theoretical foundation for this study, exposed how female university sport coaches, are ultimately tasked not only with the same work as their male counterparts, but further with socially reproductive labour. This socially reproductive work included care giving and emotional labour (Braedly & Luxton, 2010), some of which was captured by the quotes from participants such as: “There is a nurturing side to women that we have naturally” (Margaret), “I know that my male head coaches with female assistant coaches, use [the females] to plan the travel more and the recruiting. So, the more demanding administrative tasks are done by females” (Tim), and “I actually think that to some extent the communication that a woman utilizes is different than the communication than a man utilizes” (Kurtis). Not only do these quotes highlight some of the socially reproductive labour performed by female sport coaches, but they further add to essentialist constructions of women coaches as better “nurturers”, “administrators”, and “communicators”; traits that have been noted in the gendering of professions (Adams, 2010; Armstrong & Armstrong, 1992).

The results on sport coaching work, showed that sport coaches are not afforded the same protections that other workers (especially on university campuses) are and yet sport coaches are working tirelessly. This is one way in which FPE and IE worked so well together in that they illuminated the structures operating within the university institution specifically, and the institution of sport broadly, as transposed or translated down to the university sport coaches. In particular, it was clear how coaches' constant work demonstrates their internalization of the neoliberal governing rationality (Hamann, 2009), which has downloaded all of the responsibility of being a good worker on to the coach. Additionally, the structuring of coach work within ADs (as depicted in Figure 2 of Chapter Four) further demonstrates the internalization of a neoliberal ethos by sport coaches who work in silos and/or are divided from one another; thus, individually working in pursuit of getting their teams to the top of the podium. In this contemporary context meritocracy reigns supreme; that is, the ideology that advancement – whether social advancement or career advancement – is a function of hard work and commitment and not ascription or social connection (Rose, 1999; Son Hing et al., 2011). This aligns with and feeds into (and is fed by) the neoliberal regime in which Canadian society including, but not limited to universities, are located; in the institution of university sport, this hard work and commitment is directed towards producing winning athletes and teams.

The layering of individual responsibility on top of individual responsibility works well in the institution of sport where winning is all that matters. Like good neoliberal citizens, coaches are assuming sole responsibility for their efforts and actions giving rise to what they experience in their lives, to the neglect of structural and systemic barriers. As such, it was clear that study participants internalized and rationalized their qualified, boundaryless, and precarious work as status quo and part of how the university sport system works with little resistance to the

way in which the performance imperative within sport creates the conditions for qualified, boundaryless, and precarious work to thrive.

When considering the social, political, and economic conditions that frame the daily experiences of sport coaches, it was clear that the degree to which a coach is materially supported (through contracts, benefits, salary etc.) is highly dependent upon their working context. For example, the coaches at both the IAD and NIAD in this study, although well-supported, exhibited differences in the support they enjoyed. Specifically, the IAD coaches were subject to a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) that clearly outlined for them a career pathway including a mechanism through which they could be promoted, whereas the coaches at the NIAD were non-unionized employees of the university. Given that these are two of the fifty-six member institutions in Canada, it is reasonable to assume that this is not the case for all coaches working in Canadian university sport, which may heighten the level of precarity experienced by some university sport coaches. This includes female sport coaches, who in addition to being under-represented in university sport coaching positions, lack structural forms of support such as equity and access policies. Lastly, the division a coach works within (i.e., AUS, RSEQ, OUA, CANWest) and USports, impact the work of a sport coach largely through the enforcement of policies on certain rules and/or regulations.

Second, in response to the second research objective, Chapter Six highlighted that sport coaching as a profession remains contested. This was largely in part due to the approach that the CAC has taken to the professionalization of sport coaching, which has attempted to establish the ChPC designation as the preeminent sport coaching credential in Canada. In so doing, the CAC has (further) situated themselves as the preeminent coaching authority in Canada; simply put their ability to suggest that the ChPC as *the* most critical sport coaching credential requires them

to be understood as *the* sport coaching governing body able to dictate the terms of the sport coaching *profession*. And to be clear, the efforts behind and around the ChPC can be understood as the CAC's efforts to more formally professionalize sport coaching in Canada. Yet, as shown in the results shared in Chapter Six, the CAC's sport coaching professional project is not a *fait accompli* in the Canadian sport coaching community.

When winning is constructed as the most important coaching credential, to be taken more seriously than other factors such as education and/or degrees (or even nurturing healthy athletes or advancing safe sport), the professionalization of sport coaching (i.e., its transformation from occupation to a universally accepted profession) becomes far more tenuous to achieve. Among this study's participants, the CAC's efforts to advance the ChPC as *the* height of sport coaching education and credentialing was met with ambivalence at best, and outright resistance at worst, because the performance principle underpins the university sport system. This raises the question: do credentials really matter in a system that privileges those who can produce winning athletes and teams and where winning is related to experience and opportunity? Not only is the sport coaching professional project undermined by the performance principle, but further the presence and role of the CAC itself becomes questioned.

As made abundantly clear by all study participants including those from the CAC, the CAC has a limited relationship with university sport broadly, and university sport coaching specifically. Although the CAC oversees and offers the NCCP and the ChPC designations, university sport coaches' experiences are most formidably shaped by the institution that they work for (the IAD or NIAD) and not the CAC, thus limiting the CAC's power and authority over sport coaches. Professional projects are only successful when they achieve social closure and, while social closure works to exclude people, it also creates a sense of collective community,

solidarity and/or group identity (Larson, 1977). Social closure cannot be achieved when the actual members of an occupational group – in this case, sport coaches – do not buy into its own professional project.

The CAC neatly defines the ChPC on its website as a simple equation of “knowledge + experience + ethics” (CAC, 2018). However, as Rachel points out, “In coaching it’s like what’s next? What do I have to get and why? How do I get there? It’s very foggy and the ChPC just adds to the fog.” Thus, the ChPC acts as another responsibility to be downloaded onto the sport coach. Rachel also discussed how the lack of buy in at the sport coaching level is because the institution of university sport and sport administrators within it, are currently not requiring coaches to have ChPCs; a finding that was echoed by the rest of sport coaches and the sport administrators, and which was also evident, in governing text analysis, none of which mentioned the ChPC at any point.

As illuminated in Chapter Six, while professional projects function in a number of different ways they are ultimately intended to enhance the social capital of a group, and yet within the sport coaching context there is a lack of buy in to the ChPC and the consequences of this contestation are hardest felt by women. In particular, it is clear that while having a ChPC may counter the narrative that women sport coaches are not qualified, it is also clear that having a ChPC at this point in time does not necessarily afford them a competitive advantage in the sport coaching job market where winning is all that matters. As such, sport coaches (women especially) are particularly hard pressed to find job security through professionalization, as professionhood in sport coaching has not yet been achieved.

In response to the fourth research objective, not only are female university sport coaches more often than not tasked with socially reproductive labour, women also face additional

challenges within sport coaching. For example, Andrew shared a story about how alumnae were not coaching at higher levels of sport because they “don’t want to fight with men” and Tim mentioned how female coaches “see the male dominated environment that is there. They see the craziness of coaching and that there’s so many barriers to break down and they think why, would I do that for \$55,000 a year?” Critical analysis of the interview data highlighted the subtle ways in which the relative absence of women in university sport coaching was understood as a function of women themselves, self-selecting out of university sport. More specifically, only a few participants spoke to the lack of full-time jobs or the limited pay of coaches as dissuading women from pursuing a career in sport coaching. As such, many of the study participants held women accountable for their under-representation in the university sport coaching system by pointing to such factors as women athletes not transitioning into coaching and therefore not serving as female role models in sport, or women’s choices to have children and therefore not to continue as sport coaches while parenting.

Although there was not an explicit rejection of women’s competence or capacity to be university sport coaches, neither was there a critical interrogation of the university sport system itself and the ways in which women experience barriers in getting into and staying in university-level sport coaching. For example, participants' comments on support for women sport coaches entering into the university sport system (or lack of) was noteworthy. Where Andrew stated, “You have to be prepared to hire a female sport coach before she is ready and then you got to support the shit out of her,” others noted: “the numbers we have [of women in sport coaching] are not indicative of a broken system, so long as our system allows for opportunity” (Bob) and that “women in sport coaching is not our biggest problem” (Matthew). To state the obvious, women sport coaches do lack opportunity in Canada and that the number of women in sport

coaching is a major issue. These perspectives further perpetuate the problematic narrative that the lack of women in sport coaching is a women's issue and not a system of sport issue, and as long as these perspectives are voiced by prominent stakeholders and nourished by systems that do not support women in some of the most basic ways (i.e., equity and access policies), the lack of women in sport coaching positions will prevail.

### **Pulling the Threads Together**

Building on the statement of findings provided above, this section will pull the threads of the study together in conclusion, before turning to the studies strengths, limitations, and future directions for this scholarship. Specifically, this section will highlight how a study guided by both FPE and IE is innovative, in that it is the first of its kind to approach the study of sport coaching in this way. In so doing, I seek to highlight and couple together the words of Marx who states that: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given, and transmitted from the past" (1852, para. 2), and Mills who writes that "The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (1959, p.6).

The participants from this study came into a system that predated them and are doing their best (as indicated by their responses) to navigate it, accepting working conditions deeply imbued with and reinforcing of a neoliberal ethos that "comes with the territory." Thus, Marx and Mills illuminate how barriers facing women in sport coaching are located at the intersection of institutional, historical, political, and economic systems. Historically, there have been efforts to have "girl's sport was run by girls" through the creation of the Women's Amateur Athletic Federation (WAAF) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) (Hall, 2002a;

Kidd, 1996); efforts that were echoed years later in university sport. Specifically, as noted in Chapter Two, historically women's and men's university sport were separate entities (Moriarty & Holman-Prpich, 1987) and, at some point during the 1970s, the decision to re-integrate them was made. It is this decision that I point to as giving birth to the current political economic context of women in sport coaching where women have been pushed to and remain on the margins. In this new context, leadership positions have been lost for women, which brings back up the question: where are the women?

In the contemporary political economic context of university sport, where meritocracy remains a powerful and prominent player and where winning is the unspoken coaching credential that ends up mattering most, women's efforts are overlooked and underappreciated.

In this context, a coach does not necessarily have to secure their worth through educational status and/or credentials, but rather by their win-loss record and, although educational status and credentials matter in many ways in ensuring a good win-loss record, they are not integral. As such, a sport coach can fall back on their experience in coaching and still reach a point of occupational security and stability. In a university context, we would never permit some loopholes or exceptions for other types of university workers – in this contemporary moment, and for all intents and purposes, you cannot call yourself a Professor without a PhD. And yet, in university sport, you could get away without a ChPC.

This is vital to highlight as women in sport coaching do not have the same access and opportunity that men do and, in those instances when they do manage to break into the sport coaching scene, they are often criticized for lacking credentials, experience, or both or some other arbitrary measurement of value. This in part is tied to the lack of clarity on the work of sport coaches operating in the university sport landscape, which renders female sport coaches

even more vulnerable to precarious (uncertain and/or risky) labour (Cranford et al., 2013; Vosko, 2000; Vosko, 2006). As such, not only does getting into sport coaching work convey risk, but so too does staying in sport coaching. This risk was conveyed by Rachel in some of her responses including: “I'm the only female, full time [sport] coach in the country, one of the only ones in the world! And I just left [occupation] to do this full time.”

In considering the fraught and contested nature of sport coaching as a profession, it may be the case, as suggested by some of the study participants, that women tend to choose other occupations where there is more security and pay, where they do not have to fight with men and/or a system that privileges men, and where they can manage the additional expectations that women face (i.e., socially reproductive labour). These “blame the women narratives” must be reframed as “blame the system narratives” to account for the ways in which the system of sport contributes to the risk that may be limiting women from pursuing sport coaching as an occupation. Only when analyses begin to take a more relational approach that examines the system and the agents in relation to the broader themes of work, professionhood, and gender, will we perhaps see some long term and more sustainable change made to a system where patriarchy continues to rule the roost.

Lastly, it would be remiss of me to end this section, without acknowledging the women who currently hold head coaching positions within the university sport environment and who are and continue to be reminders of the resistance that exists within this system. These women, despite the inherent risks involved with pursuing sport coaching as an occupation have pushed back and continue to push back against a system that has been altogether unwelcoming; these women have been successful in spite of the system and not because of it (cf., Donnelly, 2013). These women act as a source of hope, challenging a system of sport that is structured to limit

their participation, which although conveys risk, is also encouraging for those of us who want to participate in sport as coaches and leaders.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

As a first of its kind study, this study makes a novel contribution to the critical socio-cultural study of sport coaching in its examination of the relationships between sport coaching, work, professionalization, and gender within the Canadian university landscape. Employing a FPE theoretical lens, given its relational and critical approach, assisted with illuminating the political, economic, and personal threads operating within and through the university institutions that employ sport coaches. This study's IE methodological approach allowed for a rich data set to be collected where in-depth examination of governing texts and the participants' lived experiences guided the analysis. While observational/fieldwork data collection was ultimately incomplete due to pandemic, the data that was collected served as valuable backdrop to the analysis and interpretation of the interview and governing text data.

The limitations of this study include the absence of observational data that was collected from the NIAD and that I was unable to collect from the IAD, given the COVID-19 pandemic. While the decision to end data analysis and thus not collect observation was certainly the right choice given the unpredictable nature of the COVID-19 pandemic, I ultimately decided not to include the observations from the NIAD, given my active involvement as a participant in the sport coaching world, which at times was tricky to navigate. An additional limitation that impacted data collection, was the lack of women sport coaches that I interviewed for this study. Aside from my frustrations with the fact that there were only three female sport coaches to interview, given the amount of work that these coaches are doing, I'm not surprise that only one

agreed to participate; and I should note that the female coach I did interview, informed me after our interview that if I had reached out to her in season so likely would not have participated.

A final limitation related to data, was the lack data and analysis on the work context within universities more broadly. The breadth of this study did not allow for more connections to be made between the work performed in university ADs and broader university work and labour relations. In other words, there was no consideration paid to the ways in which the same Collective Bargaining Agreements, labour policies and/or procedures, and unions—which undoubtedly implicate the work of sport coaches— also function to structure the work performed by university employees.

Another area for improvement, briefly touched in on Chapter 7, was the ways in which gender intersects with other categories of marginalization, including race, ability, sexuality, and age, to name a few. Specifically, as noted in Chapter 4, the single female coach participant confirmed that she was white identifying and all of the coaches confirmed that they were cis-gender. The homogenous demographic profile of the participants was buttressed by a near absence of any discussion on identity beyond that of gender identity. The very few comments that did come up around ethnocultural or racial background included Rachel acknowledging her white privilege and wanting to recruit a more diverse team; Sarah remarking that gender was not the only issue in coaching, and in so doing, raising race as a specific area for improvement; and, the remarks from Bob and Matthew on hiring and affirmative action. As noted in Chapter Three, FPE has been criticized by feminist scholars for not paying attention to the ways in which race, in particular, intersects with class and gender. However, given that participants did not offer up comments and/or reflections about their own identity (apart from Rachel), adding in race to this

analysis may have reproduced highly criticized “add and stir” approaches within white feminist scholarship.

### **Future Directions and Conclusion**

As highlighted in this chapter, the results of this study illuminate that university sport coaching is considered work chiefly through this existence of institutional governing texts, that define it as such. Not only is university sport coaching work, but it is clear from the participants that it is qualified, boundaryless, and precarious employment, which is further insulated by the overemphasis in university ADs to win. In addition to supporting definitions of sport coach work as qualified, boundaryless, and precarious, the performance narrative further serves to rationalize that sport coaches must be passionate and hardworking, which coaches internalize as necessary prerequisites for sport coaching. The performance narrative also has implications for the sport coaching professional project, which although underway within the Canadian sport landscape, remains ambiguous and contested in university sport. Specifically, the emphasis on winning as the ultimate coaching credential implicates the need to obtain any coaching credential, let alone a professional coaching credential (the ChPC). Furthermore, the emphasis on winning renders female sport coaches more vulnerable in a system that is already stacked against them; these women are not afforded entry into the job market in the same way men are, which impacts their ability to accumulate a winning record. In addition to illuminating the impact of the performance narrative, this chapter showed how the lack of clarity on sport coaching work and sport coaches as a profession further constructs university sport coaching as risky business for women.

The results of the study illuminated some key concerns with regards to the current experiences of sport coaching work as boundaryless, qualified, and precarious, which has implications for future research and examination of work in sport broadly, and university sport

specifically. First, given the lack of attention paid to broader relations of work and employment on university campuses, it may be important to consider how these trends are directly connected to and implicate the work of university sport coaches. Additionally, it may be useful to use the approach of this study (IE and FPE) to examine other sport coaching contexts including, the national and/or provincial sport systems.

Another key area for future scholarship includes the close examination and study of more women sport coaches, with particular emphasis on how women coaches whose identity intersects with other categories of marginalization (i.e., race, age, parental status, marital status, ability and sexuality) experience the work of sport coaching. In order to pay attention to the glaring need to examine women's social location in a more robust way, the results of this study were used in the creation and successful securing of a two-year seed grant from E-Alliance: Research hub for gender equity+ in sport. Specifically, this study aims to recruit female sport coaches from various social locations in order to examine how women's experience of sport coaching contribute to notions of coach work as precarious work and, what the implications are for women in sport coaching.

Lastly, this study's findings provide an excellent point of departure from which to examine the work and labour relations pertaining to assistant sport coaches in a variety of sport contexts. As noted earlier, there is a lack of literature all together on assistant coaches, and as was evident during the interviews conducted for this study, many of the head coaches discussed their assistant coaches and the value and need for assistant coaches. As such, further unpacking how assistant coaches experience and perform sport coaching work and/or labour, as well as the implications of gender and coaches intersecting identities on performing sport coaching work, would be particularly illuminating.

As this study attempts to demonstrate, as long as a high-performance approach to sport – which emphasizes winning to the neglect of everything else – prevails in university sport, coaches operating within university ADs will continue to internalize their own efforts as the sole factor of their success pushing them to work harder and longer hours, the sport coaching professional project will continue to struggle and gain little ground, and women will continue to occupy very few sport coaching positions in university sport. As articulated in this final chapter, next steps in addressing issues pertaining to the sport- work-professionalization-gender nexus need to concretely focus on disrupting winning as the quintessential and unspoken sport coaching credential and holding the system of sport and those who hold power within this system accountable for the construction of sport coaching work as qualified, boundaryless, and precarious. Mills writes that: “The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. This is its task and its promise” (p. 6). Mills’ words are hopeful and energizing. The Canadian university sport system has not yet achieved gender equity in sport coaching work, but I remain hopeful that seeds of change have been planted.

## References

- Abbott, P. & Meerabeau, L. (1998). *The Sociology of the Caring Professions (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed)*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Adams, T. (2003). Professionalization, Gender and Female Dominated Professions: Dental Hygiene in Ontario. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 40(3), 267-289.
- Adams, T. (2010). Gender and Feminization in Health Care Professions. *Sociology Compass*, 4(7), 454-465.
- Adjepong, A. & Carrington, B. (2014). Black female athlete as space invaders. In J. Hargreaves & E. Anderson (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality* (pp. 169-178). London, UK: Routledge.
- Allan, K. (2018). Investment in me: Uncertain futures and debt in the interim economy. In S. Taylor and S. Luckman (Eds.) *The New Normal or Working Lives: Critical Studies in Contemporary work and Employment* (pp. 245-264). London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Armstrong, P. (2016). *Physical environments for long-term care: Ideas worth sharing*. Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives.
- Armstrong, P. & Armstrong, H. (2010). *Wasting Away: The Undermining of Canadian Health Care (Second Edition)*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Armstrong, P. & Armstrong, H. (2001). *The Double Ghetto: Canada, Women and their Segregated Work (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.)*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Armstrong, P. & Armstrong, H. (1992). Sex and the Professions in Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 27(1), 118-135.
- Armstrong, P. et al. (2001). *Unhealthy Times: Political economy perspective on health and Care in Canada*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Arthur, C. (1992). *Marx's Capital: Student Edition*. London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart Limited.
- Bandya, S. et al. (2012). From Women and Sport to Gender and Sport: Transnational, Transdisciplinary, and Intersectional Perspectives. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 29(5), 667-674
- Banerji, H. (1991). Racism, sexism, knowledge and the academy. *Resources for Feminist Research*, 20(3/4), 5-18.
- Banwell, J. & Kerr, G. (2016). Coaches' Perceptions of a High Performance Sport Model in Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS). *Journal for the Study of Sport and Athletes in Education*, 10(1), 1-15.

- Banwell, J. et al. (2019). Key Considerations for Advancing Women in Coaching. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 27(2), 128-135.
- Bakker, I. (2003). Neo-liberal Governance and the Reprivatization of Social Reproduction: Social Provisioning and Shifting Gender Orders. In I. Bakker & S. Gill (Eds.) *Power, production, and social reproduction: human in/security in the global political economy* (pp.66-82). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bakker, I. & Gill, S. (2003). *Power, production, and social reproduction: human in/security in the global political economy*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Barker-Ruchti, N. et al. (2014). Tracing the career paths of top-level women football coaches: turning points to understand and develop sport coaching careers. *Sports Coaching Review*, 3(2), 117-131.
- Barnet, R. & Hyde, J. (2001). Women, men, work, and family: An expansionist theory. *American Psychologist*, 56(10), 781-796.
- Beamish, R. (1988). The Political Economy of Professional Sport. In J. Harvey and H. Cantelon (Eds.) *Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology* (141-157). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.
- Belanger, A. (2009). The urban sport spectacle: Towards a critical political economy of sports. In B. Carrington & I. MacDonald (Eds.) *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport* (pp. 51-67). London, UK: Routledge.
- Belding, M., & Dodge, A. (2016). Examining the benefits of female-to- female mentorship as a result of participating in a female coach mentorship program. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 16(2), 1-5.
- Berg, B. (1989). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Needham, MA: Allyn Bacon.
- Begun, J. (1986). Economic and Sociological Approaches to Professionalism. *Work and Occupations*, 13(1), 113-129.
- Bertram, R. & Culver, D. (2017). Social Learning Spaces in Support of Women Coaches in University Sport. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 17(2), 1-5.
- Bezanson, K. & Luxton, M. (2006). Introduction: Social Reproduction and Feminist Political Economy. In, K. Bezanson & M. Luxton (Eds.), *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism* (p. 3-10). Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.

- Blau, F. & Ferber, M. (1987). Discrimination: Empirical Evidence from the United States. *The American Economic Review*, 77(2), 316-320.
- Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and Quantity*, 36, 391-409.
- Borland, J. & Bruening, J. (2010). Navigating barriers: A qualitative examination of the under-representation of Black females as head coaches in collegiate basketball. *Sport Management Review*, 13(4), 407-420.
- Boyd, M. et al. (1991). Gender, power and post industrialism. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 28(4), 407-436.
- Braedly, S. & Luxton, M. (2010). *Neoliberalism and the Challenge of Everyday life*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Brady, J. (2018). Toward a critical, feminist sociology of expertise. *Journal of Professions and Organization* 5, 123-138.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London, UK: Sage.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. E. Rindskopf, & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 57-71). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Braun, V. et al. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 191-205). London, UK: Routledge.
- Bray, C. (1983). Sport, Capitalism & Patriarchy. *Spring*, 4(3), 11-14.
- Bray, C. (1988). Sport and Social Change. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance*, 59(6), 50-53.
- Broadbent et al., (1997). *The end of the Professions: The restructuring of professional work*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. New York: Zone Books.
- Bruening, J. & Dixon, M. (2007). Work-Family Conflict in Coaching II: Managing Role Conflict. *Journal of Sport Management*, 21, 471-496.
- Burden, J. & Lambie, G. (2011). Sociocultural Competencies for Sport Coaches: A Proposal for

- Coaches and Coach Education. *Journal of Coaching Education*, 4(1), 3-28.
- Caccese, T.M., & Mayerberg, C.K. (1984). Gender differences in perceived burnout of college coaches. *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 6, 279-288.
- Campbell, M. L. (1998). Institutional Ethnography and Experience as Data. *Qualitative Sociology*, 21(1), 55-73.
- Campbell, M. & Gregor, F. (2002). *Mapping Social Relations: A Primer in Institutional Ethnography*. Aurora, ON: Garamond Press.
- Campbell, M. L., & Gregor, F. (2008). *Mapping social relations: A primer in doing institutional ethnography*. Toronto, ON: Higher Education University of Toronto Press.
- Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. (1967). Physical education and athletics in Canadian universities and colleges: A statement of recommended policies and standards. Toronto: Education physique et sport dans les universités et collèges du Canada; exposé des mesures et 266ntar recommandées.
- Canadian Center for Sport Policy Studies (CSPS). (2017). Gender Equity in Canadian Interuniversity Sport. *Unpublished report*.
- Canadian Heritage (2010). Environmental scan 2010: Trends and issues in Canada and in sport. Retrieved on October 10, 2018 from: [http://sirc.ca/sites/default/files/content/docs/pdf/general\\_-\\_escan\\_sportincanada\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://sirc.ca/sites/default/files/content/docs/pdf/general_-_escan_sportincanada_final_en.pdf).
- Canadian Sport for Life. (2019). Long Term Athlete Development 2.1. Retrieved October 10, 2018 from: [http://sportforlife.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/LTAD-2.1-EN\\_web.pdf?x96000](http://sportforlife.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/LTAD-2.1-EN_web.pdf?x96000).
- Caplow, T. (1954). *The Sociology of Work*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carr-Saunders A. & Wilson P. (1933). *The Professions*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Carrington, B. & MacDonald, I. (2009). *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Carty, L. E. (Ed.). (1993). *And still we rise: Feminist political mobilizing in contemporary Canada*. Toronto, ON: Women's Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2001). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. Gubrium & J. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Christensen, M. (2013). Outlining a typology of sports coaching careers: paradigmatic trajectories and ideal career types among high-performance sports coaches. *Sports Coaching Review*, 2(2), 98-113.
- Clement, W. (1997). *Understanding Canada: Building on the New Canadian Political Economy*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Clement, W. & Vosko, L. (2003). *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queens University Press.
- CMA. (2018). Addressing Gender Equity and Diversity in Canada's Medical Profession: A review. Retrieved April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2021, from: <https://www.cma.ca/sites/default/files/pdf/Ethics/report-2018-equity-diversity-medicine-e.pdf>
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2018). Chartered Professional Coach. Retrieved October 10, 2018, from: <https://www.coach.ca/about-us-p158443>.
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2020a). About CAC. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from: <https://coach.ca/about-cac>
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2020b). NCCP Streams and Contexts. Retrieved April 23, 2020 from: <https://coach.ca/nccp-streams-and-contexts>
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2020c). Coach Professional Development. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from: <https://coach.ca/professional-development>.
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2020d). University Female Coach Mentorship Program. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from: <https://coach.ca/university-female-coach-mentorship-program>
- Coaching Association of Canada (CAC). (2020e). Canada Games Apprenticeship Program. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from: <https://coach.ca/canada-games-apprenticeship-program>
- Coburn, D. (2001). Health, health care, and neo-liberalism. In P. Armstrong, H. Armstrong, & D. Coburn (Eds.) *Unhealthy times: Political economy perspectives on health and care in Canada* (pp. 45-65). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Connell, C. (2010). Doing, Undoing, or Redoing Gender?: Learning from the Workplace Experiences of Transpeople. *Gender & Society*, 24(1), 31-55.
- Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21.

- Costa, D.M & Guthrie, S. (1994). *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Côté, J. (2006). The Development of Coaching Knowledge. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 1(3), 217-222.
- Côté, J. & Fraser-Thomas, J. (2007). *Play, practice, and athlete development*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Côté, J. & Gilbert, W. (2009). An Integrative Definition of Coaching Effectiveness and Expertise. *International Journal of Sport Science & Coaching*, 4(3), 307-323.
- Côté, J. & Sedgwick, W. (2003). Effective behaviours of expert rowing coaches: A qualitative investigation of Canadian athletes and coaches. *West View*, 7(1), 62-77.
- Côté, J. et al. (1995). The coaching model: A grounded assessment of expert gymnastic coaches' knowledge. *Journal of sport and exercise psychology*, 17(1), 1-17.
- Cranford, C. et al. (2003). The Gender of Precarious Employment in Canada. *Industrial Relations*, 58(3), 454-482.
- Creswell, J.W. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among the five approaches (Third Edition)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. & Miller, D. (2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.
- Cushion, C., et al. (2003). Coach Education and Continuing Professional Development: Experience and Learning to Coach. *Quest*, 55, 215-230.
- Cushion, C. & Parington, M. (2016). A critical analysis of the conceptualization of 'coaching philosophy'. *Sport, Education and Society*, 21(6), 851-867.
- Danylchuk, K. & MacLean, J. (2001). Intercollegiate Athletics in Canadian Universities: Perspectives on the Future. *Journal of Sport Management*, 15(4), 364-379.
- Darnell, S. (2010). Power, politics, and "sport for development and peace": Investigating the utility of sport for international development. *Sociology of sport Journal*, 27(1), 54-75.
- Davies, C. (1996). The Sociology of Professions and the Profession of Gender. *Sociology*, 30(4), 661-678.

- Dawson, A. & Phillips, P. (2013). Coach career development: Who is responsible? *Sport Management Review*, 16, 477-487.
- Demers, G. (2015). The 2015 conversation on women and sport. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 15(3), 1–11.
- Demers, G. & Audet, MH. (2007). What We Know About the Experiences of Women Beginner Coaches. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 8(1), 1-8.
- Demers, G. & Kerr, G. (2018.) Promising initiatives could bring real change for women in coaching. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 18(4), 1–5.
- Demers, G. et al. (2013). *Playing It Forward: 50 Years of Women and Sport in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Second Story Press.
- Denison, J. (2010). Planning, practice and performance: the discursive formation of coaches' knowledge. *Sport, Education and Society*, 15(4), 461-478.
- Denison, J. et al. (2017). Sports' disciplinary legacy and the challenges of 'coaching differently'. *Sport, Education and Society*, 22(6), 772-783.
- DeVault, M. L. (2006). Introduction: What is Institutional Ethnography? *Social Problems*, 53(3), 294-298.
- DeVault, M. L., & McCoy, L. (2006). Institutional ethnography: Using interviews to investigate ruling relations. In D. E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 15-44). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- DeVault, M., & McCoy, L. (2002). Institutional Ethnography: Using Interviews to investigate ruling relations. In J. Holstein (Ed.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 751-776). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Diamond, L. (2006). Careful What You Ask For: Reconsidering Feminist Epistemology and Autobiographical Narrative in Research on Sexual Identity Development. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 31(2), 471-491.
- Dixon, M. & Bruening, J. (2007). Work-Family Conflict Coaching I: A Top-Down Perspective. *Journal of Sport Management*, 21, 377-406.
- Dixon, M. & Sagas, M. (2007). The Relationship Between Organizational Support, Work-Family Conflict, and the Job-Life Satisfaction of University Coaches. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 78(3), 236-247.
- Doherty, A. (2005). A Profile of Community Sport Volunteers. Retrieved March 6, 2020, from: [http://wm.p80.ca/Org/Org185/Images/Resource%20Documents/Volunteer%20Resources/Phase1\\_finalReport.pdf](http://wm.p80.ca/Org/Org185/Images/Resource%20Documents/Volunteer%20Resources/Phase1_finalReport.pdf)

- Donnelly, P. (2016). Sport as Work. In G. Ritzer (Ed.) *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (pp. 1-3). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Donnelly, P. (1993). Problems Associated with Youth Involvement in High Performance Sport. In B. Cahill and A Pearl (Eds.) *Intensive Participation in Children's Sports*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Donnelly, P. & Harvey, J. (2011). Volunteering and Sport. In B. Houlihan & M. Green (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* (pp.55-71) New York, NY: Routledge.
- Donnelly, P., & Harvey, J. (1999). Class and gender: Intersections in sport and physical activity. *Sport and gender in Canada*, 40-64.
- Donnelly, P. & Theberge, N. (1982). *Sport and the Sociological Imagination*. Fort Worth, Texas: Texas Christian University Press.
- Dowling, M. et al., (2014). Understanding the concept of professionalisation in sport management research. *Sport Management Review*, 17, 520-529.
- Dua, E. & Roberston, A. (1999). *Scratching the Surface: Canadian anti-racist feminist thought*. Toronto, ON: Women's Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1933). *The Division of Labour in Society*. Toronto, ON: The Macmillan Company.
- Engels, F. (1845/1993). *Condition of the Working Class in England*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Erickson, K. et al. (2006). Gaining Insight into Actual and Preferred Sources of Coaching Knowledge. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 3(4), 527-538.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. & Alkassim, R. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Fasting, K. & Brackenridge, C. (2009). Coaches, sexual harassment and education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 14(1), 21-35.
- Flick, U. (2011). Ethnographic and Visual Data. In U. Flick (Ed.) *Designing Qualitative Research* (pp. 89-99). London, UK: Sage.
- Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research: 4<sup>th</sup> Edition*. London, UK: Sage.
- Flintoff, A. & Scraton, S. (2001). *Gender and Sport: A Reader*. London, UK: Routledge,
- Fineman, S. (2012). *Work: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Frankel, M. (1989). Professional Codes: Why, How, and with What Impact? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 8, 105-115.
- Freedman, S. & Phillips, J. (1988). The Changing Nature of Research on Women at Work. *Journal of Management*, 14(2), 231-251.
- Freidson, E. (1988). *Professional Powers: A study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Freidson, E. (1973). *The Professions and their prospects*. London, UK: Sage.
- Freidson, E. (1970). *Profession of Medicine*. New York, NY: Dodd Mead.
- Fudge, J. & Vosko, L. (2001). Gender, Segmentation and the Standard Employment Relationship in Canadian Labour Law, Legislation and Policy. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 22(2), 271-310.
- Gamarinkow, E. (1978). 'Sexual Division of Labor: The Case of Nursing'. In A. Kuhn and A. Wolpe (Eds.) *Feminism and Materialism* (pp. 96-123). Boston, MA: Routledge.
- Gilbert, L.A., & Rader, J. (2001). Current perspectives on women's adult roles: Work, family, and life. In R.K. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook of the psychology of women and gender* (pp. 156-169). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Gilbert, W. et al. (2006). Developmental Paths and Activities of Successful Sport Coaches. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 1(1), 69-76.
- Gilbert, W. & Trudel, P. (2001). Learning to Coach Through Experience: Reflection in Model Youth Sport Coaches. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 21, 16-34.
- Gill, S. & Bakker, I. (2003). *Power, production and social reproduction: Human in/security in the Global Political Economy*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Graham, J. & Dixon, M. (2017). Work-Family Balance Among Coach-Fathers: A Qualitative Examination of Enrichment, Conflict, and Role Management Strategies. *Journal of Sport Management*, 31, 288-305.
- Green, E. et al., (1995). Women's leisure today. In C. Critcher, B. Bramham & A. Tomlinson (Eds). *Sociology of Leisure: A Reader* (pp. 130). London, UK: E & SPON.
- Green, E. et al. (1990). *Women's Leisure, What Leisure?* Basingstoke, NH: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Green, E. et al. (1987). Leisure and gender: A Study of Sheffield women's leisure experiences. *Sports Council*.

- Greenwood, E. (1957). Attributes of a Profession. *Social Work*, 2(3), 45-55.
- Griffin, P. (2014). Overcoming Sexism and Homophobia in Women's Sports: Two steps forward and one step back. In J. Hargreaves & E. Anderson (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality* (pp. 265-274). London, UK: Routledge.
- Grint, K. & Nixon, D. (2015). *The Sociology of Work (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Gurneau, R. (1999). *Class, Sports, and Social Development*. Champaign, IL: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gurneau, R. (1988). Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development. In J. Harvey and H. Cantelon (Eds.) *Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology* (pp. 9-32). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.
- Hall, A. (2003). Girls' and women's sport in Canada: from playground to podium. In I. Hartmann-Tews and G. Pfister (Eds.) *Sport and women: social issues on international perspective* (pp.161-178). London, UK: Routledge.
- Hall, A. (2002a). *The girl and the game*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Hall, A. (2002b). *Gender and Sport: A Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hall, A. (1985). Knowledge and Gender: Epistemological Questions in the Social Analysis of Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 2, 25-42.
- Hall, A. (1982). *Fair ball: toward sex equality in Canadian Sport*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.
- Hall, A. et al. (1989). Organizational Elites Recreating Themselves: The Gender Structure of National Sport Organizations. *Quest*, 41(1), 28-45.
- Hamann, T. (2009). Neoliberalism, governmentality and ethics. *Foucault Studies*, 6, 37-59.
- Hammersley, M., Atkinson, P. (2007). *What is ethnography? Ethnography, Principles in practice (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hanson, L. (2012). Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies. In L. Sheperd (Ed.) *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A feminist introduction to International Relations* (pp.17-27). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, J. & Anderson, E. (2014). *Routledge of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Hartel, J. (2011). Information in the hobby of gourmet cooking: Four contexts. In W. Aspray, &

- B. Hayes (Eds.) *Everyday Information* (pp. 217-248). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Harvey, J. & Cantelon, H. (1988). *Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology*. Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.
- Harvey, J. et al. (2009). Alterglobalization, global social movements, and the possibility of political transformation through sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 26(3), 383-403.
- Hoerber, L. (2007). Exploring the Gaps between Meanings and Practices of Gender Equity in a Sport Organization. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 14(3), 259-280.
- Holman, M. et al. (2013). Sticks and stones: the multifarious effects of body-based harassment on your girls' healthy lifestyle choices. *Sport, Education and Society*, 18(4), 527-549.
- Hughes, E. (1963). Professions. *Daedalus*, 92(4), 655-668.
- Hughman, R. (2005). *New Approaches in Ethics for the Caring Professions: Taking Account of Change for Caring Professions*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ingham, A. (1975). Occupational Subcultures in the Work World of Sport. In D. Ball & J. Loy (Eds.) *Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport* (pp. 337-389). Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Inglis, S. (1988). The Representation of Women in University Athletic Programs. *Journal of Sport Management*, 2, 14-25.
- Inglis, S. et al. (2000). Multiple Realities of Women's Work Experiences in Coaching and Athletic Management. *Women in Sport & Physical Activity Journal*, 9(2), 1-26.
- International Olympic Committee (IOC). (2021). Gender Equality and Inclusion Report. Retrieved May 5, 2020, from: <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Beyond-the-Games/Gender-Equality-in-Sport/2021-IOC-Gender-Equality-Inclusion-Report.pdf>
- Irwin et al., (2004). Reflective practice and the origins of elite coaching knowledge. *Reflective Practice*, 5(3), 425-442.
- Jackson, A. (2009). *Work and Labour in Canada: Critical Issues*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Jackson, A. & Thomas, P. (2017). *Work and labour in Canada: Critical issues (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Jackson, S. & Andrews, D. (2005). *Sport, Culture and Advertising*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Jones, R. et al. (2004) *Sports coaching cultures: from practice to theory*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Jonna, J. & Foster, J. (2016). Marx's theory of working-class precariousness- and it's relevance today. *Monthly Review*, 67(11), 1-19.
- Kalber, L. (1995). Professionalism and its consequences: A study of internal audits. *Journal of Practice and Theory*, 14(1), 64-86.
- Kalleberg, A. (2008). Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 1-22.
- Kalman-Lamb, N. (2018). *Game Misconduct: Injury, Fandom, and he Business of Sport*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Kamp, A., Lund, H., & Hvid, H. (2010). Negotiating time, meaning and identity in boundaryless work. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 23(4), 229-242.
- Kent, A. & Sullivan, P. (2003). Coaching Efficacy as a Predictor of University Coaches' Commitment. *International Sports Journal*, 7(1), 78-87.
- Kerr, G. & Banwell, J. (2014). Striving for Gender Equity in Coaching: Female Athletes' Perspectives on Pursuing a Coaching Career. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 14(2), 1-7.
- Kerr, G., & Marshall, D. (2007). Shifting the culture: Implications for female coaches *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 7(4), 1-4.
- Kidd, B. (2013). Where are the Female Coaches? *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 13(1), 1-9.
- Kidd, B. (2009). A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. In S. Jackson and S. Haigh (Eds.) *Sport and Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World* (pp.22-32). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kidd, B. (1996). *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*. Toronto, ON: Toronto University Press.
- Kirby, S. et al. (2000). *The Dome of Silence: Sexual Harassment and Abuse in Sport*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood
- Knoppers, A. (1987). Gender and the Coaching Profession. *Quest*, 39, 9-22.
- Koh, K. et al., (2011). Development pathways of Singapore's high-performance basketball coaches. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 9(4), 338-353.

- Krahn, A. (2019). Sport Policy Praxis: Examining How Canadian Sport Policy Practically Advances the Careers of Nascent Female Coaches. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 27, 118-127.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lally, P. & Kerr, G. (2005). The career planning, athletic identity and student role identity of intercollegiate student-athletes. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 76(3), 275-285.
- Larson, M. (1979). Professionalism: Rise and Fall. *International Journal of Health Services*, 9(4), 607- 627.
- Larson, M. (1977). *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. London, UK: University of California Press.
- Laslett, B. & Brenner, J. (1989). Gender and Social Reproduction: Historical Perspectives. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15, 381-404.
- LaVoi, N. (2016). *Women in Sports Coaching*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- LaVoi, N. & Beath, A. (2018). Women and Sports Coaching. In L. Mansfield, J. Caudwell, B. Wheaton, & B. Watson (Eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Feminism and Sport, Leisure and Physical Education* (pp. 149-162). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- LaVoi, N. & Dutove, J. (2012). Barriers and supports for female coaches: an ecological model. *Sports Coaching Review*, 1(1), 17-37.
- LaVoi, N., & Leberman, S. (2015). A rationale for encouraging mothers to coach youth sport. *The Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 15(1), 1-4.
- Leach, B. (1993). 'Flexible' work, precarious future: some lessons from the Canadian clothing industry. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 64-82.
- LeBaron, G. (2015). Unfree Labour Beyond Binaries. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17(1), 1-16.
- Leberman, S. & LaVoi, N. (2011). Juggling Balls and Roles, Working Mother-Coaches in Youth Sport: Beyond the Dualistic Worker-Mother Identity. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25, 474-488.
- Lemyre et al., (2007). How Youth-Sport Coaches Learn to Coach. *The Sport Psychologist*, 21, 191-209.

- Lenskyj, H. (2003). *Out on the field: gender, sport and sexualities*. Toronto, ON: Women's Press.
- Lenskyj, H. (1999). Sydney 2000, Olympic sport and the Australian media. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23(62), 76-83.
- Lenskyj, H. (1986). *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality*. Toronto, ON: Women's Press.
- Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Wadsworth.
- Lowe, G. (2007). 21<sup>st</sup> Century Job Quality: Achieving What Canadians Want. Retrieved, April 1, 2020, from: [https://oaresource.library.carleton.ca/cprn/48485\\_en.pdf](https://oaresource.library.carleton.ca/cprn/48485_en.pdf).
- Lucyk, K. (2011). Don't be Gay Dude: How the Institution of Sport Reinforces Homophobia. *Constellations*, 2(2), 66-80.
- Luxton, M. (2006). Feminist Political Economy in Canada and the Politics of Social Reproduction. In, K. Bezanson & M. Luxton (Eds.) *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism* (p. 11-44). Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Luxton, M. (1997). *Feminism and Families: Critical Policies and Changing Practices*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood.
- Macdonald, K. (1995). *The Sociology of Professions*. London, UK: Sage.
- Macintosh, D. & Whitson, D. (1990). *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System*. Toronto, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Madden, R. (2010). *Being ethnographic: A guide to the theory and practice of ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Manza, J. (1992). Classes, Status Groups, and Social Closure: A Critique of Neo-Weberian Social Theory. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 12, 275-302.
- Maroney, H. & M. Luxton (1987). From feminism and political economy to feminist political economy. In H. J. Maroney & M. Luxton (Eds.), *Feminism and political economy: Women's work, women's struggles* (pp. 5-28). Toronto, ON: Methuen.
- Marsh, D. & Furlong, P. (2002). A Skin, not a sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science. *Theory and methods in political science*, 2(1), 17-41.
- Marx, K. (1967). *Capital: Volume I*. London, UK: Penguin.

- Massengale, J. (1981). Role conflict and the teacher/coach: Some occupational causes and considerations for the sport sociologist. In S. Greendorfer (Ed) *Sociology of Sport: Diverse Perspectives* (pp.149-172). West Point, NY: Leisure Press.
- McKay, J. (1999). Gender and organization power in Canadian sport. In P. White & K. Young (Eds.), *Sport and gender in Canada* (pp.197-214). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. (2020). Definition of profession. Retrieved Nov. 4, 2020: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/profession>
- Messner, M. (1997). *Politics of masculinities: Men in movements*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
- Messner, M. (1992). *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Miller, P. & Kerr, B. (2002). The athletic, academic and social experiences of intercollegiate student-athletes. *Journal of Sport Behaviour*, 25(4), 346-367.
- Mills, C. (1959). *The Sociological Imagination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Moriarty, D. & Holman-Prich. (1987). Canadian Interuniversity Athletics: A Model and Method of Analysing Conflict and Change. *Journal of Sport Management*, 1(1), 57-73.
- Mutari, E. (2000). Feminist political economy: A primer. In R. Baiman, H. Boushey, & D. Saunders (Eds.) *Political economy and contemporary capitalism: Radical perspectives on economic theory and policy* (pp.29-35). New York, NY: ME Sharpe.
- Nash, C. & Sproule, J. (2009). Career Development of Expert Coaches. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 4(1), 121-138.
- Nauright, J. & Schimmel, K. (2005). *The Political Economy of Sport*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Norman, L. et al. (2018). “It’s a Concrete Ceiling; It’s Not Even Glass”: Understanding tenets of Organizational Culture That Supports the Progression of Women and Coaches and Coach Developers. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 42(5), 393-416.
- Norman, L., & Rankin-Wright, A. (2018). Surviving rather than thriving: Understanding the experiences of women coaches using a theory of gendered social well-being. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 53(4), 424–450.
- Norman, M. (2011). Embodying the Double-Bind of Masculinity: Young Men and Discourses of Normalcy Health, Heterosexuality, and Individualism. *Men and Masculinities*, 14(4), 430-449.

- Norman, M. et al. (2020). Gender inequality in Canadian interuniversity sport: participation opportunities and leadership positions from 2010-11 to 2016-17. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 13(2), 207-223.
- Olesen, V. (2011). Feminist Qualitative Research in the Millennium's First Decade. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research 4<sup>th</sup> Ed.* (pp.129-146). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ontario Government. (2017). Public sector salary disclosure. Retrieved October 12, 2020 from: <https://www.ontario.ca/page/public-sector-salary-disclosure-2017-all-sectors-and-seconded-employees>.
- Oxford Dictionary. (2020). Definition of occupation. Retrieved Nov. 4, 2020 from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/thesaurus/occupation>
- Oxford Dictionary. (2020). Definition of profession. Retrieved Nov. 4, 2020 from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/profession>
- Oxford Dictionary. (2020). Definition of work. Retrieved Nov. 4, 2020, from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/work>
- Parsons, T. (1951). Illness and the Role of the Physician: A Sociological Perspective. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 21(3), 452-460.
- Perrucci, R. & Gerstl, J. (1969). *Profession without community: Engineers in American Society*. New York, NY: Random House
- Peterson, V. (2010). Informalization, Inequalities and Global Insecurities. *International Studies Review*, 12(2), 244-270.
- Piggott, D. (2015). The Open Society and coach education: a philosophical agenda for policy reform and future sociological research. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 20(3), 283-298.
- Piggott, D. (2012). Coaches' experience of formal coach education: a critical sociological investigation. *Sport, Education and Society*, 17(4), 535-554.
- Richards, E. (2019). Who Are the Working Women in Canada's Top 1%?. Retrieved March 15, 2021 from: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2019002-eng.htm>.
- Ritzer, G. & Stepinsky, J. (2018). *Classical Sociological Theory (7<sup>th</sup> Ed.)*. London, UK: Sage.
- Robertson, S. (2018). From Policy to Progress: Working to Develop and Retain Female Coaches. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 18(1), 1-5.

- Roberston, S. (2017). The CAC and Ontario Universities: Working together to create successful female coach mentorships. *The Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, 17(1), 1–6.
- Roderick, M. & Gibbons, B. (2015). ‘To thine own self be true’: Sports work, mental illness and the problem of authenticity. In J. Baker, P. Safai, & J. Fraser-Thomas (Eds.) *Health and elite sport: is high performance sport a healthy pursuit?* (pp. 149-162). London, UK: Routledge.
- Roderick, M. et al. (2017). The Sociology of Sports Work, Emotions and Mental Health: Scoping the Field and Future Directions. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 34, 99-107.
- Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing political thought*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Roth, J. (1974). Professionalism: The Sociologists Decoy. *Sociology of Work and Occupations*, 1(1), 6-23.
- Rowe, D. et al. (1997). Out of the Shadows: The critical sociology of sport in Australia, 1986 to 1996. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14(4), 340-361.
- Safai, P. (2016). Sociology of Sport: Canada. In K. Young (Ed) *Sociology of Sport: A Global Subdiscipline in Review* (pp. 321-342). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Safai, P. (2013). Women in sport policy. In L. Thibault & J. Harvery (Eds.), *Sport policy in Canada* (pp. 317–349). Ottawa, ON: The University of Ottawa Press.
- Safai, P. (2005). A critical Analysis of the Development of Sport Medicine in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 42(3), 321-341.
- Safai, P. et al. (2016). The Absence of Resistance Training? Exploring the Politics of Health in High Performance Youth Triathlon.” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 33(4), 269-281.
- Safai, P. et al. (2007). Sport Volunteerism in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 42(4), 425-439.
- Sage, G. (1975). An Occupational Analysis of the College Coach. In D. Ball & J. Loy (Eds.) *Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport* (pp. 391-455). Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Sappey, J. & Maconachie, G. (2012). Ocularcentric Labour: ‘you don’t do this for money’”. *Relations Industrielles*, 67(3), 505-524.
- Scruton, S. & Flintoff, A. (2002). *Gender and Sport: A Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Schinke, R. et al. (1995). The Career Stages of Elite Canadian Basketball Coaches. *Avante*, 1(1), 48-62.

- Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. *English Language Teaching*, 5(9), 9-16.
- Shudson, M. (1980). The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis by Magali Sarfatti Larson. *Theory and Society*, 9(1), 215-229.
- Simon, R.I. & Dippo, D. (1986). On Critical Ethnographic Work. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 17(4), 195-202.
- Smith, D. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Smith, D. (2005). *Institutional Ethnography: A sociology for people*. Lanham, MD: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Inc.
- Smith, D. E. (1990). *Texts, facts and femininity: Exploring the relations of ruling*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Smith, D. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith-Maguire, J. (2001). Fit and Flexible: The Fitness Industry, Personal Trainers and Emotional Service Labor. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 18, 379-402.
- Son Hing et al., (2011). The merit of meritocracy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(3), 433-450.
- Sport for Life, (2019). Long Term Development In Sport and Physical Activity 3.0. Retrieved March 5, 2019 from: <https://sportforlife.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Long-Term-Development-in-Sport-and-Physical-Activity-3.0.pdf>.
- Sport Information Research Center (SIRC). (2012). Canadian Sport Policy 2012. Retrieved October 10, 2018 from: [https://sirc.ca/sites/default/files/content/docs/pdf/csp2012\\_en.pdf](https://sirc.ca/sites/default/files/content/docs/pdf/csp2012_en.pdf).
- Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Standing, G. (1989). Global Feminization through Flexible Labor. *World Development*, 17(7), 1077-1095.
- Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1993). *Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Statistics Canada (2021). Job Vacancies, proportion of job vacancies and average offered hourly wage by selected characteristics, quarterly, unadjusted for seasonality. Retrieved March 11, 2020, from: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tb11/en/tv.action?pid=1410032801&pickMembers%5B0%5D=1.1&pickMembers%5B1%5D=2.461>

- Staurowsky, E. (1995). Examining the roots of a gendered division of labor in intercollegiate athletics: Insights into the gender equity debate. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 19(1), 28-44.
- Stebbins, R. (2014). *Careers in Serious Leisure: From Dabbler to Devotee in Search of Fulfilment*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stebbins, R. (1992). *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure*. Ottawa, ON: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Stebbins, R. (1982). Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 25(2), 251-272.
- Steci-Hildebrandt et al. (2018). Bad Jobs in a ‘Good’ Sector: Examining the Employment Outcomes of Temporary Work in the Canadian Public Sector. *Work, Employment, and Society*, 33(4), 560-579.
- Steil, J. (2000). Contemporary marriage: Still an unequal partnership. In C. Hendrick & S.S. Hendrick (Eds.), *Close relationships: A sourcebook* (pp. 125–152). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stemler, S. E., Bebell, D., & Sonnabend, L. A. (2011). Using School Mission Statements for Reflection and Research. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 47(2), 383-420.
- Strangleman, T. & Warren, T. (2008). *Work and Society: Sociological Approaches, Themes and Methods*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Strauss, K. & Fudge, J. (2014). *Temporary Work Agencies, and Unfree Labour: Insecurity in the New World of Work*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sullivan et al. (2012). The Relation of Coaching Context and Coach Education to Coaching Efficacy and Perceived Leadership Behaviors in Youth Sport. *The Sport Psychologist*, 26, 122-134.
- Taber, N. (2010). Institutional ethnography, autoethnography, and narrative: an argument for incorporating multiple methodologies. *Qualitative Research*, 10(1), 5-25.
- Taylor, S. (2018). Beyond Work? New expectations and aspirations. In S. Taylor and S. Luckman (Eds.) *The New Normal or Working Lives: Critical Studies in Contemporary work and Employment* (pp. 327-346). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Taylor, B. & Garrat, D. (2010a). The Professionlisation of Sports Coaching: definitions, challenges and critique. In J. Lyle & C. Cushion. (Eds.) *Sports Coaching: professionalization and practice* (pp.99-117). London, UK: Elsevier.

- Taylor, B. & Garrat D. (2010b). The professionalisation of sports coaching: relations of power, resistance, and compliance. *Sport, Education and Society*, 15(1), 121-139.
- Taylor, B. & Garrat D. (2013). Coaching and Professionalisation. In P. Potrac, W. Gilbert & J. Denison (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Sports Coaching* (pp. 27-39). London, UK: Routledge.
- Telles-Langdon, D. & Spooner, T (2006). The Professionalization of Coaching. *Coaches Plan*, 13(1), 1-16.
- Terry, P. (1984). The Coaching Preferences of Elite Athletes Competing at Universiade '83. *Canadian Journal of Applied Sport Sciences*, 202-208.
- Theberge, N. (1993). The Construction of Gender in Sport: Women, Coaching, and the Naturalization of Difference. *Social Problems*, 40(3), 301-313.
- Theberge, N. (1990). Gender, Work and Power: The Case of Women in Coaching. *The Canadian Journal of Sport Sociology*, 15(1), 59-75.
- Theberge, N. (1987). Sport and women's empowerment. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 10(4), 387-393.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing Critical Ethnography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Thompson, S. (1999). *Mother's Taxi: Sport and Women's Labor*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Travers, A. (2008). The Sport Nexus and Gender Injustice. *Studies in Social Justice*, 2(1), 79-101.
- Turner, B. (1993). Universalism and the Educational Revolution: Democracy versus Professionalism. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 1-24.
- Tyler, R. (1990). *Basic principles of curriculum and instruction*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- USports (2020a). Brand Resources. Retrieved May 9, 2020, from: <https://usports.ca/hq/brand-resources>
- USports (2020b). Policies and Procedures 90- Conduct and Enforcement. Retrieved August 1, 2021 from: [https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By\\_Laws-Policies\\_Procedures/2020/EN/Policy\\_90.60\\_to\\_90.70\\_Code\\_of\\_ethics\\_code\\_of\\_conduct\\_relief\\_of\\_policies\\_%282019-2020%29.pdf](https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By_Laws-Policies_Procedures/2020/EN/Policy_90.60_to_90.70_Code_of_ethics_code_of_conduct_relief_of_policies_%282019-2020%29.pdf)

- Usports (2019a). Policies and Procedures 40.10.7- Recruiting Regulations. Retrieved August 1, 2021 from: [https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By\\_Laws-Policies-Procedures/2019/EN/Policy\\_40.10.7\\_Recruiting\\_Regulations\\_%282019-2020%29.pdf](https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By_Laws-Policies-Procedures/2019/EN/Policy_40.10.7_Recruiting_Regulations_%282019-2020%29.pdf)
- Usports (2019b). Policies and Procedures 80. Retrieved October 10, 2021 from: [https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By\\_Laws-Policies-Procedures/2019/EN/Policy\\_80.50\\_to\\_80.100\\_Administration\\_%282019-2020%29.pdf](https://usports.ca/uploads/hq/By_Laws-Policies-Procedures/2019/EN/Policy_80.50_to_80.100_Administration_%282019-2020%29.pdf)
- USports. (2018). Member Universities. Retrieved Oct. 20, 2018, from: <https://usports.ca/hq/member-universities>
- Vertinsky, P. (1994). Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Enquiry, 1983-1993. *Journal of Sport History*, 21(1), 1-24.
- Vickers, J. & Gosling, B. (1984). *The changing participation of men and women in the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (1978-1982)*. Ottawa, ON: CIAU.
- Vosko, L. (2006). *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Vosko, L. (2000). *Temporary work: The gendered rise of a precarious employment relationship*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press Inc.
- Vosko, L. et al., (2009). *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Vosko, L. & Clark, L. (2009). Canada: Gendered Precariousness and social Reproduction. In L. Vosko, M. MacDonlad and I. Campbell (Eds.) *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment* (pp. 26-42). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Waugh et al. (2019). *Female Doctors in Canada: Experience and Culture*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- White, P. & Young, K. (1999). *Sport and Gender in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Whitson, D., & Macintosh, D. (1989). Gender and power: Explanations of gender inequalities in Canadian national sport organizations. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 24(2), 137-150.
- Wilensky, H. (1964). The Professionalization of Everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 137-158.

- Witz, A. (1992). *Professions and Patriarchy*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Woodward, D. et al. (1988). The Sheffield study of gender and leisure: its methodological approach. *Leisure Studies*, 7(1), 95-104.
- Young, C. (2005). Female Head Coaches of Men's Collegiate Teams: A Critical Feminist Analysis. *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*: [https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk\\_graddis/s/4352](https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddis/s/4352).
- Young, K. & White, P. (1995). Sport, Physical Danger, and Injury: The Experience of Elite Women Athletes. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 19(1), 45-61.
- Zoe, A. et al. (2017). Understanding Effective Coaching: A Foucauldian Reading of Current Coach Education Frameworks. *International Sport Coaching Journal*, 4(1), 101-109.

## Appendix A

### Sport Administrator and Coach Recruitment Letter

[ Date]

**Project Title:** Exploring the Work and Professionalization of Canadian University Sports Coaches

**Investigator:** Alix Krahn, PhD Candidate (York University)  
Parissa Safai, PhD (York University) (Supervisor)

Dear [name],

I am conducting research on the work and professionalization of USports head coaches. The objectives of this study include to critically examining whether and how USports coaching is considered work and whether and how university sport coaching is considered a profession. Additionally, this proposed project aims to examine the conditions (e.g., institutional, social, political and cultural) that frame the daily lived experiences of USports head coaches, including the impact and influence of such governing entities as USports and the Coaches Association of Canada (CAC). The final objective of this proposed project is to explore whether and how coaching within the university sport context is gendered and gendering.

In addition to the review of key documents, I will be conducting interviews with sport coaches and senior sport administrators within two university athletic programs one where the athletics program is affiliated/integrated with an academic program/Faculty and the other where the athletics program is not affiliated /integrated with an academic program/Faculty), as well sport administrators working for USports and the CAC. Finally, I seek to observe coaches in specific coaching environments.

I feel that your athletic department would provide valuable insights for consideration to this research topic and would greatly appreciate your consideration of participation in this project. Specifically, your participation would consist of an interview as well as granting me permission to distribute a recruitment letter to the coaches associated with your athletic department. Finally, I will also ask you to grant me permission to attend (for observational purposes) a random selection of coaches meetings over the course of the data collection period.

With regards to the interview, it will be audiotaped and transcribed. You can stop the interview at any point in time or decline to answer any specific questions. All interview materials (e.g., notes, tapes and transcriptions) will be kept in a secure, locked cabinet. All information collected will kept strictly confidential, and will be kept on a secure password-protected computer accessible only to me and my supervisor, Dr. Parissa Safai. You can review your transcript at any point in time during the study and you may request a copy of the summary report upon completion of the project. Any material used in publications resulting from this study will **not** have identifying characteristics for this institution. Furthermore, statements made with reference

to the [institution] will be omitted or paraphrased to hide both your own and the [institutions] identity.

The study has minimal risks and the decision to participate or not is completely voluntary. The work of sport coaches particularly within the Canadian university sport context is under researched, and your involvement with this project will contribute to filling the gap in the literature. This study offers you the opportunity to share your insights on university sport coaching as work and as a profession, which may in turn assist with the future development of sport coaching in Canadian university sport

If you would like more information or are interested in participation, please feel free to contact Alix Krahn by email at [akrahn@yorku.ca](mailto:akrahn@yorku.ca) or by phone at (647) 713-2389. Thank you in advance for considering my request.

Sincerely,

Alix Krahn, PhD Candidate  
Parissa Safai, PhD (Supervisor)

## Appendix B

### Recruitment letter for USports, Divisional Reps., and CAC

[Date]

**Project Title:** Exploring the Work and Professionalization of Canadian University Sports Coaches

**Investigator:** Alix Krahn, PhD Candidate (York University)  
Parissa Safai, PhD (York University) (Supervisor)

Dear [name],

I am conducting research on the work and professionalization of USports head coaches. The objectives of this study include to critically examining whether and how USports coaching is considered work and whether and how university sport coaching is considered a profession. Additionally, this proposed project aims to examine the conditions (e.g., institutional, social, political and cultural) that frame the daily lived experiences of USports head coaches, including the impact and influence of such governing entities as USports and the Coaches Association of Canada (CAC). The final objective of this proposed project is to explore whether and how coaching within the university sport context is gendered and gendering.

In addition to the review of key documents, I am hoping to conduct interviews with sport coaches and senior sport administrators within two university athletic programs one where the athletics program is affiliated/integrated with an academic program/Faculty and the other where the athletics program is not affiliated /integrated with an academic program/Faculty), as well sport administrators working for USports and the CAC. Finally, I seek to observe coaches in specific coaching environments.

I feel that the CAC would provide valuable insights for consideration to this research topic and would greatly appreciate your consideration of participation in this project. Specifically, your participation would consist of an interview as well as granting me permission to distribute a recruitment letter to other staff members at the CAC.

With regards to the interview, it will be audiotaped and transcribed. You can stop the interview at any point in time or decline to answer any specific questions. All interview materials (e.g., notes, tapes and transcriptions) will be kept in a secure, locked cabinet. All information collected will kept strictly confidential, and will be kept on a secure password-protected computer accessible only to me and my supervisor, Dr. Parissa Safai. You can review your transcript at any point in time during the study and you may request a copy of the summary report upon completion of the project. Any material used in publications resulting from this study will **not** have identifying characteristics for this institution. Furthermore, statements made with reference to yourself or people within [organizations] will omitted or paraphrased to hide both your own and other coaches/administrators' identity.

The study has minimal risks and the decision to participate or not is completely voluntary. The work of sport coaches particularly within the Canadian university sport context is under researched, and your involvement with this project will contribute to filling the gap in the literature. This study offers you the opportunity to share your insights, as a key stakeholder, on university sport coaching as work and as a profession, which may in turn assist with the future development of sport coaching in Canadian university sport

If you would like more information or are interested in participation, please feel free to contact Alix Krahn by email at [akrahn@yorku.ca](mailto:akrahn@yorku.ca) or by phone at (647) 713-2389. Thank you in advance for considering my request.

Sincerely,

Alix Krahn, PhD Candidate  
Parissa Safai, PhD (Supervisor)

## Appendix C

### University Coach Interview Guide

#### Background

1. Can you describe for me your background in sport? (Prompt: How did you get involved in High Performance sport?)
2. What is the role of a university sport coach? (Prompts: What experiences/knowledge that have helped you most in your role? How long have you been working in your current position? Have you worked in any other university ADs?)

#### Work and Professionalization

1. Do you consider USports coaching to be work/labour? Why or why not? (Prompt: What kinds of language do you use to describe the work of a coach (e.g., is it a job/a career/ a profession?)?)
2. What do you believe the defining features of your work as a USports coach are? (Prompts: Use examples given to ask...is [task described] considered work? Why or why not? or how is it considered work?)
3. Tell me about your understanding of what it means to be a professional. Do you consider coaches professionals? Why or why not?
4. Are you aware of the ChPC Designation? Do you have a ChPC Designation? Why or why not? (Prompts: Why might a coach want a ChPC? Are there any reasons for why a coach might not want a ChPC?)

#### Structural/Cultural/ Political Conditions

##### Athletic Department

1. Tell me about the athletics department, what is it like to work at [IAD/NIAD]?(Prompts: What do depend on your athletic department for? What are your day to day interactions with university administrators and/or other coaches like?)
2. What kinds of employment designations appear on your coaching contract? (Prompts: What kind of benefits does this afford you as a [contract designation]? What kind of rights do you have as a [contract designation]?)
3. What is the structure of governance like within the athletics department? (Prompt: How does this structure of governance act to support you as a coach?)
4. Are you required to do any professional development? (Prompt: Why or why not?)

##### Division/USports/CAC

1. Please describe the role that the [division], as a USports divisional governing body, plays in your world as a coach. (Prompts: Does the [division] supply adequate information to you as a coach? How or how not?)
2. Please describe the role that USports, as the national governing body of university sport in Canada, plays in your world as a coach. (Prompts: How does USports supply information/resources to you as a coach? Is this information adequate? How or how not?)
3. Can you describe for me what impact the Coaching Association of Canada has on you as a coach? (Prompt: How does the CAC impact Canadian Coaches? Do they provide coaches with support? Why or why not?)

##### Gender and USports Coaching

1. Can you think of a time(s) when your gender was commented on in relation to your coaching? What was said? (Prompt: What were some of the comments made? Does gender come up in conversation? If so, when does gender come up?)

2. Based on your earlier description of coaching as work, what forms of coach work do you believe are gendered if any? (Prompt: Why do you think that is the case?)
3. Are you aware of the current statistics on the number of USports coaches who are male and female? What meaning do you make of the data that shows only 16% of women occupy the status of USports head coach? (Prompts: Why do you think this number is so low? Can you think of coaching duties/roles/challenges that might be causing this?)
4. Does the [IAD/NIAD] endorse any equity and/or access policies or practices? (Prompts: How do these policies/practices impact coaches within the athletics department? Does [the IAD/NIAD] measure the effectiveness of these practices and policies in addressing gender equity?)

## Appendix D

### University Sport/Senior Administrator Interview Guide

#### Background

1. Can you describe for me your background in sport? (Prompt: How did you get involved in High Performance sport?)
2. What is the role of a [their title]? (Prompts: What experiences/knowledge that have helped you most in your role? How long have you been working in the university [AD or Administration]? Have you held any other positions in sport?)

#### Work and Professionalization

1. Do you consider USports coaching to be work/labour? Why or why not? (Prompt: What kinds of language do you use to describe the work of a coach (e.g., is it a job/a career/ a profession?)
2. What is the role of a university coach? (Prompts: What do you believe the defining features of a USports coach's work include? Use examples given to ask...is [task described] considered work? Why or why not? or how is Usports coaching considered work?)
3. Tell me about your understanding of what it means to be a professional. Do you consider coaches professionals? Why or why not?
4. Are you aware of the ChPC Designation? Do you know how many coaches in the [NIAD/AD] have a ChPC designation? (Prompts: Why might a coach want a ChPC? Are there any reasons for why a coach might not want a ChPC?)

#### Structural/Cultural/ Political Conditions-Division/USports/CAC

1. Please describe the role that the [division], as a USports divisional governing body, plays in your world as a university sport administrator. (Prompts: Does the [division] supply adequate information to you as an administrator? How or how not?)
2. Please describe the role that USports, as the national governing body of university sport in Canada, plays in your world as a university sport administrator. (Prompts: How does USports supply information/resources to you as an administrator? Is this information adequate? How or how not?)
3. Can you describe for me what impact the Coaching Association of Canada has on sport coaches? How about on you as a university sport administrator? (Prompt: How does the CAC impact Canadian Coaches? Do they provide coaches with support? Why or why not?)

#### Gender and USports Coaching

1. Can you think of a time(s) when the gender of any coach in the [IAD/NIAD] was commented on in relation to their coaching? What was said? (Prompt: Does gender come up in conversation? If so, when does gender come up?)
2. Based on your earlier description of coaching as work, what forms of coach work do you believe are gendered if any? (Prompt: Why do you think that is the case?)
3. Are you aware of the current statistics on the number of USports coaches who are male and female? What meaning do you make of the data that shows only 16% of women occupy the status of USports head coach? (Prompts: Why do you think this number is so low? Can you think of coaching duties/roles/challenges that might be causing this?)
4. Does the [IAD/NIAD] endorse any equity and/or access policies or practices? (Prompts: How do these policies/practices impact coaches within the athletics department? Does

[the IAD/NIAD] measure the effectiveness of these practices and policies in addressing gender equity?)

## Appendix E

### USports Administrator/Division Head Interview Guide

#### Background

1. Can you describe for me your background in sport? (Prompt: How did you get involved in High Performance sport?)
2. What is the role of a [their title]? (Prompts: What experiences/knowledge that have helped you most in your role? How long have you been working in your current role? Have you held any other positions in sport?)

#### Work and Professionalization

1. Do you consider USports coaching to be work/labour? Why or why not? (Prompt: What kinds of language do you use to describe the work of a coach (e.g., is it a job/a career/ a profession?)?)
2. What is the role of a university coach? (Prompts: What do you believe the defining features of a USports coach's work include? Use examples given to ask...is [task described] considered work? Why or why not? Or how is Usports coaching considered work?)
3. Tell me about your understanding of what it means to be a professional. Do you consider coaches professionals? Why or why not?
4. Are you aware of the ChPC Designation? Do you know how many coaches in [USports] or [your division] have a ChPC designation? (Prompts: Why might a coach want a ChPC? Are there any reasons for why a coach might not want a ChPC?)

#### Structural/Cultural/ Political Conditions – USports/Divisions/CAC

1. Please describe the role that the [division], as a USports divisional governing body, plays in your world as a university sport administrator. (Prompts: Does the [division] supply adequate information to you as an administrator? How or how not?)
2. Please describe the role that USports, as the national governing body of university sport in Canada, plays in your world as a university sport administrator. (Prompts: How does USports supply information/resources to you as an administrator? Is this information adequate? How or how not?)
3. Can you describe for me what impact the Coaching Association of Canada has on sport coaches? (Prompt: How does the CAC impact Canadian Coaches? Do they provide coaches with support? Why or why not?)

#### Gender and USports Coaching

1. Based on your earlier description of coaching as work, what forms of coach work do you believe are gendered if any? (Prompt: Why do you think that is the case?)
2. Are you aware of the current statistics on the number of USports coaches who are male and female? What meaning do you make of the data that shows only 16% of women occupy the status of USports head coach? (Prompts: Why do you think this number is so low? Can you think of coaching duties/roles/challenges that might be causing this?)
3. Does [USports] or [Division] endorse any equity and/or access policies or practices? (Prompts: How do these policies/practices impact coaches within the athletics department? Does [USports] or [Division] measure the effectiveness of these practices and policies in addressing gender equity?)

## Appendix F

### CAC Administrator Interview Guide

#### Background

3. Can you describe for me your background in sport? (Prompt: How did you get involved in High Performance sport?)
4. What is the role of a [their title]? (Prompts: What experiences/knowledge that have helped you most in your role? How long have you been working in your current role? Have you held any other positions in sport?)

#### Work and Professionalization

5. Do you consider USports coaching to be work/labour? Why or why not? (Prompt: What kinds of language do you use to describe the work of a coach (e.g., is it a job/a career/ a profession)?)
6. What is the role of a university coach? (Prompts: What do you believe the defining features of a USports coach's work include? Use examples given to ask...is [task described] considered work? Why or why not? Or how is Usports coaching considered work?)
7. Tell me about your understanding of what it means to be a professional. Do you consider coaches professionals? Why or why not?
8. How many coaches in coaching in university sport have a ChPC designation? (Prompts: Why might a coach want a ChPC? Are there any reasons for why a coach might not want a ChPC?)

#### Structural/Cultural/ Political Conditions – USports/Divisions/CAC

1. Can you describe for me what impact the Coaching Association of Canada has on sport coaches? (Prompt: How does the CAC impact Canadian Coaches? How do you provide support to sport coaches?)
2. Does the CAC have any dealing with USports? Why or why not?
3. Does the CAC work with any of the division in USports? Why or why not?

#### Gender and USports Coaching

4. Based on your earlier description of coaching as work, what forms of coach work do you believe are gendered if any? (Prompt: Why do you think that is the case?)
5. Are you aware of the current statistics on the number of USports coaches who are male and female? What meaning do you make of the data that shows only 16% of women occupy the status of USports head coach? (Prompts: Why do you think this number is so low? Can you think of coaching duties/roles/challenges that might be causing this?)
6. Does the CAC endorse any equity and/or access policies or practices? (Prompts: How do these policies/practices impact coaches within the athletics department?)

## Appendix G

### AUS Scheduling Policy

#### 6. SCHEDULING

##### A. Regular Season / League Play

1. (i) **Fall sports:** With the exception of football, no regular season / league competition will be scheduled until the weekend following Labour Day.  
Note: “Fall sports” include Soccer, Women’s Rugby and Cross Country.
2. (ii) **Winter sports:** The first day of regular season / league competition for winter sports is October 1<sup>st</sup>.

Note: “Winter sports” include Hockey, Basketball, Volleyball, Swimming, Track & Field and Curling.

3. (iii) Each year at the Fall meeting of the AUS Management Council, the AUS scheduling committee will bring forward the proposed regular season competition windows for all winter sports applicable to the following season. *(Amended May 2015)*
4. (iv) Each year at the Fall meeting of the AUS Management Council, the AUS scheduling committee will bring forward the proposed playoff windows for that season in women's and men’s hockey.

*(Amended May 2015)*

5. (v) The AUS executive committee is empowered to amend (and to extend in terms of league play) league and championship schedules and/or formats as may be required in extenuating circumstances.

OM Section 1 - Page 10

Atlantic University Sport Association / Association sportive universitaire de l’Atlantique Operations Manual – Amended June 2020

##### B. Pre-Season, Non-Conference and Exhibition

1. (i) All exhibition / non-conference games must be recorded with the AUS office and the sport chair at least fourteen (14) days prior to the scheduled date of the competition.
2. (ii) The first day of **exhibition** competition for football shall be a minimum of seven (7) days after the approved start date.
3. (iii) The first day of **exhibition** competition for winter sports is 14 days following the start date. (For 2020-2021: Friday, September 18, 2020.)
4. (iv) For all exhibition / non-conference play, the host team is responsible to notify and make arrangements with the appropriate officiating bodies.
5. (v) All exhibition / non-conference competition shall be scheduled so as not to interfere with AUS or U SPORTS scheduling commitments. Sanctions will be applied for violations. The

President of the University concerned with the violations shall be advised of all sanctions imposed.

6. (vi) AUS roster forms are to be forwarded to the AUS office no later than twenty- four (24) hours prior to an institution participating in any competition. These rosters must list all student-athletes eligible to participate in any subsequent competition.
7. (vii) Post-game reports and statistics are to be forwarded to the AUS office and the sport chair following all pre-season, non-conference and exhibition events as per the guidelines listed in the playing regulations of that sport.

OM Section 1 - Page 11

Atlantic University Sport Association / Association sportive universitaire de l'Atlantique Operations Manual – Amended June 2020

### C. ScheduleDevelopment

1. (i) The AUS scheduling committee shall oversee the development of all schedules.
2. (ii) Each member is to identify a scheduling representative who will participate in conference calls and attend meetings as required in the development process.
3. (iii) Members are to provide the AUS scheduling committee with preferred protected dates as well as any other requested information needed for scheduling purposes no later than one (1) year in advance at the fall meeting of Management Council.

### D. SchedulingParameters/Considerations

1. (i) Deadline for declaring regional champions for U SPORTS championships.
2. (ii) League dates take priority over exhibition play:

- Winter sport teams cannot ask for any relief (dates off) within the regular season competition windows.

3. (iii) Exam periods, homecoming and convocations.
4. (iv) Facility availability:

- Schools can only request one date that falls within the competition window per term per facility. Specific to this rule, that date can cover anything from 1-7 days provided they are consecutive.

5. (v) Homecoming: (“school” followed by “sport specific”)
6. (vi) Avoid same city head-to-head within the same sport, where possible. (Halifax and Fredericton)
7. (vii) No more than two (2) weeks of play in a row on the road, where possible.

The following principles / guidelines are to be applied to assist the scheduling committee in developing schedules:

1. (i) Basketball and men’s hockey schools agree that a maximum of two head-to- head regular season home games per season is acceptable.
2. (ii) The “Fresh Team” concept will be a factor taken into consideration by the scheduling committee in the drafting of schedules, however member schools

agree and understand that in some instances it is unavoidable. The scheduling committee, where possible, attempts to spread these instances equally among members in a given season, but not necessarily across individual sports.

(iii) All member schools agree that teams playing a home game and an away game on the same weekend (Friday-Sunday) is acceptable.

#### E. Ratification of Schedules

1. (i) For all league and playoff schedules, the sites and dates of meets or tournaments, and the rules to be followed in competition in the ensuing academic year shall be ratified annually at the AUS AGM or at a meeting of Management Council in advance of the AGM.
2. (ii) The chair of the scheduling committee shall recommend ratification of all schedules and championship dates annually at the AUS AGM or at a meeting of Management Council in advance of the AGM.
3. (iii) League and playoff schedules, or dates of meets or tournaments, not ratified at the AGM, may be approved or fixed as required by the AUS Executive Committee.
4. (iv) A list of the rules and playing regulations applicable to AUS competition shall normally be updated and made available by the AUS office to all members by July 1st.
5. (v) In the event of two championships at the same time at the same site, the matter of scheduling is forwarded to the AUS Executive Committee for decision. AUS championship schedule / games take precedence over league games.

#### F. Changing a Ratified Schedule

1. (i) No date, time or locale of a meet, game, tournament or contest may be changed without the consent of the athletic directors of the institutions involved.
2. (ii) Following the ratification of the AUS schedules, any school requesting a schedule date change will be subject to a \$500.00 fee, provided the change request is approved by the AUS scheduling committee.  
(Amended May 2012)
3. (iii) The procedure for changing a schedule is as follows:
  1. The director of athletics or designate of the member requesting a change contacts their counterpart at scheduled institution regarding any potential change.
  2. If both parties agree to a change, the party initiating the change forwards the “AUS Schedule Change Request Form”, complete with rationale for change, to counterpart at scheduled institution for signature.
  3. The “AUS Schedule Change Request Form” signed by both parties is then forwarded to the AUS office.

4. The AUS office and the chair of the AUS scheduling committee must approve all requests in order for change to occur. If a request for change is not approved, it is returned to both parties with rationale as to why it is being denied.
5. The AUS office will change the schedules accordingly and notify the members in the affected sport, as well as the sport chair if appropriate.
6. The AUS office shall ensure the appropriate officiating bodies are notified of any approved changes to schedules.

OM Section 1 - Page 14

Atlantic University Sport Association / Association sportive universitaire de l'Atlantique Operations Manual – Amended June 2020

### G. Postponed Games

1. (i) In the event of a game or game(s) being postponed, it must be rescheduled at the first available opportunity prior to the last week of the schedule and no later than the Sunday prior to the AUS championship.
2. (ii) Should a postponement occur in the last weekend of the regular season schedule and the game has a bearing on playoff standings, the game must be played prior to the AUS championship.
3. (iii) In the event that the two institutions are unable to decide on a mutually agreeable date, the request for decision is to be forwarded to the Executive Committee for final disposition.

## Appendix H

### OUA playoff and championships framework

# PROCEDURES



ONTARIO UNIVERSITY ATHLETICS

## Playoffs and Championships Framework

### Board of Directors

#### Financing of Playoffs (including OUA Guarantee Model)

11. Financing described in this Procedure reflects the OUA Guarantee Model, passed in June 2017. The OUA Guarantee Model relates to the hosting of the OUA Championships for Football, Basketball, Hockey, Volleyball, Soccer, and Rugby. In these championships, the host is responsible for all expenses associated with the hosting of the championship.

#### Non-Revenue Producing Sports

11. Visiting institutions will pay their own travel and accommodation costs. Only those cost shared items identified in the OUA Playoff Cost Sharing for Non-Revenue Producing Sports, can be applied to the sports listed for playoff events (this will not apply to invitational's). All other expenses associated with running either an OUA league event or championship will be the responsibility of the host.

#### Non-Revenue Producing Sports

11. When an OUA Final 4 Championship of one or more years is bid on by a host member institution and/or external host committee, the bid selection and financial arrangements are to be part of the bidding process and approved by the OUA Board of Directors. The bid must meet the guidelines outlined in the Bid Book and shall include a budget for the event, showing all expected revenues and proposed expenditures. The bid must also indicate a revenue sharing formula outlining net revenue, host percentage, participating university percentage, as well as an OUA percentage.

#### Other OUA Sport Final Fours or Tournaments (Baseball)

11. In the sport of baseball, where a Final 4 or tournament format is used, all revenues generated and host expenses remain the responsibility of the host.

#### Single Game Playoff

5. For revenue producing single event playoff games, the host institution will assume all hosting expenses and retain all revenues.
6. The following exceptions apply (as per the Guarantee Model):
  1. Wilson Cup
  2. Critelli Cup
  3. Queen's Cup

# PROCEDURES



ONTARIO UNIVERSITY ATHLETICS

4. McCaw Cup
5. Football – all Playoff games including the Yates Cup
6. Men's Rugby Championship
7. Women's Rugby Championship

## Off-Campus Facilities

11. Cost of off-campus facilities for revenue producing sports will be the responsibility of the host.

## Financial Report

11. All hosts of OUA championships and head to head playoffs (not associated with the guarantee model) will be responsible for circulating to the OUA office a detailed accounting of all revenues and expenses for the championship event. The host must circulate a complete playoff financial statement within 30 days of the event.

## Expense in Hosting OUA Meets and Tournaments

11. Costs are to be shared by competing members in the playoffs of certain sports. All allowable costs are to be presented in a chart within the sport specific rules section of the OUA standing rules.

## Unusual Expenses

10. Costs of an unusual or unpredicted nature may be shared by a specific ruling of the Board of Directors.

## Out of Province Championships

11. All OUA Championships should be hosted within the boundaries of the province of Ontario.