AN ABSTRACT OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS OF

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Abstract approved: _____

Lizbeth A. Gray

The *testimonios* of three Canadian women athletes and the 1980 Olympic boycott are presented. The Latin American method of *testimonio* is adapted as a framework for understanding personal stories. *Testimonios* written in a series of interpretive narratives and poems--poetic *testimonios*--represent three women's voices.

This study includes three journeys: the research journey, a journey of self-discovery, and the journeys of three women athletes. Distinct and collective voices are highlighted. An analysis of writing forms used is offered. A traditional literature review and a section linking the study's findings to the literature are available in the appendices.

Testimonios are methods of resistance, and, thus, imply an appeal to matters of social justice. Therefore, "a call to action" invites researchers, counselors, and sport professionals to take a closer look at the oppressive system of high-performance sport and contemplate structural change. Beyond this, the ultimate worth of the project is for readers to decide.

Testimonios of Shared Experience: Canadian Women Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

by
S. Jill Black

A DISSERTATION

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Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my doctoral thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my doctoral thesis to any reader upon request.

_____

S. Jill Black, Author

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to

Shirley Ann Black,

my mom,

the first athlete I knew,

an athlete who was also denied opportunity--

not because of an Olympic boycott,

but due to the era in which she competed.

My mom was a "pre-Title IX" athlete.

Testimonios of Shared Experience: Canadian Women Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Framing the Study

For those of us directly touched by the boycott, it will not be forgotten . . . or forgiven.

DeFrantz (Greenleese, 2000)

In 1896, the first "modern" Olympic Games took place in Athens, Greece. Among the many ideals attributed to the "father" of the modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin, one specifically relates to the topic of interest: "In these Olympiads, the important thing is not winning, but taking part" (1908, p. 108). Unfortunately, Coubertin's vision has not always been realized. Athletes from a multitude of countries have been denied opportunities to participate in international competitions since as early as 420 BC (Hoberman, 1986).

Between 1908 and 1980, 2 of 18 threatened boycotts have been carried out during Olympic competitions (Kereliuk, 1986). The current study concerns the Canadian boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics. On January 20, 1980, United States (US) President Carter issued an ultimatum to the Soviet Union: "Neither he, the Congress, nor the American people would tolerate a US Olympic presence in Moscow unless Soviet troops left Afghanistan within a month of his warning" (Kanin, 1981, p. 120). The leaders of the

Soviet Union refused, and the US led a multi-nation boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games. In all, 62 countries elected not to send athletes to the Moscow Olympics (Hulme, 1990).

Much has been written about the political, economic, and social factors surrounding the Moscow Games (Guttman, 1992, 1994; Hulme, 1990; Kanin, 1981). Yet, little attention has been afforded those most affected, the athletes (Crossman & Lappage, 1992). Moreover, "The aspirations of an entire generation of Canadian athletes and thousands of athletes from around the world were dashed--many forever" (Corbella, 2000, p. 26).

Despite the passing of 20 years, athletes continue to be affected by the 1980 Olympic boycott. Frank van Doorn, "A casualty of Canada's boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Games" (Konotopetz, 1994, p. F4), and former track star, remains haunted by "the memory of being an Olympian without an Olympics, an actor without a stage" (p. F4). Furthermore, Olympians interviewed for a recent radio story were "surprised by the rawness of the anger they still felt about the boycott. Many say years passed before they were able to watch the Olympic Games" (Greenleese, 2000, p. 5). The late Bill McChesney, former US 5000 meter runner, spoke to reporters shortly before his death in 1992: "To tell the truth . . . I think the loss becomes greater for those of us who never made another team, the more time goes by" (Bellamy, 2000, p. 1). Brian Roney expresses similar sentiments: "There was kind of bitterness in '80 and then there was bitterness again in '84 . . . I don't know that that's a bitterness that I'll ever get rid of" (Greenleese, p. 4).

A number of factors created a unique situation for Canadian athletes (Kereliuk, 1986). For instance, the decision to send a team to Moscow flipped back and forth between January 4 and April 26, 1980. A federal election in February returned Pierre

Trudeau and the *Liberals* to power. Trudeau had a history of defying the US on important issues, and this created optimism that Canada would compete in Moscow. Ultimately, however, the Canadian government and the Canadian Olympic Association (COA) voted to support the US-led boycott.

Not only did the boycott decision affect the athletes named to Canada's Olympic team, it impacted the selection process itself. In fact, the "bogus Olympic trials" (Corbella, 2000, p. 27) were held *after* the Canadian government's boycott decision. The present study seeks the voices of Canadian women athletes, those affected by the boycott in terms of choosing not to participate in the trials, competing in the trials with a sense of disillusionment, or competing in the trials and qualifying for an Olympic team bound nowhere.

Taking Sport Seriously

Beyond a Boundary (James, 1963) is considered by many scholars to be the most profound book ever written about sport (Donnelly, 1997). In fact, James was so convinced of the importance of sport that he declared cricket and soccer "the greatest cultural influences in 19th-century Britain" (p. 70). Yet, the study of sport remains far beyond the boundaries of most intellectual discourse.

"Few can deny the significance of sport in terms of participation, volunteer activity, entertainment and leisure, pride, health, community well-being and youth development" (Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada, 1998, p. 1). Impassioned media coverage encourages people to identify with their team and their community, affecting how

people think of themselves as individuals and as community members. The "degree to which our culture is steeped in sport and its symbolism is . . . evident in the multitude of sweatshirts, backpacks, and caps bearing the logos of professional sport franchises" (White, 1997, p. 19).

At a national level, sport enables Canadians to feel "a collective pride," at a community level, sport provides a hub for social interaction, and at an individual level, sport allows personal expression. The study of Canadian athletes and the 1980 Olympic boycott may contribute knowledge to these levels and more: the general population, international political systems, the organizational structure of sport, various academic fields, and professionals working directly with athletes.

The quadrennial Games represent the far-reaching significance of sport. "The Olympic Games are now the largest, regularly scheduled international gathering in the world, and as such they constitute a major political showplace" (Senn, 1999, p. x). Moreover, the Olympics:

> Command the world's attention like no other event. At this competition, appearing before a worldwide audience, large states have the opportunity to demonstrate their power, small states can win recognition for special achievements, and new states, participating in the introductory Parade of Nations, receive worldwide validation as members of the international community. (Senn, p. x)

Situating the Project in Counselor Education

Historically, the counseling profession has responded to athletes as "privileged" (Lanning, 1982, p. 20). Moreover, privileged groups have seldom been the focus of counselor education. The lack of attention directed at athletes by the counseling profession, however, does not mean that athletes have less need for counseling services. In fact, some scholars have referred to athletes as "at risk" (Pearson & Petitpas, 1990, p. 7).

Several researchers within counselor education and counseling psychology call for inquiries that investigate the experiences of athletes (Chartrand & Lent, 1987; Hinkle, 1994, 1999; Sparkes, 1997, 1998, 2000). The present study attempts to answer their call. Furthermore, the study of Canadian women athletes and the 1980 Olympic boycott relates to nine of twelve areas identified by researchers as worthwhile topics of investigation within sport: prevention programs, athletic self-concept, adjustment difficulties, athletic retirement, coping skills for stress, identification of athletes who cope well, drug and alcohol abuse, interpersonal relationships, and provision of services to special populations (Chartrand & Lent, 1987; Hinkle, 1994).

This study may also contribute knowledge toward two of three competency areas proposed in the development of a new counseling specialty--sport counseling: (a) foundations of sport counseling, which includes the implications of sociocultural, demographic, and lifestyle diversity among athletes; and (b) knowledge and skills for the practice of sport counseling, which involves understanding the social influences and their impact on the development of athletes, as well as the historical events, situations, and influences that have affected the development of athletes (Miller & Wooten, 1995).

In addition, a study of this nature may contribute to general topics within counseling, such as loss, exploitation, and identity development. A study that investigates Canadian women athletes broadens the scope and invites issues specific to females into the mix. It also addresses issues unique to women in the athletic environment. Findings could assist school and college counselors to better understand and guide student-athletes. Finally, this study may motivate other athletes to share their stories.

A Preview

Traditionally, chapter two represents a review of the literature germane to the topic of interest. However, the studies I gathered a priori, during, and after data collection potentially distract readers. That is, keeping the literature review in its widely accepted place may prove more a barrier to readers' understanding than a help. One of my project goals is to engage and inform readers, not simply appease tradition. Therefore, interested readers can find a complete literature review in Appendix A. Similarly, traditional studies link findings to the a priori literature review. I include a section linking results of the current study to related literature in Appendix C.

In the following chapter (chapter two), I share my worldview, methodological dilemmas, and decisions using a first-person narrative. Chapter three includes three *testimonios*, represented by poetic and interpretive narratives. Chapter four contains analyses of the *testimonios*. In chapter five, I personally reflect on the research process. Lastly, in chapter six, I challenge counseling professionals and others involved with athletes to look more closely at the athletic environment and its consequences.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESEARCH STORY

In this chapter, I convey the methodological dimensions of my study using a first-person narrative. I offer a research story, my story, as an alternative structure to more traditional forms, one that better represents my journey as a researcher, how my research story unfolded, and the decisions made along the way. What follows then, are nine "mini" narratives which delineate my role as researcher and address the following topics: choosing a paradigm--or several, choosing a topic, the *testimonio*, choosing participants, "data" collection, "writing it up," a personal reflection, credibility, and ethical considerations.

Choosing a Paradigm--or Several: Part One

The sport milieu might be favored by researchers from a positivist position, those who align themselves with the "dominant" discourse. The "positivists" argue that reality is definable and therefore, predictable. Plans are drawn and executed with expectations of results set a priori.

I am the product of two positivists. I am also the oldest child, born of two oldests, each chemists, each with master's degrees. I am the last person in my family to earn a postgraduate degree. My younger sister completed her special education degree two years before I earned the first of two master's degrees, one in sport psychology and another in counseling education.

The house I grew-up in remains eccentrically organized, and I am sure this structure is due to my father's British background and my mother's Scottish/Canadian

roots. My parents created and posted schedules, and we, in turn, adhered. I learned early on that if I do *a*, *b* follows.

As a child, I participated in a variety of sports, and at age 11, I focused efforts on swimming. Although I started competing relatively late, I quickly worked my way up to the local swim club's elite team, and it was here that I began practicing twice a day, up to four hours at a time. The following entry could have been a journal piece written when I was 11, but I write it now:

> *It is dark and cold in my basement bedroom when the alarm startles me at five each morning. Sometimes I am already awake, anxiety taking the clock radio's role. I think about the coming workout and feel scared. I'm not sure I want to keep doing this but quitting is not an option, not in this family, not with this coach. I keep my fears to myself.*
>
> *I treasure the nights, after dinner, after I've survived six hours of practice, when I retire to the calm of my room. Often I stretch and perform sit-ups and push-ups, anything to ensure the goal, the reason I rise each morning before dawn, the reason I live.*
>
> *When I earned a spot in our swim club's national team practices, I swam three lanes over from Shannon Smith. Shannon was just one year older than me but she had already earned a bronze medal in the 800 meter freestyle at the 1976 Montreal Olympics. She was 14 at the time. In fact, it was not unusual for my coach to announce that Shannon had broken a Canadian distance freestyle record during workout. Thus when I made national cuts in two events at age 15, it was not considered a major accomplishment; it was just something I did, a byproduct of swimming on this team.*

High-level sport demands narrow focus, strict adherence to rules, repetition, and attention to small details. Elite-level coaches insist on commitment to excellence in sport, often to the exclusion of other activities (Coakley, 1992). Sebastian Coe (1990), runner and former world record holder for Great Britain at 1500 meters, describes the athletic culture as a life wherein "nothing matters but the event, the competitions: we look, watch, dream, worry, laugh, eat and sleep the sport and the day" (p. 155).

The competitive swimming environment reinforced the importance I placed on structure and my ensuing expectations. The 1980 Canadian Olympic Swimming Trials, scheduled for Montreal, Quebec, and the subsequent Olympic Games set for Moscow, were "realities" I counted on. That is, until the spring of 1980. On April 22, the Canadian government elected to follow US President Jimmy Carter's lead, and Canada joined the list of nations boycotting the Olympic Games (Kereliuk, 1986). As a consequence, the opportunity to swim my best event, the 100 meter backstroke, was denied.

I am intimately familiar with the research topic that I explore. Moreover, I consider myself a "native" of the elite athletic community and a member of a subculture of athletes affected by the 1980 Olympic boycott. I am Canadian, and I am a woman. My "status" brings with it advantages and disadvantages.

Choosing a Topic

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.
Through the unknown, remembered gate
When the last of earth left to discover
Is that which was the beginning;
At the source of the longest river
The voice of the hidden waterfall
And the children in the apple-tree
Not known, because not looked for
But heard, half-heard, in the stillness
Between two waves of the sea.

"Little Gidding," T. S. Eliot

I've thought about sport since I could think. Moreover, sport has surrounded and infiltrated my life since conception. Perhaps it is not surprising then, that I began doctoral studies with the intention of focusing on school violence, or girls, or teens--something other than sport. I knew the counseling education literature was lacking when it came to the topic of sport. I also knew that few counseling programs offered even a class about athletes. My "bottom line" was obtaining a job in higher education when I completed my degree, and choosing a more "mainstream" topic, a more "normal" topic like youth violence, seemed like a smart career move.

Enter Dr. Karen Higgins. A co-instructor for the required research series, Karen preached the need for passion in our research. She asked, "What are you passionate about?"

Well, that's easy to answer: "I'm passionate about the 1980 Olympic boycott." And from the moment I answered her question, my dissertation topic was confirmed: I would study the 1980 Olympic boycott and the experiences of athletes.

Choosing a Paradigm--or Several: Part Two

The narrative turn in the social sciences has been taken.

Denzin, 2000

Karen and her co-instructor, Dr. Warren Suzuki, taught me more about research than my previous degrees combined. In short, they changed my life. Prior to my classes with these two professors, I was unfamiliar with concepts such as ontology, epistemology,

postmodernism, post-structuralism, critical theory, postpositivism, even positivism. Despite my strong research background, I was unaware of the possibilities within research.

Karen and Warren assigned a variety of readings that challenged my "realist" roots and once exposed to paradigms outside of positivism, there was no turning back:

> *I long for simpler days. I am reminded of a line from the movie, Out of Africa, in which Robert Redford relents to Meryl Streep, "You've ruined it." Redford misses the past when he could go on safari without a sense of urgency to return. He yearns for the times previously when he was free, and not bound by his love for a woman.*

Yet, part of me longed for modernism--a belief in binaries, black-white, yes-no, valid-invalid, support-disprove, male-female, researcher-other. I wished for a moment of lucidity, when I could sit on the fence and simply choose one or the other. But, I could not go backwards, deny my life experience, and forget what I'd read by creative scholars such as, Bochner (1994, 1997), Bochner and Ellis (1999), Chambliss (1989), Denison (1994), Ellis (2000), Ellis and Bochner (2000), Lincoln and Denzin (2000), Richardson (1993, 1994, 2000), Ronai (1992), Scheurich (1997), Sparkes (1995, 1996, 1998), and Tillmann-Healy (1999). They in a sense, "ruined it" for me, and thus, I could not return to clearer days.

Teaching a graduate-level class, "Introduction to Research Methods" with my advisor, Dr. Lizbeth Gray, solidified my emerging postmodern values. Liz gave me an opportunity to co-teach the first of a series of three classes with her, and I was thrilled. Preparing to lecture on topics such as the history of qualitative research, differing qualitative paradigms and methods, and the difficulties of establishing criteria for qualitative inquiries, propelled me to claim my space on the "continuum."

A trip to Ottawa, Ontario, between classes further challenged my ideas about research. In Ottawa, I went to two photo exhibitions. I found myself moved by Larry Towell's (2001) representations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Niagara, and Palestine (i.e., the "occupied" West Bank and Gaza Strip). I was familiar with the "testimonios" of Latin America (i.e., published accounts of the struggles of Latin American residents), and Towell's photos echoed their stories loud and clear. For instance, pictures of infants--now orphans--sleeping in rows of wooden cradles were difficult to ignore.

I was also familiar with the plights of Palestinians. My former husband grew-up in Bethlehem and family members continue to live under occupation. Towell's (2001) photos of youth and their acts of resistance resonated within me.

The second photo exhibit publicized the work of Diane Thorneycroft (2001). Her representations of torture, pain, and suffering were so powerful, and yet believable, that I left before viewing her entire production.

It is interesting to me that both exhibits impacted me--Towell's (2001) work brought tears, Thorneycroft's (2001) depictions brought nausea--yet, neither artist approached their work the same. One represented "real" life and the other was staged. Towell spent extended time with the people he asked to photo. Thorneycroft created scenes using only herself as subject.

What this experience challenged me to examine was my conceptions of "truth value" or validity. Although Thorneycroft's (2001) work did not claim truth, her "fictional" depictions represented themes that I knew to be "real" situations of human life. Furthermore, perhaps the only way to publicly voice her views was through a staged performance.

In a sense, my positivist foundation crumbled and I clung to the tenets of nonfoundationalism. Nonfoundationalists embrace the implications of the statement: "There can be no theory-free observation or knowledge" (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 894). Relativism is an implication, and "the inevitable result of the fact that we, as human beings, are finite--a finitude we should learn to live with and not lament" (p. 894).

At this point, the intent of my research was threefold. I sought to articulate my understanding of the world. I strove to enhance this understanding through awareness of myself and others, and through dialogue with others. That is, I held reflexivity as a fundamental research principle (Denzin, 1997). I would reflect on my motives as I went, keeping a journal of the process.

In addition, I intended to share this more sophisticated understanding with academics, clinicians, and the general population. Therefore, I acknowledged the political nature of research. At this point, I chose a research model that closely aligned with my goals. The most suitable framework that would encompass my intentions and values was the "testimonio."

The *Testimonio*

Scholars insist that "*testimonio* remains undefined" (Sklodowska, 1996, p. 84). Despite this insistence, two definitions are frequently cited. John Beverley (1989) writes:

> By *testimonio* I mean a novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet . . . form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also a real protagonist or witness of the event he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a "life" or a significant life experience. *Testimonio* may include, but is not subsumed under . . . : autobiography,

> autobiographical novel, oral history, memoir, confession, diary, interview, eyewitness report, life history, *novela-testimonio*, nonfiction novel, or "factographic literature." . . . The situation of narration in *testimonio* has to involve an urgency to communicate a problem of repression, poverty, subalternity, imprisonment, struggle for survival, and so on. (Beverley, 1989, p. 12-13)

Two points from Beverley's (1989) definition seem important to emphasize. First, *testimonio* is a first-person narrative of a significant life event. Second, *testimonio* involves an urgency to communicate a problem such as oppression.

Similar to Beverley (1989), George Yúdice (1991) defines *testimonio* as:

> An authentic narrative, told by a witness who is moved to narrate by the urgency of a situation (e.g., war, oppression, revolution, etc.). Emphasizing popular oral discourse, the witness portrays his or her own experience as an agent (rather than representative) of a collective memory and identity. Truth is summoned in the cause of denouncing a present situation of exploitation and oppression or in exorcising and setting aright official history. (Yúdice, 1991, p. 17)

Yúdice (1991) makes two points. The *testimonio* is a first-person narrative told by a witness who acts as an agent of a collective memory. Furthermore, the witness speaks out against a situation of exploitation by setting the official record straight.

Despite the resistance of academics to place *testimonio* within a research paradigm genre, the assumptions of *testimonio* closely resemble those of critical theory. That is, "inquiry that aspires to the name *critical* must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society . . . Research thus becomes a transformative endeavor" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 291). In this sense, the social justice use of *testimonio* is predetermined.

One notion of *testimonio* not underscored in the previous definitions, is its call for improving the circumstances of future generations. Most *testimonios* are "forward looking in that they envision a transformed society" (Gugelberger & Kearney, 1991, p. 9).

The history of *testimonio* is traced by Gugelberger (1996) in the opening chapter of his edited book. In the beginning, the *testimonio* was described as a:

> Latin American "thing," originating in Cuba in the immediate years of the revolution, then manifesting again in Bolivia before it became nearly a Central American genre. The second stage was the critical response to the testimonio by "progressive" intellectuals in the United States, a majority of whom were women, just as the majority of the producers of the testimonio were women. The third state in the development of the testimonio was the response of critics in the United States, many of whom were of Latin American origin, who struggled with the issues of "lo real" and started to refute the presumed "left poetics of solidarity," going "beyond" the unconditional affirmation of the genre. (p. 5)

Gugelberger (1996) identifies three significant events in the institutional legitimation of the *testimonio*: (1) René Jara and Hernán Vidal edited a collection of essays entitled *Testimonio y literatura* (1986); (2) Georg Gugelberger and Michael Kearney edited a collection of essays in two issues of *Latin American Perspectives*, titled *Voices of the Voiceless in Testimonial Literature* (1991); and (3) John Beverley and Hugo Achugar edited the special edition, *La voz del otro: Testimonio, subalternidad y verdad narrativa, of the Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* (1992). In addition, numerous examples of *testimonios* are available in the literature (e.g., Alegria & Flakoll, 1987; Alvarado, 1987; Argueta, 1983; Barrios de Chungara, 1978; Bollinger & Gugelberger, 1991; Cabezas, 1985; Dash & Dash, 1991; Menchú, 1984; Payeras, 1983; Silvera, 1992).

In other words, *testimonio* did not begin as a research method. Rather, scholars adopted it as a viable means of incorporating goals of social justice into their research. The *testimonio* arose in response to political, economic, military, and gender oppression in Latin America (Warner, 1993; Zimmerman, 1991). For this reason, *testimonio* is also referred to as "resistance literature" (Harlow, 1987).

Although *testimonios* can be grouped within the broader category of life histories, they differ from life histories on several key dimensions:

> Whereas a life history is a written account elicited through interviews by an individual who seeks to understand a life in order to gain a greater understanding of cultural notions, the *testimonio* is developed by the one who testifies in the hope that his or her life's story will move the reader to action in concert with the group with which the testifier identifies. (Tierney, 2000, p. 540)

I see that what differentiates the *testimonio* from life history, biography, and autoethnography, is its explicit connection to social justice. The *testimonio* is told with the intent of motivating readers to help improve the social conditions of the testifier and of future generations. Moreover, it is both a form of representation and a cultural practice, similar to other forces that produce social change (Tierney, 2000).

Because *testimonio* involves denouncing a situation such as oppression, it is particularly suitable for the stories of women. It seems that, "Almost all writing of women would have something essentially in common with what constitutes the genre of testimony, that is, a kind of speaking from the margins to and about the systems which oppress that speaking" (Marín, 1991, p. 52). Furthermore, "Everyone involved in the collecting and writing and editing of these testimonials is a woman. . . . The narrator speaks her story to an actual person, another woman. The audience is never an abstraction" (Marín, p. 64).

Given that I am a woman and as a consequence, speak from the "margins," I undertook this project from the perspective of the "testimonio."

According to Zimmerman (1991), the *testimonio* provides access to unknown and poorly understood situations. In this sense, the study of Canadian women athletes from a *testimonio*-framework fits well. Additionally, *testimonio* as a framework is suitable given the scarcity of existing literature on athletes from a critical paradigm (Sparkes, 1992).

It is not my intent to compare the experiences of Canadian women athletes with women in more desperate circumstances. Rather, I borrow *testimonio* as a framework to voice the plight of Canadian women athletes--past, present, and future--albiet if their situations are less dire than most published *testimonios*. I apologize to the women of Latin America who hold *testimonio* as a sacred form of resistance. I also apologize to women throughout the world, particularly those who find themselves in urgent situations and who might readily benefit from having their own *testimonios* facilitated.

At the same time, I am grateful to the women who developed and promoted *testimonio* as a form of resistance. Thanks to them, *testimonio* became a valid form of research methodology and has gained respect from notable intellectuals, such as John Beverley (1989, 2000), Georg Gugelberger (1996), William Tierney (2000), and George Yúdice (1991).

The outcome of adapting *testimonio* to a new group of people with new issues is neither good nor bad, just different. More importantly, I believe my modifications have kept the integrity of *testimonio*. That is, I employed *testimonio* with a group of women, women who endured hardship and pain, women who have not had opportunity to give voice to their stories, and women who hope for positive change within the sport culture.

Two forms of *testimonio* have emerged: monophonic and polyphonic (Warner, 1993). A monophonic *testimonio* involves a single voice who speaks for, or represents, a shared experience of oppression. For example, the most famous *testimonio*, *I Rigoberta Menchú*: *An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1984), represents a monophonic form: "I'd like to stress that it's not only my life, it's also the testimony of my people. . . . The important thing is that what has happened to me has happened to many other people" (1984, p. 1).

A polyphonic *testimonio* presents multiple voices of a shared experience. An example of this form is Manlio Argueta's *One Day of Life* (1983). In this polyphonic *testimonio*, Argueta depicts a day in the life of Guadalupe Fuentes. Each chapter is told from a different perspective, and each perspective is connected in some way to Guadalupe. Argueta offers multiple points of view, through Guadalupe, other women, children, and even "them," (p. 128) the authorities. I use both forms of *testimonio* in the present study. That is, I share parts of my own *testimoni*o, and I represent the *testimonios* of two "other" women athletes.

Choosing Participants

Stake (2000) suggests purposive sampling for inquiries that use a qualitative framework. He also recommends choosing one to a small number of exemplars. Accordingly, my sampling process was purposive and based on informational, rather than statistical considerations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

I sought sources with the potential to provide the greatest opportunity to learn. Participants who presented the greatest information sources were those most available,

most approachable, and most willing to participate. In this sense, I desired "information-rich" cases rather than representative ones. Choosing the most accessible case may mean not choosing a representative case (Stake, 2000).

In order to be included in the study, the following criteria were met. The participants were: (a) female, (b) former competitors in an individual sport, (c) who competed at a national level or above, (d) who qualified for the 1980 Canadian Olympic Trials, and (e) who did not participate in the 1980 Olympic Games.

Combining the finalists (i.e., eight from each of 11 events) from three national championships, as well as those who qualified for the 1976 and 1984 Canadian Olympic teams, I compiled a list of names. I used three Internet search engines and the provincial telephone listings to locate potential cases. This process narrowed my list to 28. I then picked cases from two large cities: Vancouver, British Columbia, and Toronto, Ontario.

My parents led me to my first case: Jonie. They told me of an interview they witnessed on television at the 2001 Canadian Curling Championships. In response to a reporter's question about competing in the 2002 Olympics, Jonie responded she had learned not to count on that happening. Apparently, she had a chance to go in 1980 when the boycott took place. Surely, this was a case worth pursuing. My parents located the curling club that she belonged to in Ontario and sent me the address.

I sent 20 letters in search of 9 cases; some of the potential cases had more than one possible address. Of the nine, two women returned the request for information form. The first respondent was Jonie, and the second was a woman I remembered from my own swimming career: Kate. Of the 20 letters sent, 5 were returned by the postmaster stamped, "unknown addressee." The remaining 13 letters were unaccounted for.

Some committee members expressed wishes for a larger number of cases. This made sense within a postpositivist framework. The size of "N" was not an issue for me, however. One or two or five more cases would not make my study any more "valid." Validity, I believed, is determined not by the ability of my prose to accurately reflect a general story. Rather, my study's value/validity is based on the impact the stories have on my ability to represent and disseminate participants' words in such a fashion that others can hear, feel, and be moved to think and act differently--by the stories' abilities to resonate with readers (Bochner, 1994; Denison, 1994).

Despite my move to a nonfoundational paradigm, I felt pressured to recruit more participants, pressured by what I believed to be the dominant qualitative model (i.e., postpostivisit) and pressured because my paradigm was emerging as I went, and I could not always articulate it. I made three additional attempts to recruit cases.

First, I had received a letter from one of the letter recipients apologizing for not being the person I was looking for. Determined to help me, she had taken the letter to her place of work, and asked around, hoping to find someone for me to interview. One of her colleagues turned out to be the aunt of someone who swam competitively in the late 70's and early 80's. Unfortunately, this potential participant was working in Australia for the year, but the aunt would forward my letter to her. She turned out to be a former teammate of mine, someone I had sent one of the original 20 letters to, one of the letters that had been returned by the postmaster. Serendipity happens.

I mailed a letter to her address listed under her married name. Based on the married name that her aunt had provided, I found two possible addresses in Vancouver for her and sent letters to each. I hoped her husband would forward the information to her in

Australia. Months later, I received a request for information from this potential participant. She had returned from Australia. I sent an information packet, as well as an e-mail. At the time of writing, however, I had not heard back from her.

My second attempt to locate more participants involved asking Jonie for the address of a woman she had mentioned in our meeting. Jonie had identified a woman who would "definitely want to talk" about the 1980 Olympic boycott. I sent a packet of information to this potential participant and offered a phone or e-mail interview. I also gave her the option of taping her story on an audio tape and sending it to me to transcribe. Unfortunately, she did not respond either.

My last attempt at recruiting additional cases was to phone Kate. I did not reach her directly but left a message on her voice mail. I asked if she knew of anyone in the area that might want to talk about the 1980 Olympic boycott. I also wanted to know how she was doing and if she had any questions since our interview. She did not respond.

In sum, I interviewed two athletes in person and participated in an interview myself. This brought the total count to three. All three swam in the 1980 Canadian Olympic Trials which *followed* the boycott announcement. Jules swam in a state of disillusionment; Jonie and Kate admit to blurred recollections. All three expected to make the 1980 team--ultimately, none did.

"Data" Collection: Facilitating Voices

I value reflexivity (Ellis, 2000; Tillmann-Healy, 1999). In response, I kept a journal and field notes to document and reflect on my research process (Richardson, 2000). My

journal provided a forum for my thoughts and feelings, a place to reflect back on my experience. I organized my notes so that I could refer to them during the writing process. I also wanted someone outside the research process to be able to follow my "trail" and make sense of me making sense. That is, I wanted readers to walk in my footsteps. Before I share portions from my journal, I describe my relationship to Dr. Brooke Collison.

I, Jules

The first *testimonio*, "I, Jules," is my own (see chapter three), and is led by Dr. Brooke Collison. My relationship with Brooke, Professor Emeritus of Counseling at OSU, began in June 1992 when I was assigned to his group of advisees in the master's program. The interesting part of our relationship was our lack of discussion about competitive swimming. I kept my connection to high-performance sport hidden. Yet, during the final "hoop" in my master's degree--the defense of my counseling theory--Brooke asked me to send him a postcard when I had resolved my issues around the 1980 Olympic boycott.

Over the next five years, I devoted myself to counseling and rarely thought about Brooke's request. In 1999, I returned to school at OSU as Brooke was retiring. I valued his input and asked him to join my doctoral committee. He graciously accepted a post. After I picked my topic, completed my dissertation proposal, and decided to participate in an interview myself, Brooke offered to guide me through the process. The results can be read in the next chapter.

Jonie

It is 45 minutes pre-interview with Jonie. My luggage did not arrive, and I am wearing the same clothes as yesterday. I feel tired and sleepy; I arose at seven, eastern time without a clock, afraid I'd oversleep. It was actually four in the morning, pacific time. This may be the reason for unusual sleepiness.

I feel scared, and my anxiety rises when I think about my interview guide packed safely away in my lost luggage. At least I kept my tape recorder with me on the plane. If all works, I will walk with an audio record of the interview. Without an audio tape, others might suggest additional bias on my part.

What am I doing here? I am not a veteran researcher, or savvy interviewer. What do I ask her? How do I start? What if I get so nervous, my mind goes numb and I miss half the conversation? The whole project feels ambiguous. What is the focus of my study? What do I want out of it? I attempt to answer these questions to myself in the time remaining.

The focus is athletes, specifically Canadian women swimmers and the 1980 Olympic boycott. There is something there to see, hear, touch, inspire, learn from. I believe in the worth of this project. I have to--or I must keep the part of me bent on sabotaging the study at bay. This part speaks to the un-worth of this endeavor.

Go back to Education 565, research design with Dr. Karen Higgins and Dr. Warren Suzuki. Karen's voice says "pick something you are passionate about." Well, that's easy: swimming and the 1980 Olympic boycott. I seek validation, validation for me, for my teammates, for those within the athletic culture. I believe it is a worthy endeavor to seek stories, whether positive or negative. What did we learn? What can we take? How has it changed us? How did others cope? What made a difference? What do others recall? Was the "Canadian" factor an influence? Was the "female" factor important? How do we move on?

On and on my questions stream onto the page. Tell me your story . . . in all the detail you are willing, that you are capable. I will sit quietly, attentively, with keen curiosity What was your life like then? What do you recall about the boycott decision? How did it change you? How does it affect you now? What helped? What hindered? What did it mean? What does it mean?

My bias is that I think it had and has meaning. How could it not? What can we do with our stories? I seek to re-create the impact from disappointment to something worthy, something that impacts current athletic culture in a positive way, in a socially responsible form. How? I do not know. Will you help me?

Labeling the data collection methods as "interviews" is perhaps misleading to those unfamiliar with *testimonio*. Although I developed a list of interview questions (see Appendix D), this was intended for the Human Subjects application. These framing questions were not used, however, in the interviews. Instead, I sought to emulate Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, author of the most famous *testimonio*, *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1984). She describes her experience as interviewer:

> When we began to use the tape recorder, I initially gave her a schematic outline, a chronology: childhood, adolescence, family involvement in the struggle. . . . As we continued, Rigoberta made more and more digressions, introduced descriptions of cultural practices into her story and generally upset my chronology. . . . I became what I really was: Rigoberta's listener. I allowed her to speak and then became her instrument, her double, by allowing her to make the transition from the spoken to the written word. (p. xix-xx)

Tierney (2000) challenges Burgos-Debray's claim that she is simply her interviewees' "instruments." Tierney argues that even if the interviewer acts as "little more than that of human tape recorder" (p. 543), the text is still co-created.

In my interviews of "Jonie" and "Kate," I used minimal encouragers and nonverbal attending skills. I began my interviews with the statement, "Tell me, tell me your story. Tell me in as much detail as you can, what your life was like before, what you were doing, and then the event, and then after, and what it means, how has it impacted or has it impacted?" Perhaps a more accurate label for my data collection process then is "facilitating voices."

Kate

Here we go. Less nervous this time. I expect this. I am familiar with Kate. We had a mutual friend, now dead of AIDS. He made the 1984 Canadian Olympic team.

Kate swam for the Canadian Dolphins, our cross town rivals. She and her sister moved to Vancouver after swimming for the "tyrannical" Don Talbot in Thunder Bay, Ontario. I never knew Kate well, enough to say hello. She and her older sister arrived in Vancouver with several honors in swimming.

Kate was a distance swimmer. She did not make the '80 team, nor any other Olympic team. She swam for a local university.

It is hard to imagine that she will have much to say that is more compelling than Jonie's story. . . I called her this morning and left a message. She called back and left me a message. I called and she answered. We arranged to meet at 9 PM, following an annual swim team banquet that she had forgotten about.

Does she have enough time for me? For this project? How will she go about calming down enough to recollect twenty years ago? Will she remember? Are there too many obstacles in her way to see? More importantly, who am I to ask her to clear a path for me? What effect do my questions have? What right

do I have, especially when I sense so much energy into creating a barricade of chaos-protection from the demons of the past.

Tell me your story Kate, in all the detail you can marshal. Who were you in the late '70's? What was your life? What do you recollect of 1980? And afterwards? And now? Does it have meaning and what does it mean now? Who did you talk to?

Choosing a Form or "Writing it Up"

I think all writers of prose live in a state of induced insanity.
J. G. Ballard, 1998

Words matter.
Denzin, 2000

Authors, such as Sparkes (1995), changed the way I thought about research. In his article titled, *Reflections on the dual crises of representation and legitimation in qualitative inquiry*, he describes four representational forms. I was familiar with two: scientific and realist tales which emphasize omniscient writing and use scientific criteria to validate. Sparkes introduced two alternatives that were new to me: confessional and impressionist tales. Confessional tales, although founded on realist principles, intrigued me because I valued knowing the writer's part in the project. Impressionist, or modernist tales, allow for creativity and diversity, and are striking accounts. Impressionist forms seemed to align with my humanist approach to counseling. I could report my interpretations in a form that respects participants and more clearly shows my influence on the process.

Other scholars join Sparkes (1995). For example, in my literature search I came across a dissertation by Denison (1994). He wrote a fictional story based on his experiences as an elite athlete. Denison argues for fictional representational styles and contends that "the boundary between fiction and non-fiction is blurring" (p. 78).

I returned to my growing stack of *testimonio* literature for further guidance. *Me Illamo Rigoberta Menchu* (Burgos, 1983) is perhaps the most famous *testimonio* in the academic literature, and Sommer (1991) uses it to show the multiple mediators at work within the *testimonio*. Sommer explains that Burgos, "Records, edits, and arranges the information, so that knowledge in this text announces its partiality" (p. 32).

Sommer (1991) confirms my belief in the importance of choosing a style that exposes the writer's labor. Moreover, Woods (1999) stresses similar sentiments, "In the written account, it is the writer who is describing, analyzing, interpreting, representing. Even where transcript is liberally used, selections are made and they are organised within the author's framework" (Woods, 1999, p. 5).

One of my favorite representational styles is that of Harry Wolcott. He writes:

> Qualitative researchers need to be storytellers. That, rather than any disdain for number crunching, ought to be one of their distinguishing attributes. To be able to tell (which, in academia, essentially means to be able to write) a story well is crucial to the enterprise. When we cannot engage others to read our stories--our completed and complete accounts--then our efforts at descriptive research are for naught. (Wolcott, 1994, p. 17)

Wolcott's (1994) work engaged me. As a counselor, I worked with "at risk" youth, and Wolcott's story of Brad, a youth at risk, resonated. I read the entire account, and to

this day, the story remains with me. That is more than I can say for more traditional representation styles.

I wrote the following journal entry after transcribing Jonie's interview:

> *I return to the transcript, and to my field notes and recollections of our second conversation, not audio taped. I know the story must arise from these pages. I must be patient and sit with these mementos until a form emerges, one that keeps her voice authentic, as genuine as is possible using a transcribed interview, one moment in time. I seek a form that also exposes my part in the process.*
>
> *Two shapes surface. The first is a poem, created from the transcription by cutting away much of it, and keeping her remaining words. I rearrange quotes until I am satisfied with the story "re-presented" in poetic style. The second is a story, again created from the original transcript, and also derived from my field notes. I remove the "um's" and "ah's" and extraneous words--as I see them. I re-orchestrate what I am left with into themes. I add the setting from journal notes. After discussion with Liz, I keep the poems. I write a series of poems for each interview. I create introductory narratives to each poem.*

A Crisis

Sometime between completing Jonie's story and sitting down to write Kate's, I experienced a representational crisis:

> *My research lens emerges as I go. Past assumptions contradict my current model. This feeds my present confusion. What questions can illuminate my assumptions? (a) What is research? Seeking knowledge, seeking answers, seeking the truth? (b) What are the methods available to me? Do methods produce data? Are surveys, interviews, and observations the only methods? (c) Does all research fit data into structures. Am I to reduce "data" into simple categories? What do I do with the data I've "collected"--as if data are laying around outside me, waiting to be picked up?*
>
> *I reflect and then realize I should be stuck at this point. I don't know <u>how</u> to get out of this dilemma: I am asked to write-up the "data" that I have "gathered" so others can see the "answers" clearly. But, there are many answers, many answers to the same question.*
>
> *I feel stuck among my cases, the interview transcripts, the anecdotal literature, my own story. I am supposed to make it clear, contribute "knowledge" and theory to the field. But exactly*

> *what will I be contributing if I write in such a way that strips and categorizes the so-called knowledge that I have "collected" from the field? I would be joining a game of deception. "Write it up" implies that writing is an easy, obvious process (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1997). But what exactly am I supposed to write up?*
>
> *And then I think, "I understand." I see it now: that writing or "writing it up" is a method in itself. I scramble to the other room to find The Handbook of Qualitative Research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and flip to Laurel Richardson's chapter on writing. I had read this chapter a year ago but never understood "writing as inquiry." Writing is a method in itself. Thank you Laurel Richardson for providing me company in my turmoil! Thank you for validating my "stuck-ness." Writing it up deserves class time, attention if we are to become more honest, creative, critical researchers. My doctoral program offered one publication and writing class, and though I am thankful, many of my current issues could not be addressed in just one class.*

A Clearing

Traditional methods of research fail to acknowledge the write-up phase as a method in itself and as a consequence, I was taught to view writing as separate from the research method (Richardson, 2000). But as I realize my own influence on the writing process, I question the accepted view that science writing should take priority over "alternative" writing forms. Richardson provides clarity: "Everybody's writing is suspect--not just those who write poems (1993, p. 704). . . . postmodernist culture permits us--indeed, encourages us--to doubt that nay method of knowing or telling can claim authoritative truth" (p. 706).

Richardson (2000) reassures my choice to represent the transcripts in poetic form. She says, "Writing up interviews as poems, honoring the speaker's pauses, repetitions . . . may actually better represent the speaker than the practice of quoting in prose snippets" (p. 933).

I read Kate's transcript, get through 7 of 30 pages, and stop, unable to continue. The feelings are overwhelming: we were just kids. They took away our dreams and labeled them frivolous, unimportant, as if we didn't matter. They denied us all that we had worked for. They deceived us all the while and then denied our pain.

How is enduring endless hours of face in water--daily judgment of what our bodies look like, how much they weigh, what we do with them, how fast we make them go through the water--how is this a privilege? We didn't have a choice. We simply followed the rules.

Kate's story makes me sad. She legitimizes my experience. She makes it more difficult for me to deny my own reaction, my memories.

In the end, I decide to create poems from the transcript, the same form that I chose for Jonie. And after discussion with Karen Higgins, I choose to create third-person narratives based on the transcript, field notes, and media literature. These third-person narratives are intended to clarify.

Historically, qualitative researchers, including those employing *testimonio*, have represented interviews as narratives and themes, "With beginnings and ends" (Tierney, 2000, p. 544). My choice to represent the *testimonios* in poetic form is new. To my knowledge, poetry and *testimonio* have not been combined previously. Perhaps a new title is appropriate, one that more closely resembles my product. Indeed, "poetic *testimonios*" may better represent the form I chose.

Poetic *Testimonios*

In this section, I analyze my poetic interpretations. I dissect each convention used across *testimonios* in order to help you understand the motivation behind my interpretations.

The choice to write the voices in poetic form was intuitive and later substantiated by Richardson (1993, 2000) and Denzin (1997). As I listened to the tapes repeatedly, I

heard rhythms in the discourse. Voices had cadence. Poetry seemed the most honest form, the closest resemblance of what I heard.

Metaphors are used at every level of social scientific writing, and yet, are hidden. Indeed, "All disciplines have their own sets of literary devices--not necessarily fiction writing devices--and rhetorical appeals such as probability tables, archival records, and first-person accounts" (Richardson, 2000, p. 931). The choice to use poetry therefore, reminds readers of the writer's labor. In general, I used two categories of literary devices: conventions that strip and conventions that add emphasis.

Stripping

i typed letters in lowercase. i didn't want to privilege some words over others just because the rules of the english language say so. i wanted to create an even playing field. i hoped this process would remove inconsequential priorities, such as typing a letter in capital form just because it starts the sentence.

i also stripped punctuation marks

removing periods

quotation marks

question marks

and commas

this helped diminish the effects of arbitrary symbols

i formatted letters in 12 point garamond font

i left apostrophes and numbers for clarity

Emphasizing

i used capitals to suggest

POWER

IMPORTANCE

INFLUENCE

RECURRING WORDS and PHRASES

i used 10 point size to create feelings of

small

powerless

isolated

i used dashes--to enhance impact

i recalled question marks where necessary

perhaps readers would read phrases as if they were not questions

if they lacked question marks?

i typed extra spaces between words to accentuate meanings

to ask readers to slow down and notice a specific phrase

like when i got in the way of things

i typed d i s t a n c e with extra spaces to exaggerate its meaning

i used ellipses to ask readers to pause . . .

to reflect . . .

i repositioned word strings in various formats

such
as
vertically

or a pattern
using wave

or

even

diagonally

sometimes

i put

words

in the

form of

stairs

to add visual effects to the message

i

was

trying

to

convey

i arranged letters v

e

r

t

i

c

a

l

l

y

to enhance word meanings

i indented lines if they reflected

the same thought

or the same sentence

finally

i used italics to mark

interviewer voices

and *when interviewees flashed to thoughts and feelings previously expressed*

A Personal Reflection

"Reflexivity is the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 183). Furthermore, Reinharz (1997) argues that the multiple selves we

bring to the research process can be grouped into three categories: research-based selves; historical, social, and personal selves; and selves created situationally. Reflexivity, therefore, is the process of examining each of these selves regarding the ways in which they shape our research efforts.

A second area that requires personal reflection is related to "catalytic" validity (Lather, 1986). "Catalytic validity points to the degree to which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it" (Kincheloe & McClaren, 2000, p. 297). In other words, research that displays catalytic validity addresses the impact of the research project on participants' realities, self-understandings, and self-directions.

Chapter five addresses reflexivity and catalytic validity. It is a personal reflection on my impact on the study, my growth as a result of the research process, my research self, the influence of participants on this process, and the ultimate impact of this project on participants.

Credibility

Respected scholars underscore the "problem of criteria" in a postmodern age (Schwandt, 1998; Smith, 1984; Smith & Deemer, 2000). Furthermore, "there is no epistemological crisis of representation, but only a practical and moral problem of representation" (Smith & Deemer, 2000, p. 891). In previous sections, I argue that my postmodern, nonfoundational framework is emerging. This problematizes the use of traditional standards to judge my research project. Therefore, "Any judgments about the

goodness or badness of research must themselves be practical and moral judgments and not epistemological ones" (p. 886).

As a result, I ask that my work be judged by criteria different from those used to evaluate traditional social science research (e.g., Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999). I ask that my work be judged based on Denzin's (2000) criteria. First, the project "must evidence a mastery of literary craftsmanship, the art of good writing" (p. 915). I do not claim to have mastered "literary craftsmanship," merely that I love writing--love reading about writing, love learning new words, love experimenting with new forms--and I've put ample time into the writing of this project, particularly the actual *testimonios*. I leave the final judgment to you, the reader.

Second, the project "should present clearly identifiable cultural and political issues" (Denzin, 2000, p. 916). I have included literature reviews of athletic culture, the cultural and political issues within the athletic culture, and the political and social issues related to the 1980 Olympic Games. The *testimonios* document the personal consequences of collisions between politics and misunderstanding "other" cultures.

Third, the project "should articulate a politics of hope" (Denzin, 2000, p. 916). Towards the end of each testimonio, each athlete rewrites her story, including suggesting changes in the present structure of sport. Additionally, chapter six calls for action by counselors, sport professionals, and others involved in the lives of athletes.

And fourth, the project seeks alternative forms of representation (Denzin, 2000). My project represents a variety of writing formats. Chapters one, two, four, five, and six, contain mainly first-person narratives. I wrote the literature review in third-person (see

Appendix A). I experimented the most with alternative forms in chapter three, the *testimonios*. I wrote a series of first-person mini-narratives followed by poems.

Bochner (1994) best articulates the overall goal of my project. He argues that the best stories "expand our sense of community, deepen our ability to empathize with people who are different, and enlarge our capacity to cope with complicated contingencies of lived interpersonal experience" (Bochner, 1994, p. 16). It is my hope that this project reaches beyond the athletic community to the larger culture, deepens readers' abilities to empathize with athletes and the particular issues expressed through the *testimonios*, and expands our capacities to cope with daily life.

Ethical Considerations

I applied to Oregon State University's (OSU) Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects and began data collection after approval. I used the American Counseling Association (ACA) ethical standards to guide my behavior throughout the study (1997). Moreover, Section G: Research and Publication of the ACA's ethical code, addresses four areas of researcher conduct: researcher responsibilities, informed consent and confidentiality, reporting results, and publication guidelines.

I employed safeguards to ensure confidentiality: (a) I assigned each participant a pseudonym, (b) participant names did not appear on tapes, field notes, or testimonios, (c) information linking pseudonyms to participant names were kept in a locked cabinet to which Liz and I had access, (d) sensitive research materials were also kept in a locked cabinet, (e) audio tapes will be erased at the end of the research project, and (f) all other

records will be kept for three years, until April 2005. At that time, confidential materials and information linking participants with identities will be destroyed.

I sent transcripts, interpretive narratives, and poems to each woman I interviewed, not to ensure accuracy, but to solicit their opinions, and keep them involved in the process (Kirsch, 1999). I wanted to share what I wrote and what committee members and others would read. At the time of writing, I had not heard back from the two women I interviewed.

One issue that came up throughout this project was my hesitancy to ask questions or to encourage participants to go deeper with interventions such as paraphrases or reflections of feelings. My choice to base the project within a *testimonio*-framework supported this. I viewed the interviews as forms of testimony. I wanted participants to tell their stories with minimum guidance from me.

My "hesitancy" to inquire characterizes my counseling style. Similar to Rogers (1961), I believe in the importance of allowing clients to lead. I felt strongly about protecting the women I contacted, and hesitated to go further with what I was given. I felt a sense of responsibility just sending the initial letters out. I mean, who was I to show up unannounced, 20 years later, asking for their recollections of a potentially painful topic?

I read Kirsch (1999) and agreed. "Of course, participants can refuse to answer particular questions at any time, or they can walk away from an interview altogether. But it is much more likely that interviewees will try to cooperate with researchers because they agreed to be interviewed in the first place" (p. 37). It is the second part of this quote that particularly resonates with me. I was keenly aware of the power I held because of my role as "researcher," and I wanted to respect the women I interviewed.

I did not always hear back from the women I interviewed or from potential participants. Since I had contacted them once, I felt strongly about not following-up with repeated phone calls. I chose to honor the women I contacted by honoring their silences. According to Kirsch (1999), "We must always respect participants' decisions about the degree to which they wish to interact with us" (p. 37). Therefore, I made the best of what I had: three transcribed interviews, field notes, and silences. The results are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: *TESTIMONIOS* OF SHARED EXPERIENCE

Here are the stories--Jonie, Kate, and I, Jules--as I heard them. Words recorded on audio tape, our words, captivate and touch me. I am awed by what I hear during our conversations, throughout the hours spent transcribing, and later reading the phrases over and over. I realize I cannot simply "write-up" our stories, cannot even approximate the eloquence and power of the voices, those voices shared with me during brief encounters. The following narratives therefore, exemplify my best efforts to communicate my experiences of these women.

Chapter three includes interpretive and poetic narratives based on interviews with two women plus my own interview, guided by Dr. Brooke Collison. Each *testimonio* begins with a first-person narrative. Jonie's and Kate's are written from the interviewer's perspective, my perspective. The introduction of I, Jules is written from my position as interviewee. Opening scenes are followed by a series of mini-narratives and poems. Mini-narratives describe each section of poem in general terms. Poems, created by cutting and rearranging transcript quotes, follow and are intended to add depth and verisimilitude.

I begin with a chronology of events leading up to the Canadian government's decision to boycott the 1980 Olympic Games. This brief historical recap is intended to remind readers of the details.

The Events

August 19-20, 1979
Canada-USSR Dual Meet, **Moscow**, Russia.

January 4, 1980
PM Joe Clark announces ,"Canada WILL NOT **boycott** the Olympics."

January 20, 1980
US President Carter gives Soviet officials an **ULTIMATUM**:
Withdraw troops from Afghanistan by February 20.

January 26, 1980
PM Joe Clark **REVERSES** his position:
Canada WILL **boycott** the Olympics if the Soviet Union fails to withdraw its troops.

February 18, 1980
CANADIAN FEDERAL ELECTION:
Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal party return to power.

February 21, 1980
Deadline passes,
White House says its Olympic **Decision** is FINAL.

March 4, 1980
COA votes to **SEND** TEAM to Moscow.

April 22, 1980
CANADA joins list of countries deciding to **BOYCOTT** the Moscow Olympics.

April 26, 1980
COA votes to **BOYCOTT**.

May 17, 1980
Canadian Swimming Trials RESCHEDULED:
The Trials--slated for June 11-15 at Montreal's Olympic pool--and Canada's Summer Nationals--slated for mid-August--become one meet on July 15-19, concluding on the **evening** of the **Moscow Olympics** swimming competition.

July 15-19, 1980
The **Trials-Nationals** is held in Toronto, Ontario.
A 30-member Olympic **TEAM** is **CHOSEN**.
8 swimmers are added later.

1980 Canadian Olympic Team

Men	Women
Kevin Auger	Debbie Armstead
Alex Baumann	Lisa Borsholt
Rob Baylis	Jennifer Boulianne
Bruce Berger	Leslie Brafield
Claus Bredschneider	Michelle Coulombe
Dennis Corcoran	Nancy Garapick
Ken Fitzpatrick	Judy Garay
Wade Flemons	Cheryl Gibson
Eugene Gyorfi	Anne Jardin
Cam Henning	Paula Kelly
George Nagy	Carol Klimpel
Mike Olson	Naomi Marubashi
Steve Pickell	Jenny McDonald
Bill Sawchuk	Wendy Quirk
David Shemilt	Kathy Richardson
Graham Smith	Denyse Senechal
Peter Szmidt	Kevyn Stafford
Dan Thompson	Megan Watson
Marco Veilleux	
Graham Welbourn	

****

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?

"Dream Deferred," Langston Hughes

I, Jules

The award-winning Valley library sits at the apex of the Oregon State University campus. No doubt this is the busiest area of Corvallis, Oregon. Boasting six floors, it is the second tallest building of this sprawling land-grant institution.

I meet Dr. Brooke Collison in the library lobby. Brooke has graciously offered to guide me through the interview of myself. I choose a sixth floor private study room. I would have preferred the chlorinated atmosphere of a pool deck but privacy could not be ensured, and so I bargain chlorine for privacy. It is a Monday afternoon in mid-March 2001.

I wear a t-shirt and faded Levi's covered with fabric swatches remotely resembling a quilt in the making. The 8x8 feet room is bare except for a round table and three wooden chairs. I choose a seat near the window, hoping to dispel my notions of being confined to a jail cell.

I sense my own urgency to share what needs to be shared and we begin shortly thereafter. I am guarded, and on numerous occasions I laugh nervously in conjunction with stark, yet powerful commentary.

****

Life Is Swimming--Swimming Is Life

I joined the Hyack Swim Club, located in greater Vancouver, B.C., in 1973, and trained much of my career at the "Canada Games Pool." My main coach, Ron Jacks came to the Hyack Swim Club in the fall of 1974. His reputation preceded him. He had swum for the legendary Doc Councilman at Indiana University along with the likes of Mark Spitz. Ron competed for Canada in no less than three Olympic Games: 1964, 1968, and 1972.

Among Ron's many talents was his attention to technique. This factor alone, allowed me to improve quickly.

****

i CHOSE swimming
i remember
i PICKED it
we went to a swim meet
and i said
that's what i want to do

mom used to CART me to events
diving
badminton
tennis
dancing
so that
i would PICK something
CHOOSE something to participate in
NOT PICKING was NOT a choice

i had to give up activities
piano
tap dancing
softball
because . . .
i was swimming
it was the asking to do NEW things
that i wasn't ALLOWED to do

they were all doing successful things
and i kind of got in the way

so . . .
i TOOK it
and did it a lot
made it mine
NOT anyone else's

life

was

swimming

was

life

was the REASON i was alive

what did I hope to do?
MAKE the olympic team
that's the REASON i did it all
that's what i told myself
now
i can look back and say
it was because i was SUPPOSED to do it

the top 3 earned spots
i knew the time it would take
i knew the time i could do
i saw myself FINISHING third

making the olympic team meant
i would have ACHIEVED it
it would be OFF my back
people couldn't ARGUE with it
it would just go away

****

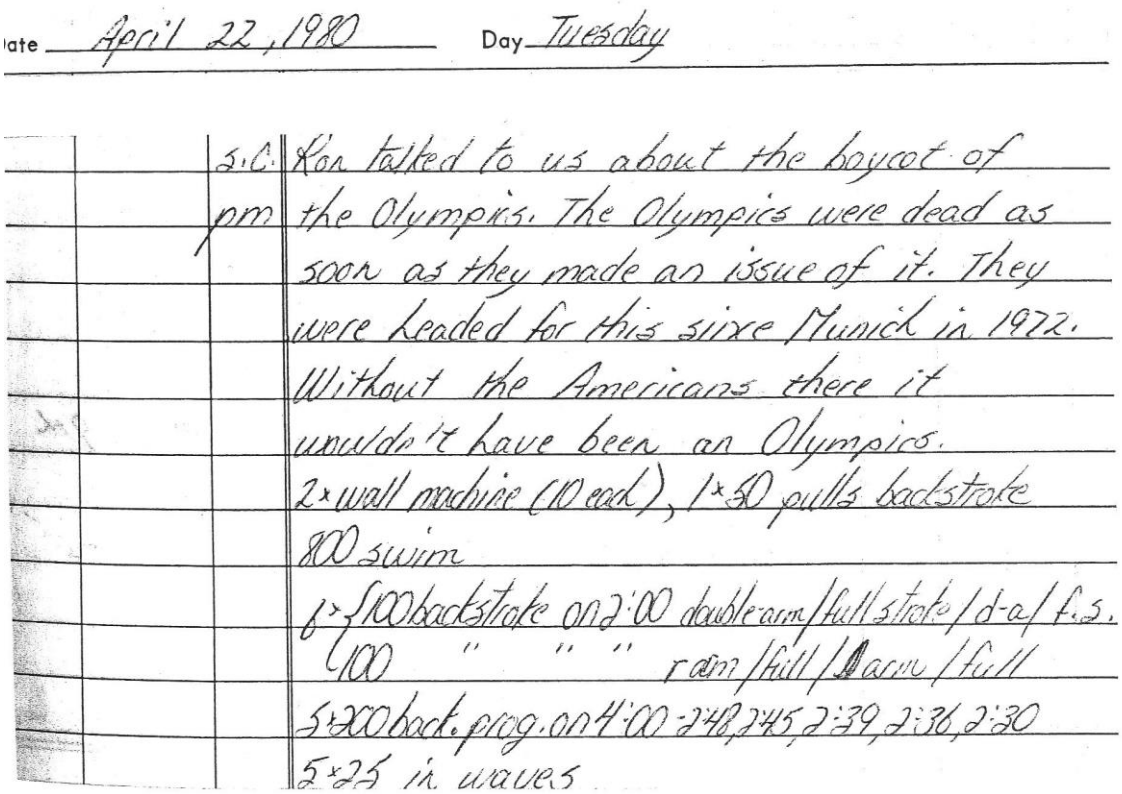
Parallel Boycotts?

Much of my interview focuses on the decisions made--decisions NOT in my control. I have no memory of the Canadian government's decision to boycott the 1980 Games or of the announcement itself. In lieu of this, I include the two sole journal entries from my swimming journals written of the 1980 Olympic boycott (i.e., Figure 1, Figure 2).

Unlike the boycott decision, I can vividly recount memories of other announcements, decisions that prevented me from competing in three national championships, and the harsh words of coaches.

****

i kept journals until the summer of 1980
one page in my journal
one entry—about four sentences—of the boycott decision
but . . .
i have no RECOLLECTION

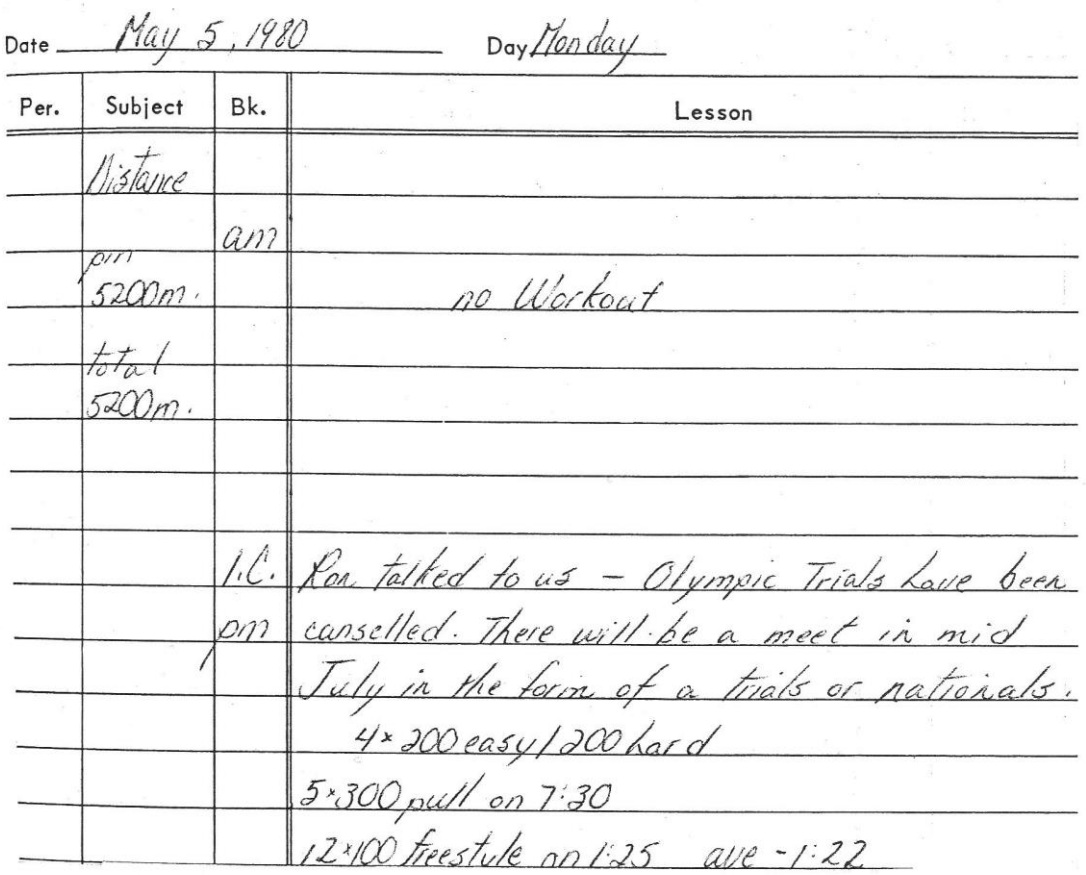


Date April 22, 1980 Day Tuesday

S.C. pm | Ken talked to us about the boycot of the Olympics. The Olympics were dead as soon as they made an issue of it. They were Leaded for this since Munich in 1972. Without the Americans there it would'n't have been an Olympics.
2x wall machine (10 each), 1x50 pulls backstroke
800 swim
6x100 backstroke on 2:00 double arm/full stroke/d-a/f.s.
100 " " " ram/full/1 arm/full
5x200 back. prog. on 4:00 - 2:48, 2:45, 2:39, 2:36, 2:30
5x25 in waves

Figure 1. Photocopy of journal entry, dated April 22, 1980.

i was 17
the 100 back--
the EVENT i wanted to MAKE it in
was scheduled for my 18th birthday



Date May 5, 1980 Day Monday

Per.	Subject	Bk.	Lesson
	Distance		
		am	
	pm 5200m.		no Workout
	total 5200m.		
		I.C.	Ron talked to us – Olympic Trials have been
		pm	cancelled. There will be a meet in mid
			July in the form of a trials or nationals.
			4×200 easy/200 hard
			5×300 pull on 7:30
			12×100 freestyle on 1:25 ave - 1:22

Figure 2. Photocopy of journal entry, dated May 5, 1980.

i remember just one conversation
i was UPSET
and i heard *you're LUCKY you got to go anywhere*

i don't think i talked about it

competing was HARD
i was SCARED to death of it
of LOSING
i didn't really WANT to win
learning to win meant
you have to be the BEST
at one exact moment--
the moment it counts
you have to put yourself in FRONT of everyone
and be BETTER than ANYONE at that moment
it's too much PRESSURE

i was happy to rank in the top few
NOT to be number 1
i saw NO benefit
you can ONLY go d
o
w
n
it's better to get second or third
because . . . winning would OVERSHADOW
my sister

COACH #1 said i swam like i was in a state of euphoria
i didn't know what he meant
HE said *go home and ask your mommy*
i had a stroke that looked effortless
i worked hard for that stroke
COACH #2 took my heart rate
HE didn't believe me either

i made national cuts in two events
i was 15
COACH #2 didn't let me go
HE didn't think i was READY
HE said i needed to learn to win

three COACHES
ALL said awful things
to me
to a lot of people
about CHARACTER
HE said i was a quitter
HE said i would NEVER achieve anything in life
and . . .

i really remember that

part of me believed THEM
THEY had all the POWER
THEY told us *if you do this*
you'll go to the olympics
that's how THEY justified MAKING you do all the crap
all the work
we believed what THEY told us

i qualified for NCAA's in 1982
COACH #3 didn't take a team that year
in 1984
as a senior
COACH #3 didn't take me to NCAA's
because?
because . . .
i had an awful coach

there was a relay team
my sister was one of the relay swimmers
i was faster than her
i had beaten her in the finals of the PAC-10s in the 100 freestyle
he was going to take her
he gave me the CHOICE--
to come to workout the next day and swim-off AGAINST her
BUMP her OFF the team
so that i could go
i CHOSE my family instead
HE accused me of NOT wanting to COMPETE
but
i had already proved myself
to me it was a . . .
a non-issue
i saw it as a personal ATTACK
the boycott didn't involve choice
it wasn't *jules you have a CHOICE to go or not*
but this was JUST about me
this involved family

i
walked
away

****

Mad, Sad, Isolated

I discuss my reactions to the decisions made by coaches preventing me from competing in three national championships. I talk about feeling trapped in the system of high-level athletics, a system I was not able to escape. Overall, I intuit a profound sense of loss.

****

i think i was in s h o c k
i didn't acknowledge it
i kept hearing *you're lucky you got to go anywhere*
like i didn't DESERVE any benefit
like the benefit i got from swimming was not to do with me

i was
pretty MAD
pretty SAD
pretty ISOLATED

MAD

SAD

I S O L A T E D

swimming success got me
a sense of FAILURE
i think it got me praise . . . sometimes
i was never good enough
i didn't achieve what i was SUPPOSED to achieve
i didn't work hard enough
i didn't try hard
because i didn't WANT to swim
but not trying
was a waste of her time

after having it kind of c
r
u
M
B Le
in 80
i saw NO point in doing it to that level
so . . .
i didn't work as hard
i did the BARE minimum
i ran cross country
got run down
got tired
i put myself in a VULNERABLE position
barely a 2.0 GPA
unheard of in my family

i remember the first week
being upset
not being able to R E A D the textbooks
i hadn't put in the time in high school

after my first year i came home and said *i don't WANT to swim*
i can't do it
i asked to quit
and . . .
no . . .
they were COMMITTED to me SWIMMING
but
NOT to me

i don't see it bubbling to a head
i don't know if i was really walking around grieving
i just see
12 years
of SELF DESTRUCTION

****

"I'm Sure I Got Something Out of it All"

Twenty years later, I struggle to find the positives in my swimming career. I have quietly and slowly made sense of it. Recently, I realized that my struggles during the aftermath of the boycott decision were due in part to factors unrelated to the boycott itself. The competitive environment I found myself in, combined with a lack of understanding by those around me, exacerbated my sense of loss.

****

i came up pretty quickly
and it took me a while to BREAK in
one guy
    would SPIT at me
    SPIT at my dad's car
i wasn't very likable
when michael moved from ontario to train with our team
    he lived with us
    he was really GOOD
    so . . . others ACCEPTED him
    and . . . he ACCEPTED me
    because . . . i think he felt outside
    he had his own secret
    he was gay
i gained acceptance from people because i got good enough

i've been thinking about this
what if i realize it's NOT the boycott
    it's ME?
what if i realize
    it's MY own fault?

it's the fact that i was swimming
    i didn't WANT to be in that awful environment
    THAT'S what has impacted me
    and how convenient that i had this boycott
        that's a LEGITIMATE thing to be upset about
        a reason

for me being OUT CONTROL
OF
it's something people don't argue with
i don't have to defend it

it's taken me six years
to realize swimming is something i do well
six years coaching
with a male coach
dan cole
he knew me when i swam for UW
he TELLS everyone that i made the 1980 Olympic team
it's totally wrong
he thinks i can still do it
that to me has been the biggest difference

how would i rewrite it?
i would share my DELIGHT with everyone
have people DELIGHT in me
i would run around and SQUEAL and be HAPPY
it WOULDN'T be going to the swimming pool
that's for sure
no

i wouldn't have let people take ADVANTAGE of me
i would have DONE something about earl ellis
i would have told
i would have benefited from someone hanging in there
someone who validated me
validated how awful it was
i might have kept swimming

i thought things were my fault

i remember going to a COUNSELOR at UW
HE said i needed to QUIT swimming and move
i went back to my apartment
thinking how RIDICULOUS
that wasn't an OPTION
that WASN'T going to happen

i'm sure i got SOMETHING out of it all

i don't think i have trouble any more
but that's only recently
i don't have to be PERFECT
i spend more time PLAYING
but
it takes a conscious effort

my life has gotten better
because
i feel better about myself
as i feel better about myself
i realize i have a RIGHT to get upset about those things
they're LEGITIMATE

i'm only mad sometimes
sad sometimes
and once in a while isolated

****

"I Think We Set People Up"

As a former competitor, a sport consultant, and a swim coach, I grapple with the structure of sport and the emphasis on excellence. There seems no way out of the dilemma. To excel in sport takes extreme commitment. I question this level of commitment and believe it comes with a price tag. On the other hand, without a certain amount of sacrifice, succeeding in sport is unlikely.

****

commitment is an issue
OBVIOUSLY
commitment to anything
2 marriages
2 divorces
many jobs
many jobs at the same time
one job would be a trap

i learned NOT to put all my eggs in ONE basket
because
you
could
really
really
LOSE
somebody else is going to DUMP the basket
and you never know WHEN someone might do that

commitment is
pretty DANGEROUS
pretty UNHEALTHY
that level takes EXTREME commitment
maybe it's not commitment at all
the point is that you SACRIFICE everything
focus on one thing
even if it turns out
what happens later?
i mean there's ALWAYS later
i think we SET people UP
people have trouble living life afterwards
how do you live life after that?

it's taken me a LONG time
to figure it out
i mean is this ALL there is?
it's hard

part of me still believes in the EXCEPTIONAL stuff
that you have to be EXCEPTIONAL

it's a competition
there are certain CRITERIA that will never change
is there life in ATHLETICS where you can EXCEL and not be BEATEN UP in the process?
i don't think so
not having OPTIONS
or not seeing OPTIONS--
these are a part of sport
if you give your athletes too many options
they're NOT going to stay
if
they have any sense

that's all
that's the last thing i'll say

****

Jonie

Jonie enters the restaurant at five minutes past noon on a Friday in July 2001. I have arrived before her and sit at a small table near the front door. The table is one of only ten, aligned in parallel along each wall. Large, French windows open to the street and mark the cafe front. The bustle of traffic and pedestrians keeps to a moderate level. Ceiling fans provide intermittent relief from the muggy, hot afternoon.

I wait facing the entrance, containing my nerves and excitement by counting deep breaths and bouncing my left leg up and down. A tallish woman about Jonie's age enters, and I ask, "Jonie?" She is not Jonie, and I apologize.

Shortly thereafter, the "real" Jonie arrives. She makes eye contact and smiles as she heads toward me. She extends her hand, and I shake it.

This is my first meeting with Jonie. She is not the tall, husky athlete that I preconceived. Rather, she is much like me: five feet, eight inches tall, slender, with short, crinkly, red hair and freckles. She is "small" by athletic standards.

After some chit chat, I ask to turn the audio recorder on. She consents. We order food, and she says, "Okay, fire away. What do you do?"

In the best construction I can muster, I reply, "Tell me, tell me your story. Tell me in as much detail as you can, what your life was like before, what you were doing, and then the event, and then after, and what it means, how has it impacted or has it impacted?"

And she begins.

****

"It Wouldn't Have Taken Much"

All swimming strokes demand exceptional flexibility, especially ankle flexibility. Freestyle, backstroke, and butterfly require plantar flexion and inversion (i.e., toes pointed and turned inwards), breastroke requires dorsiflexion and eversion (i.e., feet flexed and turned outward). As a consequence, swimmers often excel in freestyle, backstroke, and butterfly, or they specialize in breastroke. That is, it is not uncommon for swimmers to specialize in breastroke and nothing else.

Jonie was no exception. Although she started later than most, she soon ranked among Canada's top breastrokers. In fact, her swimming talent earned her a four-year athletic scholarship to an American university.

It was there at university, just after the collegiate season, that Jonie and her teammates first heard that Canada would not be sending a team to Russia. Jonie admits to tears and feeling disappointed. Most of all, she remembers not knowing what to do about the upcoming Canadian Olympic Trials. As far as she knew, the meet was still a "go," but lurking among her thoughts was, "Why bother to continue preparing to make a team bound for nowhere?"

****

i could only do ONE STROKE really well
the rest of them i was crappie at
but
it wouldn't have taken much to make the team . . .

i watched the 76 olympics as a spectator
i had just started swimming
most swimmers start really young
i didn't have that age group experience
i think that was good

my career was so CONDENSED
the first time i was named to the team was 77
and then
i retired in 81

i went to the states on a full scholarship and that was wonderful
there were a few canadians there
and we all stood a good CHANCE of MAKING the olympic team
we were training our GUTS out
one big step removed from what was happening in canada

the ANNOUNCEMENT came *before* the canadian swimming trials
everybody was so BUMMED
and why wouldn't we be?
i mean
all of us had trained 3 or 4 years to have our SHOT at making the olympic team
and we WEREN'T going

we were all DEVASTATED
DEFLATED
it was just so NEGATIVE

we didn't know what to do
we didn't know whether we should continue to train
there wasn't any reason

i remember thinking, *why bother*?
and NOW when i look back on it
i SHOULD have bothered
i SHOULD have bothered
because
to be able to say that i was PART of the olympic team
that's SIGNIFICANT

****

"Life Just Sort Of Went On"

Jonie recalls little of the Olympic Swimming Trials following the Canadian government's decision to boycott the Moscow Games. She returned to the US the next fall, completed her last year of eligibility, and graduated in 1981.

Perhaps what allowed Jonie to "move on" was her talent in a second sport. She had quit curling to pursue swimming and now she returned to it, leaving the water behind. Swimming another four years was not an option: "I had to pay the bills."

****

the only time i would ever really have had a SNIFF was in moscow--
you know
in terms of MAKING an olympic team

i knew i couldn't swim for another FOUR years
i knew it was my LAST chance to reach the olympics
because of my a g e
i was one year from graduating
and four years from the next games

it wasn't in the cards for me to think about it--
to SWIM FOUR MORE YEARS
i had to start working
i had to pay the bills

and just of on . . .
life sort went

i don't think it had a HUGE impact on me as a person
i don't recall being overly vulnerable
or fragile
it wasn't total devastation

i didn't f
a
l
l
off the deep end
because . . .swimming was PART of my life
it wasn't ALL of my life

i was a better curler than i was a swimmer
in curling
on any given day
ANYBODY can win
i went to the 98 trials
and finished 4th
i was one place out of the play-offs
and once you make the play-offs
ANYTHING can happen
with a day left to go
i was well positioned
i was in CONTROL
and i l
o
s
t

you don't want to BLOW too many of those chances
NOT when it comes to the olympics

****

"I Should Have"

Since the boycott, Jonie has come to appreciate the "little things." That is, she realizes now that it didn't matter whether she went to the Olympics or not. Rather, what mattered was that she finish off her career, finish off something that she had devoted years of her life to. That's the one regret she has: she gave-up before the Canadian trials, before being named to the 1980 Olympic team.

****

it wasn't until later that i truly UNDERSTOOD and APPRECIATED
what i missed
the LITTLE things
to be able to say that i made the olympic team in 1980
even though we didn't go
it DIDN'T matter whether we went or not
and maybe for me more than others
i wasn't dominating the world
i wouldn't have won a medal
but i would have MADE an olympic team
and that's HUGE
i mean
how many people in our country MAKE an olympic team?

i see it all the time
olympians are INVITED to this reception and that reception
and they're ACKNOWLEDGED
and i think *god i should have MADE the olympic team*
it's not as though i need the RECOGNITION
but i do see it was something i MISSED

i didn't FINISH through something that i devoted 3 or 4 years of my life to
and
now i WISH i had . . .
that's the only REGRET i have

i wish there was some CLOSURE there
i wish i could say *i TRAINED really hard*
i PREPARED for the trials
and i MADE the olympic team
i DIDN'T do that
and so
i REGRET that

there was so much more
i didn't APPRECIATE the little things
i didn't know what an ACCOMPLISHMENT it is to make an olympic team

****

"I've often wondered"

Jonie and I reminisce about those we swam with, recalling names, recounting tidbits, laughing at some of the memories. She often wonders how others dealt with it. Because of her job, Jonie comes across athletes from that era, our era, and she wonders. It's not like anyone ever talked about it. In fact, no one talked about it--not then, not since.

****

you know . . .
i've often WONDERED

are you doing it only on swimming?
just women?
not men?

what an interesting topic

WHO else are you interviewing?
can you say?

i WONDER
who of the athletes
in the boycott era
had the potential to be profoundly affected?
what did their support structure look like?
what was their relationship with their coach?
what was their relationship with their family?
how did individual clubs deal with it
like the vancouver dolphins
how did they deal with it?
was there a pocket of athletes who were more affected than others?

WHO else are you doing?
can you say?
remember sue?
sue holloway?
she's in town
she keeps track of all the olympians
i can call her this afternoon

HOW MANY?
you only need a couple
i'm trying to think of WHO else was around then?
anne gagnon
tall breastroker
remember her?
gail ammundrud
was she still swimming then?

let me think WHO else
WHO else in there?
i saw cheryl gibson at a sport awards dinner
she was inducted into the sport hall of fame
she looks identical
just the same
it's AMAZING

WHO else?
alex bauman?
he broke world records that year
he can say, i beat the world's best, even though we boycotted
he may not have a gold medal around his neck
but
he knows

maybe the other things that happened--
alternate competitions
being adequately recognized by sport canada
maybe those were a kind of solace for those that were world leaders

i'm trying to think of WHO else was around?
anne jardin?
i've seen her
i could probably find her number for you
i can call her
i haven't seen her in ages
it will be good just to call her

****

"Sport is a Pawn, I Think"

Jonie thinks she and her teammates were merely players in a game--unaware of course, that a game existed, and that they were key elements in the contest. Swim Canada ran the game, set the rules, hoarded the power.

At first, Jonie suggests that sport has changed since 1980. But after further discussion, she decides that in fact, little has changed.

****

i never felt that we were a PLAYER in the outcome of the decision
i remember that distinctly
we weren't going to change the outcome

i think about HOW the decision was made
SOMEBODY ELSE made that decision for us
the WORST part is when you look at the impact of the boycott
it was minimal
if you were to do a poll now of why canada boycott the 1980 olympic games
and you polled the general canadian population of people 30 and older
they wouldn't know?
i bet you
i bet you only 25 percent of the population would know

in fact they didn't CARE
they didn't CARE about us
they didn't CARE about athletes
it wasn't about sport
sport is a NON-PLAYER when it comes to international politics

it's one thing to say
i've trained real hard and i'm going to finish the next 6 weeks
i'm going to go to the trials
and finish it out
THEN
to NOT have MADE the team
that would have been OKAY
i DIDN'T do that
i WISH i would have done it differently
i WISH i'd finished
there's probably a number of people like me that have that REGRET

i think the structure of sport has changed
i work in sport and anytime significant decisions are made
we have extensive DIALOGUE with athletes
athletes are more involved in decision making now
that just didn't happen when we were swimming
it just wasn't the way
we NEVER consulted athletes in that era
and NOW
it happens

i'd like to think we'd DEAL with it BETTER than in 1980
but
i DON'T think it's CHANGED a lot
the alliances that canada has to have with other POWER brokers in the world
like the US
if the US BOYCOTTS 2008
canada will need to be a PARTNER
because
of all the other things that matter
sport is a NON-PLAYER when it comes to international politics

in canada we don't do a good job of PROMOTING why sport is good
why we TRAIN
the VALUE of sport
the OPPORTUNITIES available
the MESSAGE shouldn't be different at higher levels
the VALUES shouldn't be different
it's NOT so much what one might ACHIEVE at the end
it's about the JOURNEY along the way

we need to do a BETTER job

****

"The Things They Could Have Done"

Much of Jonie's regret seems to be connected to the lack of guidance by the professionals involved in competitive swimming. It seems the further away she gets from her experience of the boycott, the more she sees that it didn't matter whether Canada actually sent a team to Moscow. It was more important that she be named to the team.

In response, she shares a litany of strategies that may have changed the way she feels about the boycott now. Moreover, she believes these strategies are also important for current athletes.

****

i think swimming canada needed to provide greater GUIDANCE
even to have been a PART of understanding why
there was NOBODY
NO communication
NO input from athletes
they named an olympic team
and even that wasn't well communicated--
the fact that that was going to happen

they needed to say
look
this may not mean anything to you now
but down the road
this is what it will mean:
it's IMPORTANT to be NAMED to an olympic team

the things they could have done
AFTER the fact even
when people went to the trials
UNDERSTANDING the potential impact
the PROS and CONS of the event
for someone to have said
it will be important 20 years from now
for you to be able to say
you were on the olympic team

NOBODY said that
and i didn't think that
i should have

it's one thing to have made the CHOICE
and then live with the consequences
it's ANOTHER thing
to NOT be AWARE of it
there WASN'T a CHOICE for me to make

no one said *gee jonie, finish through what you've done in terms of training*
go to the trials and finish this out
BECAUSE
down the road
it will matter to you
to say
you made the team

but . . .
NOBODY said that
NOBODY helped me become aware of it

so . . .
there WASN'T any reason
there WASN'T one at the time

****

"It's All Around Preparation"

Near the end of our conversation, I wonder if Jonie thinks the boycott could have had a positive effect on someone. She replies, "well, there you go. I'll fit that mold. I've learned a lot!" And as she talks, she seems surprised to realize the connection between her chosen profession and her experiences of the boycott.

****

i can give a little back now in terms of what i LEARNED
and i feel good about that
being able to TALK about it
to SHARE that with other, younger athletes
who may not be able to CONTROL the environment they're racing in
or the quality of the facilities they're in
or whether other people are using performance-enhancing drugs
they can't CONTROL that
they can only CONTROL what they do

i've LEARNED a lot
i've LEARNED more now
by going back and analyzing
what could have been done differently
how i reacted
how I grew
the impact that we in delivering sport have on athletes
our responsibility for athletes when they're done competing
i understand when we as an organization make decisions
our potential to influence young athletes
i'm sure that EXPERIENCE had an impact
on how i operate in this current environment

i don't hesitate to reach out and touch athletes that i work with
and say *did you think about this?*
down the road this might mean something to you
how you CHOOSE to deal with the things that you're NOT in CONTROL of--
that's SIGNIFICANT
no REGRETS
maybe that's in part from what i went through back then

my goal is being as PREPARED as i can
it's all around PREPARATION
at the end of the day
i need to not have any REGRETS
but then . . .
i didn't make the trials
this
time
around

****

"I Know"

Despite her regret at having not finished through something she had diligently pursued for four years, Jonie finds resolution. Despite the realization that there were reasons to make the 1980 Olympic team, even though she wouldn't have competed in the Olympics, she has come to terms with the loss.

****

so now
if someone says to me
did you make the olympic team in 1980?
i say
no
i didn't make the olympic team
but
i stood a really good chance of making the olympic team
and . . .
i can live with that

i KNOW i would have been close
to making the olympic team
IF i'd finished it through
but
that's okay
even though i didn't do that
i KNOW
and . . .
i'm HAPPY with that

****

Kate

I meet Kate outside the "King and Crown," a popular pub in Tswwassen, B.C. It is 9 p.m. on a Monday evening, early in September 2001. We meet two hours later than originally scheduled; Kate double-booked herself, and I was flexible.

I arrived early, about 7:30, to write and clear my head with a walk--Tswwassen borders the Pacific Ocean, and much of the ferry traffic headed to and from Vancouver Island originates here. I locate a Starbucks--is there a city without one?--and consume hot chocolate as I put pencil to paper. Afterwards, the hot chocolate acts as a shield from the cool, coastal breeze.

Unlike Jonie, I am familiar with Kate, although I have not seen her in over 17 years. We are acquainted through Michael, a former teammate of mine who lived with my family in 1978 and '79. When Michael's parents moved east, we provided a home while he trained with the Hyack Swim Club.

Kate arrives in a green Ford Probe, and I recognize her long brown hair. She wears tight jeans and a yellow wind breaker. I am overdressed in velvet pants and linen blouse. We enter the pub, and I grow conscious of my height. Kate appears just over five feet, smaller than I remember. I stand five feet, eleven in my heels, towering above her as we search for a quiet table in the back room. She is also thinner than I recall. I ask how she keeps in shape, and she replies that she runs daily.

We occupy a small corner table, away from most of the other customers. Two pool tables fill most of the room, empty except for Kate and me and two men playing a round. We catch-up briefly, and it is at this point that she tells me of Michael, that he did not succumb to AIDS several years earlier, that he is not dead. Rather, Michael is alive. A member of Canada's 1984 Olympic team, Michael has since wandered a tough road. According to Kate, he battles an addiction to heroin and cocaine, suffers with

HIV, and is involved with an abusive partner. I am shocked, and yet I quell my surprise, focusing my attention back on Kate.

She begins with a "brief history," some of which I am aware.

****

"We Left Home Early"

Thunder Bay, Ontario, sits on the north western edge of Lake Superior, roughly 700 miles northwest of Toronto. As one might expect, winters are bitterly cold and long, summers are mild and short-lived. It is surprising then, that Thunder Bay would accommodate a swim team. Diving into large pools of cold water offers little appeal during winter months, of that I am certain. And so it is even more astonishing that the world's premier swim coach, Don Talbot, could be persuaded to leave the sunny skies, warm beaches, and outdoor training facilities of Australia, and move to northern Ontario, Canada. But that is what happened: Talbot arrived in Thunder Bay in December 1972 and announced his arrival, not only to local community members, but to Canadian swimming at large.

In 1976, Talbot coached 12 Thunder Bay swimmers to Olympic team berths, a feat not since repeated. Prior to this, Talbot had led John and Ilsa Konrads to 37 world records and produced other multiple medal winners. Although Kate did not qualify for the '76 team, she was just as much a part of preparing to make the team as anyone who eventually did.

Since age 10, Kate lived and breathed competitive swimming. She specialized in the distance events. Competitive distance swimming is one of the most demanding

endeavors one can choose, and distance swimming under the guidance of Talbot, or "Mr. Talbot" to those who swam for him, is worthy indeed. An example may be helpful.

When Kate was 12, Mr. Talbot challenged his protégés with the following set: 5 x 3000 meters, descending the times on a 39 minute interval. Moreover, each of the 3000's were to be swum negative split. In lay terms, this means swimming 60 lengths of a 50 meter pool with the second 30 lengths faster than the first, repeating this five times every 39 minutes. Sixty lengths is roughly two miles, and the set totaled 10 miles! Kate completed the set, reported each and all of her split times to Mr. Talbot, and was released to go to school. Others were less fortunate. Mr. Talbot had a reputation for perfection: if a swimmer could not complete the task, the swimmer repeated the set.

Kate's parents moved to Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1975, leaving her and her older sister to train in Thunder Bay. The decision paid off when her sister qualified for the 1976 Olympic team. Talbot returned to Australia in 1977 leaving many of Canada's top swimmers without a coach. Several moved to Vancouver, B.C., to train with Tom Johnson and the Canadian Dolphins Swim Club. Kate and her older sister were among those who moved west.

****

my dad
was a coach
was INSTRUMENTAL
in bringing Don Talbot to canada.
we swam under that REGIME from 73 to 77

thunder bay was ahead of its time
12 people qualified for the 76 olympics
12 from one swim team
one small isolated swim team
it's never happened since

we left home
EARLY in life
i was 13
my sister was 15
we boarded in S E P A R A T E houses
in S E P A R A T E parts of the city
in S E P A R A T E neighborhoods

when don talbot left
we came west
to TRAIN
with the canadian dolphins
it was 1978

1980 was two years away
i would be 17
at my PEAK
that was the time---between 16 and 18---that women were EXPECTED
to MAKE
the olympic team
women DIDN'T swim until 26 or 22
so
1980
was
the
LAST
OPPORTUNITY
for
me

in our day
we had ONE shot
ONE opportunity--
the 1980 OLYMPIC TRIALS

****

"Everything Was In Place"

The 1980 Olympics were just two years away, and Kate would be at her peak. She qualified for the 1979 Canada-Russia dual meet and spent two weeks in Moscow. The following winter she had her best showing at the Canadian National Championships. Everything was in place.

****

i swam for canada
in 1979
at the russia-canada dual meet
i was there two weeks
i got myself acclimatized to the environment
the food
the culture
the conditions

the next year
i had
my BEST nationals ever
the winter nationals of 1980
i BROKE a RECORD
BEAT one of Canada's top swimmers
WON 3 races

and . . .
i remember thinking
this is MY year
i'm on TOP of my sport
on TOP of canada

EVERYTHING was in place

****

Getting the News

Kate sat with her teammates, stunned and silent as Canadian Dolphin's coach, Tom Johnson, read aloud from the newspaper. It was Tuesday, April 22, and the Canadian Government had just announced that Canada would DEFINITELY not be sending a team to Moscow.

Disbelief and denial overwhelmed her. *This can't be happening. We've got to go, it's the Olympics!* And then the stream of sacrifices played in her mind like a movie strip, except that everything was slowed down, each frame lingering in vivid detail. Since leaving home five years ago, Kate had diligently pursued her goal. She had seen her mom and dad once a year since--five times in five years.

The decision didn't make sense. Canada had just recently sent a team to Russia and Kate had been part of that. Nothing had changed in Afghanistan yet the Canadian Government was turning 180 degrees, directing the impact at Kate and others who had made a life of pursuing Olympic dreams.

****

and getting the NEWS . . .

i remember sitting down at the vancouver aquatic center
i remember tom johnson telling us
reading the newspaper article
we were DEFINITELY not going

the SACRIFICES
i made
to COMPETE at that level
our parents moved to winnipeg
we stayed in thunder bay to train
Don Talbot left
and we moved to vancouver
we NEVER saw our parents
once a year maybe

it was a great opportunity
BUT
that's very YOUNG to move to the other side of the country
but we HAD to move
to get a certain training environment
to get a coach
that was a KEY thing--
having a coach like Don Talbot

everything was in place
we did everything we were TOLD
we didn't break any RULES
it wasn't us
so . . .
this CAN'T be happening

how can we go one year

to the	SAME place
compete against the	SAME athletes
under the	SAME conditions
with the	SAME government in place
and then	
NOT GO the year of?	

i remember the shock
i remember thinking *we've GOT to go*
it's the OLYMPICS
how can the GOVERNMENT tell us we can't go?
what do they have to do with sport?

****

Shutting the Door

Shortly thereafter, Kate shut the door. Life would never be the same. Although she has vivid memories of "getting the news," the rest is a blur. She has no recollection of the Olympic trials, little memory of who was actually named to the 1980 team.

In a sense, she "shut off." She went on to college and swam, swam well enough to break several school records, but much of her was absent. The rug had been pulled from beneath, leaving her disillusioned and numb.

****

i think i denied it
in fact
i don't think I ever DEALT with it
it's like
LOSING
A
CHILD

i never faced it
until . . .
you first got in touch with me
it was too PAINFUL
i DIDN'T want to THINK about it
REVISIT those memories

sometimes you just CLOSE THE DOOR
you DON'T talk about it
you DON'T think about it
you DON'T analyze it
because
there's NO bringing it back

someone else CONTROLS your destiny
NO MATTER what you do or say
you AREN'T going

i think you SHUT things out of your life
horrible TRAGEDIES
and don't EVER deal with them
so
until people really ask me
how i felt
i mean
i felt incredible LOSS
DISBELIEF
not even sorrow
ANGER
and
DISBELIEF

****

"My One Shot Was Over"

Time away intensified her bitter feelings. She shut the door and walked away from sport, from commitment, from anything resembling life as she once knew it. Kate, her family, and her teammates had given everything they had for a payoff that didn't exist. In hindsight, some might call it a gamble, that sport is a gamble. Gamblers lose their life savings on a roll of the dice. At age 17, Kate's life savings were stolen by those more powerful than she.

****

after the decision
i d i s t a n c e d myself from sport
i went to university and retired
i didn't have it in me
to compete anymore
at the same level

and the commitment--
i've NEVER felt commitment to anything else
except for my son
of course
i'll NEVER have the same level of commitment
NEVER
i'll NEVER replace it

and . . . i didn't
i NEVER competed at the same level again
i NEVER had the drive
i NEVER had the ambition
or the desire
part
of
me
died

i decided afterwards
i would NEVER race at that level again
there would be NO need
my
ONE
SHOT
was
over

****

"It Was A Setup"

Nothing in Kate's experience had prepared her for the turn of events. An explanation to further her understanding, an emotional outlet for her anger and disbelief, guidance to redirect her focus--these might have provided solace in the aftermath. Athletes are exceptionally disciplined, trained to conform to coaches' requests. To succeed in sport, one must believe that doing "a" ensures an outcome of "b." Without this value, high-level achievement is unlikely. So, in the event that something comes between "a" and "b," such

as a situation that obliterates "b," no safeguards are in place. Not going to Moscow was NOT a possibility, not in her world.

****

i felt . . .
i was going to say USED
i felt
like a PAWN
i don't know if that's the right word
it felt like being shutoff

they DANGLED our dream in front of us
then YANKED IT AWAY
less than 10 months later
less than 10 months
we were there in august and they told us in April

NOT understanding the influence of GOVERNMENT
NOT understanding the connection between government and sport
at 16 and 17
you don't vote
you don't understand why POLITICIANS make the decisions they make
your PARENTS have influence on you
your COACH has phenomenal influence
and they're not telling you much
they're saying *everything's going to go*
we're going to change this around

it was a SETUP
why did we go through all that?
it DIDN'T make sense

i think it was my FIRST introduction to government politics

the older i get
the more bitter i get
about GOVERNMENT telling me how to run my life
GOVERNMENT thinks THEY can tell me
what to eat
what taxes to pay
where my kids go to school

citizens basically have NO rights
right down to your social insurance number
i DON'T use one anymore
i WON'T be identified by one

****

Returning to Sport

At 39, Kate reflects on her return to sport. Nine years after retirement, she accepted a coaching position with a local swim club.

Of the many athletes that Kate worked with, none attained the level she had reached, not even the kids with more talent than she, nor the ones who ranked number one in the country in their respective age groups. Her appreciation has grown for what she accomplished in swimming, and this is due in part to her coaching experience. She sees now what it takes--more than talent, more than the right training environment and the best coach, more than dedication--it takes love, honor, and joy for the pursuit of a dream.

****

it took me a long time to come back and coach
8 or 9 years
i bypassed some pretty good jobs
i didn't want to be involved
i had nothing nice to say
i felt BITTER
even
to some coaches

NOW
i see how very hard it is
NONE of my athletes perform at the level i was at
NOW
i see how truly PHENOMENAL it was to be at that level
i've coached thousands of kids
talented age-groupers
the best in the country
i've had kids win youth nationals
win junior nationals
BUT
they're still not top three in canada

NOW
i see the dedication
well it wasn't even dedication
it was pure LOVE for the sport
it was absolutely pure LOVE and APPRECIATION for what i was doing

****

Rewriting it

I ask Kate to rewrite her story. Not surprisingly, she leaves the perceived benefits and removes the boycott, or at least changes how the boycott was dealt with. She makes several suggestions focusing on the roles of those who guide athletes.

****

i think there were benefits from swimming
most DEFINITELY
YET
there was ONE aspect that left an impact
at the very END
of my career

so . . .
if i had to REWRITE it
i would REWRITE that PART
right
OUT OF THERE

REWRITING the story
might be
swimming for another CLUB
with a different ATTITUDE
might be
PUSHING for sweden and japan
let's go for it
let's make our mark that way
it really wasn't given to us as an OPTION at the time
they simply TOLD us we're going to do something else
we're going to go to japan
well
that might be a nicer place to visit
but
it's NOT the Olympics
let's face it
the olympics are IT
and
IT'S over

REWRITING the story
might be
having a MENTOR
or COACH
LEADING us in a different EMOTIONAL direction
at that time sport was MALE-DOMINATED
they didn't know how to DEAL with us
we were just BRUSHED aside

REWRITING the story
might be
having PSYCHOLOGISTS
SPORT PSYCHOLOGISTS
to DEAL with our
ANGER
and
DISBELIEF

being able to TALK about it
might have helped
MIGHT have

****

Sport Has Changed, Or Has It?

Since 1980, little has changed of the structure of sport in Canada. Although there are more services available, few athletes achieve the level necessary to access them. In reality, high-level athletes are still left to pickup the pieces and find a new identity, alone.

****

i think
what's CHANGED
if anything
is the AVAILABILITY of SUPPORT systems
now we have a team PHYSIO
a team TRAINER
a team PSYCHOLOGIST
they're just as important as the water work

i think
we have MORE SUPPORT systems now
BUT
at the same time
athletes have to be at such HIGH levels to get ACCESS
they're NOT available to MOST people

in the states
athletes are REPROGRAMED back into society
after they've been at a high level
they have a DEBRIEFING program
for a year athletes slowly PHASE OUT of sport
they're kept on a RUNNING program
SWIMMING program
NUTRITION program
they help them find JOBS
CONNECT them
athletes become successful MEMBERS of SOCIETY
NOT just successful athletes

canada DOESN'T do that
they just USE you
until you're done
and
no
one
hears
from
you
again

****

CHAPTER 4: "THE GUTS"

In this chapter, I describe the heart of the stories, the "guts" of each *testimonio*. Certain topics, or "voices," repeated throughout the *testimonios*. I began by highlighting "distinct" phrases, or phrases containing meaning, throughout the transcripts (Silverman, 2000). Next, I rearranged phrases into groups of similar meanings, taping phrases with similar meanings onto pieces of paper (Silverman). In other words, I grouped word phrases under corresponding headings.

I identified 13 distinct voices from Jonie's transcript, 13 from Kate's transcript, and 11 from Jules' transcript (see Appendix B). Next, I looked for voices heard across *testimonios* (Silverman, 2000). Distinct voices became "collective" ones based on their frequency of occurrence and occurrence across *testimonios*. This produced five common voices, or collective voices: (a) expectations, commitment, and identity; (b) the finitude of elite athletics; (c) loss, regret, and alienation; (d) coping strategies; and (e) powerlessness and "the things they could have done." I exposed these distinct and collective voices through interpretive narratives and poems in chapter three, and I comment on each of these topics in the next sections.

Expectations, Commitment, and Identity

Expectations

All three athletes expected to qualify for the 1980 Canadian Olympic team. Jonie shares at the outset that, "It wouldn't have taken much to make the team." She recalls that

she and her Canadian teammates at university "stood a good chance of making the Olympic team."

Jules dreamed of making the Canadian Olympic team since beginning her athletic career. The fact that the 100 meter backstroke trials were scheduled on her 18th birthday only increased her certainty. She knew "the top three earned spots." She knew "the time it would take" to place third. And she knew "the time" she "could do." She imagined herself "finishing third."

For Kate, "Everything was in place" to qualify for the Olympic team. She "won three races" and broke a record at "the winter nationals of 1980." The year prior to this, she competed in the Canada-USSR dual meet in Moscow: "I was there two weeks. I got myself acclimatized to the environment, the food, the culture, the conditions."

Commitment

"Commitment" and related descriptors such as "devotion," "love," "appreciation," "ambition," "sacrifice," "preparation," "importance," "dedication," and "following the rules," echo throughout the *testimonios*, especially the stories of Kate and Jules. Both Kate and Jules seem to refer to commitment as a binary. That is, commitment is devotion or commitment doesn't exist.

Before the boycott decision, Kate and Jules diligently pursued spots on the 1980 Olympic team. Kate describes commitment as "pure love and appreciation for what I was doing." She recalls the "sacrifices" she "made to compete at that level." Jules emphasizes similar devotion: "I took it and did it a lot. I made it mine."

Jonie's *testimonio* reflects devotion too. She longs for "closure." She "didn't finish through something" she "devoted three or four years" of her "life to" and now wishes she had. In Jonie's words, "That's the only regret I have."

Kate and Jules admit a lack of commitment following the boycott. Kate "never felt commitment to anything else . . . never competed at the same level again...never had the ambition or the desire." Jules believes that since the boycott, commitment is "an issue, obviously." She insists that commitment is "dangerous" and "unhealthy." She admits, "After having it kind of crumble in 80, I saw no point in doing it to that level." At the same time, each woman also acknowledges an exception. Kate is committed to her son, and Jules is committed to finishing her doctoral degree.

Jonie speaks of her resulting commitment differently. Rather than *not* committing, it is the *focus* of her commitment that changed as a result of the boycott. After the boycott, Jonie returned to the modern pentathlon, which she had given up in order to swim. Her commitment changed from an *outcome-based* commitment, qualifying for the 1980 Olympic team, to a *process-based* commitment, a focus on controlling what she can, a focus on preparing for competition: "It's all around preparation. At the end of the day, I need to not have any regrets, in terms of preparation."

Identity

"Expectations" and "commitment" are voices closely related to "identity." Jonie reveals that sport, and swimming, are "part" of her life, not "all" of her life. Jules shares a contrary perspective: "Swimming is life, life is swimming." As a consequence, Jules

grapples with learning to live without a solitary focus. Kate shares the same. She remembers leaving home "early in life," and she lists a number of "sacrifices" made in pursuit of her goal. For Kate, the boycott's impact is hard to ignore. She says, "Part of me died."

The Finitude of Elite Athletics

The small window of opportunity afforded by elite athletics, particularly to women, seems an important variable in the impact of the boycott. Kate says it best: "We had one shot, one opportunity--the 1980 Olympic Trials." Jonie agrees, "The only time I would ever really have had a sniff was in Moscow--you know in terms of making the Olympic team." She identifies age, graduation, and work as factors that propelled her to retire from swimming: "I knew I couldn't swim for another four years. I knew it was my last chance to reach the Olympics. I had to start working. I had to pay the bills."

Loss, Regret, and Alienation

Multiple reactions--initial and long-term--emanate from the *testimonios*. These multiple reactions relate to themes of loss, regret, and alienation. One way to categorize these feelings is to compile them under the same umbrella, and "loss" seems an adequate label that encapsulates these various emotions.

Initial Reactions

Of the actual boycott announcement, Jules remembers little, "I have no recollection." Alternatively, Jonie and Kate retain vivid memories. For example, "Mad," "sad," "disappointed," "negative," "deflated," "disbelief," "denial," "shock," "shutoff," "out of control," "bummed," "anger," and "devastated" are identified by Kate, Jules, and Jonie. Kate is particularly eloquent as she expresses her loss, "It's like losing a child. . . . I didn't want to think about it. . . . Part of me died."

Long-Term Reactions

Jonie and her teammates "were all devastated." And she emphasizes "we didn't know what to do." In particular, she and her teammates didn't know whether to continue preparing for the upcoming swimming trials--confusion that ultimately had deep consequences for Jonie. Kate's reaction was "disbelief" and "anger." She remembers thinking, "This can't be happening. We've got to go. It's the Olympics. How can the government tell us we can't go? What do they have to do with sport?"

Part of loss is alienation. Jonie hints at alienation through her questions about other participants: "Who else" could have been affected, "Who else" could be interviewed, and "who of the athletes had the potential to be profoundly affected." Jules admits "isolation" as a key feeling in the boycott aftermath, and doesn't think she "ever talked about it." Kate shares that, "After the decision, I distanced myself from sport. . . . I don't think I ever dealt with it."

"Regret," "bitterness," and a sense of "failure" run across the *testimonios*. Jonie repeats the topic of regret throughout her conversation. She regrets not finishing her preparations through to the Olympic Trials, and consequently, not being named to the 1980 Olympic team. In fact for Jonie, it didn't matter that Canada didn't send a team to Moscow. Rather, just being named to the team would have given her solace. "I wish I could say, 'I trained really hard, I prepared for the trials, and I made the Olympic team.' I didn't do that and so I regret that. I should have made the 1980 Olympic team" recurs throughout her transcript.

Kate expresses bitterness as she looks backwards. She recalls vividly how her coaches influenced how she coped, "We were just brushed aside." Jules feels a sense of failure around how she coped with the news and how the aftermath was handled. It is almost as if she blames herself for the event, and how she let it destroy her self-competence: "I was never good enough. I didn't achieve what I was supposed to achieve."

Coping Strategies

Although Jules has no memories of the boycott announcement and her reactions, she is forthcoming with the long-term impact. She expresses bewilderment saying, "I don't think I talked about it," and labels her coping manner "self-destructive." As she gazes back, she sees "12 years of self destruction."

Kate admits similar strategies. She reports "denial," "not dealing with it," and "distancing" from sport. "Sometimes you just close the door. You don't talk about it, you don't think about it, you don't analyze it because there's no bringing it back." Beyond "not

dealing with it," Kate refuses to allow the government to control her life. One way she fights against authority is by not using a social insurance number anymore: "I won't be identified by one."

Jonie speaks publicly to athletes as part of her job and it is during these presentations that she shares her story with others. She tells athletes "they can't control" their environments "they can only control what they do." For example, athletes cannot control "whether other people are using performance-enhancing drugs," and they can't control "the quality of the facilities they're in." Jonie's message is simply this: "How you choose to deal with the things that you're not in control of--that's significant." It seems as if Jonie's choice of topics parallels her own experience. Perhaps she is talking to herself, saying "let it go."

Although not mentioned specifically, two coping strategies emerge worth reporting. First, both Jules and Kate claim employment as coaches. Jules has coached swimming since 1984, and Kate since 1988. Perhaps coaching is a way for each to resolve their issues with competitive sport and the boycott in particular.

Powerlessness and "The Things They Could Have Done"

Powerlessness reveals itself through words such as "setup," "pawn," "players," "not having a choice," "used," and "betrayal." Jonie's sense of powerlessness seems centered around the lack of available choices, and a situation in which others made decisions for her without her input. She remembers, "Somebody else made the decision for us. . . . There

wasn't a choice for me to make." Later she thinks, "They didn't care, they didn't care about us, they didn't care about athletes."

Kate's sense of powerlessness revolves around feeling misled by those with more power. "We did everything we were told. It was a setup. No matter what you do or say, you aren't going. Someone else controls your destiny." Her sense of powerlessness is made especially clear in one of her statements: "They dangled our dream in front of us and then yanked it away."

Jules expresses powerlessness through her opinion of the competitive environment itself. Coaches "said awful things to me, to a lot of people about character" and "part of me believed them. They had all the power" but "quitting wasn't an option." Her sense of powerlessness was aggravated by the decisions of coaches that prevented her from competing in three separate national championships. "He didn't take a team. . . . He didn't let me go. . . . He didn't think I was ready."

Each of the *testimonios* exposes the lack of guidance by the adults involved in sport as a key factor in the boycott's ultimate impact. Jules describes the "awful" and essential competitive environment as the most important contributor to her struggles: "It was the fact that I was swimming--that's what has impacted me." For Jules, the relentless competitive environment she found herself in affected her more than the boycott itself.

Kate recounts being "brushed aside." If she could rewrite her story, it might include "swimming for a different club, with a different attitude. . . . Having a mentor or a coach leading us in a different emotional direction. . . . Being able to talk about it might have helped."

Jonie connects lack of guidance with her feelings of regret. "We didn't know what to do." She remembers thinking, "Why bother?" At the time of the announcement she found little reason to continue training for the Olympic Swimming Trials. Jonie believes much could have been done during the boycott announcement and afterwards that may have alleviated the suffering. She recalls there was "nobody, no communication, no input from athletes." She also remembers that the decision to name an Olympic team, despite the decision to boycott, was poorly communicated.

Jonie thinks that Sport Canada does an inadequate job in promoting the benefits of sport--or at least promoting benefits other than achievement. "It's not so much what one might achieve at the end, it's about the journey along the way."

The current structure of sport interests all three women. Kate believes that we have more support systems in place now, and lists physical therapists, trainers, and psychologists as examples. "But," reflects Kate, "At the same time, athletes have to be at such high levels to access them. They're not available to most people."

Although Jonie works in sport and does her best to empower athletes, she admits that things haven't changed much. The likelihood of another boycott is not far from her mind, "Sport is a non-player when it comes to international politics."

Jules believes that "there are certain criteria that will never change" within the sport environment. Athletic success demands a high level of commitment--but with or without success, the sacrifices come at a cost, a cost that may not be evident until post-career. She articulates this dilemma further: "The point is you sacrifice everything. Even if it turns out, what happens later? I mean there's always later."

CHAPTER 5: REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

In this chapter, I reflect on my personal growth and my growth as a researcher, and I contemplate my impact on the research process. I discuss Kate's and Jonie's influence on this project, as well as the potential impact of this study on them.

The original focus of this project was not a journey of self-discovery. Rather, *allowing* one of the goals to be a journey of self-discovery, unfolded with the research process. Indeed, I did not choose to write my own *testimonio*--the story of Jules--until after I interviewed the two other women in my study. Moreover, the first draft of "I, Jules" was written in third-person, perhaps to distance myself from my own journey of self-discovery, and only later changed to first-person.

Early on, prior to proposing my study, I dismissed the importance of my own Olympic boycott experience, and resisted making it a focal point of study. Yes, I believed my athletic *status* an asset in terms of understanding the athletic culture and breaking the "dome of silence" surrounding sport and recruiting participants. Yet, I also believed that my *standpoint* could potentially cloud my perceptions. But, as I reflect on this study now, I realize I cannot assume "an-other" standpoint. I cannot get outside myself. I can simply do my best to confront my perceptions and communicate them to readers.

The process of thinking about this topic, reading about it, discussing it with others, and writing hundreds of pages about it, influenced me historically, socially, and personally, in several ways. For instance, I can now articulate the word "boycott" without feeling sad, which was difficult prior to this study. I was particularly surprised that my own reactions to the boycott were similar to those I interviewed.

This project helped me realize that my feelings were not so much related to the boycott itself, my "issues" were due to the lack of support available to deal with the boycott decision, and a result of the harsh competitive environment I had found myself in. This new understanding is promising because these factors can be addressed. Canada's decision to boycott the 1980 Olympic Games is long over but the lack of support and guidance for current athletes and the exploitive competitive environment remain.

This journey forced me to evaluate my current position as assistant swim coach, a part-time job for the past seven years. I have felt frustrated and powerless much of the time. I now realize that my current role does not encourage me to create positive changes in the athletic environment. I realize also, that by continuing this role, I promote the "status-quo" by passively displaying "typical" coaching behaviors. It is clear to me that I must examine my part in perpetuating the exploitive and unsupporting athletic environment.

How does this project influence my self as researcher? I realize I bring my selves to the process regardless of how familiar I am with the topic. Perhaps the benefit of researching a topic I know intimately allows me a better grasp of my own standpoint. That is, if I see my "issues" more clearly there is a chance that my *unknown* biases won't "blind side" me.

This project challenges my notions of doing research "on" anyone other than myself. I now empathize with researchers who, on ethical grounds, choose to study only themselves. Indeed, I felt uncomfortable seeking contact with potential participants. I grappled with my *right* to knock at their doors--doors they may have preferred to keep shut. And even more importantly, I resisted pressuring Kate and Jonie, the two participants I felt lucky to get. It felt disrespectful to contact participants after I had sent them each their

testimonios requesting feedback, and it felt self-serving and bullying to push them during interviews. After all, these women had not sought me out as witness to their stories.

Experiencing the process myself, as a participant telling her story to a witness, challenged my views about the reliance on taped interviews as data. I spent one hour as interviewee with Dr. Collison as interviewer, and that produced 30 transcribed pages. As I created the narratives and poems from my transcript, I was keenly aware of how much of my story was missing. I developed my own *testimonio* based on the transcript but I know it represents only a portion of my story, one moment in time. In developing the other two *testimonios*, I was not as aware of the "partialness" of the stories.

This leads me to another opinion about transcripts as data. It seems that we are encouraged to engage in multiple sophisticated analyses in order to produce "themes." We can even use computer programs to sort our words into categories. Once the categories are figured, we are even encouraged to develop theories. My point is that the priority we assign to interview transcripts as data is problematic. That is, if I meticulously transcribe my interview, load it into a computer which in turn creates themes, and then if I take those themes and present them as if they represent my experience of the 1980 Olympic boycott, I would still not have "captured" my experience. Perhaps the emphasis should be on what the *testimonios* inspire because, surely, they do not represent more than *portions* of the complete stories.

The last point I will make about my journey as researcher is that now I have a more thorough understanding of the concept: "Writing as method." This, I discussed in chapter two, and, therefore, I will not recreate it here.

How have Kate and Jonie influenced this project, and how has this project impacted them? The women who participated in my study are its foundation. Without their consents, this project would not have reached outside myself, and certainly my journey of self-discovery would not be so profound without their presence. I cannot answer for Jonie and Kate as to the project's influence on each of them, nor can I answer for the others who refused participation. At this point, I have not heard from the women I interviewed. I hope I do. I hope they experienced some positive benefits. I hope we can continue our dialogue.

For now, I continue to reflect on my experience, and contemplate how best to share the stories with others--others who may be in positions to create positive structural changes in sport.

CHAPTER 6: A CALL TO ACTION

1972--
virgin hopes for women,
disco,
"welcome back kotter,"
"bonnie bell" all-women 10-k's,
title ix.

determined moms
step out
with little girls in tow
to witness history:
women and athletes in union.

little girls carrying the hope of previous generations
with big eyes . . .
captivated,
"i want to be just like her, mommy."

E V E R Y W H E R E preaches OLYMPIC GOLD
and a p o w e r f u l MAN says HE can take us there.
back and forth
night and day
we swim to HIS content.

HE says
HE can show us the way to success
yet, all that counts to HIM
is the result.

but,
we find our way,
despite HIS ignorance,
HIS arrogance.
20 years later
we surface,
we understand.
we realize
we are worthy without the result,
and
more importantly,
we are worthy without HIS approval.

What can be gleaned from a postmodern, qualitative inquiry representing the voices of three, including the researcher's? No doubt many would brush it aside, ignore it, refuse to dialogue. Yet, these *testimonios* "bring into the forefront the lived experience of the voiceless" (Silvera, 1989, p. VIII).

My task is to write our stories in such a way that maximizes accessibility. That is, my intention is "not merely to observe and record, but it is to facilitate that entry into public scrutiny those who must be makers of their own history rather than merely the subjects of the recorders of history" (Silvera, 1989, p. IX). And so, what does this mean for counselor education, for sport professionals? And, what are the consequences this project facilitates (Ellis & Bochner, 2000)?

Testimonios confront the competitive environment itself, with its cutthroat tactics and inadequate guidance. Surely this is worth investigating further? Jules laments, "It's the fact that I was swimming--I didn't want to be in that awful environment--that's what has impacted me." Nobody provided guidance through the boycott decision and aftermath, guidance that was desperately needed. In Kate's words, "We were just brushed aside." Jonie argues, "It didn't matter whether we went or not. To be named to the 1980 Olympic team--that's significant."

The lack of guidance, especially in regards to grief and loss, is especially pronounced when we perceive the event through the eyes of the counseling profession. I find it difficult to believe that athletes are any more prepared to handle a situation such as the 1980 Olympic boycott than are the general population. If anything, the sport environment strips athletes of positive coping strategies, and demands obedience in order to succeed--in the name of "sport."

Is it unrealistic to ask of counselors, researchers, and coaches to validate the stories of athletes? Yes, the opportunity to compete in sport is a privilege. Yes, success in sport provides further opportunities for some. But at what price? What is so "privileged" about denying someone a childhood for the sake of a reward--a reward that, in this case, turned out to be an illusion? These women, including myself, would have benefited from the services of counseling professionals. The turmoil surrounding the boycott decision and the impact on athletic careers and current lives are situations counselors are trained to address.

My study provides a rare glimpse into the not uncommon situation and consequences of elite athletics. How often do we scrutinize the authority structure of sport, similar to the accountability we demand of our educational system? Recently, I was approached on the pool deck by a mother of a young swimmer. She asked if I was her son's coach. I was not. She had apparently not met the adult who has spent two hours a day with her child over the past five months.

Sport somehow escapes responsibility. Perhaps it is sport's association with a form of *play*, at least its origins are play (Kirby, Greaves, & Hankivsky, 2000), and how can play be harmful? How can a *game* be oppressive? "It's only a game" remains a familiar echo, and yet youth involved in high-level sport often devote 30 or more hours per week to the wishes of the adults in charge (Putnam, 1999).

These *testimonios* compel us--counselors, researchers, parents, coaches, sport administrators--to look closer. Beyond the scars, beyond the realization that the sacrifices mandated by politicians of athletes in 1980 had little, if any, impact on the situation in Afghanistan, is to recognize that the athletic environment remains largely unchanged!

As I write these last sentences, I realize I will perform the poetic *testimonios* to committee members. As a result, my dissertation takes on another dimension: performance ethnography (interested readers are directed to McCall, 2000 for a description). My performance will highlight my interpretations. This may, in turn, encourage discussion among committee members about our differing interpretations of the written poetic *testimonios*.

But, the ultimate worth of this project is for you, the reader, to decide. In this era of "posts," meanings and outcomes are determined in part by the reader (Richardson, 2000). You are not simply passive bystanders. Therefore, I ask: Can you see yourself in the voices? Can you relate to their experiences? If so, are you content to simply stand and watch from the sidelines? If not, what will you do about it?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LITERATURE REVIEW

What follows is a synthesis of the literature, those published works that address my topic directly, as well as those associated indirectly. The study of Canadian women athletes and the 1980 Olympic boycott draws articles from numerous disciplinary fields, including counselor education, psychology, sport and exercise science, sociology, history, political science, medicine, anthropology, and gender studies. This appendix investigates topics such as athletic culture, identity development, athletic retirement, sport counseling, and the political and historical aspects of international sport. It begins with a survey of literature written about athletes.

Understanding High-Performance Athletes

> *For any student at an American university, it is not uncommon to see these gladiators walking around campus, but their story is a different one than you might expect.*
>
> Adler & Adler, 1991

A major barrier in actualizing this study was the pervasive lack of understanding within the academic environment of elite athletes (Remer, Tongate, & Watson, 1978). That others could perceive the 1980 Olympic boycott as anything but devastating, or close to it, remains a mystery. Although many of us claim knowledge and even direct experience with sport, we often fail to accurately comprehend the culture of high-level athletics (Heyman, 1986). The athletic system invites participants of all ages of varied ability levels. But the circumstances of a high school varsity soccer player, a little league pitcher, an adult

recreational tennis player, an NBA star, a novice gymnast, and an *Olympic athlete* are quite different from each other. Therefore, the following literature review is intended to bring clarity.

For most young sport participants, their athletic involvement is generally positive (Donnelly, 1997). In fact, a large body of literature exists linking athletic participation with positive outcomes. For example, sport participation is associated with academic achievement, popularity, positive self-image, family involvement, and prosocial behaviors (Antshel & Anderman, 2000; Chambers, 1991; Cochran & Bo, 1989; Eitzen, 1975; Landers & Landers, 1978).

On the contrary, research suggests that for many high-performance athletes, sport has been destructive. Studies connect athletic participation to violence, exploitation, sexual abuse, loss, drug and alcohol abuse, eating disorders, and academic probation (American College of Sports Medicine, 1993; Beyer & Hannah, 2000; Chandler, Johnson, & Carroll, 1999; Denison, 1994; Donnelly, 1993, 1997; Fortunato & Marchant, 1999; Kirby, Greaves, & Hankivsky, 2000; O'Brien & Lyons, 2000; Tunick, Etzel, & Leard, 1991; Weiss, 1999; Yesalis & Bahrke, 1995).

Athletic Culture

Finding a bounded definition of culture proved difficult.

> The meaning of culture can be elusive. For as we change, the meaning we attribute to our cultural experiences evolves. But, it is our core, our cultural identity, that determines who and what we are, and what we will become, as we are transformed by our relationships with those who are culturally different. (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, & Alexander, 2001, p. xi)

The "slipperiness" of defining culture is due in part to its wide continuum of definitions. At one end, culture is broadly defined as "the behaviors, values, and beliefs that characterize a particular social group and perhaps distinguish it from others" (Greene, 1997, p. xi). This inclusive conceptualization encompasses racial and ethnic minorities, as well as women, lesbians, gays, and bisexuals, and individuals with disabilities (Fukuyama, 1990; Pope, 1995). At the other end, culture is narrowly defined as the "cultural and racial experiences of people of color in the United States (Ponterotto et al., 2001, p. 758). In either sense, high-level athletics can be considered a culture.

One definition of culture appears more clear than others. Locke (1998) defines culture as "a construct that captures a socially transmitted system of ideas that shape behavior, categorize perceptions, and gives names to selected aspects of experience" (p. 3). Values such as excellence, short career lengths, submission to authority, and male domination characterize the sport environment, and at the same time, certain aspects of this culture are shrouded in secrecy (Kirby et al., 2000).

Secrecy

The overriding values of winning and achievement dominate the athletic environment and keep the unpleasant parts of sport in darkness (Kirby et al., 2000). In addition, multiple characteristics serve to insulate sport from public scrutiny: (a) sport is linked to health and moral goodness, (b) sport is founded on a male model, (c) sport is dominated by a heterosexual model, (d) sport is important to the country, (e) the family-like structures of sport demand loyalty, and (f) sport is a structurally unregulated workplace.

Despite the web of structures that creates the "dome of silence that has hung over sport" (Kirby et al., 2000, p. 27), a growing number of researchers are speaking out about sport-related concerns.

Excellence

Excellence is another dimension valued within athletic culture. In order to grasp the "nature of excellence" (p. 70) within the competitive swimming environment, Chambliss (1989) engaged in six years of participant observations and interviews with multiple levels of swimmers and coaches. What is particularly interesting is Chambliss' use of footnotes to add depth to his thesis. For example:

> One day at Mission Viejo, with some sixty swimmers going back and forth the length of a 50-meter pool, coach Mark Schubert took one boy out of the water and had him do twenty pushups before continuing the workout. The boy had touched the wall with one hand at the end of the a breastroke swim. The rules require a two-handed touch.
>
> One hundred and twenty hands *should* have touched, one hundred and nineteen *did* touch, and this made Schubert angry. He pays attention to details. (p. 73)

According to Chambliss (1989), differences among swimmers of various ability levels reflect quality rather than quantity. He argues that swimmers at a national level do not necessarily log more yardage than swimmers at a novice level. Instead, elite-level swimmers display differences in attitude, discipline, and technique which result in faster speeds. Thus, excellence is the result of the constant shaping of minor skills on a daily basis, a process he refers to as "mundane" (p. 85).

The Finitude of Athletic Careers

> *The careers of many young athletes begin as soon as they are old enough to walk, often under pressure from parents and coaches. Millions of kids reach for superstardom, but few achieve it.*
>
> Putnam, 1999

In an early study of athletic culture, Weinberg and Arond (1952) investigated the social structure of the boxing world. The authors take an in-depth look at the recruitment process, occupational culture and training practices, the stratification system within boxing, and relationships among boxers, trainers, managers, and promoters. Despite success, careers end at a relatively young age and often result in a "premature feeling of being old" (p. 469).

Prematurely-ended careers are also characteristic of competitive swimming, especially for females. Indeed it is not unusual for female superstars to retire by age 16 or younger (Martino, 1975). Record holders such as Shane Gould, Debbie Meyer, Donna de Verona, and Shannon Smith retired well before finishing high school. Martino notes that, "In the world of competitive swimming...girls hang up their tank suits and retire at an age when most boys are just getting their feet wet" (p. 34). Moreover, girls "find themselves over-the-hill at 14" (p. 35).

Young elite athletes are distinguished from athletes in youth sports, the latter implying less rigorous training standards (Feigley, 1984). Young elite athletes on the other hand, have often trained 10 years by age 15 (Feigley; Putnam, 1999). Moreover, young elite athletes are more often found in gymnastics, swimming, and diving. Elite athletes in basketball, fencing, and soccer are considerably older. Some scholars suggest that elite

athletes are exploited (Beyer & Hannah, 2000; Donnelly, 1997; Kidd, 1988; Kirby et al., 2000).

Exploitation

> *It takes a lifetime to get to the point of being ready for the Olympics, then someone can snatch it away in a moment.*
>
> Crossman & Lappage, 1992

Athletes must follow strict routines that set guidelines for almost all daily activities (Beyer & Hannah, 2000) and it is for these reasons that athletes "may be among the most powerless students on the campus" (p. 120). Furthermore, athletes are subject to coaching decisions about when and if, they will play. This in turn, has implications for collegiate and professional athletic career potential.

Similarly, Kidd (1988) surmises that "all Canadian athletes in the Olympic sports have trained and competed under specific material and ideological conditions" (p. 288). He compares the long hours of training which include routinized repetitions of intervals and circuit training to that of assembly-line work. He also argues that the structure of sport induces submission to authority.

Donnelly (1993) has expressed alarm about the harsh conditions that some athletes face. He interviewed 45 recently retired high-performance athletes from Canada. Participants spent far more time discussing negative experiences than they did positive ones. In fact, the majority of national team athletes interviewed said they would not to do it over again unless major changes were made. Negative experiences were related to organizational structure, time commitments at an early age, and gender. In fact, female

athletes' concerns were "more" serious than those of male athletes. Recently, Donnelly (1997) exposed inequalities based on social class and gender at the professional levels, community levels, the highly organized program, Sport Canada, and lesser organized recreational activities.

Grupe (1985) echoes the sentiments of Kidd (1988) and Donnelly (1993, 1997), listing concerns about the sport environment. As a result of high-level athletics, Grupe believes that: (a) children are not permitted to be children, (b) children are denied important social contacts and experiences, (c) children are victims of disrupted family life, (d) children are exposed to excessive psychological and physical stress, (e) children may experience impaired intellectual development, (f) children may become involved with sport to the extent of detaching from larger society, and (g) children face a type of abandonment at the end of their athletic careers.

In a recent and comprehensive study, Kirby et al. (2000) surveyed all members of Canada's national athletic teams from 1991 to 1996. A total of 266 athletes reported their experiences of sexual harassment and abuse anonymously. Kirby et al. found that 86% of female respondents felt at risk and vulnerable to sexual abuse. Incidents ranged from verbal sexual abuse to sexual assault to rape. Finally, coaches were most likely to be identified as the perpetrators of the abuse.

Women

Sport is a fundamentally male-dominated, sexist institution.
Messner & Sabo, 1994

Women's involvement in sport has historically been questioned (Parham, 1993). Sport was defined as a male endeavor demanding strength and endurance--stereotypically "male" attributes (Beyer & Hannah, 2000). Moreover, women have traditionally been cast with qualities "unsuited" for the rigors of athletics. For example, women were not permitted to run the marathon at the Olympics until 1984, and unlike their male counterparts, the women's 1500 meter freestyle in swimming has yet to be added to the Olympic Games program.

Sexism continues to operate within the athletic environment, and "maleness" remains a central component (Beyer & Hannah, 2000; Bryson, 1983). Several factors contribute to barriers that keep women on the sidelines. For example, sports for women are afforded smaller budgets than programs for men, fewer women's sports are available to choose from, and substantially fewer women hold leadership positions within sport. Furthermore, many of the routinely celebrated sports involve entire male lineups, and consequently, women receive less media attention. In fact, roughly five percent of newspaper sports sections are devoted to stories about women athletes (McGregor, 1997).

Title IX--the federal law stating that "no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance"--opened a new world for American female athletes (Putnam, 1999, p. 90).

Even Canadian women athletes benefit through intercollegiate athletic scholarships to US universities. The growth of sport programs for girls and women has been dramatic. But despite the growth, female athletes still face sexual harassment, low salaries, and resistance to their presence.

The costs associated with being female and an athlete are costs not incurred by most male athletes. The "female athlete triad," which encompasses eating disorders, amenorrhoea, and osteoporosis, continues to concern "professionals" (American College of Sports Medicine, 1993). Given the not uncommon practice of mandatory weigh-ins demanded by many male swim coaches, one must question the level of concern among coaches. A further concern is the shortage of qualified female coaches, or a lack of hiring qualified female coaches. These situations potentially expose female athletes to abuse from male coaches.

Several academics stand out among those writing about women in sport. For example, Bryson (1983, 1994) challenges the simplistic view that sexism in sport is due to unequal numbers of men and women participating. She discusses the more complex ways in which sport contributes to male dominance in general, in addition to perpetuating sport's internal, unequal structure. That is, four strategies maintain women in their subordinate position: (a) defining sport as something in which men and children, mainly boys, participate; (b) the male-dominated power structure of organized sport; (c) ignoring women's sport; and (d) the trivialization of women in sport.

Another notable author is Susan Birrell. Birrell is one of group of scholars writing under the rubric of *feminist cultural studies*. These researchers are trying to understand the complex relationships among gender, sport, culture, and power.

In one interesting study, Birrell and Richter (1994) studied the process of cultural resistance to hegemonic practices. These researchers interviewed and observed teams playing in a women's slow-pitch softball league for four years. One observation is particularly profound: "Neither sport nor society, as presently constituted, serves women's needs particularly well . . . if you think about it, there is a contradiction between feminism and sport . . . there's a contradiction between feminism and life in America, but you keep doing it" (p. 242).

Recently, researchers have confronted the male-dominated power structure of sport, including the male coach-female athlete relationship:

> The young woman's gratitude for the man's attention and encouragement is often conceptualized in the only paradigm the culture has given her: A Huge Crush. She adores this man--her coach, teacher, and mentor. She admires his every move. She endeavors to please him, because pleasing him, she hopes, will lead to success in her chosen field of dreams. To please him is to acquire for herself patriarchal approval, assurance that her strong body and strong ambitions really are OK. (Burton Nelson, 1994, p. 160-161)

In Canada, one-third (38%) of the female population and one-half (52%) of the male population regularly participate in sport (Statistics Canada, 1998). Of the 32 sports included in a national survey, six were dominated by female participation. The same study also reports that just 29% of all coaches in Canada are female.

Canadian Athletes

> *To achieve higher levels of participation and fitness, and excellence in sport, will be of great value both for the image we have of ourselves and for our national spirit.*
>
> Campagnolo, 1977

No Prime Minister has been more influential in developing sport in Canada than the late Pierre Trudeau. "It was only with the return of the Liberals and the ascension of Pierre Trudeau in 1968 that international success in sport--as an explicit means of strengthening national unity--became stated state policy" (Kidd, 1981, p. 716). Trudeau and the Liberal party attempted to "solve national, economical, political and cultural discontents by accentuating the role of sport as a symbol of 'One Canada'" (Kidd, p. 717). Post-Trudeau leaders have sought similar goals (Macintosh, 1994). In other words, sport in Canada continues to be highly valued.

The sport delivery system in Canada is complex. Sport Canada oversees the national sport bodies that govern specific sports. Each national sport body oversees international competitions, national team selection and activities, national championships, interprovincial competitions, as well as provincial/territorial sport bodies. In turn, each provincial/territorial sport body helps its national sport body oversee interprovincial competitions and heads provincial team selection and activities, provincial championships, interprovincial team selection, beginning competitions and basic skill development, and municipal sport organizations. Finally, municipal sport organizations help oversee interprovincial team selection and beginning competitions and basic skill development (Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada, 1998). The following chart is included for clarity:

The sport delivery system in Canada.

The federal government provides financing for 50 national sport organizations. In fact, in 1997-98 the Canadian government provided $26.5 million to its national sport organizations (Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada, 1998). According to Statistics Canada (1994), 9.6 million Canadians regularly participate in organized sport. That is, 78% of Canadians involve themselves in sport as athletes, coaches, and spectators. Currently, 5,508 athletes 12 years and older compete in swimming--2,674 males and 2,835 females (Statistics Canada, 1998).

Athletes and Identity

Identity-related issues underpin many of the problems experienced by athletes (Heyman, 1987). Using Erikson's (1950) life stages, Heyman highlights sport's influence on identity development. Three stages in particular relate to high-level athletics. During "industry versus inferiority" children learn that skill development and mastery lead to recognition. That is, industriousness, being busy, or developing a sense of lasting competence combats inferiority (Erikson, 1968).

McPherson (1980) surmises that early involvement in athletics is often reinforced by significant others and that this process, along with personal success in sport, leads to a "definition and ego-involvement of the self as an athlete" (p. 127). Moreover, greater athletic ability encourages children to rely on athletics as their central source of achievement recognition (Heyman, 1987). Children, who depend solely on athletics for their sense of competence, sacrifice exploration of alternative sources of recognition.

Adolescence is characterized by "identity versus role confusion," or the search for a meaningful sense of self (Erickson, 1968). Adolescents are confronted by pressure to decide who they are and what they will become. They search for people and ideas in which to believe. Adolescents put enormous energy and loyalty at the disposal of any convincing system and, in this sense, are easily seduced.

An inability to develop a multidimensional identity manifests in confusion (Erickson, 1968). Confusion leads to three potential problems: (a) negative identity is distinguished by engagement in socially undesirable behaviors; (b) identity foreclosure, or

"totalism," is the adoption of a rigid identity dependent on external values; and (c) role diffusion is the reluctance to commit.

If athletes are not given the opportunity to explore themselves in other arenas, they become vulnerable to identity foreclosure. In other words, "Years of external evaluation and internal reinforcers associated with sport participation help to form an identity in which physical competition is central for the athlete's sense of self" (Baillie, 1993, p. 401).

Brewer, Van Raalte, and Linder (1993) refer to identity foreclosure or identity constriction as "strong athletic identity" (p. 239). Athletic identity is defined as the extent to which an individual identifies with the athlete role. Moreover, reinforcement of athletic identity is specific and time limited.

Erickson (1977) refers to identity foreclosure as the "fanatic and exclusive preoccupation with what seems unquestionably ideal within a tight system of ideas" (p. 110). Burton Nelson (1994) surmises that elite-level athletes spend 30 hours per week with their coaches, more than with teachers, friends, or parents.

Young adulthood involves the development of meaningful relationships, or "intimacy" (Heyman, 1987, p. 141). Intimacy is the capacity to commit oneself to concrete affiliations/partnerships and develop ethical strength to abide by such commitments. Conversely, isolation is characterized by self-absorption and fear of encroachment (Erikson, 1968). Issues with previous stages exacerbate this period of development.

Linville (1985) looked at self-complexity as a buffer against the negative effects of stressful life events. She found that college students who reported lower levels of self-complexity reported greater mood swings and more variation in self-appraisal following a

failure or success experience. Students rating themselves lower on self-complexity also experienced greater variation in affect over a two-week period.

Several investigations focus on identity development among athletes. Coleman (1961) published one of the earliest, naming athletic prowess as the single most important factor for achieving high status. Eitzen (1975) replicated Coleman's study claiming that sports participation was still a dominant criterion for social status. Specifically, Eitzen notes several variables that mediate the importance placed on athletic skill: boys from small rural communities who attended small schools, schools with strict authority structures, and boys with undereducated fathers placed a higher emphasis on sports achievement than other boys.

Coakley (1992) provides a vivid and salient picture of athletic identity formation using interviews with 15 athletes, aged 15-19 years. He differentiates between "normal" identity development and "identity constriction" (p. 277). Adolescents typically experiment with a variety of roles and by young adulthood, their identities are complex and multifaceted. If, however, the amount of time allotted for trying out different roles is restricted, as it is in high-level sports, identity constriction is possible. For these athletes, their overall identities are not developed apart from their identities as athletes.

Martin, Adams-Mushett, and Smith (1995) measured athletic identity and sport orientation among adolescent swimmers with disabilities. Swimmers who strongly identified with their roles as athletes also named athletics as the most important social role they filled. An identity based exclusively on sport was associated with negative affectivity, "Indicating that athletes without diversified self-schemas may be at risk for emotional problems when unable to compete" (p. 113). In an earlier study, two-thirds of non-

disabled swimmers reported scores ranging from recreational athletes at one end and national-level athletes at the other (Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993).

Four studies were conducted to test the relationship between depressed mood and experiencing a life event that disrupts the pursuit of self-defining activities, such as sport-related injuries (Brewer, 1993). Brewer found a strong positive correlation between athletic identity and emotional disturbance in response to both hypothetical and actual injuries.

Murphy, Petitpas, and Brewer (1996) examined the relationship of identity foreclosure and athletic identity to career maturity. These authors contend that identity foreclosure and athletic identity are inversely related to career maturity. That is, athletes who identified with foreclosed identities or strong athletic identities reported delayed career development. Murphy et al., stress the importance of exploring alternative roles with athletes.

Recently, Sparkes (1998) presented the story of an elite athlete whose career ended prematurely due to illness. This athlete struggled as she transformed her identity from extraordinary to an identity consistent with the mundane world of ordinariness. Taken together, these studies suggest that a strong athletic identity affects an individual's reaction to a disruptive life event and has problematic consequences for long-term personal development.

Athletes and Commitment

A construct that is closely related to athletic identity is commitment. Curry and Weaner (1987) found that involvement of self in the sport role correlated highly with both sport importance rating and commitment. Varsity athletes showed the highest mean sport importance rating, the highest mean involvement of self in role, the highest mean interpersonal commitment, and the greatest time spent in the sport role (e.g., 20 hours per week versus 5 hours per week for athletes competing at lower levels).

A landmark qualitative study by Scanlan, Ravizza, and Stein (1989) looked at the commitment process of elite female figure skaters. As commitment levels increased, more time and money were allocated for the sport. The skaters' lives, and often those of their families, began to revolve around skating. The phase representing the highest level of commitment required even more time and money, and skaters' personal and family lives became centered on the sport. In fact, skaters spent over five and a half hours a day, six days a week, 50 weeks a year skating. Furthermore, 38% of the skaters had special schooling arrangements. Skaters competed during this phase for an average of six years.

Some authors contend that athletes retire because of burnout (Coakley, 1992; Denison, 1994). Commitment is closely related to the concept of burnout. Raedeke (1995) explored the relationship between commitment factors and burnout in age-group swimmers. He defined commitment factors as enjoyment, benefits, costs, alternative attractiveness, investments, sport identity, social constraints, and perceived control. He found that "malcontented" and "obligated" swimmers reported low perceived control, high social constraints, and a negative outlook on swimming.

Schmidt and Stein (1991) proposed a model of sport commitment to distinguish between athletes who continue, those who dropout, and those who burnout. The authors contend that "dropouts" can elect to switch to an alternative activity that is equal to or more attractive, whereas "burnouts" perceive alternatives as less attractive or nonexistent. Specifically, investments and the process of reinvesting produced an escalation of commitment and eventual burnout.

Athletes, Loss, and Alienation

> *Like all large losses in one's life, the pain of Moscow '80 gets fainter and fainter as the years pass . . . but it never really goes away either. I'll forever wonder what might have been.*
>
> Jones-Konihowski interview (Corbella, 2000)

Athletes, like other groups, experience loss (Astle, 1986). Some authors even argue that *all* athletes experience loss because all athletes eventually retire and retirement is associated with loss (Denison, 1994).

Several scholars have defined loss. For instance, Peretz (1970) defines loss as "a state of being deprived of or being without something one has had" (p. 4). In a recent book chapter, Harvey (1998) writes that, "Loss is produced by an event which is perceived as negative by the individuals involved and results in long-term changes to one's social situations, relationships, or cognitions" (p. 12).

Peretz (1970) identifies four types of loss: (a) loss of a significant loved or valued person through death or separation; (b) loss of some aspect of self such as health, injury,

self-image, or social role; (c) loss of external objects; and (d) loss occurring in the process of human growth and development such as loss of flexibility and speed due to aging.

Astle (1986) applied these four types of loss to athletics, noting that certain types of loss occur more frequently among athletes than other types. Moreover, loss experienced in athletics is complicated and fits poorly into any one specific category. For example, athletic retirement involves the loss of significant others, such as teammates and coaches, the loss of some aspect of self, such as social role and self-image, the loss of external objects, such as equipment and other benefits the athlete receives as a member of a national team, and the loss of performance capabilities, an unavoidable process of human growth.

One form of loss is alienation, defined as a state of estrangement (Peretz, 1970). That is, "The individual moves, or is moved, away from something for which there is an affinity or conscious desire to control or to be a part of" (p. 49).

According to Seeman (1959) the concept of alienation has been studied from five perspectives: powerlessness, normlessness, isolation, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement. Powerlessness describes situations in which the occurrence of reinforcement depends on external factors such as luck and manipulation by others. Normlessness is the belief that "socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals" (p. 788). Meaninglessness refers to a person's understanding of events in which he or she is engaged. A person experiencing this type of alienation is "unclear as to what he [sic] ought to believe--when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met" (p. 786). Isolation characterizes the process of assigning "low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society" (p.

789). Finally, self-estrangement is the loss of intrinsic meaning in work, and depends on the importance assigned to a given behavior resulting in future rewards.

One response to loss and alienation is grief. O'Connor (1976) defines grief as "intense emotional suffering" (p. 15) in response to loss. Furthermore, grieving is a process involving psychological adjustment to the loss.

In an early study, Mihovilovic (1968) investigated the social situations of former soccer players in Yugoslavia. He concludes that athletes strive to stay part of the team for as long as possible, that not having a profession outside of sport is problematic, that an athlete's circle of friends dwindles following retirement, and that the painful effects of retirement can be alleviated by including former athletes in alternative roles on the team and continuing a connection in some form.

Several qualitative studies highlight negative experiences within the retirement process. Werthner and Orlick (1986) present in-depth interviews with 28 former elite, amateur athletes noting that the retirement process of these athletes followed a pattern of stages. The majority of athletes had some difficulties with transition and several factors emerged that strongly influenced this process. Problematic retirements were related to not having a new focus, not feeling a sense of accomplishment, a negative environment--the 1980 Olympic boycott, coaching problems and sport governing body problems--injuries and health problems, inadequate finances, and lack of support from family and friends.

A group of scholars from the University of Western Australia and Leeds Memorial University dominate the athletic retirement literature. Lavallee, Grove, and Gordon (1997) asked 48 former elite-level athletes about their exits from sport. Involuntary retirement was associated with significantly greater emotional and social adjustment. The former

athletes who experienced the greatest adjustment difficulties perceived the least control over their decisions to retire.

Grove, Lavallee, and Gordon (1997) asked the same 48 former elite-level athletes about their exits from sport. Athletes with stronger athletic identities at the time of retirement had a significant and positive relationship to poor pre-retirement planning, anxiety about career decisions, troublesome emotional and social adjustments, and ineffective coping processes.

Lavallee, Gordon, and Grove (1997) identified 15 former athletes from a larger study that experienced severe emotional difficulties upon athletic career termination. Quality of account making was associated with present affect and overall success in coping with retirement. Also, changes in athletic identity were found to be significant determinants of adjustment for athletes upon career termination.

More recently, Grove, Lavallee, Gordon, and Harvey (1998) proposed a comprehensive conceptual model of retirement from sport. These researchers used an account-making model as a framework for understanding negative reactions to retirement. They detail the story of Shane Gould Innes, a multiple gold medal winner at the 1972 Olympics and former world record holder, who retired from swimming at the age of 16. Shane reflects on her retirement experience through construction of a story about the traumatic event. True to the nature of the account-making model, Shane currently speaks publicly about career transition issues in Australian sport.

Few studies have addressed alienation and loss among competitive swimmers. Brown (1985) examined the relationship between situational factors and withdrawal from sport among 404 current and former competitive age-group swimmers. Former swimmers

were more active in other activities, rated competitive swimming as less important, received more encouragement to do other activities from significant others (e.g., mother, father, friends, and teammates), and received less positive reinforcement for participation in competitive swimming than did current participants. Results suggest that significant others play an influential role in sport attrition.

Hastings, Kurth, and Meyer (1989) examined competitive swimming careers throughout the life span. They found that males typically begin at age 12 and continue for ten years. Females conversely, started at age ten and continued for eight to nine years. Thus, the window in which females competed was narrower than males. Previous research highlights the relatively short careers of young athletes (Martino, 1975).

Denison (1994, 1996, 1997) explored the retirement process of elite-level athletes in a series of studies. He transformed interview themes into short fictional stories and argues that athletes often feel "stranded, disillusioned, and directionless" (1997, p. 11) at the end of their sport careers. In his unpublished dissertation, Denison vividly articulates his own struggle:

> Since 1988 I have been trying to quit competitive running. However, leaving the glory, the excitement, the security and the social world of running behind has been very difficult to do. And as I look around and talk to my friends, I see them struggling with the same questions and fears as I have--Who am I if I'm not an athlete? What else is there to feel good about in my life without running?--I realize that sport retirement is a serious problem, and a problem worth investigating. (1994, p. 8)

In a study examining the biographical and autobiographical accounts of former United Kingdom football players, Gearing (1999) reveals how players cope with the challenge of finding new narrative identities following retirement. Using a narrative and

life course perspective, Gearing represents interviews with twelve players. Players' occupational experiences shaped a particular kind of identity which was problematic for later well-being. Players who identified more with their athletic roles found it challenging to develop new narrative identities.

Fortunato and Marchant (1999) interviewed 30 recently retired football players in Australia who were forced to retire due to injury or deselection. Several themes emerged: loss of identity, lack of control over the decision to retire, financial concerns, sympathy and support from significant others, and lack of genuine understanding by family and friends about the process of retirement. In particular, athletes who retired due to deselection expressed bitterness and anger toward coaches and administrators. Many athletes felt unprepared for retirement, particularly those terminating athletic careers due to injuries.

In a similar vein, Williams, Rotella, and Heyman (1998) found that fear, anxiety, social withdrawal, and loss of self-esteem were common among athletes who retired in response to injuries. The authors encouraged the referral of athletes to counseling.

Athletes and Counselor Education

Athletes have seldom been a focus of research or clinical services within counselor education (Lanning, 1982). One reason for the lack of tailored services for athletes may relate to the closed system of elite athletics. Jonassohn, Turowetz, and Gruneau (1981) characterize sport settings as environments barricaded by secrecy. In fact, a recent book addressing sexual abuse in sport refers to the athletic environment as one of the last

bastions to be scrutinized and fittingly titles the manuscript, *The Dome of Silence* (Kirby et al., 2000).

Much of the early literature related to athletes and counseling highlights the common misperceptions of athletes and argues that athletes are indeed a group deserving counseling services. Athletes are not only "protected, excused, supported, and . . . admired for what they possess" (Remer, Tongate, & Watson, 1978, p. 628). At the same time, they are "envied, used, and even despised for what they are and what they get from it" (p. 628).

Remer et al. (1978) considered the varied misperceptions of athletes' counseling needs of coaches, faculty, athletic directors, academic advisors, other students, athletes, and counselors. The authors present data to refute common myths, making the case that athletes are a group in need of services.

Bergandi and Wittig (1984) assessed the availability of and attitudes toward counseling services for college athletes. The majority of athletic directors responded positively when asked about athletes seeking counseling. Interestingly, 25% reported neutral feelings about counseling for athletes, or left the item blank (the questionnaire involved just seven items). Availability was a concern: Thirteen percent of counseling center directors reported offering counseling services specifically related to athletic performance.

The literature relating to athletes and counseling organizes into three groups: athletes and counseling, sport counseling models, and legislation. These topic areas are addressed below.

Athletes and Counseling

Much of the counseling-related literature addressing athletes focuses on college student-athletes (e.g., Baillie, 1993; Bergandi & Wittig, 1984; Chartrand & Lent, 1987; Greenspan & Andersen, 1994; Hinkle, 1999; Jordan & Denson, 1990; Lanning, 1982; Miller & Wooten, 1995; Nelson, 1982; Ray et al., 1989; Remer et al., 1978; Sowa & Gressard, 1983; Wittmer et al., 1981).

Several researchers focus on the differences between athletes and nonathletes on a variety of variables (Sowa & Gressard, 1983, Wittmer et al., 1981). For example, Ho and Walker (1982), surveyed 80 female students. Female athletes rated themselves higher on measures of body image, self-confidence, achievement, dominance, and aggression than did female nonathletes.

Balazs and Nickerson (1976) compared top female athletes with women from the general population. Athletes indicated higher needs for achievement and autonomy on a 16-subscale personality needs profile.

Similarly, Curry and Rehm (1997) examined differences between college athletes and nonathletes on measures of self-perception. Athletes rated higher on athletic competence, romantic relationships, and social acceptance than did nonathletes.

Some researchers have looked at differences between athletes and nonathletes on education-related variables. Sowa and Gressard (1983) found differences between college athletes and nonathletes on three subscales. Athletes scored lower on measures of educational plans, career plans, and mature relationships with peers.

Purdy et al. (1982) found that college athletes enter university with poorer academic backgrounds, receive lower grades in college, and graduate less often than their nonathletic peers. Additionally, these researchers report that scholarship athletes and athletes in male revenue sports (i.e., football and basketball) fare worse in academic achievement than nonathletes, non-scholarship athletes, and athletes in nonrevenue sports.

On a similar note, Wittmer, Bostic, Phillips, and Waters (1981) argue that winning is more highly valued than education at many higher education institutions. These researchers describe a counseling program at the University of Florida developed specifically for student athletes. One component of the program is a course that focuses on multiple topics: interpersonal skills, communal living, university support services, leadership, career interests, academic planning related to careers, self-concept, time management, and how to meet the press.

Nelson (1982) reports the effects of career counseling on athletes' educational achievement. College athletes were randomly assigned to one of two groups: the experimental group attended five career counseling sessions with an academic advisor; the control group did not. Athletes who participated in career counseling earned higher grade point averages, changed majors more frequently, and expressed more satisfaction with their majors than athletes in the control condition.

Two studies focus on high school athletes. Goldberg (1991) encourages counseling professionals to consider the effects of an athletic-based ego value system on student athletes. In particular, he argues for school counselors to pay attention to student athletes in terms of identity formation, personal competence, career development, and transition

from high school to college. Goldberg also identifies the importance of understanding the "athletic triangle," or the dynamics of athlete-coach-parent relationships.

Meyer and Wenger (1998) assessed the impact of participation in a ropes course on a girls high school tennis team. These researchers suggest that adventure education is a viable strategy for facilitating psychosocial functioning and can ultimately improve athletic performance.

Researchers from multiple disciplines define a plethora of mental health issues within the athletic population: identity development and self-concept concerns, gender role and sexual orientation issues, HIV-related problems, eating disorders, issues specific to female athletes, alcohol and substance abuse, time management and study skills problems, career choice issues, anger and aggressive behaviors, stress and burnout, and relationship and peer group difficulties (Baillie, 1993; Botterill, 1982; Chartrand & Lent, 1987; Danish, 1984; Danish & Hale, 1981; Goldberg, 1991; Greenspan & Andersen, 1995; Heyman, 1984a, 1984b, 1986, 1987, 1998; Hinkle, 1999; Lanning, 1982; Lavallee, Grove, Gordon, & Ford, 1998; Loubert, 1999; Ludwig, 1996; Miller & Wooten, 1995; Nelson, 1987; Ogilivie 1984, 1987; Ogilvie & Howe, 1982; Parham, 1993; Pearson & Petitpas, 1990; Petrie & Watkins, 1994; Ungerleider, 1992; Wehlage, 1980). In fact, roughly 10% of college athletes suffer issues appropriate for counseling (Hinkle, 1999).

In one of the first published articles addressing the counseling needs of athletes, Heyman (1986) compares the developmental and existential issues among athletes and the "rest of humanity" (p. 68). Although he acknowledges few differences in reactions and coping styles between the two groups, he encourages counseling professionals to assess the

personal histories of clients as athletes, as well as the particular athletic environments in which they function.

Heyman (1986, 1987, 1998) identifies issues that are specific to athletes. Among the eight concerns that Heyman highlights, all seem paramount: identity development, sexual orientation and gender role issues, HIV-related concerns, eating disorders, alcohol and substance abuse, anger and aggression control, stress and burnout, and relationship issues.

Sport Counseling Models

Several authors propose models calling for the provision of counseling services for athletes. For example, Wittmer, Bostic, Phillips, and Waters (1981) present the development and implementation of a unique counseling program for college athletes. This program came in response to a focus on winning, a lack of attention to individual needs, poor educational results, and the absence of specific training for counselors to work effectively with athletes. At the University of Florida, counselors working with athletes moved their offices from the coaches' office complex to within the athletic dormitory. This improved access. Athletes are required to complete a first-year course focusing on interpersonal communication, communal living guidelines, career interests and planning, academic planning as related to vocational goals, university support services, leadership skills, time management, and skills in how to meet the press. In addition, a noncredit exit seminar for graduating senior athletes is offered.

Eldridge (1983) suggests therapeutic guidelines for working with injured athletes, stressing a holistic perspective. According to Eldridge, professionals working with athletes do not fully appreciate the meanings that sport participants attach to specific injuries. His proposal includes three components: understanding the role of athletic activity to psychological and social adaptive life patterns, identifying the meaning and connotations of injury, and identifying a broader range of personal strengths and competencies.

Chartrand and Lent (1987) apply three psychoeducational intervention models to the athletic environment. They include, "sports counseling" via a human development perspective, via an integrative-behavioral model for coping with critical events, or via a conflict theory of decision making model.

Jordan and Denson (1990) propose a comprehensive model for enhancing the developmental needs of student-athletes. Components include: academic monitoring, consultation with coaches, faculty, and parents, workshops covering transitions, career development, academic success, coping, relaxation, and personal counseling.

One of the more insightfully designed sport counseling frameworks is that of Greenspan and Andersen (1995). These researchers composed a developmental psychology model to provide psychological services to student athletes. Concepts are illustrated with case examples. The complexity of working within the athletic system is acknowledged. Ethical dilemmas are presented.

The only article to focus specifically on ethical perspectives in sport counseling is Loubert (1999). Loubert describes situations in which sports medicine professionals could become entangled as a primary party or as a third party. Recommendations are made and a

case study is presented to illustrate the complexities of working within the athletic environment.

Wehlage (1980) discusses the grief process related to athletics in an effort to educate athletic trainers. He argues that the "emotional turmoil of grief . . . remains poorly understood, frequently overlooked, and generally mismanaged by the professionals responsible for the well-being of athletes" (p. 144). Wehlage applies a three-stage model of grief to the athletic environment.

Ray, Hanlon, and VanHeest (1989) also conducted research related to athletic trainers. These researchers present a case study of a college football team faced with an actual death to illustrate the typical grief process. Specifically, they describe how athletic trainers facilitated team grieving.

Recently, Ludwig (1996) described the services available to athletes at US Olympic Training Centers. Services fall into six categories and include, performance enhancement, mental training, group workshops, team building, coaching education, and individual counseling. Professionals at these centers are trained to work with fear of success and failure, the female athlete triad, the male-dominated sport environment, superwoman's expectations, training pressures, competition, communication, and assertiveness.

Legislation

The practice of providing counseling services to athletes precedes the development of programs to train counselors to work with this population (Miller & Wooten, 1995). In fact, the field of sport psychology began in the 1920s. The National Association of

Academic Advisors for Athletics was created in 1975 to help student-athletes with academic issues (Petitpas, Buntrock, Van Raalte, & Brewer, 1995). In 1985, guidelines for athletic counseling were developed through the "Counselors of Tomorrow" project sponsored by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (Miller & Wooten, 1995). Also that year, the Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology was formed (Silva, Conroy, & Zizzi, 1999). Finally in 1987, the American Psychological Association created Division 47: Exercise and Sport Science (Petitpas et al., 1995).

The first academic department to train counselors to work with members of the athletic population is the Athletic Counseling Program in the Department of Counseling and Psychological Services at Springfield College, MA (Petitpas et al., 1995). Since then, other counselor education departments offer sport counseling courses: Florida State University, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, University of South Carolina, Southern Illinois University, and Syracuse University (Hinkle, 1999).

The Olympic Games

Thousands of books have been written about the Olympics (Guttman, 1992). In fact, the "academic literature on both the ancient and the modern Games is massive and growing" (Toohey & Veal, 2000, p. 1). It is not the intent of the writer to present an exhaustive review of these materials. Rather, the purpose of this section is to provide basic information for readers unfamiliar with the Olympic Games. For more in-depth information, readers are directed to the following noteworthy resources: Coubertin (1979), Epsy (1981), Guttmann (1978, 1992, 1994), Hill (1996), Hoberman (1984, 1986), Kanin

(1981), Killanin (1983), Killanin and Rodda (1976), MacAloon (1981), Pound (1994), and Wallechinsky (1984).

Senn (1999) defines the Olympic Games as

> A quadrennial, multisport competition that travels the world. The competition at the Olympic Games represents the apex of elite sports, and as such, the Games have become the largest regularly scheduled international gathering of participants and spectators. The mass appeal of the elite competition in the Olympic Games gives the Games unique significance in world politics, culture, and even economic life. (p. xx)

The first recorded Olympic contest took place at Olympia in western Greece in 776 B.C. (Worldbook, 1999). The "Stadion," a 210-yard running race, was the sole competition held. In fact, the first 13 Olympic Games consisted of only one event. Wrestling and pentathlon were added to the ancient Greek Olympic program in 708 B.C.; boxing was added in 688 B.C. Kyniska of Sparta became the first woman winner in 396 B.C., beating all male and female competitors in the four-horse chariot race. In 393 B.C. Roman Emperor Theodosius I banned the Olympic Games, thus ending the Games of the ancient era.

Pierre de Coubertin, a French educator, publicly proposed the revival of the Olympic Games in 1892 (Worldbook, 1999). He formed the International Olympic Committee in 1894, and the first Olympic Games of the modern era took place in Athens, Greece, in 1896. Athletes competed in nine events: cycling, fencing, gymnastics, lawn tennis, shooting, swimming, track and field, weightlifting, and wrestling. Since 1896, with the exception of 1916 (W.W.I), 1940 (W.W.II), and 1944 (W.W.II), the Olympics have been celebrated every four years.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) was founded in 1894 by Pierre de Coubertin (Toohey & Veal, 2000). It now consists of 34 international sport federations and 200 national Olympic committees. The IOC is an international non-governmental nonprofit organization that serves as an umbrella organization for The Olympic Movement. The Olympic Movement consists of the IOC, the 34 international sports federations, the 200 national Olympic committees, the organizing committees for the Olympic Games, national sports associations, sport clubs and members, and the athletes.

The IOC adheres to the principles, rules, and by-laws of The Olympic Charter (IOC, 2000). There are nine fundamental principles, three of which pertain to the present study: (a) the goal is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practiced without discrimination and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity, and fair play; (b) the Olympic Movement is symbolized by five interlaced rings which represent five continents. It brings together athletes of the world at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games; and (c) the practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport in accordance with his or her needs (IOC, 2000).

The 1980 Olympic Boycott

> *When Afghanistan was invaded by the United Socialist Soviet Republic in December, 1979, it unintentionally became the catalyst for the most blatant sport-politics clash in Modern Olympic history.*
>
> Kereliuk, 1986

Of the extensive literature pertaining to the Olympic Games, a number of authors focus their discussions on the political, economic, and social factors, and more specifically,

the 1980 Moscow Olympics (e.g., Booker, 1981; Hazan, 1982; Hoberman, 1986; Kanin, 1981; Kereliuk, 1986; Killanin, 1983; Macintosh & Hawes, 1994; Shaikin, 1988). Although the actual number of countries who did not compete in the 1980 Olympics is open to debate (Hulme, 1990; Kanin, 1981), *The Associated Press* (1984) lists 63 countries. Please see Appendix J for the complete list.

The topic of the 1980 Olympic boycott has even been the sole focus of two book-length manuscripts which include, *The Political Olympics: Moscow, Afghanistan, and the 1980 Olympic Boycott* (Hulme, 1990) and *Détente, Diplomacy, and Discord: Jimmy Carter and the 1980 Olympic Boycott* (McConnell, 1997).

Hulme (1990) analyzes the political events within the United States and the international community that led up to the 1980 Olympic boycott. He also summarizes the political and economic consequences. Assuming the US government desired to punish rather than coerce the USSR, Hulme believes the boycott may have succeeded. At the same time, he exposes the US government's lack of understanding of international sport. Lord Killanin, former president of the IOC emphasizes this last point:

> I personally think it's unfortunate that the President of the United States, on sporting matters, was not fully informed on the facts. . . . This led to the trouble. . . . They did not understand how sport is organized in the world. They did not understand how national Olympic committees work. They did not understand the workings of the International Olympic Committee. They did not understand the workings of the international federations and national federations. . . . To my mind they had virtually no knowledge other than about American football and baseball, which if they had been in the Olympic Games, perhaps we wouldn't have had the boycott. (Killanin, 1983)

McConnell (1997) thinks President Carter's boycott decision was the ultimate protest to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. By providing details of the Carter administration's steps, and the reactions of the Soviet Union, Western Europe, the

American public, and US business leaders, she analyzes the effectiveness of alternative solutions.

Collections of essays contain related historical material. Edited books by Graham and Ueberhorst (1976) and Segrave and Chu (1988) are two examples. Several book chapters chronicle the political events leading up to the 1980 Olympic boycott and the subsequent fallout (e.g., Findling & Pelle, 1996; Guttman, 1992, 1994; Nafziger, 1988; Reich, 1986; Senn, 1999; Toohey & Veal, 2000; Toomey & King, 1984).

Two studies examine news coverage bias of the 1980 Olympic boycott. Mosco & Chorbajian (1986) assess *Time* magazine and the *New York Times* coverage of the 1976 and 1980 Olympic boycotts. These authors suggest that *Time* magazine and the *New York Times* are widely read publications and are part of a larger media empire that has a relationship to an even larger national political economy. In their examination, all published articles followed national government policies condemning the 1976 boycott by African nations and yet supporting the US-led 1980 boycott.

Coulter (1986) critiques newspaper coverage of the 1976, 1980, and 1984 Olympic Games boycotts. He compares two Canadian newspapers: *The Globe and Mail*, a corporate-owned business aimed at the upper-middle class, and *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, an independently-owned business with a focus on local news. Coulter concludes that *The Kingston Whig-Standard* made consistent attempts to report all sides of the boycott issues, yet *The Globe and Mail* consistently aligned their editorials and news coverage with the interests of the Canadian corporate elite.

An article by Shinnick (1982) follows the formation of progressive organizations to protect athletes' rights, challenge the governmental boycott position, and assure the

autonomy of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC). One such organization was a citizen's fact finding tour to the Soviet Union in March 1980. This delegation, representing diverse opinions, interviewed high Soviet officials, sport officials, and private citizens. One example of the many interviewed by the committee was Sergei Pavlov, President of the Soviet Olympic Committee and Minister of Physical Culture and Sport. Pavlov reminds the delegation that:

> No matter what kind of political situations existed, the Soviet Union always participated, no matter where they were held. And I'd like to quote the words of Lord Killanin who said that when in 1974 the problem was discussed to hold the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, American forces were at the time in Vietnam and were on the way to Cambodia and at the time nobody raised the question of boycott and the decision was made and the Olympics were held in Lake Placid. (p. 17)

Hill (1999) contends that the Olympics are "splendid" (p. 19) exemplars of the use of sport by politicians. He uses the 1980 and 1984 Olympic boycotts to demonstrate exploitation of the political dimensions of sport.

Nafziger (1980) refers to President Carter's decision as "ineffective, costly, unjust, and unwise" (p. 67). In addition, he suggests the Carter administration interfered with athletes' civil rights, and this was unfair.

Although the boycott enjoyed considerable support in early 1980, the "passions cooled quickly" (Senn, 1999, p. 187). The US government had shackled itself to a policy Carter later called "necessary but politically damaging" (p. 187). To date, many commentators consider the boycott decision fruitless. One exception is Howard Cosell. Cosell is one of the few commentators who continued to support the 1980 boycott even

five years later: "It was the right thing to do. . . . I'll always admire President Carter for having the guts to spoil their party" (Cosell, 1985, p. 372-373).

The Canadian Boycott

> *The Canadian government's decision to support the United States-led boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow in protest over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 was the most traumatic event in the annals of Canadian international sport.*
>
> Macintosh & Hawes, 1994

Attention has also been afforded to Canada's role in the 1980 Olympic boycott (e.g., Kereliuk, 1986; Lapchick, 1986, 1996). Macintosh and Hawes (1994) devote a chapter to Canada's boycott of the 1980 Olympics in their book, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy*. These authors argue that the Canadian government's decision to boycott the 1980 Games was "the most traumatic event in the annals of Canadian international sport" (p. 90).

In response to US President Carter's January 20, 1980 ultimatum, a number of factors created a unique situation for Canada (Kereliuk, 1986). At the time of Carter's announcement, Prime Minister Joe Clark and his Conservative party assured Canadians that a boycott was unlikely. One week later, Prime Minister Clark reversed his position and supported the US.

In a February 18, 1980, federal election, Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal Party of Canada returned to power (Macintosh & Hawes, 1994). As a consequence, optimism prevailed within sport circles due to Trudeau's history of defying the US on important issues. The new government could not take formal action, however, until parliament was

recalled on April 14, 1980. In a subsequent decision that surprised many, the Canadian government announced their decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

Ten days later, the COA voted against sending a team to Moscow (Crossman & Lappage, 1992). "By voting in favor of the boycott, the COA did a tremendous disservice to Canadian athletes by eliminating their option of self-funding" (p. 370). Athletes from Britain and Australia however, participated in the 1980 Olympics as individuals; their respective Olympic associations voted *against* a boycott.

On May 5, 1980, five weeks before the Canadian Olympic Swimming Trials were scheduled to begin, the Canadian Swimming Coaches Association elected to combine the 1980 Summer Nationals with the Olympic Swimming Trials, change the location, and change the date (Stubbs, 1980). In response, the "bogus Olympic trials" (Corbella, 2000, p. 27) were rescheduled for July 15-19 in Toronto, Ontario. Some athletes chose not to compete at the trials, some competed but swam poorly, and some competed and qualified for the 1980 Olympic team.

The 38-member "honorary" team represented Canada at the Canada-Federal Republic of Germany dual meet, July 22-23, 1980 (SWIM Magazine, 1980). Normally, the second "tier" of athletes, those placing fourth and fifth in their events qualify for teams bound to international competitions. Because Canada would not be sending a team to Moscow, the honorary Olympic team went to an international meet, and the second tier went nowhere.

The Canadian government's decision to boycott was linked to Canada-US relations (Macintosh & Hawes, 1994). Canada's lack of support on this issue would have seriously

impacted US efforts to gain worldwide boycott support. This, is turn, would have negatively impacted Canada's relationship with the US.

Kereliuk (1986) agrees. She shows that the Canadian Olympic Association (COA) supported the boycott because of pressure from four powerful groups: the American government, the Canadian government, private American corporations, and COA's primary fundraiser, the Olympic Trust. In her view "the decision for Canada was not whether or not the boycott was a viable sanction to employ against the USSR. Rather, the decision was whether or not to support the United States boycott endorsement" (p. 156).

According to Kereliuk (1986), mixing sport with politics was not troublesome, the perceived loss of prestige from not attending the Olympics was not a major concern, and the needs of athletes were insignificant. The issue having the "greatest effect on Canada's decision was whether or not it was even possible to make a decision independent of the United States" (p. 158). Obviously, it was not. And, Canada's fractured sport community was unable to mount any kind of united front, despite what seemed an unfair and ineffective measure by almost everyone (Macintosh & Hawes, 1994).

Ultimately, Canada's high-performance athletes paid the biggest price, seeing years of training and sacrifice go for naught (Macintosh & Hawes, 1994). For many of these athletes, their dreams of ever competing in the Olympic Games were denied. Four years later would not be an option for most because of age, financial obligations, or needing to concentrate on post-athletic careers.

Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

The year that wasn't.

Bell, 1981

Despite the large body of literature addressing the Olympic Games, and in particular the 1980 Moscow Olympics, little attention has focused on those most affected, the athletes. Senn (1999) surmises that "the athletes are actually the forgotten element in the history of the Olympic Games" (p. xv).

Two empirical studies, one in English, investigate athletes' experiences of the 1980 Olympic boycott (Crossman & Lappage, 1992; Schwenkmezger & Wachtmeister, 1983). Crossman and Lappage (1992) explore the perceptions of athletes who were affected by the Canadian government's decision not to send a team to Moscow. In-depth telephone interviews were conducted with 48 randomly selected members of the 1980 Olympic team. Athletes represented 15 sports. Researchers solicited answers to questions in five content areas, including how athletes were informed of the decision to boycott, athletes' understanding of the boycott, athletes' reactions to the boycott, impact of the boycott, and athletes' attitudes and opinions. According to these authors, the boycott had a negative influence on the lives of the athletes interviewed. "One in five of those interviewed reported that in response to the boycott, they quit their sport and/or stopped training" (p. 369). Moreover, negative reactions outweighed positive responses six to one.

Unfortunately, Crossman and Lappage (1992) do not substantiate their claims of implementing "in-depth qualitative methods" (p. 362) in their study. For example, their sample is random as opposed to purposive and was therefore not chosen with the intent of seeking information-rich cases (Stake, 1995). A second major weakness of this study is the choice to report findings in quantitative terms. Quotes of direct experience are

disappointingly rare, and authors do not bring the phenomenon to life, a standard shared by numerous respected social science researchers (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999; Stake, 1995; Wolcott, 1994).

Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister (1983) examined the effects of the 1980 Olympic boycott using a single-subject design. During the weeks leading up to the Moscow Olympics, researchers in Germany investigated the relationship of daily activities and mood to performance. Specifically, a 25 year-old world-class swimmer recorded daily activities, as well as completed mood profiles. Germany's decision to boycott was announced on day 73 of the 105-day study. These researchers conclude that the athlete's training schedule decreased significantly after the boycott decision.

In addition to these two studies, athletes' accounts can be found in the popular press. Newspapers, radio transcripts, magazines, and other "soft press" formats quote and comment on the effects of the 1980 boycott on athletes. For example, Ron Bellamy, a columnist for the *Register Guard* newspaper (Eugene, Oregon), recalls an interview with the late Bill McChesney who made the 1980 US Olympic team at the 5000 meter run:

> To tell the truth, I think the loss becomes greater for those of us who never made another team, the more time goes by . . . I used to think that I just lost the opportunity to race. But that was a very small part, because I went to some very big races after that. What I lost was being able to march in and see the Olympic flame for real. I lost the chance to trade pins with people from other nations and get to know them . . . I never got the feeling of camaraderie that people describe. I never got that chance to smell the air and look around and go, "Wow, I made it to the Olympic Games." (July 19, 2000, Section E, p. 1)

Several athletes voiced their opinions in a recent radio interview by Nancy Greenleese of National Public Radio (2000). She reports that "many of the 1980 Olympians interviewed for this story were surprised by the rawness of the anger they still felt about the boycott. Many say years passed before they were able to watch the Olympic Games. The boycott radically changed their lives" (p. 4).

The 2002 Winter Olympics were held in Salt Lake City, Utah, this past winter. As part of the celebration, the torch was carried from town to town by multiple athletes. One of the towns was Eugene, Oregon. Mark Lavery, a local torchbearer, shared a story with the *Gazette-Times* newspaper (Corvallis, Oregon) about a fellow torchbearer he had talked with. Apparently, this man had made the 1980 US Olympic swim team but never had gone because of the boycott. Lavery says, "He started to tell his story and immediately broke down. It was a humbling experience" (Murez, January 23, 2002, Section A, p. 6).

Finally, Dan Thompson, a member of Canada's 1980 Olympic swim team and ranked fourth in the world in 1979, reflects on the boycott:

> At 24, I had put my degree on hold to pursue my Olympic goal.
>
> Word spread fast, and Deryk Snelling, our coach, had prepared us pretty well for this day. I remember the pep talk . . . Deryk, in his red shirt and white shorts, put a brave face on the situation but he lived for the Olympics and his disappointment was obvious . . . There were a few tears and a few choice words aimed at the American and Canadian establishments, but we all knew the boycott was real and that none of us would feel the emotional rush of walking into Lenin Stadium for the Opening Ceremonies.
>
> We swam as we always did that day but the mood was reserved, very little was said, and everyone was deep in thought. I guess it had all been said for us.
>
> Sport is just one component of one's life and not an all-encompassing philosophy of life itself. My Olympic experience was a great lesson in perspective. (2001, p. 155-157)

Reflecting on the Literature

What are the implications that can be gleaned from the literature? Several factors--positive *and* negative--are unique to the athletic environment. Sport participation comes with benefits *and* costs. Much information has been gathered and disseminated to ensure the accurate documentation of the political history of the Olympic Games. It is also evident that detailed accounts of the political, economic, and social precursors and aftermath of the United States-led boycott are readily available.

Despite the overwhelming attention to these dimensions of the Olympic Games by scholars, literature addressing the impact of the Olympic Movement on athletes is scarce. Moreover, just two empirical studies directly investigate the 1980 Olympic boycott in

regard to the effects on athletes. Crossman and Lappage (1992) found that the boycott had a negative influence on the lives of the athletes interviewed. "One in five of those interviewed reported that in response to the boycott, they quit their sport and/or stopped training" (p. 369). Negative reactions outweighed positive responses six to one.

Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister (1983) examined the relationship of daily activities and mood to performance of a 25 year-old, world class swimmer. They report the athlete's training schedule decreased significantly after the boycott decision.

My project extends these works in three ways. First, Crossman and Lappage's (1992) study assessed the boycott's effects ten years later, and Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister (1983) conducted their research in 1980. My study occurs more than 20 years post-boycott. Previously hidden factors may now be surfacing. Indeed the media is beginning to publish the effects on athletes' current lives.

Second, my case selection is different. Crossman and Lappage (1992) chose a random sample of athletes based on Sport Canada's Olympic team lists. A major factor in 1980 was the rescheduled Canadian swimming trials which potentially influenced who was named to the 1980 team. Several athletes discontinued their training regimes, some even chose not to compete at the Trials. Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister (1983) sample was one of convenience. That is, Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister decided to report their single-subject findings related to the boycott, even though this was not their purpose at the outset.

Finally, my data collection and representation are decidedly different. Although Crossman and Lappage (1992) claim qualitative methods, they report their findings in quantitative forms. Schwenkmezger and Wachtmeister (1983) is a quantitative study. My

study seeks stories via unstructured interviews. It allows participants to choose what they think is important to share. As well, I am a member of the culture I choose to study and this no doubt influences my project.

APPENDIX B: *TESTIMONIO* VOICES

Jonie

Thirteen voices: "It wouldn't have taken much" (expectations).

". . . last chance to make it" (window of opportunity).

"We were all just devastated" (reaction).

"Swimming was part of my life; it wasn't all of my life" (identity, perspective, commitment).

"Life just sort of went on" (coping).

"There wasn't a choice for me to make" (powerlessness).

"We didn't know what to do. There was nobody" (lack of guidance, powerlessness).

". . . things they could have done" (lack of guidance).

"Dialogue with athletes" (guidance, empowering athletes).

"It's all around preparation" (coping, empowering athletes, guidance).

"I should have" (regret, loss).

"I've learned a lot" (resolving loss).

"I've often wondered" (alienation).

Jules

Eleven voices: "I saw myself finishing third" (expectations).

"I have no recollection" (reaction).

"Life is swimming" (identity, commitment).

"Commitment is an issue, obviously" (commitment).

"Mad, sad, isolated" (reaction).

"Decisions out of my control" (powerlessness).

"Nobody around to help" (lack of guidance).

"I didn't want to be in that awful environment"

(powerlessness, lack of guidance, structure of sport).

"Sport hasn't changed" (powerlessness, structure of sport).

"Twelve years of self-destruction" (coping).

"It got me a sense of failure" (reaction).

Kate

Thirteen voices: The value of sport (identity).

We left home early in life (commitment).

Sacrifice, commitment, devotion (commitment).

Everything was in place (expectations).

"We had one shot" (window of opportunity).

We blindly followed the rules (powerlessness).

Getting the news, "This can't be happening" (reaction).

I never committed to anything (commitment).

"Sometimes you just shut the door" (coping).

"I never dealt with it" (coping).

"Someone else controls your destiny" (powerlessness).

The things that might have helped (lack of guidance).

Sport hasn't changed (lack of guidance).

Five Collective Voices

Commitment, identity, expectations.

Window of opportunity.

Reactions.

Coping.

Powerlessness, lack of guidance.

APPENDIX C: LINKING THE STUDY OF CANADIAN WOMEN ATHLETES AND THE 1980 OLYMPIC BOYCOTT TO THE LITERATURE

In the following sections I make references to the literature and discuss implications for the counseling and sport communities. Sections are organized around five topics, the five collective voices highlighted in chapter four: Commitment, identity, and expectations; the finitude of elite athletics; loss, regret, and alienation; coping strategies; and powerlessness and "the things they could have done."

Expectations, Commitment, and Identity

Literature

High expectations, commitment to achieve the expectations, and identities derived entirely or in part from commitment to sport, were collectively voiced by the three women interviewed for this study. Athletic identity, identity foreclosure, identity constriction, or "definition and ego-involvement of the self as an athlete" (McPherson, 1980, p. 127) is identified as a potential factor that exacerbates difficulties (Baillie, 1993; Brewer, 1993; Coakley, 1992; Heyman, 1987; Martin, et al., 1995; McPherson, 1980; Murphy, et al., 1996). Several authors believe that a stronger athletic identity creates more challenges upon retirement (Coakley, 1992; Denison, 1994).

Crossman and Lappage (1992) surmise expectations, commitment, and identity as influences on how athletes reacted to the 1980 Olympic boycott. In discussing swimmers, the authors note: "Some had targeted the 1980 Olympics as their Olympics and the one they had prepared for all their competitive lives. To them the boycott was devastating and

the thought of training four more years for another Olympics was inconceivable" (p. 368). Conversely, the boycott seemed to have a less negative impact on one interviewee, "The Olympics is one stepping stone but isn't the one and only" (p. 365).

Implications

It is imperative that counselors understand the interplay among expectations, commitment, and identity within the athletic community. Unrealistic expectations, extreme commitment, and identities wrapped solely around athletics can exacerbate reactions and leave athletes with few coping strategies.

Sport professionals need to identify and critique the costs of expectations, extreme commitment, and identities aligned solely with athletics. Coaches need to examine their roles in these processes. It is also paramount that coaches and other sport professionals openly dialogue with athletes and parents about these potential issues.

The Finitude of Elite Athletics

Literature

Each of the women participating in this study identify the window of opportunity in which to achieve their athletic goals. For these athletes, 1980 was their one and only shot to make the Canadian Olympic Swimming Team. Few scholars have addressed the finitude of elite athletics. Martino (1975) tells us that among elite swimmers, it is not uncommon for girls to retire as young as 14. Feigley (1984) identifies swimming, diving,

and gymnastics as sports that foster rigorous training schedules beginning at age five. Brown (1985) reports that career lengths of former competitive swimmers average five years.

The sport in which the athlete participated influenced reactions in Crossman and Lappage's (1992) boycott study. Athletes were more negatively affected in sports such as swimming and track, those sports in which athletes peak for one or possibly two Olympics. Athletes from equestrian and shooting events admitted fewer negative effects.

Implications

Finitude is an enduring factor of athletic success and achievement based largely on competitors' physical qualities. Responsible training routines and nutrition probably lengthen athletes' desires to continue competing in sport. This "window of opportunity" is also influenced by emotional and social variables, factors that counselors and sport professionals have influence on. Two variables include role models and coaching philosophy. Aging elite female athletes are a recent occurrence, albeit rare. The 2000 Olympics featured two women past age 30--unheard of previously. One of them was Jenny Thompson (32) who defied the intense pressure to peak before age 20 and then retire.

Although the window of opportunity is widening, there is still much to be done. For example, the intensities that athletes devote to their athletic careers are related to the finitude of their careers. The small window of opportunity afforded to elite athletes is potentially a reason for the level of sacrifice. Helping athletes set long range goals is vital.

Understanding factors that contribute to burnout are also important in the process. Coaches that present a holistic, long-term attitude produce well-adjusted athletes who may endure less problems upon retirement.

Loss, Regret, and Alienation

Literature

Loss, regret, and alienation, and related descriptors, color each testimonio. Words such as "Shock," "Bitter," "It's like losing a child," "Part of me died," "Bummed," "Disappointed," "I wish there was some closure there," "I wish I'd done that," "Upset," "Mad," "Sad,", and "Isolated," repeat throughout the three women's stories. Crossman and Lappage (1992) report that 29% indicated they did not believe the boycott would occur at all. Immediate reactions included disappointment (33%), disbelief (20%), and anger (17%). Of athletes interviewed, none expressed positive feelings. With regard to training, 57% reported that training fell off as a result of the boycott. Interestingly, 10 years later, 30% of Crossman and Lappage's sample admitted that their feelings had intensified, 53% said their feelings toward the government had changed, 21% used the word "cynicism" when describing their feelings toward politicians. Of the positive reactions, athletes identified character building, learning to cope with disappointment, putting sport in perspective, and preparing for the realities of life.

Loss has been examined by several scholars. Astle (1986) discusses loss within the athletic culture. He lists examples of loss unique to athletes: loss due to retirement, loss of significant others, loss of some aspect of self, and loss of performance capabilities. Loss is

also talked about in terms of alienation, or movement away from something that is desirable (Peretz, 1970). Seeman (1959) describes five forms of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, isolation, meaninglessness, self-estrangement. All seem to apply to the women interviewed for this study.

Lavallee, et al., (1997) associate involuntary retirement with significantly greater emotional and social adjustment issues. Denison's (1996) work perhaps captures the voices from this study best: "Stranded, disillusioned, and directionless" (p. 28).

A recent newspaper article by a former competitive swimmer presents an especially haunting reaction: "As a result of Canada pulling out of the Olympics . . . I will forever wonder, 'what if . . ?' My life will forever miss a chapter" (Corbella, 2000, p. 4).

Implications

Counselors are well-versed in dealing with emotions such as loss, regret, and alienation. Therefore, it is paramount that they examine legislation that allows them to work within the athletic community. Their expertise is needed but acceptance into this secretive environment presents challenges.

Coaches and other sport professionals need to seek guidance from counselors to be understand grief, loss, regret, and alienation. Athletes will benefit from validation, understanding factors that exacerbate their situations, and guidance about coping.

Coping Strategies

Literature

Of the coping strategies voiced by the three women in this study, the majority seem "negative." For example, "Self-destruction," "Denial," "Not dealing with it," and "Distancing," are identified. Interestingly, all three women have worked in sport. Jonie continues to work with athletes and encourage them to focus on what they can control in an often uncontrollable environment.

Literature addressing the coping strategies of athletes is scarce. Fortunately, Crossman and Lappage (1992) devote much attention to this topic. They report that 54% of participants (41% of male athletes and 32% of female athletes) established new goals for other competitions. Some accepted the boycott as beyond their control while others were vehement in their refusal to accept it and thus it is still influencing their lives 10 years later.

Support structure impacted athletes' reactions to the 1980 Olympic boycott (Crossman & Lappage, 1992). The reaction of those who were most influential in the athlete's life at the time of the boycott may have helped shape interpretations and reactions.

Implications

Counselors need to understand the range of reactions and the factors that exacerbate these reactions within the athletic environment. Counselors work regularly with similar emotions and behaviors and could probably contribute by educating sport professionals.

Coaches and other sport professionals need to acknowledge the legitimacy of athletes' reactions to setbacks. They need to guide athletes by modeling appropriate reactions themselves, listening, allowing emotional outlets, seeking consultation with counselors, and providing much needed guidance.

Powerlessness and "The Things They Could Have Done"

Literature

Powerlessness characterized each woman's story in this study, particularly in terms of the lack of guidance provided by coaches and others involved. Powerlessness is discussed in the literature in terms of sexism. Bryson (1983, 1994) believes that sport contributes to male dominance and keeps women in subordinate roles. Moreover, given that swim coaches are predominantly male, we cannot ignore the work of Burton Nelson (1994) and Kirby et al. (2000).

Crossman and Lappage (1992) note that 63% of their sample were informed of the boycott by the media, 31% did not recall being officially informed, and 22% could not remember. Many of those interviewed by Crossman and Lappage felt manipulated by politicians, expressing words such as "pawn." Their primary objection was being "told," not asked to boycott. "Clearly, elite Canadian athletes are in a vulnerable position" (Crossman & Lappage, 1992, p. 370).

As a result of their study, Crossman and Lappage (1992) make recommendations in the event of a future boycott. They state that athletes should be more informed of the rationale behind the decision in hopes of increasing understanding. Furthermore, they

recommend that more support services be made available, including more opportunities to discuss the boycott with other athletes.

Implications

Some athletes continue to be affected by the 1980 Olympic boycott, some 20 years later. Therefore, I would like to see counselors and sport professionals seek these individuals out. Perhaps even Sport Canada should make efforts to provide opportunities for former athletes to discuss their experience of the boycott. It is clear that support services were scare in 1980 and continue to be rare presently.

Unlike Crossman and Lappage (1992), I believe the implications reach beyond the possibility of a future boycott. Counselors can help athletes by understanding the athletic environment, and listening and empowering athletes, parents, and coaches. It is imperative that coaches and other sport professionals practice honesty. That is, they need to enhance their awareness of making misleading promises. These serve to set athletes up for problems. Coaches would do well to encourage dialogue, options, and choices for their athletes.

APPENDIX D: FRAMING QUESTIONS

1. Question: Describe "life" prior to the boycott decision. What is your day like? What is your week like? Intention: To create thick description so that I and readers get a sense of walking in the athlete's shoes and to understand the level of commitment the athlete has to her sport.

2. Question: Describe the boycott decision. What is your experience? How are you informed? What is your reaction? What are your feelings? What are others' reactions? How does it affect daily "life?" Who is involved and who do you talk to? Intention: to create thick description so I and readers can more deeply understand the meaning of this event in athletes' lives.

3. Question: Describe "life" in the months following the boycott decision. What is your experience? What is your day like? What is your week like? How does the boycott affect your life as an athlete? Do you continue training for the 1984 Olympics? Who do you talk to? Intention: To create thick description so that I and readers get a sense of walking in athletes' shoes and understand the impact of the boycott on athletes' lives.

4. Question: Describe life now. How does the experience of the boycott have meaning in your life? How does it affect you? Who do you talk to about it? Intention: To understand how athletes' current functioning are impacted given that they were denied the opportunity to compete in the 1980 Olympics, and to explore the long-term effects on individuals.

5. Question: Rewrite your story. How does it change? Intention: To set the stage for linking the boycott to counselor education and political structures within sport.

6. Question: What might be parallel events in the "non-athletic" world? Intention: to link the study of these athletes' reactions to the boycott to other issues that people face in their lives; to link the study of athletes to counselor education.

7. Question: Numerous articles have been written about special issues that athletes deal with: identity development, control, relationships, gender roles, eating disorders, substance abuse, anger, aggression, stress, and burnout. How, if at all, does your experience of the boycott relate to any of the above issues? Intention: to link the study of these athletes to issues that have already been studied in the field of counselor education and psychology.

APPENDIX E: APPLICATION TO USE HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH

Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Oregon State University

x **New Protocol** _ **Resubmission**

Principle Investigator: Lizbeth Gray, Ph.D. **E-mail**: grayli@orst.edu
Department: Counselor Education **Telephone**: 541-752-3276

Project Title: *Testimonios* of Shared Experience: Canadian Women Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

_ **External Funding**: N/A

Type of Project: x Faculty or Staff Research Project x Student Project or Thesis

Student's name: S. Jill Black **Telephone**: 541-343-1150
The major professor must serve as Principle Investigator for students.
Student's mailing address: 331 Hunington Avenue, Eugene, Oregon, 97405
Student's e-mail: jill_black@prodigy.net

I think this qualifies for the following type of review:
_ Exempt from full board (submit two copies) x Expedited (submit three copies)
_ Full Board (submit sixteen copies)

Project Start Date (collection of data from human subjects): March 19, 2001

Brief Description

The purpose of this study is to examine Canadian women athletes' experiences of the 1980 Olympic boycott. Interviews are conducted with female athletes who were denied the opportunity to compete in the 1980 Olympics because of the Canadian Government's decision to boycott this competition. Each athlete's story is documented. In addition, a general story is written that represents common themes among athletes interviewed. Only two empirical studies exist that investigate athletes' experiences of this event, one measures the effects of the boycott on one athlete's training schedule, another solicits mainly Likert-

like responses to phone interviews. The proposed study differs from the previous two studies. That is, athletes are interviewed using an unstructured format, thereby soliciting in-depth knowledge. The unstructured characteristic frame of interviews allows athletes to tell their own stories as they choose to tell them.

Methods and Procedures

Methods include recruiting two to ten women athletes who were eligible to compete for a spot on the 1980 Canadian Olympic team. Participants are located through current athletic coaches and provincial athletic associations. Participants who are willing to be interviewed are asked to schedule a time and place for a private, audio taped interview to be conducted by S. Jill Black, Ph.D. student in Counselor Education, School of Education, OSU. Interviews last approximately two hours. Interviews are unstructured to elicit participants' stories. A list of questions is developed to frame the parameters of interviews and serve only as a guide. These "framing" questions are available in Appendix D. Participants are given an opportunity to review their transcripts and offer additional information. In addition, participants are given an opportunity to review and comment on a general story about the boycott experience, written at the conclusion of interviews. Follow-up interviews are conducted if clarification is needed or if additional questions arise; follow-up interviews are by phone or in person.

Benefits and Risks

The primary benefit of this research is that participants have the opportunity to share their stories regarding the meaning and impact of the 1980 Olympic boycott. These stories are written in a form that gives other athletes, those involved in the boycott and others, access to knowledge of this historical event. Participants receive no incentives for

participation, other than the opportunity to take part in the study. The primary risk of participation is recollection and disclosure of events that are emotionally painful. This may lead to unpleasant emotions. Strict coding methods are followed to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of participants. Names do not appear on data. The American Counseling Association (ACA) ethical code regarding counseling research is followed by the researchers.

Subject Population

The population includes two to ten women athletes who were eligible to compete for a position on the 1980 Canadian Olympic team. To be included in this study, each participant must meet the following criteria: (a) female, (b) former competitor in an individual sport, (c) national level competitor or above, (d) eligible to compete for a position on the 1980 Canadian Olympic team, and (e) did not participate in the 1980 Olympic Games. If a potential participant meets the inclusion criteria, she is asked to participate in the study.

Informed Consent Process

Consent of participants is acquired after the researcher meets with the participant and describes the study. Questions and concerns are addressed prior to consent. Each participant is informed of the potential benefits and risks as summarized above, as well as given permission to dismiss herself at any time during the study. Please see a copy of the informed consent document in Appendix F.

Anonymity or Confidentiality

All participants are given pseudonyms. No given names are attached to any documents. An original list of participants is kept in a locked cabinet. The only people

with access to this information are the investigators. No names are used in any data summaries or publications. Audio tapes are kept in a locked filing cabinet. At the conclusion of the study, audio tapes are erased, as the OSU research office does not set a time limit for keeping audio tapes.

Attachments

x Informed Consent Document
x Questionnaire, Survey, Testing Instrument (e.g., interview guide)
_ Advertisements or Posters
x Telephone Scripts or Other Recruitment Scripts (e.g., information letter)
_ Debriefing Materials
_ Letters of Approval

Signed _____ Date _____
Principle Investigator

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Counselor Education, School of Education

Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon

Testimonios of Shared Experience: Canadian Women Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

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Investigators: S. Jill Black, Doctoral Candidate, Counselor Education at OSU; Lizbeth Gray, Ph.D., Counselor Education at OSU, Doctoral Committee Chair.

Purpose of the research project: This research study examines Canadian women athletes' experiences of the 1980 Olympic boycott. It is anticipated that information gathered from this study will enhance understanding of athletes, encourage other athletes to tell their stories, and add knowledge to related literature.

Procedures: I receive an oral and a written explanation of this study and I understand that as a participant in this study, the following will happen:

Pre-study screening: I meet with Jill Black who describes the nature and purpose of this study, as well as the expectations of my participation. To be included in this study, you must meet the following criteria: (a) female, (b) former competitor in an individual sport, (c) national level competitor or above, (d) eligible to compete for a position on the 1980 Canadian Olympic team, and (e) did not participate in the 1980 Olympic Games.

What participants will do during the study: My participation consists of a face to face audio taped, in-depth interview of approximately two hours, as well as one or two follow-up conversations (in person or by phone). I am given the opportunity to review and edit a transcript of my interview. I am also given the opportunity to review and make comments on a general story, written by the researcher at the conclusion of the interviews.

Foreseeable risks or discomforts: I understand that there are no known risks by participating in this study, except the possibility of experiencing emotional discomfort or recollection of unwanted memories during the interview process. I understand that I am given the opportunity to debrief at the end of the interview and process these feelings and thoughts that I have as a result of my participation. I also understand that a referral for counseling is offered, if appropriate.

Benefits to be expected from the research: My participation in this study aids in the understanding of elite women athletes. It is the intention of the researcher to use the information to increase the knowledge base for those who work with athletes. The only benefit that I receive by participating in this study is the potential to gain new understanding and personal satisfaction in contributing to the welfare of Canada's women athletes.

Confidentiality: Every effort is made to ensure that the information I provide remains confidential. By using pseudo names, it becomes highly unlikely that information from my interview can ever be connected to me. I understand that my name is never included anywhere in the published study or subsequent publications. Any information obtained from me is kept confidential, except in the case of danger to self or others (such as suicidal or homicidal intentions) as presented by the American Counseling Association (ACA) code of ethics. For my information, the researcher provides me with a copy of the ACA code of ethics. Pseudonyms are used to identify any other information that I provide. The only people with access to this information are the two investigators, and no given names are used in data summaries or publications. Audio tapes are kept secure in a locked filing cabinet and erased at the end of the research study.

Voluntary participation statement: I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary, and that I am not paid or compensated in any way for my participation in this study. I may refuse to participate, refrain from answering any questions, or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or prejudice.

If you have questions: I understand that any questions I have about the research study and/or specific procedures are directed to Jill Black, 331 Hunington Avenue, Eugene, Oregon, 97405, (541) 343-1150, jill_black@prodigy.net, or Jill Black's doctoral committee chair, Lizbeth Gray, Ph.D., (541) 752-3276, grayli@orst.edu. If I have questions about my rights as a research participant, I contact the IRB Coordinator, OSU Research Office, (541) 737-3437.

Results of study: I understand that if I would like information about the results of this study, I ask the researcher to reserve a copy for me when it becomes available. This information is provided free of charge.

My signature below indicates that I have read and that I understand the procedures described above and give my informed and voluntary consent to participate in this study. I understand that I receive a signed copy of this consent form.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Name of Participant (Please Print)

_____

Date Signed

_____

_____

Participant's Present Address

_____

Participant's Present Phone Number

_____ _____

Signature of Principle Investigator (optional) Date Signed

APPENDIX G: INFORMATION LETTER

Testimonios of Shared Experience: Canadian Women Athletes and the 1980 Olympic Boycott

Dear Potential Participant,

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project that examines Canadian women athletes' experiences of the 1980 Olympic boycott. My belief is that this research information helps counseling professionals and others (e.g., coaches, administrators, sport psychologists, and educators) understand the life experiences of athletes such as yourself. In addition, I believe that this project has the potential to motivate other athletes to share their stories. The telling of athletes' stories hopefully leads to the addition of services for all athletes who experience these kinds of significant events.

This is a qualitative study which means that information is gathered in the form of interviews rather than through surveys and rating scales. If you agree to participate, you are asked to schedule an interview time with me. Participation may also involve one or two follow-up conversations, in person or by phone. The interview questions are primarily about your experiences as a Canadian female athlete and the 1980 Olympic boycott. I anticipate interviews lasting approximately two hours. These interviews are audio taped and transcribed. I write a story based on each interview. You are given the opportunity to review and edit the transcript of your interview. You are also given a chance to add new information at that time. I hope to interview between two and ten women. After all interviews are completed, I write a general story. You are given an opportunity to review and comment on this general story.

Following each interview, I discuss my experience with my OSU doctoral committee chairwoman, Lizbeth Gray, Ph.D. In order to protect you as a participant in this study and ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms known only to myself and Dr. Gray are used. Tapes, field notes, pseudonyms, and any other information gathered from you is stored in a locked filing cabinet. Audio tapes are erased at the conclusion of the research project.

Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw without consequences at any time during the study. If you decide to participate in this study, please keep this letter for your own records. In addition, please contact me at (541) 343-1150 or e-mail me at jill_black@prodigy.net. We then schedule a time and location for an interview. Thank you for your time and interest. I look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

_____

S. Jill Black,
Doctoral Candidate,
Counselor Education,
Oregon State University,
Corvallis, Oregon, 97405
(541) 343-1150
jill_black@prodigy.net

APPENDIX H: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION (1)

July 1, 2001

Dear [athlete's name here]?

My name is Jill Black and I am a doctoral student in Counselor Education at Oregon State University. I am beginning a research project that involves interviewing a small group of women athletes. I am trying to locate Canadian women athletes who swam during the same era as myself: 1978-1984. I believe you might be one of these women. Because of normal life events, such as moving and name changes due to marriage, it is difficult to locate this group of athletes.

If you are [athlete's name here], and you decide that it is okay for me to send you an information packet about possibly participating in my study, please return the enclosed form in the envelope provided. If you are not [athlete's name here] but are connected to her, please forward this letter. If you have no connection to [athlete's name here], please recycle this letter and accept my apologies for the inconvenience.

I very much appreciate your time.

Sincerely,

Jill Black
(541) 343-1150
jill_black@prodigy.net

Lizbeth Gray, Ph.D.
(Jill's major professor)
(541) 752-3276
grayli@orst.edu

APPENDIX I: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION (2)

Dear Jill,

Please send me information about participating in your study.

Signature: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

_____

Phone: _____

E-mail: _____

APPENDIX J: 1980 OLYMPIC BOYCOTT COUNTRY LIST

According to *The Associated Press*, the following countries (63 total) did not compete in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games:

Argentina
Albania
Antigua
Bahrain
Bahamas
Bangladesh
Barbados
Belize
Bermuda
Bolivia
Burma
Canada
Cayman Islands
Central Africa
Chad
China
Chile
El Salvador
Egypt
Fiji
Gabon
Gambia
Haiti
Honduras
Hong Kong
Indonesia
Iran
Israel
Japan
Kenya
Liberia
Liechtenstein
Malawi
Malaysia
Mauritania
Mauritius
Monaco
Morocco

1980 OLYMPIC BOYCOTT COUNTRY LIST (Continued)

Nicaragua
Niger
Norway
Pakistan
Papua New Guinea
Paraguay
Philippines
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Singapore
Somalia
South Korea
Sudan
Surinam
Swaziland
Taiwan
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Virgin Islands
West Germany
Zaire