EARLE F. ZEIGLER LECTURE

Multiculturalism as an Issue in Sport Management

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I am truly honored and humbled to be the recipient of the Earle F. Zeigler Award, and I extend my sincere appreciation to the executive board, to the award committee, and to each of you for your support. I am also honored to join my distinguished colleagues who have given this lecture: Dr. Earle F. Zeigler, Dr. P. Chelladurai, and Dr. Janet Parks. Following that esteemed group is not an easy task.

The Zeigler Award is a very special recognition for me because of the admiration that I have for Earle Zeigler. He has been a very significant figure in my professional life and a dear friend to whom I am indebted for his professional contributions, caring, and concern.

In keeping with a socio-philosophical focus that reflects the works of Dr. Earle F. Zeigler, the topic I have selected for this lecture is ''Multiculturalism as an Issue in Sport Management.'' I will attempt to offer a blending of the social issues involved with this topic, along with a critical examination of the current state of affairs regarding multiculturalism in the sport and sport management setting, and I will offer the models based on Chesler and Crowfoot's (1990, 1992) research and Bennett's (1991, 1993) work for examining the multicultural approach. It is my hope that this work will not only raise or reaffirm a social consciousness within us regarding multiculturalism, but serve as a jumping-off point for debate, further questioning, and, most importantly, social action within the management of sport.

Multiculturalism is not some politically correct concept that perpetuates actions that are still prejudicial, but is rather the actuality of a true multicultural setting in sport organizations. It is my belief that there is a tremendous need for our sport management programs to make a commitment to reflect and directly address multicultural issues and education toward that end.

While the North American Society for Sport Management has made every effort to reach out and include our colleagues from other parts of the world, and the reverse of this is true as well, we must question our efforts to work toward a truly multicultural setting in belief and action and especially in the education of future sport managers.

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Utilizing a multicultural approach involves increasing the consciousness and appreciation of differences associated with the heritage, characteristics, and values of different groups as well as respecting the uniqueness of each individual (Morrison, 1992). Powell (1993) points out that within multicultural organizations, conflict is low due to the general absence of prejudice and discrimination. This may seem more like an ideal rather than an actuality, particularly when we examine sport settings and who is involved as team owners, managers, coaches, players, sponsors, athletic directors, and spectators. Such organizations are steeped in patriarchy and exclusivity. Organizations need to be more than merely proactive to encourage both the equality of opportunity and appreciation of diversity among those employed in sport settings.

Cultural diversity is used to refer to differences of individuals within the workplace that are associated with any characteristics that may set them apart as dissimilar. While the term may be restricted to equal employment opportunity laws regarding sex, race, national origin, religion, age, and disability or veteran status, it also extends to include differences according to personality, sexual orientation, physical appearance, marital status, and parental status (Kessler, 1990). Thomas (1991) goes beyond these approaches by indicating that we have traditionally thought of diversity in the context of legal or moral imperatives. Diversity then is again expanded to include civil rights, women's rights, humanitarianism, moral responsibility, and social responsibility. If we attempt to implement the concept of moral responsibility or seeking to live our moral beliefs by doing the "right thing," and the concept of social responsibility or being a good corporate citizen by having responsible sport managers direct their efforts in ways that benefit society, then valuing differences would be promoted and interpersonal relationships would be enhanced among individuals to minimize blatant expressions of all types of discrimination.

This can be achieved by educational programs whose objectives include (a) fostering awareness and acceptance of individual differences, (b) fostering greater understanding of the nature and dynamics of individual differences, (c) helping individuals understand their own feelings and attitudes about people who are different, (d) exploring how differences might be tapped as assets in the workplace, and (e) enhancing work relations between people who are different. Acceptance and understanding of diversity are not sufficient to empower a workforce. Managing diversity is needed to empower a diverse group of individuals to reach their full potential (Thomas, 1991). The composition of our intercollegiate and professional sport teams is a prime example here.

The report entitled *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century* (Johnson & Packer, 1987) indicates that proportions of both women and members of minority groups (i.e., Hispanic, Asian, Native American, African American, and others) are on the increase. It is estimated that by the year 2000, the labor force will change dramatically. It will be necessary for organizations whose management practices are geared to homogeneous groups to attract and retain qualified individuals from diverse groups (Johnston & Packer, 1987).

When we explore our own thoughts and behaviors regarding the authentic acceptance of a multicultural setting, particularly within sport, we must consider those individual background factors that may influence our beliefs regarding this issue. As with our approach to research, application, and everyday life, we have been and continue to be influenced by our own gender, race, ethnic heritage,

religious beliefs, age, abilities, sexual orientation, geographical location, education, socialization, and social group affiliations. All of these factors come together to form our current biases, prejudices, and behaviors. With consideration of such factors, it may be easier to understand the premises upon which our beliefs are based. Multicultural education is about knowing about others, but more about knowing about yourself. This statement reigns significant given the importance and influence such factors hold.

When exploring attitudes toward multiculturalism, we can consider that to varying degrees, we are all elitist, sexist, racist, and homophobic. All of these forms of bias are deterrents to developing an authentic responsibility to multiculturalism. In addition to fostering these deterrents, we also tend to take part in stereotyping minority groups. Potential problems arise when organizational decisions are based on such behaviors. Such decisions are influenced by the overall organizational culture. The concept of stacking in sport is a prime example here.

Multicultural Issues Related to Sport

The multicultural issues related to sport obviously concern the concept of social justice, including gender, race, ethnicity, and class discrimination, as well as the associated problems of oppression, power/authority, and the manner in which these concepts are handled by those governing and managing sport. In my examples of this section, you will hear echoes of what has already been expressed by Donna Lopiano, Mary Jo Kane, and others during this conference.

Gender Discrimination

Within sex discrimination, *gender equity* is the new buzz word on the intercollegiate sport level these days. You would almost think the NCAA thought of the concept by itself. While Title IX was passed in 1972, athletic departments are just now getting around to exploring the concept of equity and its true meaning.

North American societies have prided themselves on their concern and attention to the fullest development of the individual's human potential. These same societies, however, have been insensitive to sex discrimination and the barriers imposed by such a practice. There exist the pervasive social phenomena of male/female disparities in wealth, power, and prestige. Koppett (1981) astutely identified the unique dimensions of sex discrimination in the following quote:

> While questions of equal rights with respect to race mirror the larger society, the situation is entirely different with respect to women. . . . Discrimination along racial or religious lines is always applied as class distinction; the objects of the discrimination are a numerical minority, invariably imprisoned in a particular economic class, and society's constraints upon them are enforced against the class as a whole . . . women are not a numerical minority, and discrimination against [women] has always applied within class boundaries. That is, males of an upper class treat males of a lower class as inferior, but they also treat females of the same class as inferior; and males of the lower class treat females of their class as inferior. In fact,

insofar as they are male, lower-class males have considered themselves superior to upper-class females in one-to one confrontations when free of socially enforced restraints. (p. 207)

The attitudes toward female athletes, as many of us are aware, oftentimes are extremely negative, are unfounded, and take the form of myth. Myths regarding the masculinization of women, harm to women's health, conflicting roles of masculinity and femininity, and the point that women are not interested in sports and do not play well enough to be taken seriously are insufficient to justify the exclusion and negative attitudes expressed by those attempting to keep women from sporting activities or socializing them out of sport in general or certain sports specifically.

The underrepresentation of females in intercollegiate sport administration is still another issue. With the passage of Title IX in 1972 it is easily understood why the number of females participating in sport has increased as well as the growth of sport programs for girls and women. What is not so easily understood is that over the past 2 decades, there has been a tremendous reduction in the number of women who coach and administer girls' interscholastic and women's intercollegiate sports. This decline has been noted by Acosta and Carpenter (1992), Stangl and Kane (1991), and Knoppers (1987), to name a few. What is evident as a result of this research is that in 1972, 90% of the coaches of women's collegiate teams were female, while in 1990, only 47.3% were female. Kane and Stangl (1991) pointed out that one structural variable here might be based on the theory of homologous reproduction, where the dominant group reproduces itself.

Race Discrimination

One of the most well-documented forms of discrimination at college and professional levels of sport is ''stacking.'' Stacking includes situations in which minority groups members are disproportionately found in specific team positions and are underrepresented in others. This concept, according to Loy and McElvogue (1970), is a function of ''centrality'' or spatial location in a team sport. While whites occupy the central position, blacks are overrepresented in the peripheral or noncentral positions. While the research has supported such findings, stacking in basketball has somewhat broken down with the increased proportion of blacks in racially mixed teams.

In women's intercollegiate volleyball, blacks are overrepresented at the hitter position and whites at the setter (which is a central position) and bumper (Eitzen & Furst, 1989). In Canadian hockey, French Canadians are overrepresented at the central position of goalie and English Canadians are disproportionately represented in defensive positions (Lavoie, 1989). In British soccer, Black West Indians and Black Africans are overrepresented in the wide forward positions and whites at the central positions of midfielder and goal (Maguire, 1988; Melnick, 1988). In Australian rugby, whites are overrepresented in the central team positions and Aborigines are found disproportionately in the wide positions (Hallinan, 1991).

In a guest editorial in *The NCAA News*, Jackson (1993) pointed out that there is a concern for the lack of minority opportunities in athletic administration.

During the 1992 football season, there was a noted absence of black coaches among the 107 Division 1-A institutions. A few have been appointed since, but the question is very much an issue. The Reverend Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Commission on Fairness in Athletics has criticized professional and inter-collegiate athletics for relying on minority athletes while denying minorities key administrative positions. For some, the solution lies in increasing the number of internships, but the real issue is still the same—attitudes must change.

Harry Edwards (1993) points out that there is a dual challenge for college sport programs. He indicates that demographic and cultural pluralism must be concurrent. College/university sport has only reluctantly and in a most limited and unenthusiastic fashion addressed the issue of racial and gender under-representation in its authority ranks and will experience more negative repercussions as it is compelled to address this issue.

Gender-Responsible Leadership

There are a few cases of gender-responsible leadership. There is only one school in the United States in which the conjoined men's and women's athletic programs are administered by a woman. In May 1992, Michigan State University appointed Merrily Dean Baker as the athletic director. She is assisted by two associate athletic directors; one African American male and a white female. Two assistant athletic directors also work with her; one is a white male and the other an African American male. The black woman is almost a nonexistent species as an athletic administrator. Vivian Fuller at North Eastern Illinois University is the only athletic director at an NCAA Division 1 school who is black and female. She points out that there are seven black males who are athletic directors at white schools and there is only one black woman. Both the race-based and gender stereotypes are at the foundation of this form of discrimination in college/university athletics.

While it may sound as if the ideas expressed here are in conjunction with legal mandates to accept others or to legislate equality—such as Title IX prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex; or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, or national origin in any employment condition; or the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which makes it illegal to pay members of one sex at a lower rate than the other if they are in jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility in the same establishment—they are not. Rather, they are a plea to individuals within our educational institutions and organizations to take a proactive stand to be socially responsible regarding such issues of equality and equal treatment, even if such laws did not exist.

Multicultural Education

Upon examining cultural diversity, Cox (1991) distinguished three types of orga-nizations based on their attitudes toward the concept of multiculturalism. The three categories are noted as monolithic, plural, and multicultural. Monolithic organizations have a large majority of one group of employees, especially in the managerial ranks. Differences between groups are resolved by assimilation in which the minority group is expected to adopt the norms and values of the
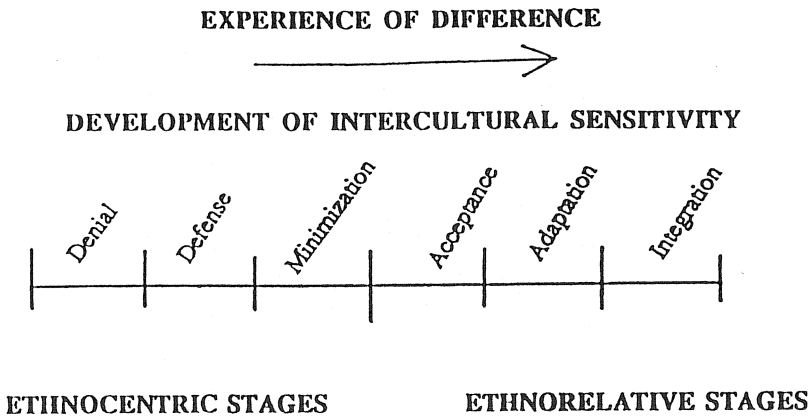
majority group in order to survive in the organization. Cox (1991) expressed that there is little intergroup conflict since there are only a few members of a minority group and that these individuals outwardly if not inwardly have agreed to majority norms and values. Plural organizations make an attempt to be more inclusive. These attempts may include the recruitment, hiring, promotion, and retention of minority groups. The emphasis within pluralism, however, is the numbers of majority versus minority groups rather than the quality of work relationships between those of different groups. Assimilation is also used within this type of organization to resolve cultural differences, but conflict may result if the majority group does not agree with or resents what is done to increase the minority group membership. Overt discrimination may be gone or covered up, but prejudices still run high in plural organizations. While a plural organization contains many diverse groups, the multicultural organization authentically values such diversity. The response here is to the cultural differences and members of each group, who are encouraged to adopt some of the norms and values of other groups (Powell, 1993).

Building on the work of Cox (1991), Chesler and Crowfoot (1992) present the organizational stages of multiculturalism utilizing the organizational dimensions of mission, culture, technology, power, informal relations, boundary management, interest in change, constituencies for change, and major change strategies (see Table 1).

Chesler and Crowfoot's (1992) diagram offers a view of the organizational stages denoting the progression from monoculturalism, through the transitional stage, to authentic diversity and acceptance or multiculturalism. For example, within the organizational dimension *Culture*, the monocultural stage reflects white male, Eurocentric norms and is laden with prejudice and discrimination. At the transitional stage, culture is still white male-dominated, but such a position is questioned; prejudice and discrimination still continue but are lessened. At the multicultural stage within the organizational dimension of culture, the concepts of prejudice and discrimination are constantly confronted and the white, male, Eurocentric symbols are changed. At this stage, there is also a synthesis of group identities and individual characteristics leading to authentic multicultural values.

Within the organizational dimension *Major Change Strategies*, coercion is evident. The transitional stage indicates that training sessions on awareness take place in addition to EEO and Affirmative Action programs. The multicultural stage emphasizes continual education and reeducation regarding diversity; multicultural work is rewarded, and external social oppression is combatted. Each area is worthy of detailed examination and comparison to sport settings. It is my impression that the monocultural and transitional stages may be more represented in sport than the authentic multicultural stage. Still another perspective is the developmental model of multiculturalism. This particular model could be implemented within our own institutions. This model has been developed from Bennett's (1991) work and depicts the progression from ethnocentric stages to ethnorelative stages (see Figure 1).

What is depicted in the ethnocentric stages is the denial of difference in which we do not recognize cultural difference due to isolation or intentional separation. The result of this isolation or separation is the dehumanization of individuals. Defense against difference is the recognition of cultural difference coupled with negative evaluation of most variations from native culture. The

EXPERIENCE OF DIFFERENCE

$$\longrightarrow$$

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

Denial   Defense   Minimization   Acceptance   Adaptation   Integration

ETHNOCENTRIC STAGES   **ETHNORELATIVE STAGES**

Figure 1 — A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. Reprinted from the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 10 No. 2, M.J. Bennett, "A Developmental Approach to Training for Intercultural Sensitivity," p. 17, 1986, with permission from Pergamon Press Ltd., Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 OBW, UK.

more difference between individuals and groups, the more negative we tend to become. The minimization of difference involves recognizing and accepting superficial cultural difference, while holding that all human beings are essentially the same. Within the ethnorelative stages, the acceptance of difference involves the recognition and appreciation of cultural differences in behavior and values. Adaptation to difference is the development of communication skills enabling intercultural communication. There must be an effective use of empathy or a shifting of a frame of reference in order to understand and be understood across cultural boundaries. The integration of difference involves the internalization of bicultural or multicultural frames of reference (Bennett, 1991).

The education of future sport leaders regarding multiculturalism is critical. Toward this end, the following considerations by Bennett (1992) for developing an approach to diversity can be implemented. (a) Intercultural sensitivity is not the normal outcome of confrontation with difference, and we cannot develop sensitivity from simply pointing out examples of ethnocentrism and racism. Understanding cultural differences is a developmental goal, and diversity initiatives need to be designed along these lines. (b) Living in a multicultural society demands more than tolerance for cultural difference—it necessitates respect and appreciation for difference. Valuing diversity is a proactive goal. One-time reactions to problems of intercultural intolerance are not sufficient. (c) Everyone in education, including students, faculty, staff, and administrators, is responsible for developing intercultural competence. (d) Recruitment and retention of culturally diverse students, faculty, staff, and administrators are necessary steps, but are insufficient for meeting the goal of valuing diversity. This action must be coupled with programs that serve these people's needs, and also acknowledge the resource such diversity represents for the community. (e) Adding culture to the curriculum without adding mastery of intercultural interaction may lead to knowledge without understanding. More effective curricular change focuses on

Table 1   Organizational Stages of Multiculturalism

Organizational dimension	Monocultural	Transitional	Multicultural
Mission	Deliberately exclude or ignore diversity.	Announce desire/need for a diverse workforce or membership. Suggest a link between diversity and ''bottom line.''	Positively value diverse workforce or membership and service to underrepresented groups. Link diversity to ''bottom line'' and social justice values. Global perspective.
Culture	White, male, and eurocentric norms prevail. Prejudice and discrimination prevail. Encourage assimilation into dominant community. Emphasize individualism.	White and male norms are questioned but prevail. Prejudice and discrimination are lessened, but continue. Seek accommodation to and comfort/tolerance for minorities. Reify particular group identities.	Prejudice and discrimination constantly confronted publicly and negatively sanctioned. Alternative norms are publicized and embraced. White, male, and eurocentric symbols are changed. Synthesis of individual characteristics, group identities, and a transcendent community.
Technology	People required to adapt to the existing technology, which is seen as culture-neutral. Segregated work teams.	Discussions occur about the ways technology does not fit/serve diverse needs and styles. Desegregated work teams.	New technologies adapt to diverse needs and styles. Integrated work teams cherished.

Power: The character of dominant coalition	White and male throughout. Others excluded or at bottom. Access limited to the "club." Strong hierarchy.	A few minority members who can adapt reach middle management. White and male sponsors of minority and women members. Narrow access.	Multicultural team of leaders. Relatively flat and multilevel decision-making. Wide access. Value different decision-making styles.
Informal relations	Exclusionary. Segregated social events. Communication within racial/ gender groups. No external intergroup contact.	Distant but cordial relations. Open to assimilated minorities. Communication on deeply held issues mostly within social identity groups. Some external intergroup social contact.	Proactive inclusiveness at work and externally. Homogenous and heterogenous groupings coexist. Much communication across race/ gender lines. Sense of community (yet differentiated).
Boundary management	Traditional separations of work and home. No external socializing with diverse peoples. "Fit" in external market and cultures a priority.	Respond to changing demographics of markets, clients, suppliers, members. Support external socializing. Respond to contradictions and conflicts.	Seek minority suppliers, markets. Advocate new external (community) cultures and policies. Global focus. Export multicultural vision and mission to markets and peers.
Interest in change?	None unless pressed on survivability. Low overt conflict.	Seek social acceptability. Fuller utilization of resources. Seek special markets/advantage. Adapt to external environment or internal pressure. Respond to overt conflict.	Equity and justice. Belief in "bottom line" rhetoric and growth potential. Empowerment and organizational improvement. Low conflict and much dialogue.

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Organizational dimension	Monocultural	Transitional	Multicultural
Constituencies for change	None. External voices and pressures. Some internal "minorities."	Some internal cadres. One leader (or a few) from the dominant coalition. Cautious and informal voices. Legal claimants.	The dominant coalition. Internal/external forces joined. Strong and fully represented internal cadres.
Major change strategies	Litigation and counter-suit. External demand/protest. Coercion. Some managerial or elite listening.	Management training and "awareness" programs. Organization development. EEO programs. Administrative mandate. Affirmative Action programs. Assessments and audits.	Continuous (re)education and growth of individuals and organization. Reward multicultural work. Multicultural norms and leadership at all levels. Coalition formation. Revise policies and structures. Combat external social oppression.

perspective transformation, social action, and intercultural relations. (f) Diversity initiatives that work often emerge from the president's office, supported by administrators, faculty, staff, and student groups, and are fostered through un-relenting dialogue in a supportive climate.

My personal concern is for future sport managers/administrators and their attitudes and approaches to concepts such as "for whites only," that sport privileges only the male body, the dominance and oppression of patriarchy, the exclusion of single women, the Marge Shotz incident, the sexual harassment of Lisa Olsen in the Patriots locker room, and the proverbial glass ceiling that women continually face. The oppression of all people, through racism, sexism, classism, ageism, able-ism, homophobia, and any other form of discrimination, contributes to establishing serious barriers for everyone. My hope is for a true multicultural understanding within sport and especially on the part of our sport managers/administrators, as well as educators preparing these professionals.

I think this entire concept is best described by using these nesting dolls. The dolls are symbolic and, in this case, represent gender, race, ethnicity, able-ism, and all of the classifications of diversity. Even though they look alike, they in no way represent the idea that we are all the same. As you can see, they each fit together, one inside the other. As they come together, they form a whole. At the core, there is a humanity from which we can never be separated. It is my hope that we can share a world where our differences bring us together rather than tear us apart. Earle, this one is for you and is representative of our coming together.

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