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**Issues of Power in a History of Women's Football
in New Zealand:**

A Foucauldian Genealogy

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the
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by
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ABSTRACT

In the majority of countries throughout the world, football is a highly popular sport for women and girls and one which continues to grow in playing numbers. According to FIFA, 26 million females were registered as football players in its member countries, an increase of four million players within the past five years (FIFA Big Count, 2006). Despite such popularity of participation, histories of women's football 'speak' of exclusion, struggle and conflict, and thus, the prime question which underpins this study is: "how has women's football in New Zealand gone from a position of struggle to a point where the game is perceived as a 'normal' sporting activity for women and girls?"

In order to examine this question, I have used Michel Foucault's concept of conducting a 'history of the present', a genealogical approach which accounts for the "constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects and so on..." (Foucault, 1978, p. 117). I drew extensively on a wide range of source material: media texts from newspaper articles and letters to the editor; football texts from the minute books of various football associations, official correspondence and six scrapbooks; interviewing texts which were produced by in-depth interviews with 15 women who had been purposefully selected because of their involvement in playing and coaching/administration of football for at least five years; and vignettes of my own footballing experiences over a 35 year period. Within this genealogical approach, I identified and interrogated how dominant power-knowledge discourses produced power effects for female footballers, and impacted upon the development of the game through different periods of time since 1921.

An investigation of these various texts revealed that female footballers have been constructed in specific ways as they emerged as "objects of knowledge" (Foucault, 1978, p. 105). In 1921, the tactical deployment of key discourses positioned the emergent girl footballer as irresponsible, selfish and unfeminine; after a blaze of publicity, she vanished without a trace. Fifty-two years later in 1973, the lady footballer emerged and continued to be discursively constructed through similar heterosexual discourses of marriage, motherhood and

femininity. However, this time the tactical deployment of the same discourses which led to the disappearance of the girl footballer, intersected with other prevailing discourses to re-emerge in sufficiently modified forms to make it possible for the lady footballer to play, and continue to play, football. An examination of a dominant discourse in the period approximately 1980 to 2008 revealed how new and different elements, associations and relations intermeshed into a common network to provide the conditions which would allow women's football to develop and flourish. The 'truth' of the discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand* continued to be reinforced by increasing participation numbers and, combined with various sporting practices in clubs and schools, gradually normalised football as an 'appropriate' sport for females. However, this same discourse concealed the struggles of female footballers who attempted to become involved in coaching and administration within male-dominated organisations, suggesting that this 'normalisation' only extended to females *playing* football.

My research findings have highlighted the usefulness of deploying Foucault's genealogical approach in examining current issues within women's football and, I suggest, other women's sports as well. In an examination of the power effects produced by power-knowledge discourses, the resultant struggle to disseminate the 'dominant' discourse or the 'truth' allows an insightful understanding of how power may be exercised during particular time periods. In turn, this may help us understand how discourses can shape men's and women's perceptions of reality, yet, simultaneously prevent them from seeing other views of reality. I believe Foucault's genealogy is an exciting theoretical and practical method whereby the recording of a sporting history may be combined with an understanding of how power-knowledge discourses can be strategically deployed in gendered relationships of power.

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My doctoral thesis has been a journey of discovery, as well as a considerable increase in knowledge about New Zealand society. Sometimes it has been lonely, and somewhat difficult, as I struggled to come to terms with new concepts and philosophies; at other times, it has been sheer magic seeing a ‘story’ about women’s football emerge in ways that I had never imagined.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFA	Auckland Football Association
AJFA	Auckland Junior Football Association
AWFA	Auckland Women's Football Association (formerly NWFA)
AGSA	Auckland Girls' Soccer Association
ASSGSA	Auckland Secondary Schoolgirls' Soccer Association
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football
FIFA WWC	FIFA Women's World Cup
NZFA	New Zealand Football Association
NZS	New Zealand Soccer
NZF	New Zealand Football
NZSSSA	New Zealand Secondary Schools' Soccer Association
NZSSGSA	New Zealand Secondary Schoolgirls' Soccer Association
NZWFA	New Zealand Women's Football Association
NWFA	Northern Women's Football Association
OFC	Oceania Football Confederation
OWFC	Oceania Women's Football Confederation
SPARC	Sport and Recreation (New Zealand)
WSANZ	Women's Soccer Association of New Zealand (formerly NZWFA)

NB

Football national and regional organisations have had several name changes during the past 35 years from, for example, New Zealand Football Association to New Zealand Soccer and currently New Zealand Football. In addition, football is often called soccer by many people in New Zealand. Unless stated otherwise, throughout this thesis I will refer to the game as football but will use the correct name for the organisation in the appropriate years.

CHAPTER ONE

An Introduction

My thesis is about issues of gendered relations of power in women's football in New Zealand. I utilise Michel Foucault's genealogical approach and his multiple concepts of power to examine how women's football has shifted from a position of struggle to one of normalisation as the game gradually developed. Through a "history of the present" (Foucault, 1977, p. 31), I interrogate how particular ways of knowing created forms of power which, in turn, had the effect of constraining and empowering women's involvement in football, including coaching and administrative positions.

A brief overview of women's football

Football (or soccer in some countries) is a truly global sport. Played in 208 countries (FIFA, 2010), football encompasses involvement by those who have barely sufficient to eat to those who live a life of luxury and abundance. Many footballers (mostly male but some women) are recognised and revered in their own countries but those who play, coach and administrate on the world stage are seen as global 'stars', worshipped and feted wherever they go. Countless millions of people are involved as players, coaches, administrators, referees; most in voluntary capacities, some in paid employment. However, according to accepted histories of sport, until the late 1960s /early 1970s, organised football has been perceived almost exclusively as a male domain.

From the early 1970s, according to Jay Coakley (2007), factors such as equal rights legislation, increased media coverage of women's sports, the global health and fitness movement and the global women's rights movement all helped to produce dramatic growth in female participation rates in sport. Females of all ages flocked to join a wide variety of sports, including those that had been considered traditionally male. Football was one such sport which attracted females in large numbers throughout the world. By the beginning of the 2000s, a worldwide survey carried out by FIFA (Big Count, 2006) indicated that approximately 26 million females were registered as football players in its member countries. The FIFA Women's, U-20 and U-17 World Cups and the Olympic Games offer opportunities for females to play, coach, administer and

referee on the world stage. Lucrative commercial endorsements are available for some players who attain elite levels, and several countries run professional leagues employing both players and coaches. The United States offers women the chance to obtain football scholarships, simultaneously gaining international football experience and a university education. Full-time employment as football administrators is also possible in some countries.

In common with much of the western world, the beginning of women's football as an institutionalised sport in New Zealand is typically accepted to be 1972 in Wellington (Lee, 1989) and 1973 in Auckland (Northern Women's Football Association (NWFA) minutes, 1973). When I first started playing in Auckland at this time, later going on to captain the first New Zealand team, I was one of approximately 300 players who played in the two regions. From then on, the game spread quickly throughout the country. Women joined together, sometimes alongside sympathetic men, and formed their own teams, usually within existing club structures. They set up regional associations to administer the sport which, in turn, were later affiliated to the New Zealand Women's Football Association (NZWFA), giving women the opportunity to take up administrative and coaching roles within the game (see Lee, 1989 for dates of formation of these associations). Secondary schoolgirls' football and competitions for junior girls were also established in various regions at different times. After winning the first Asian Cup in Hong Kong in 1975, Roy Cox and Jeremy Ruane (1997) recorded how the national team went on to hold the balance of power in trans-Tasman clashes against Australia for almost the next two decades. Further New Zealand team highlights included a runners-up position and a 2nd equal placing with a star-studded USA team (whom they beat 1-0) in the World Women's Invitational Football Tournaments in Taiwan in 1981 and 1987 respectively (Cox & Ruane, 1997), and qualifying for the first FIFA Women's World Cup in China in 1991.

Eight years later in 1999 the Women's Soccer Association of New Zealand (WSANZ - formerly the NZWFA) agreed in principal to merge with New Zealand Soccer (NZS), and I suggest this was primarily to capitalize on economies of scale and the opportunity for each sector to leverage off each other. Since that time, not only has NZS' name changed to New Zealand Football (NZF) but the game is administered nationally by one organisation and provincially by seven Football Federations. Although affiliated to NZF, secondary schoolboys' and girls' football continue to run their own separate regional and national competitions.

FIFA has allocated the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC) one finalist position for all its Women's World Cups (WWCs). Australia and New Zealand, after playing qualifying rounds with other member countries of OFC, were always the two teams who eventually contested these finalist WWC positions, but after qualifying for the first FIFA WWC in 1991, New Zealand failed to beat Australia again. Consequently Australia represented the OFC at every subsequent FIFA WWC at every level. Therefore, when the Australian Football Federation was accepted into the Asian Football Confederation in 2006, a golden opportunity was presented to NZF who qualified and competed in all subsequent WWCs and Olympic Games (see www.ultimatensoccer.com for a history of these tournaments and matches). In November 2008, NZF hosted the inaugural FIFA U-17 WWC. According to the FIFA ambassador for this event, Michele Cox, over 159 countries took live television coverage (personal communication, 2008, August 10). Spectators in New Zealand could either watch all 56 matches on television or attend in person at one of the four venues throughout New Zealand. According to FIFA statistics, 16,162 spectators turned up to watch the final won by North Korea 2-1 against USA; a record attendance for any women's sport in New Zealand.

This very brief overview would perhaps indicate superficially that women's football in the western world and in New Zealand has developed in an uncontested, straightforward linear fashion since the late 1960s/early 1970s. However, while English sports historians point out that women did participate in early games of folk football – a generic term loosely given to a game from which emerged all the various codes of football around the world such as Gaelic football and Aussie Rules – histories of women's football are stories of exclusion and marginalisation with the notable exception of a short period before and after WWI. For almost two-thirds of the 1900s, ruling organisations banned women from playing the game, limited their use of football fields and forbade young girls to play in teams alongside boys (e.g., see Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2003; Pfister, 2004; Votre & Mourao, 2004, Williams, 2003). Some women persisted in challenging these rulings and continued to play, but their memories and experiences are mostly hidden from the 'official eyes' of history. My research uncovered evidence of women's teams playing football in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch in 1921 but there is no record of its organisation in official football histories (see Hilton, 1991; Maddaford, 1987), hence the belief held by

many people that women's football did not start in New Zealand until the early 1970s.

In Auckland in the beginning years, according to the minutes of the NWFA, nobody attempted to stop women from playing football but findings from my master's thesis (Cox, 1998) indicated that the idea that women could play a game which allowed them to roam freely over a sporting field without restriction, make vigorous bodily contact and wear the same sporting gear as men did not always meet with universal approval. When they found out that women were playing football, some people commented; "it's a man's game" or "you'll get hurt", because they normally associated contact sports which emphasised strength, power and aggressiveness with cultural constructions of masculinity. Furthermore, ideas that playing football might 'masculinise' female players or even worse these players might be masculine from the start (masculine being a euphemism for lesbianism) became problematical (Cox & Thompson, 2000). Research conducted in England, Norway, Spain and Germany also reported similar findings (Caudwell, 1999; Fasting & Scraton, 1997).

In spite of these drawbacks, statistical records indicate a significant increase in the numbers of women and girls playing in Auckland during the first decade 1973 to 1983 (AWFA, 1983). Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC, 2001), a government organisation that funds sport in New Zealand, indicated from its national survey on physical fitness undertaken between 1997-2001 that approximately 35,000 adult female players and one third of girls under the age of 16 play football. A comparison also between FIFA's 2001 and 2006 Big Count surveys revealed that the number of females playing in its member countries had increased by 4 million in five years. These substantial increases would perhaps indicate that playing the game today could be viewed as 'normal' behaviour for females. How then has women's football gone from a position of struggle to a point where football is perceived as a 'normal' sporting activity for women and girls? Certainly in New Zealand, I suggest that the majority of females now take for granted that they have the 'right' to play football. However, why in New Zealand has this substantial increase in playing numbers not been matched with similar increases in positions of power, commonly associated with coaching and administration?

Through an examination of the websites of NZF and the seven Federations in 2009, I found that all the CEOs (with the exception of one Federation) and

coaching/technical personnel were salaried males. In addition, all national representative teams and the majority of Federation representative teams were headed by male coaches. At national level, it has been publicly reported that national team players (the All Whites) will receive a substantial percentage of the amount FIFA gives to countries who qualify for the 2010 World Cup. In contrast, one of the players of the national women's team (the Football Ferns) whom I interviewed, told me that no player received any financial share of the monies gained from qualifying for the 2007 WWC; instead the money went directly to the NZF. In my current position as a football club secretary, I observe how most clubs, whose committees are made up from predominantly male members, not only designate their top men's team as the 'first' team of the club, they also give money, free boots and other such incentives to players for playing. Female players and teams seldom receive such benefits. Why, with such significant participation numbers, have female footballers not demanded change or at least more equal treatment with their male counterparts?

I have been involved in this world of football for over 35 years as a player, coach and administrator. My services to football were recognized by induction into the New Zealand Soccer Hall of Fame in 1995 and a year later with a MBE. Yet, so many questions remain unanswered. Why has there been a major shift in knowledge of women's football – from struggle to normalisation? Why have the majority of women just played the game? What happened to the women who played football in 1921? I could not find adequate explanations from what I had read or heard or even experienced. I only knew that somehow these issues around access, equality and decision-making and what was deemed important to be recorded as 'history' had something to do with power.

The aims of this research

In order to understand women's football in the present, I needed to historically "account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects" (Foucault, 1978, p. 117) and thus, the first aim of this thesis is to examine how particular ways of knowing created forms of power which, in turn, have the effect of constraining or normalising women's involvement in football in New Zealand. Specifically I focus on the following two questions:

1. What are the dominant discourses and associated power effects that have surrounded female footballers since the 1920s in New Zealand society?
2. How have female footballers' experiences been related to these discourses?

The term female footballers is used throughout this thesis to describe any woman who has been involved in football, at any level, through playing, coaching or administration. Although I mention the opportunities for women to become referees, I have not included them in this term for two reasons: there were no qualified female referees when women's football started in Auckland in 1973 and as the administration and coaching of refereeing has been undertaken traditionally by separate associations such as the New Zealand or Auckland Referee's Association, I believe that the involvement of women in refereeing football warrants an investigation on its own account.

An important aspect of genealogical analysis is searching for that remaining unnoticed and unrecorded in mainstream history in order to promote "subjugated knowledge and marginalised voices as acts of resistance against social practices" (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 32). In women's football, this subjugated knowledge is evident by the lack of knowledge of the history of the game demonstrated by a government sports advisor and contemporary footballers. For example, in 2006, NZF coaching staff organised a weekend training camp for female players preparing for a forthcoming FIFA U-20 WWC. At the end of the weekend, the female assistant coach introduced Maya (one of the women I interviewed) and I to the players. Only one player knew that all three of us had played for a number of years for New Zealand. The rest of the players did not know, or even realise, that women's football had a history; a history where the game had emerged, disappeared and re-emerged 50 years later to be gradually accepted as a 'normal' sport for females. Maya also recalled how shocked she was two years later when a senior SPARC advisor at a meeting in Wellington commented to her how well women's football was doing now, particularly since *it did not exist in New Zealand ten years ago*. In order to help understand how this genealogical shift in knowledge of women's football has occurred, my third question in this thesis examines:

3. How has women's football in New Zealand gone from a position of struggle to a point where the game is perceived as a 'normal' sporting activity for women and girls?

A traditional conception of history is to recount the past as a series of narrative events in chronological order in such a way that the present is seen to emerge unproblematically from a collection of historical records and facts (Booth, 2004; Papps & Olssen, 1997). Many female historians, utilising a liberal feminist framework, have written histories of women that fit Gerda Lerner's (1979) description as being compensatory and contributory (cited in Parratt, 1994). Histories of women's sport have often been written in this way, not only to 'fill the gaps' in male-centred sporting history (Polley, 1998) but also to document women's struggles to gain entry into a male-dominated world of sport (Parratt, 1994). It is important to me that a history of women's football in New Zealand is recorded, and that future players may learn that they have footballing mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. To this extent, my research is compensatory and contributory. However, while this type of research is valuable in uncovering and recording such historical details, it is primarily descriptive and presents a limited understanding of sport's role in the construction of relationships of power.

In a more critical approach, notable feminist historians such as Susan Cahn (1994), Jennifer Hargreaves (1984), Helen Lenskyj (1986) and Patricia Vertinsky (1990) used gender as a central analytic in their historical research. While Foucault did not talk specifically about gender and gender relationships, in his genealogical approach he set out, in a similar manner to feminist historians, to bring local or minor knowledges to life in order to disrupt commonly held perceptions about events and social practices. Instead of understanding the history of women's football as a gradual, progressive unfolding of increased opportunities for participation, Foucault would likely argue that women's football today has occurred through the "intelligibility of struggles, of strategies and tactics (1980a, p. 114). Rather than isolating the origins of why certain actions or beliefs have become dominant, Foucault would likely suggest a thorough investigation of the way in which knowledge of women's football has been constructed: from whom it has been generated, and how female footballers become both subject and object through the interplay of multiple discourses. Thus, by employing Foucault's

genealogy to search out the “dusty documents” and “trying to discern unheard voices” (Tamboukou, 2003, p. 8) to reveal historical struggles, I hope to demonstrate how power-knowledge discourses affect, and have affected, women’s involvement in football in New Zealand.

A concept of power

The concept of power has a long history; how it is conceptualised, its sources and nature of operations have been central to many classical debates (Oldersma & Davis, 1991), for in all societies, from governmental levels to the everyday practices of individuals, power is pervasive and omnipresent. Feminists in various disciplines use the notion of power as oppression to explore and explain asymmetrical relations between men and women (Oldersma & Davis, 1991). Power is a highly complex concept; visible yet invisible, audible yet inaudible, tangible yet intangible, describable yet indescribable. Its meaning changes depending on the context in which it is used, so there never can be one single definition that covers every usage (Haugaard, 2002). Thus, individuals use the word power in a myriad of ways; for example, physical power as in lifting heavy weights; as a quality some people possess (or its corollary, do not possess) and something that groups acquire such as political parties (see Davis, Leijenaar & Oldersma, 1991, and Sugden & Tomlinson, 2002, for brief overviews of social theories of power).

Michel Foucault conceptualised power in a way that was very different to the traditional model of thinking about power; a model which assumed that power was something that people or institutions possessed, was primarily repressive and flowed from top to bottom. Whilst accepting that this model did describe a form of power in society, Foucault (1994b) believed “power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not a supplementary structure over and above ‘society’ whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of” (p. 343). In other words, power was a productive network forming knowledge, and producing pleasure and discourse at all levels in society. Power was not something that you could gain or possess after eliminating individuals at the top because they were preventing you from doing something. Foucault discussed power in multiple ways but particularly pertinent to this thesis is the genealogical approach which he used in *History of Sexuality* (1978) to analyse the discursive effects of power and knowledge on people’s understanding and construction of their sex/sexuality.

A number of reconstructionist/constructionist histories and sociological studies of women's football in various countries emerged from the mid 1990s onwards (see e.g., Fan Hong & Mangan, 2004). In all these studies, there was an implicit acknowledgement that power relationships existed but none attempted to empirically explore how power-knowledge discourses might impact upon, and shape the experiences of female footballers as they played, coached and administrated in predominantly male-dominated environments. Genealogical analysis, which I discuss more fully in Chapter Five, interrogates the relationship between history, discourse, bodies and power in an attempt to understand contemporary social practices and issues and, therefore, is an appropriate approach with which to examine issues of power in women's football in New Zealand. Furthermore, I suggest that using this theoretical approach will not only allow for a more insightful understanding of the issues of power today in women's football but also reveal how a women's sport might develop or conversely might not develop. In doing so, I am not aiming to create a 'blueprint' but to suggest that undertaking a genealogical analysis may reveal dominant discourses and associated power effects that can be utilised to facilitate change, and create new understandings, in women's football. Thus, this study has both a theoretical and political focus providing insight into a previously unexplored area and theoretical framework in women's football as well as a basis for providing useful strategies to assist any organisation attempting to develop football as a sport for females.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured by, and divided into, nine chapters. In this chapter I have situated this study by offering a brief overview of women's football and outlining the theoretical framework which I used to fulfil this project's research questions and aims. In Chapter Two, using the metaphor of a journey, I describe how my experiences in football led me to undertake this research; to 'speak' from different subject positions; and to understand how I 'arrived' at the decision to use Foucauldian feminism as my theoretical lens. Discourse, subjectivity and knowledge are key concepts in feminist, poststructuralist and Foucauldian thought; in the first part of Chapter Three, I discuss these concepts and outline some of the theoretical tensions which exist between feminism and poststructuralism before explaining the position I adopt in this thesis. In the

second part of Chapter Three, I describe four key concepts of Foucault's multiple understanding of power – disciplinary power, power-knowledge, resistance and truth – to explore how power might be exercised via discourses surrounding female footballers in New Zealand

In Chapter Four, I utilise primarily feminist research emanating from sociological, historical and psychological disciplines in Europe, North America and New Zealand in order to reveal the multiple discourses which surround the meaning and construction of femininity, the female body and heterosexuality historically and then, specifically, in the context of sport. Rather than directly critiquing these selected scholarly works, I mined this research to help identify and understand how discourses might surround and influence female footballers in New Zealand.

In Chapter Five, I outline briefly my ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions which underpin and direct this study before explaining how I use Foucault's genealogical approach to interrogate the research questions I pose. As a theoretical approach, Foucault's genealogy has rarely been used within the context of women's sport so I have explained his approach at length. I have also described my research processes and discussed my data collection methods (including media and football texts, in-depth interviews and a self-reflexive interrogation of my own experiences in football) before finishing this chapter with an explanation of how I examined the collected data using Foucauldian discourse analysis.

Chapters, Six, Seven and Eight constitute my 'findings' chapters. In Chapters Six and Seven, I examine how key discourses were deployed through three 'strategic unities' to construct *The Girl Footballer* and *The Lady Footballer* respectively as they emerged as "objects of knowledge" (Foucault, 1978, p. 105). In Chapter Eight, instead of looking at the ways in which female players became historically constructed, I take a different approach and examine the conditions which made it possible for women's football to develop and flourish through the emergence of a key discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport for Women in New Zealand*. In addition, I show how this key discourse at the same time concealed women's struggles to enter into positions of power.

In the final chapter, I draw several conclusions from my research. In particular, I discuss not only the usefulness of Foucault's genealogical approach to interrogate power relationships in a history of women's football but also how

adopting a feminist Foucauldian lens might enable women to position themselves as strategists rather than victims of power. In addition, I offer some practical suggestions that could be used not only in the development of women's football but perhaps other women's sports as well, particularly those that have been traditionally played by men. I conclude this chapter by suggesting one possibility for further research which could lead to a further understanding of women in sport before reflecting on what I have personally learned from undertaking this research.

CHAPTER TWO

A Theoretical Journey

Introduction

Emerging out of my experiences of football, I recognised I was a feminist at heart – albeit as Jana Sawicki (1991), pointed out, “a neophyte to feminist theory” (p. 4). But with so many different varieties available, how does one choose a specific feminist theory with which to frame one’s research? Brian Fay (1987) proposed that it was more important to conceive of oneself in terms of the theory rather just learning about it (cited in St Pierre, 2001, p. 147). For this reason many researchers, to a greater or lesser extent, have incorporated their own experiences by starting with a story that explains their connection to their research (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), or highlight how they have selected their theoretical framework. Employing a poststructuralist stance, as I propose to do in this thesis, also directs us, according to Laurel Richardson (2000), “to understand ourselves reflexively as persons writing from particular positions at specific times” (p. 929). Thus in this chapter, through the metaphor of a journey, I illustrate how my experiences have led me to undertake this research, to ‘speak’ from different subject positions, and to understand how my theoretical choices evolved, to arrive at eventually taking up a theoretical stance as a Foucauldian feminist.

Starting the journey

As a white, heterosexual female growing up in New Zealand in the 1950s, I had a happy but uneventful childhood. In terms of sport, my family were staunch rugby followers; rugby meant everything to them - the All Blacks, the school 1st XV, club rugby at Matangi. Well, of course it was only my father and uncles and brothers who played. I tried to play it once. I went to trials held in Hamilton but my mother was horrified and with the words, “ladies do not play rugby”, forbade me to play. It was not women’s role to play rugby, I grew to understand, but to stand on the sideline and cheer on our menfolk or, when we inevitably married, to wash their dirty rugby gear and take turns at making afternoon tea for them when the match had finished.

The expected 'compulsory' middle-class overseas experience in Europe and a subsequent marriage and children in the late 1960s did not disturb, or lead me to question in any way, the idea that I was a 'free' agent, living life according to my desires and beliefs. So in the early 1970s, I did what 'every' married woman did in New Zealand – I stayed home, cooking, cleaning and looking after our children while my husband went to work to provide financially for us. I had vaguely heard about the Women's Liberation Movement. Sometimes there were articles in the newspapers and on the very, very odd occasion it was mentioned at parties but usually in highly derogatory ways. Men, in my opinion at the time, were more important because they had to work so it was only 'fair' they had priority over different aspects of life such as entitlement to leisure and money to spend on themselves but, apart from that, we were both 'equal' human beings.

In 1973, the Northern Women's Football Association (NWFA) was formed and started its first competitive league consisting of ten teams from all over Auckland. I had occasionally seen men play football on the fields adjacent to my brother's rugby games during the 1960s but I had never heard about or seen women playing football before this time. When my husband, who had played football in England, told the Eden club, "Barbara will play. She loves crashing and banging into people", I was rather surprised but I ended up agreeing to play. At the age of 26, I took to the field on Sunday 29th April 1973 to play in the very first league matches organised by the NWFA.

From that initial game, a lifetime passion evolved and, over the years, I became involved in all aspects of the sport; playing, coaching and administration. Yet, in spite of my love for this game, certain aspects puzzled me in those early days. For example, why did a strong, capable female body, so necessary for football and all competitive sport, arouse comment? "He's a big lad" conveyed overtones of positivity and to a certain extent admiration but "she's a big woman" appeared to convey the totally opposite meaning. Why did we have to play on grounds with no facilities? The men didn't. Why did the Auckland Referees' Association refuse to grade and appoint referees as they did for the men's games? Instead, our games were covered by referees who 'volunteered' to referee our Sunday games. We still had to pay for their services but the quality of refereeing varied considerably from game to game under this system.

Five years later in 1978, I was appointed as secretary of the NWFA. In conjunction with this appointment, other administrative positions followed;

Council member for the New Zealand Women's Football Association (NZWFA) and the women's representative on the Auckland Football Association (AFA) Control Board (to whom we were affiliated). While continuing to play both club and representative football for Auckland and New Zealand, in 1983 I started coaching teams as well as attending coaching courses organised by the New Zealand Football Association (NZFA). My knowledge of football was slowly increasing in all its different aspects.

However, it was during a coaching course held at Waikato University in 1985 that a feminist consciousness suddenly 'pricked' me. That particular day, I understood I was 'woman', and that certain behaviours were prescribed for this label, along with the feeling that somehow I was not in any way equal to the male participants on this course. That particular day started my journey to seek an explanation for why this might be so. Foucault described a similar experience in his attempt to theorise.

Each time I have attempted to do theoretical work, it has been on the basis of elements from my experience – always in relation to processes that I saw taking place around me. It is in fact because I thought I recognised something cracked, dully jarring, or disfunctioning in things I saw, in the institutions with which I dealt, in my relations with others, that I undertook a particular piece of work, several fragments of an autobiography. (cited in Rajchman, 1985, p. 35)

Fundamentally, feminism takes as its central tenet that women have the right to participate fully in all aspects of social life (Thompson, 2002). Liberal feminism emerged in the early 1970s as a feature of second wave feminism (Hargreaves, 1994), drawing on liberal thought dominant in western society since the Enlightenment. In this form of feminism, women's lack of participation in society and/or subordination could be addressed through democratic processes such as equal rights laws and policies and educational opportunities. Once these reforms were in place, and regardless of any inherent differences such as ethnicity and socio-economic status, women should have equal access to the same opportunities that men did (Thompson, 2002). In addition, women would be rewarded equally for their talents (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994).

The idea that women should have the right to participate in a sport of their choice without prejudice or discrimination was far removed from the reality of the experiences of Auckland's pioneering footballers of the 1970s. One woman

recounted how her team struggled to get permission from a club committee to enter the NWFA competition. She commented; “Bill McKinlay [the club secretary] was dead against it but eventually we got the green light from the committee, who allowed us to use the Mt Wellington name, as long as it wasn’t going to be at a cost to the club” (Ruane, 2002, p. 25). Other women were told things such as, “You can’t train on there. The first team [men’s] are playing on it on Saturday” (Ruane, 1999, p. 43). Some women understood implicitly that men had power to exclude them from certain sporting activities. For example, Jan Innes, Secretary of the NWFA in the *Soccer Weekly* programme thanked the Auckland Referees’ Association for permitting three women to sit an examination in order to become qualified referees; “Our appreciation to the Referees’ Association for *allowing* our girls to enter this hitherto male domain” (NWFA scrapbook, 1973. emphasis added).

Examples such as these highlight why the structural reforms advocated by liberal feminists were not always successful, for they did not take into account the difficulty of changing people’s entrenched attitudes and values. Conversely, local Councils were more receptive to the argument that if they provided football fields for men to play on, they would have to do the same for women. Employing an ‘equality of opportunities’ argument was generally very useful for women for it was difficult for men (and some women) to publicly refute it without appearing to seem mean-spirited; so it is not surprising that liberal feminism became the dominant ‘commonsense’ stance on feminism (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

The rules and regulations of women’s football were copied from those of men’s football; for example, a competitive format of home and away matches and a points table to establish the teams’ finishing positions. Most of the people on the early committees were or had been involved in men’s football; thus adopting its structure would have been seen as ‘commonsense’ or ‘normal.’ However, two rules were modified. Men played 45 minutes each way and were allowed two substitutes at any time. For women, the game was shortened to 30 minutes each way with three substitutions. These modifications, made by the first NWFA committee, were designed to make the game less strenuous for the players, reflecting and reinforcing contemporary discourses of women’s limited physical capabilities.

This unequivocal acceptance of a male-defined sporting structure would be antithetical to radical feminism, another major strand of feminism to emerge from

the Women's Liberation Movement (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). Whilst radical feminists do not necessarily agree with each other, they do argue that oppression of women is the most difficult form of oppression to eradicate (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994) and that patriarchy is the basis of "other forms of oppression rather than a by-product of them" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 31). Claims about how this oppression can be removed vary; from giving women control over their reproduction to forming separate domains from men. This approach also invites feminists to construct alternative forms to male-defined models of sport (Birrell & Richter, 1994) but often in popular discourse, radical feminism is associated with man-hating lesbians, their heads shaven and clad in jeans or dungarees (Cox & Thompson, 2001; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). To take up a radical stance in women's football would have been difficult in terms of seeing men as oppressors. What about all those men who helped administer the game? What about all those male coaches who worked tirelessly, and unpaid, to try and improve our ability to play football? What about the male referees who volunteered to referee our games? From a personal viewpoint, I did not want to live in a world without men; after all I liked most men - I married one. Plus, how could I be oppressed when it was my husband who first suggested I play and, from then on, supported everything I did in football? To question why the coaches and referees were all predominantly men would have been countered with, "How can we do without men? Women don't know anything about playing football; we need them to help us". Thus, the positing of women as the 'oppressed victims' of male power did not make sense for the majority of women involved in football. Nor, I suggest, would any attempt to offer an alternative model to the men's game of football have been met with approval from prospective players; it was the men's game they saw and found exciting to watch. That was what they wanted to play, even if they themselves made different rules.

However, in a similar manner to other sports played in New Zealand by both men and women (e.g., the NZ Hockey Association and the NZ Women's Hockey Association), a separate environment was initially created. Of course, men were always part of the organising structure but because the committees for women's football normally consisted of more women than men, the balance of voting power was firmly held in women's hands. Whilst the women's associations throughout New Zealand were affiliated to their respective men's associations, they were basically free to run their organisations in whatever manner they saw

fit. Thus, in spite of copying a male sporting structure, separate women's organisations did allow for women to take up and experience a sense of control and autonomy. However, this form of separate organisation did not necessarily improve the status of women's football. Media coverage, sponsorship and other forms of funding that were available for men's football were extremely difficult to obtain for women's football and, I suggest, reflected a commonly held perception that men's sport was the only 'real' sport.

In 1985, still seeking to master the game I loved, I set out to become the first female senior qualified football coach in New Zealand. Whilst I thought passing the various tests might be difficult, I took my attendance for granted; after all I had passed the qualifying standard, the NZFA Preliminary Coaching Badge. When I was told by the NZFA Coaching Director that the seven day live-in course was only for men, and "women have never been on our senior courses", I countered this with threats to appeal to the Human Rights Commission. In this instance liberal feminists were correct - equal rights legislation was an effective tool. However, once on the course, nothing prepared me for some perplexing and, at times, upsetting experiences. On the playing field, as a current New Zealand representative player, the coaching directors expected me to play well. If I made a mistake, they would shout at me, "What do you think you're doing? Concentrate, you're a bloody New Zealand player". Yet in the lectures at night, as a woman, I was rendered invisible because the same coaching directors never used 'she,' 'her,' 'female or woman' when speaking about football. For the first time, the thought that others (men) did not see me as an equal human being entered my consciousness.

Over the next eight years, I started to read whatever I could find about women and society. Two books in particular – Betty Friedan's (1976) *It Changed my Life* and Marilyn French's (1985) *Beyond Power* – helped to explain some of the experiences I continued to have whilst attending New Zealand courses and those run by FIFA and the Oceania Football Confederation. However, nobody else within my circle of friends and family seemed to have a problem with 'being a woman'. Maybe it was just me who was the problem.

In 1993, after proof-reading both of my daughters' university assignments and thinking not only, "I could do this" but also "I might find some answers", I relinquished most of my roles in football and enrolled at Auckland University at the age of 46. No longer a footballer, I was now a university student. For the first

time I was challenged, yet strangely comforted, by realizing that what I had experienced had a 'name' and a 'history'. Five years later, I had completed a BA and a MA, both in sociology. I furthered my understanding of women in football by conducting an ethnographic study of an elite squad of players for my Master's thesis (Cox, 1998; Cox & Thompson, 2000, 2001, 2004). Recognizing that the players in my study were neither powerless 'victims' of oppressive discourses nor free from structural constraints, and that I was in a similar position, was my first step towards becoming a feminist poststructuralist. The second step lay in the understanding that the players' subjectivities – their thoughts and emotions, their sense of themselves and the ways in which they related to the world around them – and mine were constructed through a whole range of discursive practices in society (Weedon, 1987), of which sport was just one aspect. In addition, recognizing the multiple discourses surrounding their bodies, the players were able to constitute themselves differently as they moved from one social context to another; for example, from football players to party-goers.

After a five year break from football, I returned to coaching in 1998 and, halfway through the same year, became an executive member of the Women's Soccer Association of New Zealand (WSANZ – formerly the NZWFA) for the first time. This position did not last long, for at the Annual General Meeting in November 1999, WSANZ members voted to merge with New Zealand Soccer (NZS) and transfer the administration of women's football to a women's committee under their auspices. Directives from FIFA to all national football organisations to take women's football under their control, economic rationalisation promptings from Sport and Recreation New Zealand and a radical restructuring of football generally in New Zealand appeared to be the major factors behind this decision. Within 18 months, the seven members of the women's committee, of which I was one, received a letter from Bill McGowan, CEO of NZS, advising that the role of the women's committee would cease forthwith. This decision made by the all-male NZS Board and the seven Federation chairmen marked the end of women controlling their sport and the start of a new era in New Zealand football.

WSANZ, however, still required formal approval from all its former members to legally wind up and a Special General Meeting was called on September 14, 2002 to do this. At this meeting, many delegates expressed their concern over what was happening to women's football around the country and

decided to defer the matter of winding-up. A further SGM was held on February 21, 2004, after the CEO of NZS publically announced that the national and U-19 women's teams would not be entered in the 2004 Olympic or the 2004 U-19 FIFA Women's World Cup qualifiers on the grounds that neither team would beat Australia. This same logic, however, was not applied to the various national men's teams. The delegates attending the SGM resolved that four people (Jane Simpson, Allan McLarin, Noel Robinson and me) be empowered, as a sub-group of WSANZ, to orchestrate an active campaign to put a stop to these gender discriminatory practices. Several strategies were pursued including media publicity and discussions with the NZS Board Chairman and the CEO. These various strategies failed to resolve the conflict between both parties' perceptions and expectations of gender discrimination. Consequently on June 3, 2004, we lodged a formal claim of discrimination against NZS in its planning and management of women's football in New Zealand with the Human Rights Commission. Subsequently, the NZS (3 Board members and the CEO) and our group attended a mediation service provided by the Human Rights Commission. On the surface the outcome was successful but it took the resignation of the current CEO and the appointment of a new one before we finally achieved the objectives which we felt would prevent further discrimination against female footballers: a women's advisory committee and a female administrator in charge of women's football.

Throughout this lengthy campaign and the subsequent events, I started to question the meaning of power in the context of football. What exactly was power? How did one 'see' it? How was it exercised? Was it something you could formularise and use again? It was so contradictory. I assumed that the CEO and the NZS Board (at the top) held all the power and imposed it on us (at the bottom), yet our group resisted that power and forced changes, using both equal rights legislation and the media to achieve our goals. I also observed how certain ideas constrained the actions of those perceived to hold power. For example, the NZS Chairman who held office during our campaign was a public school headmaster; he received considerable media publicity as a result of holding both positions. I believe he felt constrained and uncomfortable about the public accusations of gender discrimination for such charges did not always 'fit' well with perceptions of how highly regarded and educated headmasters should

behave. As a consequence, he felt ‘compelled’ to join our group at the voluntary mediation meeting.

In spite of having a women’s advisory committee and a female administrator in charge of women’s football, changes which NZS gradually implemented, my understanding that football in New Zealand was a ‘male domain’ became even more strongly pronounced in the ensuing years as gender discriminatory practices continued. Or was it perhaps that I had ‘new eyes’ and recognised, to paraphrase Foucault, ‘something was cracked and disfunctioning’ in the operation of women’s football?

Taking time to reflect on one’s life journey is an interesting and enlightening exercise to undertake as a starting point for a doctoral thesis. ‘Being in’ academia and sport sometimes has appeared to me to be two quite separate existences, for one is primarily about thinking, the other about physicality and movement. Nevertheless, I see how my two worlds have merged and I realise that I have utilised insights gained from both to decide my theoretical choices. Thus, in the next chapter I turn to the implications of using feminist poststructuralism and Foucault’s concepts of power to discuss how I combine their insights to frame my genealogical study of women’s football in New Zealand.

CHAPTER THREE

Poststructuralism, Feminism and Foucault

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce Foucauldian feminism as the theoretical lens which frames my thesis. I briefly describe how poststructuralism emerged before explaining its key concepts of discourse, subjectivity and knowledge. I then introduce disciplinary power, power-knowledge, resistance and truth as key concepts of Foucault's multiple understanding of power that I used to explore how power operates via discourses on female footballers.

Poststructuralism is a theoretical approach that emerged as a critique of structuralism. In turn, according to Steven Seidman (1998), structuralism was a critique of humanistic philosophy, particularly existentialism, which "celebrated the individual as the primary active force in the making of society and history (p. 216). Structuralists hold the view that there are universal structures which govern the organisation of the mind, knowledges and human behaviour, and that these same structures, which give coherence and order to the human universe, can be uncovered through scientific observation and study (Seidman, 1998). In other words, academics who subscribe to this theory believe a 'reality' exists out there and that they can examine a particular social world to reveal the 'truth' of situations, behaviours and relationships, provided they have the 'right' tools such as surveys, interviews or observation. The work of Swiss linguist Ferdinand Saussure who maintained that a universal structure of language existed and determined human thought (Weedon, 1997), is credited with providing the linguistic foundations of structuralism. Saussure (1857-1913) challenged the conventional view that language was a neutral medium for representing the world and conceptualised language as a system of signs whose meanings were generated by their relations of difference (Seidman, 1998). This understanding of the role of language is shared with poststructuralism. However, structuralism and poststructuralism diverge significantly in the understanding of the way that language may be interpreted. In contrast to structuralism's stable language system and signs with clear, universal and fixed meanings, poststructuralists such as Jacques Derrida deconstructed patterns of language to show that language and signs could be interpreted in multiple ways, and to reveal that 'truths' of meaning

were neither fixed nor set (Francis & Skelton, 2005). Moreover, as poststructuralists have pointed out, language is subject to contestation because its meanings have social and political significance.

Foucault refused to identify with any particular theoretical position, although his concepts of power, his examination of historical processes and his questioning of the unitary subject are all very much part of poststructuralist thinking. Some feminist writers have used the terms postmodernism and poststructuralism interchangeably (e.g., Aitchinson, 2003; Richardson, 2000), and there is also disagreement about the way poststructuralism may be interpreted and understood (e.g., Ropers-Huilman, 1998). Chris Weedon (1987, 1997), whose works attempted to integrate feminist and Foucauldian ideas, argued that poststructuralism was “a way of conceptualising the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness which focuses on how power is exercised and on the possibilities of change” (1987, p. 19). It is this understanding of feminist poststructuralism, which, combined with Foucault’s multiple concepts of power, underpins this study. Although tensions between feminism and Foucault exist, I focus on the areas in which they come together that are particularly relevant to the questions posed in this thesis as I contend that adopting a Foucauldian feminist approach is the most appropriate theoretical lens with which to frame this study.

This chapter is structured in two parts. In the first section, I examine first how discourse, subjectivity and knowledge are conceptualised in Foucauldian thought. Next I discuss some of the theoretical tensions which exist between feminism and poststructuralism and outline the position I adopt in this thesis. In the second part, I outline Foucault’s concepts of power to highlight how they might be employed to interrogate and understand the mechanisms of power relations in the world of female footballers.

Discourse, subjectivity and knowledge

The term discourse is central to poststructuralist theorizing. Discourse can be thought of simply as a way of speaking, thinking or writing; making it possible for people to see their world in certain ways but it also refers, as Vivien Burr (2003) stated, “to a set of meanings, metaphors, images, stories that in some way produce a particular version of events” (p. 63). Moreover, Burr (2003) contended that each discourse may bring different aspects into focus, raise different issues for

consideration and have different implications for what we, as individuals, might do. For example, even though history reveals that women had run marathons as early as 1964, sportswomen were excluded from competing in the marathon at the Olympics until 1984 because sports administrators were influenced by medical discourses which positioned women as 'too frail' to compete in such an arduous event (Cameron & Kerr, 2007). Discourses can also act to position subjects in relation to other people, influencing who can speak, and with what authority (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). For example, discourses which position men as authoritative 'knowers' of football may enable them to categorize the game women play as not 'real' football.

The term discourse, as Sara Mills (2004) claimed, has become widely used in a variety of disciplines such as sociology, linguistics and psychology, but has been "frequently left undefined, as if its usage was simply common knowledge" (p. 1). In relation to Foucault's work, Mills (2004) further suggested that discourse was not "rooted within a larger system of fully worked-out theoretical ideas" (p. 15) but involved a configuration of power, knowledge and truth. Thus, in Foucault's work, discourses were more than just words and meanings; they were about power and knowledge; "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (1978, p. 101). Foucault (1978) believed that we must "conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable" (p. 100). In this manner, discourses can be perceived as contradictory, conflicting and multiple, with people's thoughts and actions being influenced, regulated and, to some extent, controlled by a range of different discourses. This view of discourse offers researchers the chance to develop explanations as to why people utilise discourses in different ways.

Discourses, from a Foucauldian perspective, also shape individuals' perceptions of reality and simultaneously prevent them from seeing other views of reality. For this reason, Foucault (1978) felt it was important that discourses should not be perceived dichotomously; that is, discourses that were either accepted/not accepted or dominant/dominated. Instead discourse should be conceived of as a "multiplicity of discursive elements that come into play in various strategies" (Foucault, 1978, p. 100). Weedon (1987) argued that language in the form of conflicting discourses, constituted people as conscious thinking subjects enabling them to give meaning to their world. Thus, subjects/selves/

individuals are not only constructed by surrounding discourses, but their social reality cannot be known independently of these various discourses (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004); and it is this understanding which challenges structuralist thought that a rational and unified subject exists in a social reality which is external and independent. Mats Alvesson and Kaj Skoldberg (2000) argued that poststructuralists regard this idea of a single subjectivity, which at any given moment is fixed and complete, as a western invention. In contrast, they suggested poststructuralists want to demote the subject from its central position; that is, to “decentre it” (p. 164) in order to emphasise the linguistic and discursive contexts which construct individuals’ subjectivity. The political significance of decentering the subject, Weedon (1987) suggested, is that it enables his/her subjectivity to change. Thus, people’s subjectivity is understood as always in process, shifting and changing as they encounter new discourses, have new experiences and take up different ways of being. For example, a female footballer may be addressed in multiple ways (as an athlete, a worker, a mother or girlfriend), and her individual subjectivity may be marked by conflict and contradiction as she negotiated the differing positions and meanings available to her. What is important for my study, however, is Betty Francis and Christine Skelton’s (2005) understanding that at the heart of subjectivity in poststructuralist theory is the “doubled/complex sense of “being (a) subject” (p. 32). In other words, a female footballer is simultaneously a subject of, and subject to, the meaning systems/discourses that produce what counts as a female footballer.

The poststructuralist ‘decentering’ of women (and men) as agents of knowledge and history has led to considerable debate amongst feminists of other theoretical persuasions. Critics argue that poststructuralism is anti-feminist because it devalues the point of having or developing a feminist and/or female community (Ropers-Huilman, 1998); it denies the opportunity for political action on behalf of women; and it represents only the values of white, western female academics (Aitchison, 2003). Linda Alcoff (cited in Ropers-Huilman, 1998) questioned what we can demand in the name of women if ‘women’ do not exist. In other words, and relevant to my study, could I seek emancipatory outcomes for female footballers if a *female* footballing community did not exist?

It is difficult to refute the accusations of being a white, western, heterosexual female academic for I am all of these subject positions. However, from a New Zealand perspective, women’s football has been, and continues to be,

primarily a white sport; that is not to say women from Maori, Pacific Island and Chinese communities, for example, do not play football in New Zealand – rather to note their presence in the game is minor. For example, while Maori women have taken up sports generally with great enthusiasm, netball appears to be their preferred choice of sport. North American sociologist Merrill Melnick (1996), who investigated whether racial stacking was present in New Zealand netball, commented that Maori representation (30.9%) was approximately double that of the general population (15%) in 1996. Ten years later, a SPARC report in 2006, revealed that netball continued to be the top sport for Maori women (Palmer, 2007). In addition, a Life in New Zealand survey (LINZ, 1990) highlighted a complete absence of football in a list of the top 20 sports/physical activities played by Maori women. Therefore, although it could be argued that my work is likely to represent the values of a ‘white western academic’ (consciously or unconsciously), at least in terms of my gender and racial identity I am similar to the majority of those whom I interviewed and represented in this thesis. Further, both Maori interviewees indicated that gender rather than racial identity was the most pertinent in their football experiences.

In response to the debate about the value of developing a feminist/female community, I believe one of the major problems with feminist theorizing prior to poststructuralism has been the tendency to overlook how differently women may act given the same circumstances. Researchers who employed various strands of feminism prior to poststructuralism, Hargreaves (2004) pointed out, tended to treat women as one homogenous group. In this way, the voices and experiences of disabled or lesbian women or women of colour for example were denied or rendered invisible, and *all* women were thought to be oppressed, and equally affected, by patriarchal structures in society. In contrast, feminist poststructuralists recognize diversity and complexity and understand that differences may occur when identity categories such as race, class and sexual orientation intersect in and through women’s lives (Macdonald, Kirk, Metzler, Nilges, Schempp & Wright, 2009). There are many ideas, discourses and practices that are common in the ‘field’ of football (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Hong & Mangan, 2004; Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Scraton, Fasting, Pfister & Bunuel, 1999) because football as a global sport is controlled and defined by male-dominated organisations. While women belonging to various identity categories are likely to engage with these ideas, discourses and practices quite differently, I take the position in this thesis

that it is possible to ‘speak’ of a female footballing community; albeit a discursively constructed one. Therefore, I use two terms – women in football and/or female footballers – as a way of speaking generally about females who have played, administered or coached football in New Zealand, rather than to signify *all* women in football.

One of the primary critiques of poststructuralism, and indeed of Foucault, is the denial of the opportunity to provide for a collective resistance and/or to challenge large-scale oppression against women. Poststructuralist Judith Butler (1990) suggested that feminists should be wary about a political movement based on the collective identity of ‘women’ because of the refusal of some women to identify with feminism and the degree of fragmentation within the feminist movement. Similarly, from my experiences in football, the idea that there could be collective resistance based around being ‘women’ proved to be illusory. For example, as I stated in Chapter Two, two women and two men of the WSANZ committee politically fought to take NZS to the Human Rights Commission for gender discrimination. Some WSANZ female committee members did not support the political action undertaken by their fellow committee members and, at various times, supported the NZS’s actions instead. Thus, in spite of ‘belonging’ to a female footballing community, the various ways that female footballers negotiate, resist or comply with the multiplicity of discourses that surround them may preclude any group political action, for each female footballer may see emancipation or gender equality in her footballing environment in different ways.

Poststructural feminists Elizabeth St. Pierre and Wanda Pillow (2000) argued that emancipatory outcomes are not possible or even desirable; rather that poststructuralism “offers critiques and methods for examining the functions and effect of any structure that we put in place” (p. 6). Foucault did not completely reject politics based on identity but suggested that political action was fraught with problems, primarily due to the complexity of attempting to understand the workings of discourse in conjunction with the workings of contingency. In this way, as Pirkko Markula and Richard Pringle (2006) suggested, specific political actions could result in quite different and unexpected outcomes for individuals or groups. However, because my study is based primarily around identifying and interrogating discourses and gendered relations of power within women’s football in New Zealand, I believe that the most liberating aspect of poststructural thought lies in the recognition of the discourses that surround you and how they constitute

you both as subject and object. It is this knowledge that I wish to pass on to other female footballers, because, as Bronwyn Davies (1989) stated, “they (in this case, female footballers) can begin to imagine how to reposition themselves, realign themselves and use the power of discourse they have to disrupt those of its effect they wish to resist” (p. 180).

Another central focus in poststructuralist theorising involves a concept of knowledge that posits that knowledge is problematic because meanings are a product of time and place; thus any attempt “to establish objective truths and timeless realities will be at best partial, and at worst dangerous” (Ropers-Huilman, 1998, p. 7). Similarly for Foucault, knowledge and truth were not essential and ahistorical but instead intertwined with the way power was exercised in a particular period of time (Danaher, Shirato & Webb, 2000). Thus, rather than appealing to the ‘truth’ of knowledge, Foucault contended that discourses have specific histories and that the power effects of those discourses remain influential through specific social mechanisms or complex strategies (Pringle, 2003). To research those specific histories Foucault suggested using genealogy as a method (Tamboukou, 2003), in order to trace out their multiple beginnings, their discontinuities and their disjunctures. Genealogy, which I discuss in Chapter Five as the approach taken in this thesis, incorporates many of Foucault’s multiple understandings of power. Thus, in the second part of this chapter, I outline and discuss his concepts of power which are relevant to this study.

A Foucauldian understanding of power

As stated in Chapter One, Foucault conceptualised power in ways very different to traditional models of thinking about power. Foucault was also a productive scholar whose lifetime work spanned a 30 year period before his death in 1984. His published works included numerous books, interviews, papers and lectures and, as Paul Rabinow (1998) stated in his series preface, “few modern thinkers have used such a wide array of forms in so skilful a fashion, making them an integral component in the development and presentation of their work” (1998, p. ix). Foucault’s concepts have influenced researchers from multiple disciplinary fields as well as “spawning specific research methods such as discourse analysis and genealogical approaches” (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 7). However, the very proliferation of his work over such a length of time and the different ways he discussed his concepts of power have, at times, created conflict and ambiguity for

the reader. Therefore, in this next section I focus on examining two concepts which are most relevant to my study; ‘disciplinary power’, and ‘power-knowledge’, both of which Foucault developed and utilised in his major genealogical studies; *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *The History of Sexuality* (1978).

Disciplinary power

Disciplinary power was considered by Foucault (1980e) to be “one of the great inventions of bourgeois society and was “integral to the constitution of industrial capitalism” (p. 105). The disciplined individual becomes the disciplinarian or, as Foucault (1977) argued, “discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise” (p. 170). In addition, from these disciplinary practices emerged a systematic knowledge of individuals which provided, as Dany Lacombe (2005) suggested, “the seed for the development of the human sciences” (p. 334) whose knowledge, in turn, allowed for the exercise of power over those individuals. In this way, Foucault (1977) argued, the individual became constituted both as an effect and object of power, and as an effect and object of knowledge, hence his coupling together of the two terms as power-knowledge. Disciplinary power, therefore, lay in producing types of behaviour that led individuals to follow rules and regulations without the need to use force or coercion.

From the 1600s and 1700s onwards, Foucault (1977) believed there was a veritable technological ‘take-off’ in the productivity of power. Not only did the various monarchies of these periods develop armies, police forces and administrative bureaucracies as apparatuses of the State, but new mechanisms of power were established with highly specific procedural techniques and novel instruments. Foucault (1977) called these mechanisms ‘disciplinary power’ and they were successfully exercised through surveillance and normalising judgement, the combination of which culminated in the procedure of the examination. Used at first in specific institutions such as the army, the prison, hospitals and schools, these mechanisms gradually pervaded all apparatuses of the State. The human body, through disciplinary power, became both an “object and target of power” (p. 136). As Foucault (1977) explained, “discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience” (p. 138) and, in this way, disciplinary power produced

‘docile’ bodies. While the meaning of docile today often denotes manageability and submissiveness, in a Foucauldian sense, a docile body was one that “may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (1977, p. 136). These forms of power were necessary in order to gain access to the bodies of individuals, “to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour” (Foucault, 1980d, p. 125) so that they might become productive and docile bodies within a capitalist economy.

The success of disciplinary power, according to Foucault (1977), derived from the use of two simple instruments: normalising judgement and hierarchical observation. Normalising judgement was carried out by making individuals who deviated from correct behaviour, even to the slightest degree, subject to a whole range of micro-penalties which resulted in a range of punitive actions from “light physical punishment to minor deprivations and petty humiliations” (p. 178). In the setting of a New Zealand school classroom, these micro-penalties could range from being made to stand in the corner and wear the ‘dunce’s’ hat, to being caned or given ‘detention’; that is, being made to stay behind after school has finished and carry out a specific task like picking up rubbish or writing the same sentence 500 times. However, for Foucault, punishment was seen to be more beneficial if its operation was carried out in a system of gratification-punishment, which rewarded individuals for ‘good’ behaviour rather than just punishing those who committed offences. In New Zealand, for example, it is common practice for young children to receive a ‘star’ or a ‘stamp’ on their hands when they have done something well; this type of reward, in Foucauldian thought, encouraged children not only to repeat good behaviour but allowed them at a young age to differentiate between good and bad performance and behaviour patterns; in this way, slowly becoming ‘disciplined’. The reward system could also result in promotion, enabling visible distribution of higher ranking or moving up a grade, as well as visible demotion for any wrongdoing or lack of attainment, thus encouraging docility.

In summary, Foucault (1977) believed that the art of punishing in the regime of disciplinary power was aimed at bringing five distinct modes of action into play: comparing, differentiating, hierarchising, homogenising and excluding. He believed that “the marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation were increasingly replaced – or at least supplemented – by a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogeneous social body but also playing

a part in classification, hierarchisation and the distribution of rank” (1977, p. 184).

Foucault also believed the judges of normality were everywhere:

We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the ‘social-worker’ judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he¹ may find himself, subjects it to his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements. (1977, p. 304)

Thus, through the judgements from these influential figures in society, normalisation became an instrument for the exercise of power; for while setting out ‘normal’ conduct for the population as a whole, normalisation highlighted differences between individuals. Via such judgements (discourses), individuals come to understand what is ‘normal’ and what is not in the society in which they live.

The second instrument of disciplinary power was hierarchical observation or surveillance. Foucault (1977) summarised the mechanism of surveillance as architecturally representative of the panopticon. The principle of the panopticon, which was designed by Jeremy Bentham, was to ensure that the occupant of a cell such as a prisoner, an insane person or a patient was always visible to an overseer or supervisor. A perimeter building in the form of a ring was divided into cells with inner and outer windows; at the centre of this ring was a tower with windows opening out onto the inner circle of the cells (Foucault, 1977). In the architectural arrangement of a prison, for example, all the prisoners in their cells could be seen by the guards in the watchtower but not vice versa. In time, the prisoners came to behave as if they were under constant surveillance, irrespective of whether or not the guards were present in the watchtower. Through this continual inspecting gaze, the prisoners monitored or self-regulated their own behaviour, eventually becoming or acting as their own guards to become docile bodies. Foucault (1977) also suggested that the panopticon could be used as a laboratory to carry out experiments on, and teach different techniques to, individuals as well as to monitor any subsequent effects. In this way, the application of the panopticon principle spread, particularly when dealing with large numbers of people on whom a task or a specific form of behaviour was to be imposed; and, as Foucault (1977) argued, it served “to treat patients, to instruct schoolchildren, to confine

¹ Throughout this thesis, I have not changed Foucault’s use of he and his as generic germs for human beings.

the insane, to supervise workers, to put beggars and idlers to work” (p. 205). Most importantly, however, it was a subtle exercise of power, rather than an imposed “rigid, heavy constraint” (p. 206) such as placing prisoners in chains or threatening schoolchildren with the cane or strap.

In his later works, Foucault (2000) called panopticism “a fundamental and characteristic dimension of the power relations” (p. 70) which existed in contemporary western society, and drew attention to its threefold aspect of supervision, control and correction. Thus, disciplinary power took form through continual individual supervision, through control in the form of punishment and compensation, and through correction where individuals were moulded and shaped by the judges of normality, culminating in the production of docile bodies.

This understanding of disciplinary power is particularly relevant in sport. While it is sometimes possible to escape the gaze of a solitary coach during training at club level – one of the first rules of coaching you learn is to always stand in a position where you can see all the players – at elite level female players in New Zealand are constantly under surveillance by management staff whether from the disciplines of coaching or sport sciences or from other players. Normalising judgements may be carried out through the examination, for example, in fitness testing where players’ results are recorded, analysed (usually for improvement from past performances and compared to other squad members). If insufficient improvement is noted, further investigation takes place and may result in punishment; that is, being dropped from the squad/team. Other types of punishment may also help to reinforce normalisation, that is, what it is expected of ‘good’ players, ranging from being fined for being late to training to doing a required number of ‘press-ups’ for coming last in a drill exercise. Thus, for many female players, particularly at elite level, there is no force or coercion to follow rules and regulations, for their reward in becoming docile bodies is continually being reinforced through being selected to play.

In another football example, on the football field and in the dressing rooms female players become both the surveyed and the surveyors of what I referred to in my earlier research as the “fat gaze” (Cox, 1998, p. 43). Coaches, spectators and players themselves all took part in monitoring this aspect of the players’ bodies. Susan Bordo (1990) has argued that the preoccupation with fat, diet and slenderness may have functioned as one of the most powerful normalizing strategies for women of the twentieth century. Certainly the majority of female

players, whose voices are combined and presented in the extract below, monitored their own bodies as rigidly as they did others:

I feel uncomfortable about showering because then the team sees the “real” you. When you’re dressed, people can only tell whether you’re big or small. But when you’ve got your clothes off, the players can see the fat on your body. When everyone says that a player is skinny, particularly when it’s the best one, I feel that’s the standard I have to attain... so in a way, it sets me up in competition with her. I know I don’t match the ideal body shape - that’s not so important to me, but I’m uncomfortable because I think other people perceive me as being too fat and therefore, by association, not a good player. It doesn’t help when everyone talks about specific opposition players in terms of their fatness and corresponding uselessness. (Cox, 1998, pp. 43-48)

The female body, which I discuss at length in the next chapter in the context of femininity and sport, is one of the major areas where feminism and Foucault converge, for both identify the body as a site of power; a locus through which docility is accomplished and subjectivity is constituted. Foucault placed the body and sexuality at the centre of social analysis but apart from a small section on female hysterisation, he did not consider particular discourses which produced feminine embodiment. Consequently, one of the main attractions of his work for feminists was his argument that the body was not ‘natural’ but produced through relationships of power and was, therefore, a cultural product. As Sarah Gilroy (1997) suggested, “to understand the body we need to understand the discourse within which the body is constructed and then operates” (p. 99). However, Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power and the production of docile bodies was criticised on the grounds that it ultimately lacked agency, thereby leaving no freedom for people to make changes (e.g., Deveaux, 1994; Hall, 1996). In his next published work, *The History of Sexuality: Volume One*, Foucault (1978) offered a more complex understanding of power which recognised power, resistance and truth as closely intertwined and I discuss this next.

Power, resistance and truth

In traditional understandings of power, many people believed, and no doubt some still do, that power is something that is held by monarchs, invested in government judiciaries and legislation or held by people at the top of organisations such as

dictators, presidents or chairpersons; all of which Foucault, as Colin Gordon suggested, collectively referred to as an “agency of sovereignty” (1980, p. 235). Foucault, however, argued that this form of power represented “only the terminal forms power takes” (1978, p. 92). Breaking away from this traditional understanding, Foucault explained that:

The question of power needed to be formulated not so much in terms of justice as in those of technology, of tactic and strategy, and it was this substitution for a judicial and negative grid of a technical and strategic one that I tried to effect in *Discipline and Punish* and to exploit in *The History of Sexuality*. (1980a, p. 184)

It was in the latter work that Foucault described at length how he defined power, although he elaborated further on this definition in later works. In addition, when Foucault (2003a) discussed or wrote about power, he explained that if he occasionally used the term power by itself it was “simply a shorthand” (p. 34) because his preferred expression was “relations of power” (p. 34), as he believed power was always present in human relationships. Foucault also used the term power relationships interchangeably with relations of power. Thus, in this study, the three terms power, relations of power and power relationships will be used interchangeably and all will hold the same meaning as discussed below.

As one of the aims of my study is to examine relations of power surrounding female footballers, I next point out Foucault’s multiple definitions in terms of what power is not, and then discuss power in terms of what it is and how it is exercised through a Foucauldian lens. Thus, for Foucault (1978), power was not a physical strength or force with which certain people were endowed: it was not a group of institutions or structures, power was not repressive or negative, nor was it some sort of possession that could be acquired, seized, shared, held on to or allowed to slip away, and neither was it something that could be imposed from the top downwards. In other words, Foucault did not believe that power had essential qualities; it did not have an ontological status.

Instead, relations of power Foucault (2003a) argued, existed where “one person tries to control the conduct of another” (p. 34), such as between family members or between coaches and their players, He elaborated further on this understanding of relations of power, which Markula and Pringle (2006) have summarised as “an action by one person to help guide another’s *conduct* or direct the possible field of action of others” (p. 35, italics in the original). This definition

helps us to understand what perhaps is Foucault's most quoted statement; "where there is power, there is resistance" (1978, p. 95). In other words, and as long as people were 'free', relations of power were not fields of force in which individuals were coerced or physically made to obey but fields in which the possibility of resistance was always present. As Foucault (2003a) pointed out, "if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all" (p. 34). For example, many people think that a committee chairperson has power and can tell or direct other committee members what to do, but individual committee members can always resist in multiple ways such as saying no, resigning from the committee or even 'ganging-up' on the chairperson to vote him/her out of office.

Most historical and sociological research suggests that women's involvement in sport has been a struggle or, as Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge (1994) claimed, "women's involvement in sport is a history of stubborn resistance" (p. 366). However, while Birrell and Theberge (1994) outlined the various debates on resistance and offered examples of how some women have resisted dominant forms of control in sport, their work exemplifies what Foucault referred to as sovereign power. Thus, in simple terms, sovereign power in this sporting context suggests men maintain control over sport because they hold the 'top' positions and women, at the 'bottom', attempt to resist and transform that control. However, resistance, from a Foucauldian perspective, "neither predates the power it opposes nor emanates from a situation external to it; rather, resistance is more 'real' and effective because it forms "right at the point where relations of power are exercised" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 142). What Foucault meant by this statement is that as soon as there is a relation of power; for example, between a female player and her normally male coach, there is the possibility of resistance. This resistance may manifest in different ways such as the player refusing to do what the coach suggests or suggesting an alternative action to which the coach may, or may not, agree. Furthermore, Foucault clearly stated, "We are never trapped by power; we can always modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy" (1989, p. 153). Thus, I shall be exploring how both power and resistance are exercised when I examine the experiences of female footballers in this study.

In Chapter Two, I explained how my initial understanding of power closely resembled what Foucault thought of as an agency of sovereignty, where power, as Markula and Pringle (2006) have suggested, was always seen as negative and/or repressive, despite a resisting individual. The resistant potential of women's sport, Markula and Pringle further add, has often been examined utilising this framework; in other words, as a female footballer I was oppressed by oppressors who, in this case, were men holding positions of power in football but in some way I managed to resist this oppressive power to achieve my objectives. In contrast to this position, Foucault (1977, 1978) was very clear that power should not be described as repressive or in negative terms because, "power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth (1977, p. 194). It is this notion of the productivity of power that Foucault argued made power acceptable and omnipresent; that is, power circulated throughout societies at all levels and occurred in all human interactions. Relations of power, Foucault (1980d) added; "induces pleasure, forms knowledge [and] produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (p. 119).

Discourse is a key aspect of Foucauldian relations of power, and I further discuss discourse in Chapter Five when I consider its use within Foucault's genealogical approach. There are, in any society, multiple relations of power which pervade, characterise and constitute the social body but these same relations of power cannot be put into practice or even established without the circulation and production of discourses. Within this circulation and production of discourses, Foucault (1980d) believed each society had to have specific mechanisms for deciding which discourses it would accept; how it would distinguish between true and false statements within a discourse, and the means of determining the status of individuals 'telling the truth' of a discourse. Foucault (1980d, p. 131) claimed every society had "its regime of truth", and identified five important traits which he said characterised the "political economy" of truth in western societies: 'Truth' was centred on scientific discourse and the institutions that produced it; it was subject to constant 'demand' to be established; it was the object of widespread dissemination and consumption through apparatuses of education and information; it was produced under the control of a few great apparatuses such as the university, the army and the media and it sat at the root of

“ideological” struggles between individuals and groups of people. Thus, Foucault (1980d) is suggesting that truth is *not* something that can be discovered or revealed through scientific examination; rather, truth was to be understood as “a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operations of statements”, which forms discourse and is “linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which it extends” (p. 132).

The circulation of discourses could also be combined and produced within what Foucault called an apparatus or, in its plural form, apparatuses [In the French language, the word is *dispositif*, sometimes this has been translated in English as *dispositive*]. In the previous paragraph, Foucault referred twice to this term. While it is possible to think of apparatus in the same way as sociologists do when they refer to institutions such as the family, sport or education, Foucault (1980b) used the term apparatus in a specific way as an aspect of his multiple definitions of relations of power. He described apparatus in his later works as:

A thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. (1980b, p. 194-195)

Apparatuses are always inscribed in plays of power; they have a strategic nature and support, and are supported by, all types of knowledge (Foucault, 1980b). Within an apparatus, a system of relations can be established between all the varying elements: it is within these elements that discourses may criss-cross and interweave, sometimes reinforcing the effects of a particular discourse, sometimes negating the widespread acceptance of a dominant discourse, and sometimes producing a completely new discourse. A discourse can also appear in the programme of one institution at one time, yet in another institution at a different time the same discourse may function quite differently in terms of its power effects (Foucault, 1980b).

In spite of being a central analytical strategy in *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*, the apparatus or dispositive has seldom been used by researchers/writers and those few who have done so have described it in very different ways – from a regime of practices to a functional imperative (Anderson, 2003). In this thesis, I use an ‘apparatus of football’ as a term to indicate how

discourses surrounding female footballers connect and interweave within an ensemble of moral, philosophical, scientific, sporting and gender discourses, the various institutions such as the family, sport and education, the game of football and its institutions such as NZF and FIFA, plus Government and local Council legislation. This examination of an ensemble of discourses and various elements and their connection with each other, I suggest, will allow for not only a deeper understanding of how reciprocal effects of power and knowledge produce particular 'truths' about female footballers but also how female footballers experience these reciprocal effects as discourses that become strategically integrated in their everyday world of football.

In conclusion, poststructuralism has been taken up by many feminists who saw it as an approach that had much in common with feminist concerns of power, plurality and diversity, and the breaking down of oppositional categories such as those used to define women. Within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, relations of power are viewed as productive forces which circulate throughout societies at all levels and occur in all human interactions. Thus, while not being the answer to all feminist questions, a Foucauldian feminist approach offers a way to interrogate the effects of power and social practices on groups of women and on individual women. Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (1988) suggested that combining the theoretical approaches of poststructuralist feminism and Foucault was not to insist that they mirror each other, but to offer distinctive insights that the other had missed or ignored. Therefore, in this study, I take a feminist Foucauldian approach to examine how power, knowledge and discourse, within the context of a complex web of social relations and institutions, are linked and exercised in women's football in New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR

Femininity, Heterosexuality and Sport

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I outlined and discussed key concepts of Foucault's understanding of power and poststructural feminism in order to explain my choice of Foucauldian feminism as the theoretical lens with which to frame this study. Foucault (1977, 1978) argued that our bodies and desires were shaped by historical scientific discourses associated with the body such as medicine, biology and psychiatry, and he offered many ways in which to think about the body: as material, as historical and as constituted through power/knowledge discourses. However, some feminists criticised him for failing to consider how bodies were experienced by women. In other words, as Margaret McLaren (2002) noted, "a discussion of gender and gender-specific disciplinary practices are absent from Foucault's work (p. 114). Therefore, in this chapter, I utilise primarily feminist research emanating from sociological, historical and psychological disciplines in Europe, North America and New Zealand in order to reveal the multiple discourses which surround the meaning and construction of femininity, the female body and heterosexuality historically and specifically in the context of sport. Rather than directly critiquing these selected scholarly works, I am mining this research in order to help identify and understand how these same discourses might surround and influence female footballers in New Zealand. While I am not proposing that women in sport are a homogenous group or that discourses can be simply transposed to other localities, I am suggesting that New Zealanders would have been influenced, to varying degrees, by prevailing discourses in England and those circulating in the western world.

Gender is a central organising principle of social life, influencing our subjectivities and our relationships with others. It also influences how individuals come to understand how certain types of clothing, colours, movements and human characteristics etcetera are gendered; that is, acting as markers to signify what is male/masculinity or female/femininity in their particular societies. For example, because it is difficult to distinguish the sex of a dressed baby, many people choose to clothe their baby girls in pink and baby boys in blue as a way of signifying this information. Considerable debate exists around what femininity is as a component

of gender. Questions often include: is it something we are born with, become, do, perform or even represent or display? Is there such a thing as 'one' femininity or is it plural – femininities? Does an understanding of femininity change over time and does it depend on factors such as ethnicity, age or even financial circumstances? Can femininity be separated from the female body, even if only theoretically? And is sexuality a 'natural part' of femininity?

When asked to describe what makes somebody feminine (or masculine), most people respond with a range of examples from biological features to psychological traits. Even those who question today whether we need the terms masculinity or femininity find it difficult, as Becky Francis (2006) pointed out, to discover alternative ways of describing differences amongst men and women. In her examination of popular views of femininity and womanhood in North America, Julia Wood (2005) identified there was no single meaning of femininity any longer as did Samantha Holland (2004) from interviewing women in England. Wood (2005) also indicated that while some Americans would approve of women having careers, others would disapprove as part of a conservative discourse that associated femininity with domesticity and motherhood. In the same way in sport, I suggest that some people may applaud female bodybuilders for their discipline and hard work to build powerful, muscular bodies while others will be shocked at their 'lack' of femininity (see e.g., Obel & Probert, 2008). Thus, while no clear definition of femininity or agreement on its meaning may exist, I suggest that most individuals know there is 'something' called femininity which they are able to recognise when they see it.

Within academia, there are many different social theories that relate to, and construct, different understandings of femininities and gender. For example, biological theorists would view femininity as a 'natural part' of women's nature whilst academics holding a phenomenological perspective would assume that femininity was a 'lived' experience. Poststructuralist feminists questioned the post-enlightenment grand narratives that served to construct the world in dualistic categories, particularly that of man, masculinity / woman, femininity (Aitchison, 2003), as well as the theoretical separation of sex (the body) from gender. Instead of essentialising these categories as 'fixed' and 'natural' as in liberal or radical feminist thought, for example, poststructuralists maintain that men and women are constituted in and by a myriad of discourses that 'speak' gender and sex at a particular time in society. Thus, in this study, concepts such as masculinity and

femininity are seen as social and linguistic constructions; the meanings of which are uncertain, unequivocal and shifting over time (Weedon, 1997). Furthermore, as Butler (1990) asserted, gender is emphasised as performative and constitutive. Thus, overall, there is little agreement on how gender should be theorised; there is a multitude of meanings and discourses surrounding gender and sex which shift and change dependent on the social context in which they are constructed.

I have structured the remainder of this chapter in two parts; in the first part, I argue that the importance of the female body to how femininity is discursively constructed, perceived and experienced cannot be underestimated. While I might discuss femininity and the female body as separate terms, in this thesis I take the position that each term, and the discourses that surround and construct both, implicitly incorporate each other. In the second part, I examine through different historical periods how discourses surrounding gender/sex have manifested in women's sport generally and in women's football particularly. I also intend to expand on Pat Griffin's (1992) and Ann Hall's (1996) insight that femininity serves as a code word for heterosexuality and Sandra Lee Bartky's (1990) claim that heterosexual attractiveness is vitally important to women's sense of self-worth, to propose that it is not discourses of femininity per se that create relations of power for women in sport but their entrenchment within discourses of heterosexuality.

Part 1: Femininity and the Body

David Glover and Cora Kaplan (2000) credit Robert Stoller, an American psychoanalyst specialising in gender identity issues, in 1968 for theorising that the term 'gender' indicated a range of behaviours and feelings related to the sexes without any biological connotations, therefore theoretically separating sex from gender. However, Oldersma and Davis (1991) believed that as the male academic community had tended to historically treat relationships between the sexes as "part of the 'natural order'" (p. 3), it was early feminist scholars who provided the impetus for the sex/gender division by highlighting the importance of studying this separation. Drawing upon evidence provided by social biologists and psychoanalysts working with child transsexuals/intersexuals and anthropologists studying different ethnic groups, Ann Oakley (1972) argued that sex referred to

the physical genital and reproductive differences of two bodies categorically labelled either male or female whilst gender was a matter of culture, referring to a social classification of masculine and feminine, which were implicitly assumed to correlate with being born male or female. This separation signalled a way in which early second wave feminists could get around the traditional understanding of 'biology is destiny'. If qualities, traits and characteristics were something that society attributed to men and women, rather than being inherent or essential properties, then they could be changed, modified and resisted. Thus, Jantine Oldersma and Kathy Davis (1991) claimed that this distinction between sex and gender allowed feminists to battle to improve the rights and status of women in society. The use of gender as a theoretical construct also enabled feminists to establish a whole range of issues demanding scholarly attention, including how femininity was talked about, written about and lived.

Susan Brownmiller (1984), an American journalist, was one of first writers to take femininity as a construct and explore how it has been used and regarded in bodily functions and movement, clothing and emotions throughout history. In her opinion, the threat of being thought unfeminine or failing to be perceived as feminine was sufficient reason to deter women from achieving, particularly in those pursuits culturally constructed as male. She claimed that:

The fear of not being feminine enough, in style or in spirit, has been used as a sledgehammer against the collective and individual aspirations of women since failure in femininity carries the charge of mannish or neutered, making biological gender subject to ongoing proof. (Brownmiller, 1984, p. 235)

Three years later, a group of women in Germany (Haug & Others, 1987) published findings of their phenomenological study in which they examined their bodies to explore how individual women learned to behave in feminine ways; in other words, "the 'how' of lived feminine practice" (p. 33). Analysing their memories, collectively and individually, this group of women reviewed a) their understanding of sexuality and femininity through examination of their individual body parts and b) how their findings might relate to men and the social structure in which they lived. Their findings suggested these women's relationships with society and men centred around the female body and through it, "the whole range of women's potential skills and competences unfolds within pre-given constraints" (Haug & Others, 1987, p. 131). While Brownmiller (1984) and Haug and Others (1987) used different theoretical lenses to explore femininity and its

associated practices, their findings painted similar pictures of femininity as restrictive and subordinated to masculinity. However, while Haug and Others used the terms female body, femininity and sexuality interchangeably without discussion or differentiation, Brownmiller found a biological connection to femininity sometimes existed and sometimes did not, foreshadowing future debate on the this matter.

Since the theoretical sex/gender separation in the 1970s, the assumption that gender was fluid, changeable and contingent on a historical and cultural context and that sex (the body) was a biological, a-historical and stable entity, apart from the normal processes of aging, became a dominant discourse in public and academic work (see Hall, 1990). However and perhaps influenced by poststructuralism, scholars began to challenge this assumption as well as the theoretical separation of sex and gender itself. Chris Shilling (1993) posited that the body was “somehow shaped, constrained and even invented by society” (p. 70) and for this reason should not be viewed as stable or a-historical. Butler (1990) also supported the idea that sex was not a pre-given entity but was produced and materialised through time and discourse. Furthermore, she theorised how from the moment of birth the body was culturally signified by language and sets of institutions which immediately classified infants as either male or female. In this way, we become gendered:

The effect of gender is produced through the stylisation of the body, and hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. (Butler, 1990, p. 140)

Thomas Laqueur (1990) claimed that the body was not always divided into two separate and distinct categories - male and female - but existed as one sex in which the female body was thought to be just a continuation of the male body. In this way, Lacqueur (1990) illustrated how the body has been thought of in different ways in different historical periods, thus arguing that the body is shaped by the discourses surrounding it rather than being a transcendent entity. John Hood-Williams (1995) also contended that sex was no less a discursive construction than gender. Chromosomal theory posits that the presence of chromosome Y determines males and the X chromosome determines females. Despite this classification, as Precilla Choi (2000) pointed out, about 10% of the population are neither XX-female nor XY-male and anomalies exist which take

forms such as XXY-female and XX-male. Hood-Williams (1995) in questioning why scientists designated these XX bodies as men, albeit unusual ones, reasoned that the scientists already knew what it was to be a man before they could confirm it genetically. Thus, he argued that biological sex was not ‘naturally’ given but discursively constructed and therefore, there was no need to separate sex and gender.

From the discipline of philosophy, Bartky (1990) was one of the first feminists to examine the convergence of gender with the sex. Utilising Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power, she argued that three categories of disciplinary practices produced a recognisably feminine body: the regulation of body shape and size through dieting and exercise, the repertoire of gestures, postures and movements, and the display of the body as an ornamental surface through make-up, hair care and selection of clothes. Bartky (1990) suggested these disciplinary practices created ‘docile bodies;’ that is, women disciplined their bodies in everyday practices in order to produce the ‘right’ or ‘normal’ feminine body. Furthermore, she stated that these female disciplinary practices had spread to all classes of women, and throughout their life cycle. Commercial products which beautify, cleanse, nourish and colour female bodies, I suggest, proliferate in almost all western societies. Large numbers of women in the western world use these various products to enhance the appearance of their bodies, for, as Jane Ussher (1997) writing from a psychological perspective explained, “making up is about making the most of your best features and playing down the ones that aren’t much to write home about” (p. 56). Hair must be flowing, glowing and luxuriant and skin must be smooth, soft, unblemished and wrinkle-free (Bartky, 1990). Many of these practices are culturally reinforced through advertising, magazines, films and television. However, in spite of the unrelenting pressure to “make the most of what she has” women are often ridiculed and dismissed for their interest in such trivial things as clothes and makeup (Bartky, 1990, p. 73). Ussher (1997) also demonstrated how the practice of selecting clothes could be a disciplinary practice when she stated; “training in the subtle nuances of fashion constitutes one of the central training grounds for femininity” (p. 59; see also Holland, 2004). In spite of fashion becoming much less strict today about what women could wear or not wear, and the selection of clothing becoming more uni-sex in the western world, Ussher (1997) argued that the enthusiasm with which women took to wearing trousers was never matched by the number of men wearing skirts; an

argument which suggests that many women realised just how much their clothing had restricted their 'right' to move freely.

While many women realised they did not 'naturally' measure up to beauty standards demonstrated by the 'perfect' models photographed in advertisements and magazines, they continued to buy and use beauty products because, Ussher (1997) contended, to be considered ugly was to be feared the most, for it was through beauty that women have had power. Naomi Wolf (1990), writing from an American perspective, claimed that the media used images of female beauty as a political weapon to socially control women as a reaction to their improved access to power, money and legal recognition in their society. Through women's magazines and the multi-billion industries of diet, cosmetics, pornography and cosmetic surgery, discourses of femininity were perpetuated, and it was these discourses that Wolf (1990) named 'the beauty myth'. She highlighted how women suffered through such practices and argued that the myth was not about women at all; "it is about men and power" (p. 4), further stating "femininity is a code for femaleness *plus whatever society happens to be selling*" (p. 177, emphasis added). While Wolf's analysis of how the various 'beauty' industries operated made for compelling reading, her understanding of power was 'top-down' with no concept of individual resistance. However, the discourses between power, beauty and femininity may need further examination, particularly because, as Wolf stated, "young women have been doubly weakened; raised to compete like men in rigid male-model institutions, they must also maintain to the last detail an impeccable femininity" (p. 174).

Bodily movement and gestures may also be gendered. Although anatomical difference and types of clothing may make a difference, Brownmiller (1984) and Haug and Others (1987) both pointed out that women were 'drilled' to pay attention to the size of the step they took, with striding to be avoided at all costs if they were to be perceived as feminine. How individuals utilise space may be seen also as a marker of gender. R.W. Connell (1987) believed that to be an adult male was to occupy space and to have a physical presence while, conversely, both Bartky (1990) and Iris Young (1980) commented on the reluctance of women to take up space. Furthermore, although expressed differently, they both believed that women's tendency to stand or sit with legs, feet and knees close or touching was a coded declaration of sexual circumspection. Moreover, they both assumed

that some movements were neither learned nor natural but rather necessitated by restrictive clothing that women wore such as tight skirts and high heels.

Standards for acceptable bodies have varied over time and in different cultures (Bartky, 1990). In the American film industry, for example, the full and curvaceous body of American actress Marilyn Monroe in the 1950s to the extreme thinness of Katie Holmes today may be seen as representative of how standards for 'ideal' female bodies have changed historically. Sharlene Hesse-Biber (1996), in her in-depth study of 60 American college-aged students, claimed thinness gave women access to a number of important resources such as feelings of power, self-confidence, femininity and male attention. The 'cult of thinness' (Hesse-Biber, 1996) or the 'tyranny of slenderness' (Bartky, 1990) have become powerful discourses representing the construction of the 'ideal' female body in western societies as tanned, slender and taut; that is, free from unsightly fat (see also Duncan, 1994 and Spitzack, 1990). In this way, many women are influenced to spend significant time monitoring and surveilling their bodies to see if they measure up to this ideal norm. Bordo (1990), who also used Foucault's concept of docile bodies to argue that the body functioned as a site for the reproduction of femininity, suggested this preoccupation with fat, diet and slenderness may have functioned as one of the most powerful 'normalising' strategies of the twentieth century, as the tightly managed body has been "overdetermined as a contemporary ideal of specifically female attractiveness" (p. 105). In addition, some sports feminist researchers began to draw on Foucauldian notions of disciplinary processes, power relationships and docile bodies to explain how sport offered women discursive tools to oppose oppressive power relations while simultaneously enmeshing them in normalising sporting practices and discourses (Barker-Ruchti, 2007; Chapman, 1997; Chase, 2006; Markula, 1995; Shogan, 1999).

Feminists as far back as Mary Wollstonecraft, Bordo (1992) suggested, "have collectively been developing an understanding of the female body as a focal point for social discipline, containment and disempowerment" (p. 166). Thus, the importance of the body to how femininity is constructed, perceived and experienced cannot be underestimated. I suggest it makes logical sense to accept that femininity and the female body cannot be separated theoretically, for discourses of and about femininity, particularly those emanating from the media, focus almost totally on women's bodies. Women's everyday practices from using

make-up and wearing particular clothes, to playing sport, to how they speak, walk and gesture in their daily interactions with others, all help to reinforce the centrality of their bodies to their gendered identity. Furthermore, according to Bartky (1990), the desire to be heterosexually attractive to men also appears to be profoundly important to many women's sense of self-worth and, is closely bound up with the gendered disciplinary practices through which docile feminine bodies are produced.

Foucault wrote primarily from an androcentric perspective. However, his contention that the body was the principle site of power in modern society became useful for many feminists not only to analyse historical and contemporary forms of social control of women's bodies (Diamond & Quinby, 1988) but also as a way of overcoming the reduction of its materiality to a fixed biological essence. As Foucault explained:

The purpose of the present study is in fact to show how deployments of power are directly connected to the body – to bodies, functions, physiological processes, sensations, and pleasures; far from the body having to be effaced, what is needed is to make it visible through an analysis in which the biological and the historical are not consecutive to one another. (1978, p. 151)

Sports feminists have long highlighted how discourses surrounding sexuality, the body, sport and gender create tension, conflict and contradiction for females involved in sport. Thus, in the second part of this chapter, I examine how key discourses surrounding gender/sex/sexuality have manifested in women's sport during four historical periods.

Part 11: Discourses of Femininity and Sport

Introduction

Sport is a social construction which means it is given form and meaning based on the decisions and actions of human beings; as people interact with each other, sporting forms can be changed, revised and invented (Coakley, 2007). However, sport is also a set of embodied social practices, reflecting both physical movement and “a host of socially constructed values and relationships of power” (Loy & Booth, 2004, p. 71). Existing historical and sociological research argues that modern sport has been viewed in multiple ways such as: a site of male power; a

site where boys ‘turn’ into men; and a site where women may be both empowered and oppressed. While sport may be considered a human activity in which men, women and children have the capability to participate, I argue that most female sport has been typically constituted by multiple discourses as a transgression that needs to be explained, encouraged, prevented or managed but somehow is not ‘natural’.

Following Foucault’s (1978) organisation in the *History of Sexuality (Vol.1)* of identifying key figures who became “targets and anchorage points for the ventures of knowledge” (p. 105), I have identified four major discourses which targeted and made sporting females objects of knowledge. The name of each discourse has been selected intentionally in an attempt to discursively encapsulate the reviewed material. The four discourses are presented in chronological order and cover historical approximations of time, rather than fixed or rigid periods, to highlight shifts or discontinuities in discourses surrounding women and sport. I turn now to the first discourse which focuses on the rise of modern sport in England during the mid 1800s.

The rise of modern sport – for Victorian men only? (1800s)

Forms of sport have existed since ancient times in all parts of the world but sports historians argue that the English, by fashioning folk games and rural customs into sports characterised by standard rules, bureaucracy and record-keeping, fostered the rise of modern sport. Middle and upper-class English males working in public schools and universities increasingly believed that incorporating team games into their curricula could inculcate in their young male charges important values such as physical and mental toughness, discipline and obedience to authority (Holt, 1989). Gradually, this inculcation of character values through team sports was seen not only as a way of fostering qualities of leadership that would be required for the task of governing Britain’s vast empire but, perhaps more importantly, would become essential ingredients of British manhood or masculinity (Birley, 1995). At the same time, around the mid 1800s, English society was characterised by widespread technological, industrial and social changes which stressed the rationality of a sexual division in which each sex had its own function, role and space (Vertinsky, 1994). However, it was not a division based on egalitarianism, for women were thought to be, by their very nature, physically and rationally inferior to men.

Prominent physicians of this period such as Dr Edward Clark (North America) and Dr Henry Maudsley (England) believed women's reproductive processes were so debilitating that extra activities, such as participation in sport, should be avoided altogether; their views Vertinsky (1990) found, after examining English and American medical society archives during this time, were widely reported and quoted in both England and North America. Sport, with its strong emphasis on physical and mental toughness appeared antithetical to the characteristics of frailty, passivity and nurturance that represented the idealised femininity of this period. This frailty was seen as 'natural', a part of women's biological nature rather than an outcome of social factors such as the fashionable wearing of tightly laced corsets and women's general non-participation in physical activity. However, as Foucault (1978) pointed out, this medicalisation of feminine sexuality, via the opinions of physicians, focused on aristocratic and middle class women; working class women were expected to perform highly physical tasks, such as female servants who daily carried pails of water and coal scuttles up many flights of stairs.

This convergence of sporting qualities with masculine values, and the contrasting association of femininity with reproductive processes and biological frailty, has become a dominant and culturally accepted discourse to explain why modern sport evolved as an all-male domain with little involvement from women. However, some female historians use the evidence of their historical research to contest the 'truth' of this discourse (Fletcher, 1984; Macdonald, 1993b; McCrone, 1988; Parratt, 1989; Simpson, 1995, 2001; Vertinsky, 1990). By the 1880s in England, Sheila Fletcher (1984) suggested that, perhaps inspired by prevailing discourses of the personal values that sport bestowed on their male counterparts, headmistresses in England had begun to introduce team sports such as hockey, cricket and lacrosse to their female students. In this respect, according to both Kathleen McCrone (1988) and Vertinsky (1990), Swedish-born Martina Bergman-Osterberg's pioneering efforts to train middle-class women as physical education teachers, combining science subjects such as physiology and chemistry with the Ling gymnastics and outdoor games, was crucial to the development of sport for females in education institutions. Employed by the London School Board in 1881, Bergman-Osterberg initially conducted courses in gymnastics, anatomy and physiology for female teachers before resigning seven years later to set up her own private institution to teach a two-year physical education degree course

(McCrone, 1988). The *Woman's Herald* reported in 1891 that Bergman-Osterberg's graduates "had found good positions in some of the most important schools and colleges in England" (cited in Hargreaves, 1994, p. 78).

McCrone's research (1988) focused on English middle-class women and sport between 1870 and 1914 because, with few exceptions, "sport amongst working-class women was virtually non-existent since the requisite leisure, schooling and money were lacking" (p. ii). Utilising her research from the archives of educational establishments, women's sports organisations and various libraries in England, McCrone suggested the popularity of archery, croquet, tennis, and golf indicated that women had "a much easier time winning public approval of their participation in individual sports than in team games" (1988, p. 154). Despite her findings that tennis and golf helped to some degree to foster women's physical emancipation, McCrone (1988) believed that the introduction of bicycle riding "did more than any other activity to break down conservative restrictions" (p. 177). McCrone (1988) suggested that women may have had opportunities to construct alternative physical realities; that is, to take up subject positions of activeness and independence rather than the 'idealised' passivity and dependence associated with womanhood during this era. While Vertinsky (1990) agreed with McCrone that cycling may have broken down restrictive barriers for women, they differed in their interpretation of medical and social reactions to the lady cyclist. McCrone suggested that medical and social discourses surrounding women's involvement with cycling were almost totally disapproving in the initial stages. Citing examples from the magazine *Punch* in 1895, McCrone (1988) illustrated how lady cyclists were objectified as "mannish, rationally dressed wild women of the usual unprepossessing pioneer type" (p. 179) and from the magazines *Idler and Lady Cyclist* in 1895 how physicians advised that cycling was dangerous to women's health, cautioning that "sudden deaths could occur while riding up hill and that over-fatigue could bring on severe cases of nervous prostration" (p. 180). However, McCrone (1988) argued that when women of all classes in England resisted the many attempts to prevent their engagement in this popular and fashionable activity, medical and social authorities "soon changed their tune in order to preserve their credibility" (p. 181). Conversely Vertinsky (1990) cited articles in the *British Medical Journal* and the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in her argument that doctors initially approved of women cycling, with some actively promoting it for its perceived health benefits such as

“invigorating the respiratory system, improving digestion, purifying the blood as well as generally refreshing mind and body” (p. 78). As cycling grew more popular, and in some cases more competitive, many doctors grew alarmed “that moderation was being overthrown” (p. 78) and actively opposed it as an activity for women. However, the most vigorous medical debates Vertinsky pointed out, centred on the potential damage that vigorous cycling could inflict on women’s reproductive systems; foreshadowing similar discourses when women attempted to play traditional male team sports two decades or so more later. While this difference in interpretation between the two historians may have emerged from the different sources they investigated, the more relevant finding for this study is the acknowledgement that medical discourses played an influential role in women’s involvement in sport during this period.

Another history which has emerged in recent years to contest the ‘truth’ of women’s lack of involvement in sport is James Lee’s (2007) account of a professional women’s football team in Victorian England. Lee (2007) used newspaper reports, columns and letters to the editor as evidential sources to narrate a story of the British Ladies Football Club whose members played their first match in London in March 1895 and then went on to tour England and Scotland playing 19 or 20 matches before folding the following year. Lee suggested the demise of this club, after such a short time, was due to public reaction against social change; the players threatened the social order by playing such a vigorous game, wearing bifurcated garments which were synonymous with masculinity and raising deep-seated fears about men’s and women’s appropriate roles in society. In addition, the players also crossed class lines. Football, according to Lee, by the end of the nineteenth century had come to be associated with the working classes and the mostly middle-class female footballers were breaking what had become a class prohibition against playing a lower-class sport.

Histories in New Zealand report that women were active in physical activities and sport in the late 1800s. The popularity of croquet and tennis as sports for women in England also appears to be duplicated in New Zealand. Charlotte Macdonald (1993b) in her study of women’s sporting organisations in New Zealand indicated that croquet and tennis clubs were amongst the first clubs to be formed in New Zealand and, as such, attracted popular support amongst girls and women. In addition, by the end of the late 1890s, four hockey clubs had been formed - two in Christchurch, one in Auckland and one in Nelson (Macdonald,

1993b). The introduction of the safety bicycle in the early 1890s led to large numbers of women taking up cycling; some doing it as an enjoyable leisure activity, others preferring to join all-women cycling clubs. The medical debate which flourished in England and America appeared to have by-passed New Zealand as Clare Simpson (2001), in her research on the development of women's cycling in New Zealand, could find no mention in any issues of the *New Zealand Medical Journal* up to 1900. However, female cyclists were apparently frequently assaulted or insulted by onlookers; Simpson (1995) cited articles from the *New Zealand Wheelman* in 1895 which stated that "women frequently reported being pelted by sticks, stones and food, boys thrusting sticks or caps into the spokes, or pulling at their skirts to make them fall off" (p. 22). Some public resistance to women cycling also centred on public fears that women would lose their femininity and become increasingly masculine both in terms of their clothing, particularly if they wore bifurcated costumes, and their behaviour; and Simpson (2001) detailed how the very act of bicycling was held responsible for inducing 'unpleasant' practices among women such as "smoking, drinking, street lounging, loud behaviours, etcetera" (p. 69). Ultimately, Simpson (2001) believed that public fears about women's cycling symbolised the competition between conservative and progressive ideas about what constituted middle-class femininity. However, one of the outcomes of the popularity of cycling was, according to Shona Thompson (2003) and Macdonald (1993b), that direct links could be made between women's cycling clubs and the suffrage movement; a movement which, in 1893, led to New Zealand being the first country in the world to give voting rights to women.

With limited historical research available, there remains some conjecture surrounding the extent of women's involvement and participation in sport in Commonwealth countries during this period prior to 1900. Certainly this small selection of work I have reviewed suggests a more active involvement of women in sport than commonly assumed, not only in the actual playing of sport but also in setting up clubs and administering their day-to-day affairs. Nevertheless, from these early beginnings, sport evolved as a masculine domain - a setting in which an ideology of male superiority and authority predominated (Messner, 1988; Theberge, 1993) in which, according to McCrone (1988) and Catriona Parratt (1989), sportswomen had to project an image of moderation and femininity in

order to make any inroads into this largely male-defined and dominated realm of sport.

This discourse is an example that illustrates how complex the workings of discourse are; how there are resistances and alternative discourses (even within specific areas such as medical discourses around women and sport) yet some discourses still end up as the taken-for-granted ones by (male) sports historians, and by the public who come to see sport and masculinity as intertwined.

The next discourse which I have identified as *Gentle exercise but decorum please!* summarises research during the period from 1900 to the end of the 1960s. New images and ideas during this period did allow women to expand their range of actions and type of physical activity and, I suggest, in this respect represents a positive if somewhat small shift in discourses circulating during Victorian times. However, Victorian discourses of ‘moderation’ and ‘ladylikeness’ continued to prevail for the first 60 years of the twentieth century, constraining women’s sporting participation to varying degrees.

Gentle exercise but decorum please! (1900 – 1960s)

Coakley (2009) asserted that during the early 1900s, as new discourses emerged around the influence of the social environment on people’s behaviour and development, sports began to be perceived as a way of achieving multiple goals instead of being classified simply as enjoyable pastimes; “people saw sports as tools for changing behaviours, shaping character, creating national loyalty and training workers to use teamwork as a tool for being more productive” (p. 73). Although Foucault (1977) never examined the institution of sport, these new discourses emerging around sport could be seen as part of what he termed disciplinary power where the body “is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces” (p. 136), and becomes amenable to social control. While Coakley (2009) pointed out that achieving these multiple goals through sports was primarily directed at males, medical and educational authorities increasingly recognised that sport and physical activity strengthened and regulated the female body. However in England, as Fletcher (1984) contended, medical discourse was ambivalent regarding the scope, form and quantity of such physical activity.

Companies initiated sports programmes for their employees in both England and the United States during this time. In addition to Coakley’s (2009) assertions,

Lynne Emery (1994) claimed in her study of American industrial sport leagues for women that, “fielding a women’s team was thought to demonstrate a company’s progressive attitude and to enhance its public image” (p. 107), and “identifying a product with a women’s team was excellent advertising” (p. 108). Basketball, tennis, bowling, volleyball, baseball and hockey were sports reported as being organised for women by 36 companies in their response to a nationwide survey carried out in 1921: only 15 companies reported offering no sporting activities (Emery, 1994). In England, golf and tennis continued to be popular sports for single middle-class women; national and club championships were organised and manufacturers targeted these sportswomen with specific sporting equipment and clothing (McCrone, 1988). While hockey and netball also became popular leisure activities, English industries, ranging from munitions factories growing up around WWI to catering institutions such as Lyon’s cafes encouraged their large contingent of female employees to play football (Williams, 2003). Numerous football teams sprang up around the country; none more famous than the Dick, Kerr Ladies football team who attracted crowds of over 50,000 to watch their matches and who, according to Gail Newsham (1994), were responsible for raising “somewhere in the region of £150,000 pounds for charity” (p. 120). In New Zealand, factories and women’s organisations such as the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) and Girl Guides placed special emphasis on introducing sporting and physical activities to women of all classes (Coney, 1986; Macdonald, 1993b) and participation numbers grew rapidly.

Discourses of equality created by the first wave of feminism, access to relatively well-paid work outside the home particularly in industries involved in the war effort, and access to sufficient leisure time all played their part in creating opportunities for women to play sport during this period. Public concerns for women’s health also assisted in increasing women’s sporting participation; if for no other reason than, as Sandra Coney (1993a) claimed in New Zealand, “they would make healthy mothers later on” (p. 239). However, despite the large participation numbers, by the late 1930s a variety of factors such as the economic depression, political upheaval and a ‘crisis’ surrounding masculinity in England, New Zealand and United States saw many women slowly return to their ‘proper’ place in society (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Cahn, 1994; Grundy, 2001; Nauright & Broomhall, 1994; Newsham, 1994). Why did this happen? Perhaps the prevailing discourses surrounding acceptable female behaviour were

sufficiently persuasive for women to re-focus their energies on home and family. As Macdonald (1993b) pointed out in New Zealand, as increasing numbers of women were marrying and having children at far earlier ages than before, they would have had little time or energy to spare for sport; a statement supported by John Nauright and Jayne Broomhall (1994) who found that nearly all married women gave up playing netball. However, “some became very active in administration and coaching” (1994, p. 396).

During the 1920s and 1930s, the views of notable sexologists such as Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud slowly filtered into mainstream awareness through much of the western world. As Foucault (1978) demonstrated, medical experts used this knowledge to categorise and constitute a whole range of sexual identities; defining some individuals’ sexuality as normal and others as abnormal or deviant. With the construction of a discourse of heterosexuality as the only ‘normal’ sexuality (Katz, 1995), gradually all-female settings in sport became suspected sites of lesbian activity. For example, in the early 1900s, female physical educators in American colleges fought to control women’s sport, arguing that only women should supervise girls and that all-female settings would protect women’s freedom to exercise without embarrassment. In light of this new knowledge of sexualities, as Cahn (1994) explained, their once successful strategies backfired. American educators responded by institutionalising heterosexuality in a variety of ways but the power effects of these sexual discourses, in combination with discourses which continued to link sport with manliness helped, as Cahn (1994) suggested, to conflate femininity with heterosexual attractiveness as a single ideal and provided the framework for constructing the lesbian athlete as the ‘bogey’ of women’s sport in the United States.

Thus, in spite of increased opportunities for women and girls in education and employment, women’s involvement in sport appeared to fluctuate from decade to decade during these sixty years: as Vertinsky (1994) claimed, the “development of women’s sports has remained closely tied to the fortunes of the more general movements for female emancipation. As these have waxed and waned so too has the expansion of opportunities for women in sport” (p. 77). Medical and scientific experts in North America still persisted in categorising women as the ‘inferior sex,’ characterised by their reproductive systems (Lenskyj, 1986), often advising the public of their concerns. English medical reports

incorporated eugenic discourses that it was important for women to have physical exercise to ensure healthy motherhood while continuing to argue that intense or over-vigorous exercise would harm women's reproductive capacity (Hargreaves, 1994). In New Zealand, Sir Truby King, who founded the Plunket Society in 1907, expressed concern during the 1910s that physical and mental exertion would have detrimental effects upon women's well-being (Macdonald, 1993b), rendering them unfit for their maternal responsibilities. In Canada, Dr Lamb, a physical education director at McGill University, not only voted against female track and field athletes competing in the Olympic Games, he recommended special restrictions for them – “no over-specialisation, excessive competition or exploitation” (cited in Hall, 2004, p. 32). Hall (2004) also noted in women's sport in Canada that the immediate post-war period was characterised by an emphasis on beauty, grace and femininity and, for some female athletes, glamour. English writers of both sexes who defended women's right to participate in sport still acknowledged a necessity for women to cultivate moderate and aesthetically pleasing images as well as remembering that their duty to their husband and children came before their own personal interests (McCrone, 1988).

Within the United States, Mary Boutilier and Lucinda SanGiovanni (1983) identified hierarchies of sport acceptability within society; individual sports such as tennis and golf had longer social acceptance than team sports of basketball and softball; and the social acceptability of sport in general was often “predicated on an ideal image of what a woman ‘should be’” (p. 35). While discourses surrounding women's sport during Victorian times were at times inconsistent and conflicting, an interrogation of research during this period has revealed remarkably consistent discourses – that women were making choices about participation in a wider variety of sports than before but within discourses of constraint associated with medicine, motherhood, and femininity.

The third discourse, which I have identified via two discourses as *Can I play sport? Will I still be feminine?*, illustrates how discourses surrounding sporting females focused primarily on liberal feminist assumptions that equal rights legislation would create opportunities for women to participate in sport. However, when large numbers of women took up those opportunities, researchers from a variety of academic disciplines began to question how they might be affected by their participation, particularly in terms of their femininity. In other words, the

sporting female was a physical reality but discursively a contradiction in terms during the years approximately from 1970s through to the end of the 1980s.

Can I play sport? Will I still be feminine? (1970s – late 1980s)

A key understanding during this period has been that a combination of equal rights legislation and the second wave feminist movement commencing during the mid 1960s helped to fuel increased numbers of females participating in sport in the western world. For example, Lenskyj (1986) argued that the second wave feminist movement brought to public attention the issues of female participation in sport, particularly contact sport, in the western world. Coakley (2009) claimed five interrelated factors: equal rights legislation; the feminist movement; the health and fitness movement; increased media coverage of women's sport; and new opportunities in sport created increased sporting participation amongst women and girls to become "the single most dramatic change in sports over the past two generations" (p. 232). While generally the issue of women in sport was seen as a low priority for feminist scholars, their arguments regarding equality of opportunity in the public and private spheres assisted in initiating government legislation on sex discrimination. In this respect, Title IX in United States in 1972, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in federally funded programmes, was followed by similar legislation in Commonwealth countries such as England (Sex Discrimination Act, 1975), New Zealand (Human Rights Commission Act, 1977), Australia (Sex Discrimination Act, 1984) and Canada (Charter of Rights and Freedom, 1985).

However, in many cases, professional sport specifically and competitive sport generally were exempted from complying with the laws contained in each particular Act. Both Ann Hall (2004) and Jean Williams (2003) cited cases of gender discrimination in sport in Canada and England respectively which could not be resolved due to an inherent weaknesses in each country's particular legislation. A similar situation happened in New Zealand in 1979 when the Auckland Junior Football Association (AJFA) refused to let my daughter, aged 11, to play in a boys' football team. The Human Rights Commission ruled that the AJFA had to let her play; the AJFA ignored the ruling and the Commission appeared powerless to enforce its decision. In spite of these cases, which all centred on girls playing competitive sport with boys, could government legislation create societal change? Title IX, according to Joan Hult (1994), was the single

most significant piece of legislation to affect the direction and philosophical beliefs of women in sport in the United States. On the one hand, this law offered huge increases in competitive opportunities and support for women; on the other hand it reduced “thousands of women administrators to secondary positions of leadership and removed them from decision-making positions” (Hult, 1994, p. 96), as the increased status and financial rewards in women’s sport attracted large numbers of men to apply for the coaching and administrative positions previously held by women. Hargreaves (1994) was also ambivalent about the effects of England’s Sex Discrimination Act; she believed it provided legitimacy for people’s opposition to traditional structures of power and had been successfully employed in court to challenge discrimination regarding female referees in judo and rugby league but, at the same time, she felt it was “tremendously hard to alter the entrenched attitudes of those in positions of power when they underpin the lived practices of institutions” (p. 175).

Gender role orientation (‘femininity’, ‘masculinity’ and ‘androgyny’) and its application to female athletes became a key concern during this period. Diane Gill (1994), who provides both an outline and critique of this predominantly psychological perspective, argued that the Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) developed by Bem in 1974 provided much of the impetus for this large body of research in the 1970s and 1980s. These measurement scales, and those developed later by others, were based on athletes identifying with defined gendered characteristics or traits such as masculine as “willing to take risks” and feminine as “sensitive to the needs of others” (Gill, 1994, p. 258). On the basis of this research, the term androgyny entered the discourse of gender role orientation to refer to the “combination in an individual of both feminine and masculine behavioural characteristics” (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983, p. 66). While debate centred on the unproblematic acceptance of what were essentially cultural rather than inherent characteristics in these measurement scales and therefore the validity of this type of research (Birrell, 1983; Choi, 2000; Gill, 1994), this discourse did open up new ways of thinking about gender and gender differences in sport. In my experiences in football, the way the term androgyny was applied proved to have both positive and negative effects for female players. Competitiveness and aggressiveness, for example, became labelled as androgynous traits and female footballers, particularly at elite level, could demonstrate these qualities without necessarily being questioned about their ‘femininity’. Eventually, we can infer

from Butler's (1990) work when female footballers continued to demonstrate these traits and behaviours over time within a sporting context, they came to be seen as 'normal' sporting traits for females rather than just for men. This, I suggest, was a positive effect. In contrast, when male football coaches used the term androgyny to describe the 'ideal' female footballer as 'boyish'; that is, slim-hipped and having no waist, I believe it had a negative effect as many players were then expected to 'train' their bodies to fit this specific bodily category or face consequences such as possible non-selection for representative teams.

Another key concern from this time period centred around the way that females interacted and became familiar with the world of sport. Based on a social interaction model that incorporated a combination of cultural, interactionist and structural theories (Coakley, 2009), socialisation research focused on topics ranging from the influence of significant others on females' sporting involvement to barriers which prevented their sporting participation. For example, research demonstrated that families in the United States (Greendorfer, 1983; 1992) and England (Hargreaves, 1994) played an influential role in introducing girls to sport. In New Zealand, Toni Bruce (1987) found that significant others such as parents and schoolteachers were an important influence on whether or not girls played sport. Socialisation concepts, according to Hargreaves (1994), were a popular way of explaining "how individuals acquire gender identities" (p. 147).

As numbers of girls and women participating in sport continued to increase and the types of sports they played widened to include those traditionally associated with males, attention turned to what social psychologists termed 'role conflict'. Did vigorous physical activity tend to masculinise females? Did athletic achievement equate to a loss of femininity? Could a female be an athlete and a 'real' woman? These were examples of research questions and, despite a substantial body of literature critiquing this line of inquiry, Lenskyj (2003) pointed out that sports psychologists were preoccupied investigating this alleged problem for the past three decades of the twentieth century. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) suggested that scholarly evidence indicated that sportswomen may perceive and/or experience role conflict due to the relationship between sport and masculinity but commented that women were more likely to experience role conflict if they participated in sports requiring speed, strength, endurance and physical contact rather than those demanding grace, flexibility and balance. However, researchers argued that in order to reduce perceived or actual role

conflict, sportswomen may use a variety of tactics such as having long hair, wearing make-up or playing sport casually rather than seriously; subsumed under the discourse Jan Felshin (1974) called “The Apologetic” (p. 36). As the term implies, female athletes who play sport with aggression and desire to win and who spend considerable time training to improve their physical capabilities and skill may feel they have to ‘apologise’ for having what their society has determined as ‘masculine’ traits.

In summary, this discourse *Can I play sport? Will I still be feminine?* illustrates how discourses may be complex and difficult to decipher because, as Foucault pointed (1978) pointed out, the world of discourse has a “multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play” (p. 100). While female athletes may have continued to experience role conflict and/or take an apologetic stance, Ken Dyer (1982) contended that if female athletes continued to improve their speed, skill and endurance levels at the same rate as they were at the time of his study, they could catch up to men’s sporting performance. Remarks such as Dyer’s characterise the first half of this discourse *Can I play sport?* in that liberal feminist beliefs that structural barriers such as lack of access to training facilities and coaching had prevented women’s equal participation in sport. As Margaret Costa and Sharon Guthrie (1994) commented, “liberal feminists hailed the concept of equal opportunity for training, facilities and practice as achieving the ultimate goal of gender equity in sport (p. 237). However, the second half of the discourse *Will I still be feminine?* highlights how other discursive elements came into play as a variety of academic disciplines focused on how female athletes might be affected by their participation in sport.

To ask if women can remain feminine and still play sport, however, implies that researchers/academics have a view of women and sport that accepts these discursively constructed realities as contradictory and conflicting. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) argued that to ask this question meant “one accepts the white, male, heterosexual, middle-class definitions of women and of sport” (p. 117), pointing out that the question of role conflict would be irrelevant in a radical paradigm that rejects heterosexuality as the only viable expression of emotional and sexual commitment. Furthermore, they suggested that the intense academic preoccupation with role conflict and issues of femininity in the context of sport had the effect of producing it as a ‘problem’. In other words, if scientists and other experts are raising this issue, then it must be indeed a significant problem that

requires explanation. From a Foucauldian perspective, this is an example of how scientific knowledge produces the 'truth'; that is, the number of social scientists who, accepting the dominant discourse that sport is a masculine domain, take for granted that the entry of women will be problematic. As 'experts', their findings carry weight and authority and in this way role conflict becomes a dominant discourse within the literature of women and sport during this time. That is not to say there was not resistance. Lenskyj (2003) succinctly argued it was not the sex-role orientations of ballet dancers or synchronised swimmers (both presumed to be female) that commanded these researchers' attentions but "that of women in sport administration, teams sports, martial arts and so on" (p. 92) because the activities of these women fell outside the discourses of appropriate feminine behaviour. However, towards the end of the 1980s, discourses that participation in sport could potentially liberate or empower women by developing and reinforcing positive attitudes about their bodies through learning to move in co-ordinated and skilful ways started to emerge (e.g. MacKinnon, 1987; Theberge, 1987); and may have acted to counter some of the power effects of role conflict discourse.

Perhaps Catherine MacKinnon (1987) and Nancy Theberge (1987) were influenced by the incipient beginnings of feminist poststructuralism or were merely prescient but their work signalled changes ahead. While liberalism appears to have been the dominant discourse of feminism during the mid 1900s, the next period I discuss from the 1990s onwards has seen a substantial increase in the women in sport literature from alternative feminist voices and disciplines. I have named the discourse during this period as *It's okay to participate but.....* to argue that the discourses surrounding women in sport are now multifaceted, giving voice to multiple interpretations and meanings of women's experiences in sport.

It's okay to participate but.....(1990s onwards)

By the beginning of the 1990s, research on women in sport had notably increased. Many issues which concerned scholars in previous years had, to some degree, been replaced by concerns with gendered relations of power and how they related to institutionalised discrimination, and economic and structural constraints. In addition, more research and debate focused on women's 'lived' experiences; for example, whether sport participation transformed understandings of femininity or how sexuality was experienced in sport. The 1990s also marked a divergence in categories of sports feminism: some continued to push for equality of opportunity

in comparison with men; some argued that as the attributes of male sports were undesirable, women should build alternative models that were more humane and liberating; while others using predominantly critical theories highlighted contradictions between the discourses that surrounded women's sport, and sportswomen's own experiences and perceptions of their bodies. Three sports that received considerable attention in this period were gymnastics, bodybuilding, and aerobic exercise as part of the health and fitness movement.

Aerobics has been considered in various ways; as a site which promotes the sexualisation of women's bodies (Theberge, 1991); as a sport which encourages rivalry between women by promoting self-scrutiny (Cole, 1993), and as a place where women experience pleasure and camaraderie while simultaneously struggling to conform to discourses associated with the 'ideal' female body (Markula, 1995). Gymnastics is another example which clearly illustrates the private and public contradictions of women's bodies. Privately, gymnastics can offer great physical and mental confidence through its emphasis on a wide range of mental and physical attributes. Publicly, particularly through wide media coverage, athletic ability is often disguised by the reassuring image of "a tiny figure displaying coy sexuality to please her adult coaches, judges and audience" (Cahn, 1994, p. 276). To compete and survive at elite level, according to Joan Ryan (1995), a female gymnast must retain the body of a pre-pubescent girl. In this way, while female gymnasts can seemingly transcend the physical limitations often assigned to and imposed upon female bodies, the race to stave off the onset of menarche results in a disciplinary regime that punishes the development of breasts and hips. Employing a feminist Foucauldian approach, Natalie Barker-Ruchti (2007) has recently reinforced the work of these earlier writers in demonstrating how any sense of empowerment gained by elite Australian gymnasts was countered by careful control of their bodies; a control which was shaped and normalised by dominant discourses surrounding women's artistic gymnastics. Similarly, Antonia Daroux's (2008) autobiography of being a competitive New Zealand gymnast also identified similar processes, particularly in regards to weight management:

A coach will never actually say to gymnasts that they should lose weight. It is just more common for them to go to extreme measures so that they can avoid the blame and guilt if an eating disorder develops, as it often does.

Coaches will use methods like regular weighing of the gymnasts or public displays of a chart showing each gymnast's changing weight. (p. 15)

Furthermore, Barker-Ruchti (2007) noted how normalisation processes isolated and penalised those gymnasts who were less able or who did not 'fit' the ideal gymnastic body shape, identifying them as unsuitable candidates for future elite training.

Bodybuilding shares with gymnastics many of the same contradictions that surround the control and emancipation of the female body. Bodybuilding for women can be seen both as a form of compliance to the requirements of femininity and as a mode of resistance to those same requirements (Balsamo, 1994; Choi, 2000; Hall, 1996). On the surface, female bodybuilders transgress the 'normative' ideals of femininity by demonstrating muscularity and strength, yet in competition, these women are judged according to identifiable feminine characteristics. "The judges were instructed to include 'femininity' as a factor in their decision. Women competitors were instructed to do their mandatory poses in as 'pretty' and 'feminine' manner as possible" (Dobbins, 1990 cited in Obel, 1996, p. 188). Cahn (1994) argued that the combination of traditionally 'feminine' ritual and dress with masculine muscles and posturing "operates as a daring form of gender provocation, and in doing so, disturbs commonly held assumptions about what culture understands to be masculine and feminine in the human body" (p. 277). Of all the sports in which women participate, bodybuilding appears to arouse the most vigorous response, mostly negative, from the general public for seemingly transgressing traditional gender boundaries. Camilla Obel and Anne Probert (2008) demonstrated continuities and shifts in bodybuilding through examining and comparing their individual research in New Zealand conducted 15 years apart. Their findings exemplified the meaning of this discourse *It's okay to participate but.....*, highlighting how discourses around women and sport are contradictory, simultaneously empowering and normalising:

In constructing a specific femininity, the female bodybuilder's muscularity 'mocks' traditional notions of masculinity through 'emulating' an 'excessive' muscularity, and thus resists a traditional notion of femininity. At the same time bodybuilding's gender-segregated contest rules reinforce a traditional notion of femininity, and female bodybuilders emphasise that bodybuilding enables them to be attractive and feminine. (Obel & Probert, 2008, p.130)

Femininity and masculinity are often discussed as separate, non-overlapping categories and, according to Coakley (2009), “each category has normative boundaries that identify the limits of widely accepted beliefs about what is ‘natural and normal’ for males or females (p. 259). Strength and muscularity are two highly visible aspects of the sporting body but both Lisa McDermott (1996) and Bordo (1993) have suggested that muscularity symbolises masculine power as physical strength and therefore is a key indicator of masculinity. If the construction of strength and muscularity are perceived then as ‘normal’ masculine qualities, what are the implications for their connection to femininity and the female sporting body? Paul Willis (1994) believed that society in general was ambivalent toward women’s bodies that demonstrate muscularity and strength, suggesting that:

To know, more exactly, why it is that women can muster only 90 per cent of a man’s strength cannot help us to comprehend, explain or change the massive feeling in our society that a woman has no business flexing her muscles anyway. (p. 33)

Markula (1995), from her research of female aerobicisers, contended that the ‘weaker’ female body may have muscles as long as they are sleek and firm, whilst the ‘stronger’ male body may have muscles as long as they are highly visible, big and powerful. Female footballers who played at elite level demonstrated an understanding that there was a ‘fine line’ between muscularity and femininity; “toned,” “cut,” and “defined” were terms used to describe their musculature rather than bulk and bigness which they associated with masculinity (Cox, 1998; Fasting & Scraton, 1997; George, 2005). The question of ‘how much is too much muscle?’ was, and continues to be, debated in bodybuilding where women with their hard bodies and strongly developed muscles clearly do not conform to ideal femininity (Obel, 1996; Obel & Probert, 2008; Paechter, 2001).

These examples illustrate how female bodies are ‘normalised’ through attributing specific characteristics to a gendered body. Discourses of femininity have often tended to portray female bodies as physical liabilities. Although a strong, muscular body, I suggest, counters to some degree this discourse of female frailty, athletes nevertheless remain vulnerable to evaluation. In English women’s football, not only are some players with big, strong bodies assumed to be butch; that is, lesbian, but coaches, spectators, and opposition players may make comments that question whether certain players are female. Caudwell (1999)

reported several comments from players and spectators such as, “we don’t think that number nine on the other sides’ s a female” and “have you had a sex test?” (p. 400). John Harris (2005) also referred to English spectators and players making similar remarks such as, “oh my god, is that a girl?” (p. 190). How the players concerned might feel about these comments has not been ascertained but Foucault (1977) suggested this type of “petty humiliation” (p. 178) was one of the many kinds of punishment that individuals might receive if they deviated from the ‘normal’ body. To avoid such judgment, which highlights difference, women (and some men) will try to conform so their bodies ‘fit into’ the normative bodily range; and this was one of the ways how Foucault (1977) believed normalisation became an instrument of power. In this way also, athletic attributes of muscularity and strength continue to be reinforced as attributes of masculinity which, I suggest, assists in the public acceptance of biological discourses which posit that men are ‘naturally’ better at ‘doing’ sport than women.

Thus, it would appear that doing or performing femininity is of particular relevance in a sporting context. Butler (1990) is a main proponent of gender as performative; she argued that gender is not some inner core or essence of one’s subjectivity but rather is the effect, not the cause, of our performance. In other words, women learn how to do femininity through imitation and gradual command of cultural norms (Bordo, 1993), until society sees these acts as ‘natural’ or ‘normal’. Furthermore, the performances that women (and men) have learned to enact are legitimated and validated as authentic through the encoding and structuring of their everyday life by discourses of heterosexuality; a regulatory framework which Butler (1990) called a matrix of heterosexuality.

From a critical psychological perspective, rather than seeing gender as an effect of performance, Ussher (1997) suggested that women actively perform gender by choosing specific roles or scripts of femininity. Using ‘girl’ as representative of the archetypal fantasy of perfect femininity framed within the discourses of heterosexuality and romance, Ussher (1997) outlined four performance scripts that the women in her research took up in their negotiation of femininity; *Being, doing, resisting and subverting girl*. These positions were not fixed nor were they types of categories into which individual women could be fitted. Rather they were to be seen as performances where women “slide and shift’ between the different roles at different times in their lives (p. 445). Ussher’s insights are important for the way she draws attention to the myriad ways in

which femininity can be performed within one's cultural milieu; however, her theorising assumes a static, pre-given script or role of femininity as a starting point from which women choose to act in various ways. While I suggest that many forms of femininity are 'normalised' to such an extent that they are perceived as 'natural', Ussher's research offers a way of connecting the social with individual expression of subjectivity.

An interrogation of the studies of women's football in different countries revealed a common finding surrounding the issue of gender identity in childhood (Caudwell, 1999; Cox, 1998; Liston, 2006; Scraton *et al.*, 1999; Williams, 2003). In these studies, players seldom referred to themselves as female, feminine or girls when describing their childhood experiences. Climbing trees, not playing with dolls, getting dirty and being constantly active and competitive were examples of the characteristics players used to define themselves as 'tomboys'. While understanding that the term tomboy marked them as 'different' from other girls, many players felt it was a compliment; a positive aspect of their identity. However, as some players grew older, initial approval for their tomboyish behaviour lessened and revealed a tension between their lives as footballers and cultural discourses of femininity.

For girls and women, doing or performing gender right is to conform to dominant cultural discourses of femininity. In sport, a number of researchers have pointed out how female athletes, particularly those who play traditional male sports, take specific steps to ensure that they 'do' femininity (e.g., Halbert, 1997; Kolnes, 1995). To compensate for less 'feminine' traits, some athletes actively emphasised what they considered symbols of heterosexuality by having long hair; tying it up in a ponytail when playing, and by dressing in feminine ways outside the sporting arena (Cox & Thompson, 2000; Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2003). Others took care with their appearance when dealing with the media to guarantee 'proof' that they were indeed women (Kolnes, 1995) or ensured they looked feminine by wearing a skirt to meet with prospective sponsors (Cox, 1998). Sporting organisations may also pressure female athletes to do femininity. For example, in the United States, Todd Crossett (1995) found that elite female golfers felt considerable peer and organisational pressure to wear 'appropriate' clothing such as skirts rather than trousers and to use make-up and longer hairstyles to counter public perceptions of lesbianism. Australian Women's Cricket Council officials who expected their representative players to wear skirts

or dresses at official functions, and who condoned off-field glamour photographs in women's magazines were, according to Burroughs, Ashburn and Seebolm (1995), promoting an image of the sport that was "compatible with popular conceptions of heterosexual female attractiveness" (p. 271).

Gender plays a crucial role in heterosexuality where sexual attraction/desire and its accompanying practices are constructed in ways that assume men are attracted to women and vice versa (Richardson, 1996; Jackson, 1996). While it is possible to theoretically separate gender and sexuality as analytical categories, the discourses that constitute them intersect, influence and impact in multiple ways so that they are inextricably linked, and this is particularly evident in the sporting domain. As I discussed earlier, English historians claimed that the values and characteristics of modern sport gradually became synonymous with characteristics and values culturally attributed to masculinity. The emergence of the 'heterosexual' in medical dictionaries in 1901 (Katz, 1995) and the forging of modern sport as a social institution at the same time helped, as Michael Messner (1996) suggested, to give rise to the normalising equation of "athleticism-masculinity-heterosexuality" for male athletes (p. 225). For female athletes, however, the equation was not viewed as normalising but as problematic – "athleticism? femininity? heterosexuality?" – and with these three words, Messner (1996, p. 225) has encapsulated the major discourses which have challenged women's involvement and experiences in modern sport. Discourses of heterosexuality have also been analysed in the context of sport, marriage and motherhood, because the privileging of heterosexual relations rests on the assumption that the heterosexual couple is the building block of modern society (Richardson, 1996; Jackson, 1996). Social identities associated with marriage such as wife/husband and mother/father all come with their own sets of discourses but I argue that *being a good mother/wife* produces contradictory and multiple effects of power for married women involved in sport. While discourses during the early quarter of the twentieth century focused on the association between sporting participation and women's ability to bear healthy children, Shona Thompson (1999b) concluded in her research that marriage and motherhood often signalled the end of women playing sport in Western Australia. Her research also indicated how institutionalised heterosexuality underpinned the domestic labour done by these women as wives and mothers in order to facilitate and service the sport of their family members. In New Zealand, Jan Cameron and Roslyn Kerr

(2007) suggested that discourses around women's 'proper' role in marriage and family constrained their participation in sport, both in playing and in the taking up of decision-making positions. However, the ten New Zealand mothers in sports leadership roles who were interviewed by Sarah Leberman and Farah Palmer (2008) found that combining a strong sport identity with extensive support networks were ways whereby they could find their way around, and resist, such constraining discourses.

Media representation is one of the most pervasive ways of ensuring that an implied heterosexuality in sport is maintained and perpetuated. Portrayal of female athletes has tended to differ significantly from that of male athletes. Not only is there less coverage but emphasis is placed more on women's physical appearance and relationships than on their physical action and achievement, even though their training and performance are invariably evaluated in terms of male standards. Feminist research into the mid 1990s continued to suggest that women's participation in sport was marginalized and trivialized in the media, particularly in visual representations (Alexander, 1994; Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Creedon, 1994;). These visual representations of organised competitive sport were well placed to 'naturalize' gender differences because the body became the focus of attention (Duncan, 1990; Wright, 1993). Jan Wright and Gill Clarke (1998), in their media analysis of women's rugby, found that if stereotypical characteristics of masculinity were used to describe players' performances, they were countered by references that clearly indicated heterosexual credentials such as referring to a husband and children. However, in researching the media discourses surrounding the FIFA Women's World Cup in 1999 in United States of America, Christopherson, Janning and McConnell (2002) noted how stereotypical attributes of masculinity and femininity were often juxtaposed; "the players' popularity and public success stems from the fact that they are physically tough and competitive yet congenial and caring" (p. 183). These authors asked if this combination of physical athleticism and conventional heterosexiness was a positive or negative message about women in society. Generally, however, their study found that female athletes continued to be framed in stereotypically feminine ways, even if some measure of resistance or contradiction was included. Emma Wensing and Toni Bruce (2003) in their analysis of the media coverage of Cathy Freeman, an Australian athlete of Aboriginal descent, during the Sydney 2000 Olympics also commented on this

juxtaposition of positive descriptions and images with those that trivialised and undermined female athletes (termed ambivalence by Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). However, they suggested that intersections between nationalism, gender and sport needed to be further explored as the coverage of Cathy Freeman did not follow the 'normal' rules of how female athletes were generally represented in the media.

The construction of heterosexuality as "the only rational, 'natural' and acceptable orientation" in mainstream sport (Hargreaves, 1994, p.169) has wielded considerable power to categorise, and therefore normalise, heterosexual identity in women's sport. My interrogation of the discourses revealed through research conducted during this period has highlighted how many female athletes are challenged, overtly or covertly, about their sexuality if they participate in sports not traditionally considered appropriate for females or deviate from the 'norms' of heterosexuality; for example, by having short hair, athletic bodies and/or displaying little interest in attracting male attention. Kevin Young (1997) stated that many Canadian female athletes from rugby, rock-climbing, wrestling, ice-hockey and martial arts, all sports considered female-inappropriate, had experienced being labelled in such terms. In New Zealand, Cox and Thompson (2001) reported that several female players had been directly asked if they were lesbian when they said they played football. Similarly in Europe, in a study of women in gymnastics, tennis and football, Kari Fasting and Sheila Scraton (1997) found all the elite female football players they interviewed had been perceived as lesbian because they played football. Conversely, only a few tennis players had experienced the same assumptions, and the matter was simply a non-issue for female gymnasts. A common finding from these researchers mentioned above was that many participants were labelled 'unfeminine', 'butch', or 'dykey'; the last two terms being considered derogatory synonyms of lesbian sexuality.

Another common finding in research studies on women's football was that discourses of sexuality impacted, to varying degrees, on *all* women in football regardless of their sexual identity (Caudwell, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2006; Cox & Thompson, 2001; Fasting, 1997; Harris, 2005; Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Ravel & Rail, 2006). Jayne Caudwell (1999), who employed a feminist poststructuralist perspective, explored the relationship between gender and sexuality in the context of women's football, focusing particularly on the subjectivity of the 'butch' player. She argued that the representation of the 'butch' player with an overt masculine lesbian sexual identity clearly disturbed notions

surrounding women's identity by marking all players' sexuality indiscriminately, consequently producing anxiety and tension within women's football in England. A range of studies have identified attributes of the butch player such as "short cropped hair, looked unattractive, dressed in jeans all the time and 'acted like men'" (Cox, 1998, p. 67); "big and ugly" (Caudwell, 1999, p. 399) or "ard uns, those who got stuck in during a game" (Harris, 2005, p. 189). Accordingly, and irrespective of their sexuality, many players used a variety of strategies to distance themselves from appearing to be stereotypical butch players. Ravel and Rail (2006) found in their study in Quebec that several lesbian athletes felt uneasy with the implications of the butch or lesbian identity in sport. These particular lesbian athletes from a variety of sports, including football, revealed how they preferred to distance themselves from the butch lesbian image by describing themselves as *gaie*, which they defined as a "more feminine, [a] less disturbing version of being lesbian – a 'lesbian light' version" (p. 409). Paradoxically however, while the narratives of the participants in their study revealed a deconstruction of mainstream stereotypes that all lesbians were butch, they simultaneously rearticulated dominant homophobic ideas about butch players (Ravel & Rail, 2006). Homophobic discourses surrounding the lesbian athlete reflect how the normalisation of heterosexuality has helped to construct the lesbian athlete as the 'bogey' of women's sport, not just in the United States as Cahn (1994) contended but also in other western societies. This positioning of lesbian athletes as bogeywomen often stems from public perceptions that lesbians are women who are acting like or at least emulating men (being pseudo-men) and, as both Lensky (1986) and Messner (1988) pointed out, have arisen from gendered assumptions about athletic prowess, independence and ambition. These perceptions have arisen also through the effects of discourses which posit that sport masculinises females (Veri, 1999). In addition in most societies today, lesbians are generally perceived as no longer dependent sexually or economically on men; a perception that undermines the concept of the nuclear family and male control of women's sexuality (Pharr, 1993). The seminal work of Pat Griffin (1998) in her book, *Strong Women, Deep Closets: Lesbians and Homophobia in Sport*, helped to bring to public attention the homophobic discourses which surrounded women's sport. As Griffin (1998) argued, homophobic discourses operated in ways which constrained women's full participation in sport; for example, by limiting career opportunities and pressuring female athletes to conform to idealised images of

femininity within in American society. Although, experiences of lesbian athletes have now emerged as a separate area of research and are discussed openly by various researchers (e.g., Broad, 2001; Caudwell, 1999, 2003; Clarke, 1998; Ravel & Rail, 2006), multiple discourses of fear, hatred and negativity (generally combined under the single term of homophobia) still surround the lesbian athlete and, in many cases, reflect how the general public see women in sport, particularly at elite level and in non-traditional sports. The tactical employment of homophobic discourses can be considered as a practice of heterosexism, particularly through labelling female athletes as deviant, utilised by individuals to constrain or heterosexually 'normalise' the actions of females in sport (see Griffin, 1998; Krane, 1996; Veri, 1999).

From approximately the 1990s onwards, sports feminists started to question why huge gains in numbers of women playing sport were not being matched by similar gains in numbers of women involved in coaching and administration. Theberge (1988, 1990, 1993) found that with the exception of sports historically organised separately for women, female coaches in Canada were a minority group, particularly at elite levels of sport. Theberge also argued that the association of authority with masculinity was continually reinforced by the prominence and visibility of male coaches. In English clubs, Anita White (1987) found that women were welcomed for their willingness to perform such tasks as canteen duties, preparing after-match functions, washing kit and acting as a 'taxi service' but were not actually encouraged to participate in decision-making processes in terms of coaching or administration. However, Connie Thorngren (1990) pointed out that lack of support, marriage and family responsibilities were often determining factors in curtailing women's participation in coaching in the United States which also reflected Jan Cameron's (1993) findings when she surveyed national sports administrators in New Zealand.

In spite of multiple research studies identifying factors which accounted for women's lack of visibility in decision-making positions and, in some countries, governmental affirmation actions to try to ameliorate the situation, research in the twenty-first century indicates there has been little change. Ilse Hartmann-Tews and Gertrud Pfister (2003) reported from their collection of case studies from 16 countries that women were grossly under-represented; "as paid executive officers, as board members and elected chairs, and as referees and coaches" (p. 275). In the United States, Vivian Acosta and Linda Carpenter (2008) reported that data from

their longitudinal national survey of intercollegiate sport showed that 21% of athletic directors were women and 42.8% of women's teams were coached by a female head coach. In contrast when Title IX was enacted in 1972, over 90% of head coaches and athletic directors of women's sport were female (Acosta & Carpenter, 2008). The New Zealand Olympic Committee's survey of its member sporting organisations in 2007 indicated that women's administrative and coaching involvement in sport had deteriorated when compared to the 1994 survey carried out by the Hillary Commission (NZOC, 2007). Their results showed that the majority of people with positions of responsibilities at national level, including coaches, were men (NZOC, 2007). In addition, two-thirds of personnel working with senior women's teams were male as were nearly all of the full-time paid personnel working with senior men's teams (NZOC, 2007). While this quantitative information is important as it indicates women have not made a great deal of progress in holding positions of power, there is no indication whether these results may have been affected by other social changes during this time such as the trend in the 1990s to merge formerly separate men's and women's national sporting organisations into one ruling body.

Much of the research on positions of power in sporting organisations has been quantitative, often breaking down positions held in sporting organisations by consideration of gender (e.g., Acosta & Carpenter, 1994, 2008). Findings from this type of research primarily detailed structural or material constraints as explanations for women's under-representation in coaching or administrative positions. Utilising both quantitative and qualitative research methods, Sally Shaw and Jan Cameron (2008) used the term "homologous reproduction" (p. 213) to explain the under-representation of women in sporting positions of power in New Zealand. Homologous reproduction, where administrators are drawn from similar, normally elite, socio-economic backgrounds, Shaw and Cameron (2008) argued, continued to be reinforced in New Zealand sporting organisations by the discourse "the best person for the job". In this way, discussions about gender relations and practices were avoided and women continued to be marginalised within New Zealand sporting organisations. However, Sally Shaw and Larena Hoerber (2003) used Foucauldian discourse analysis to examine the employment roles of men and women in three English national sporting organisations. Their findings indicated that senior employment roles were dominated by discourses of masculinity such as competitiveness and aggression that were linked to men and were highly

valued. In contrast, discourses of femininity such as caring and nurturing were associated with employment roles that were undervalued by the organisations. While Shaw and Hoerber appear to use traditional understandings of characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity – they did not detail how they identified masculine or feminine discourses – this appears to be the first time that Foucauldian discourse analysis has been used to investigate decision-making employment roles in sport. There does not appear to be any research, however, that links the huge growth in numbers of women *playing* sport to the decided lack of similar numbers in positions of power in sport. Even taking into account that there are limited positions available in coaching or administration in comparison to playing sport, the researchers above have indicated a statistical over-representation of men in these positions. As part of my study on power-knowledge discourses in women's football, I will be examining the experiences of female footballers in connection to positions of power in football. In this way, I hope to gain an understanding of what appears to be a gap in current knowledge of women's involvement in decision-making positions in sport.

This section of the review has highlighted how discourses of sexuality and the dynamics of power underlining gender relations dominated research about women in sport during the 1990s and continued through the start of the 2000s. Both Foucault and feminists viewed sexuality as a site of power but in different ways. Radical feminists, for example, centralised sexuality as a major site of men's domination over women through the social institution of heterosexuality. As Adrienne Rich (1980) argued, male power is manifested and maintained through compulsory heterosexuality, where compulsory means "something that had to be imposed, managed, organised, propagandised and maintained by force" (p. 648). In contrast, Foucault (1978) viewed sexuality as a technology of power where a "whole series of different tactics that combined in varying proportions the objective disciplining of the body and that of regulating the population" (p. 146). Although Foucault (1978) did not gender this body, he went on further to talk specifically about women, stating that the "hysterisation of women, which involved a thorough medicalisation of their bodies and their sex, was carried out in the name of the responsibility they owed to the health of their children, the solidity of the family institution, and the safeguarding of society" (p. 146-147). Thus, while Foucault does not specifically use the word heterosexuality in these last two statements, I suggest he shared an understanding with most feminists that

heterosexuality, while not compulsory, might be considered as a set of power relations; and that gender, as a central tenet of heterosexuality, can then be examined within this framework. In this way, femininity and the female body in this study can be interrogated both as a subject and object of power-knowledge discourses that surround female footballers in New Zealand society.

An interrogation of the discourses within this research material has highlighted how femininity, whether constituted singularly or collectively, has been constructed as an appearance; a biological function, a performance, a practice and a psychological quality or trait; all of which mark, signify and constitute the female body. In addition, which has not been examined here, understandings and constructions of femininity may also vary or change through intersecting with other discourses of race and class. Although common usage of descriptors such as ‘true,’ ‘real,’ ‘normalised,’ ‘privileged,’ ‘acceptable,’ and ‘stereotypical,’ to qualify the word femininity suggest that a culturally dominant understanding of an ‘essential’ femininity exists and is recognised in western societies, I believe femininity (and masculinity) are discursively constructed through and within multiple discourses which emerge in different social locations and historical periods. While I refer to or discuss the terms femininity, heterosexuality and the female body separately, I recognise that some authors such as Haug and Others (1987) have conflated these terms or, as Birrell (2000) suggested, cultural assumptions in the United States may lead people to assume that “one category can be read from information we have about another” (p. 69). Therefore, I take the position in this study that the discourses which constitute all three terms or categories are complementary, intersecting and sometimes used interchangeably with the implicit understanding that they can, but do not always, imply each other. Hence, the importance of Griffin’s (1992) and Hall’s (1996) insight that femininity serves as a code word for heterosexuality in sport and Bartky’s (1990) claim that heterosexual attractiveness is vitally important to women’s sense of self-worth, to understand how some discourses of femininity have greater connections to workings of power and women’s lived experiences than others. This process is what I explore in my study through posing these two questions:

1. What are the dominant discourses and associated power effects that have surrounded female footballers since the 1920s in New Zealand society?

2. How have female footballers' experiences been related to these discourses?

Hargreaves (1994) argued “time and time again the evidence suggests that female sports have been riddled with complexities and contradictions throughout their histories (p. 3). Nor could the role of sport in the construction and persistence of unequal social relations today be fully explained, Hall (1996) maintained, unless the specific forms of these relations in the past and how they evolved over time are understood. While these two prominent sports feminists are not arguing for utilising Foucault’s genealogical approach, their remarks suggest that by doing a history of the present to examine how power relationships are linked to the emergence (and disappearance) of knowledges, discourses and practices surrounding women’s sport, the complexities, contradictions and gendered power relationships in women’s football might be better understood. Thus, through employing Foucault’s genealogical approach which I discuss in the next chapter, I hope to fill these gaps in knowledge about women’s sport by achieving a more explicit understanding of gendered power relationships in women’s sport as well as understanding how football has come to be accepted as a ‘normal’ sport for females in New Zealand. Hence my third question:

3. How has women’s football in New Zealand gone from a position of struggle to a point where the game is perceived as a ‘normal’ sporting activity for women and girls?

CHAPTER FIVE

The Methodologies Appropriate To This Study

Introduction

The research aim of this doctoral thesis is to write a genealogy of women's football in New Zealand by interrogating the history in terms of power-knowledge discourses which surround female footballers and affect the development of women's football. In this chapter, I outline the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions which underpin and direct this study before discussing my research process and the methods I used to fulfil my research aims.

Adopting a Foucauldian feminist position incorporates key aspects of interpretive and critical paradigms in that the researcher seeks not only to understand and interpret people's viewpoints and experiences but also to help people act upon those interpretations. In this context, the values of researchers inevitably influence their research, for an understanding already exists that there is an injustice(s), and hence the reason for doing research (Shram, 2003). While a paradigm is basically a belief system which shapes our thoughts and the assumptions we make about our world, it can also be considered as a set of theories which describe general patterns of social behaviour (Ezzy, 2002). Fundamentally, paradigms can be seen as types of lenses through which people view and make sense of their world (Sparkes, 1992) and, thus, using one paradigm in preference to another highlights how researchers view their social reality (Pringle, 2003).

Feminist theories are incorporated into the critical paradigm, partly because they grew out of a critique of traditional androcentric forms of knowledge which ignored women's experiences and partly because they seek to bring about changes that will improve the quality of women's lives (Thompson, 2002). It is a desire to transform those aspects of society that involve inequality, exploitation and oppression rather than just seeking to understand social life, which separates a critical paradigm from an interpretivist one. Thus, critical sports feminists assume sport is a gendered activity and their research focuses on issues of power and the dynamics of gender relations in order to transform sporting activities so they "represent the perspectives and experiences of women as well as men" (Coakley, 2007, p. 46).

The type of research most often associated with interpretive and critical paradigms is qualitative research because it is well suited to understanding how participants in a particular setting make sense of, and give meaning to, their lives and experiences (Shram, 2003). Qualitative research, however, as a set of interpretive practices, privileges no single methodology over any other nor does it have a distinct set of methods to call its own (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Instead researchers can choose from a myriad of approaches, techniques and methods that they feel will best reveal knowledge of and insight into a particular phenomenon; in this thesis, the phenomenon is power relations in women's football. This approach is also consistent with Foucault's theoretical approach, for he suggested in an interview with French philosopher Roger Pol Droit that researchers use his works in multiple ways:

All my books ... are little tool boxes ... if people want to open them, to use this sentence or that idea as a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit or smash systems of power, including eventually those from which my books have emerged ... so much the better! (Foucault 1975, cited in Patton, 1979, p. 115)

A number of feminists have used Foucault's concepts of power to examine the female body in different sports and physical activities (e.g., Chapman, 1997; Chase, 2006, Markula, 1995, Shogun, 1999). With the exception of Barker-Ruchti's (2007) doctoral thesis where she used Foucault's genealogy as one of many ethnographic methods to examine how gymnastics had shaped her body, identity and life, there has been no sporting research that has used a genealogical approach to explore and examine relations of power generally within a history of women's sport or specifically in women's football. I suggest that using this theoretical lens may allow for a more insightful understanding of the issues today in women's football and reveal some of the complexity around how it has developed or, conversely, not developed. Thus, to fulfil my particular research aims, which are to examine the dominant discourses which constrain, empower or normalise female footballers' involvement in football as well as shedding light on how the game developed as a sport for women in New Zealand, I turn now to discuss Foucault's genealogical approach.

Foucault's genealogical approach

Genealogy is not a traditional history which assumes definitive causes and linear continuities (Hawkesworth, 2006), or focuses on famous individuals. Nor is it a traditional project undertaken by many to find their ancestors. Instead, Foucault (1980d) suggested that genealogy was:

a form of history that can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects, and so on, without having to make reference to a subject that is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history.
(p. 117)

As I stated in my introductory chapter, Foucault held very different ideas from many historians about conducting historical research and, as a consequence, as Alun Munslow (1997) pointed out, is regarded as anti-historical by the majority of conservative and mainstream historians. In many ways, Foucault's genealogical approach to history highlights the considerable debate which exists today within the discipline of history (Booth, 2004). Those historians who follow the reconstructionist/constructionist approach accept an objectivist-inspired methodology which relies on an adherence to empiricism and a belief that a recoverable past exists 'out there' (Munslow, 1997). Reconstructionist historians, according to Booth (2004), also tend to uncritically accept language as a transparent medium, writing narratives which impose an unfounded coherence and unity with the past. Munslow, in writing the preface to Jenkins' (2003) *Rethinking history*, summarised a reconstructionist position most succinctly, as assuming:

that we can know the truth of the past through a detailed knowledge of what happened: the facts of the matter. In other words, through the 'empirical method' we 'discover' our 'subject knowledge', which constitutes the only way we can possess 'objective' knowledge in our history. And thus this is how we get *the* story straight. (p. xii, original italics)

In contrast, deconstructionist historians question whether *the* story can exist. Based on the premise that language shapes views of reality; it can include or exclude certain groups of people, influence certain ways of thinking and behaviours, and shape social structures and cultural practices such as sport (Booth, 2004), it follows that "historical narrative cannot generate fixed, absolute or *truthful* understanding" (Munslow, 1997, p. 127). Therefore, more than *one*

history can be written about a particular event or phenomenon, and what is written is dependent on factors such as historians' access to sources, and their personal values and beliefs. Thus, in writing a history of women's football in New Zealand, I am not claiming that my version of history is the true account of what 'really happened' in the past. Although there are certain facts that are 'true' in that they refer to concrete events that took place such as the national women's team winning the Asian Cup in 1975, my sources of information rely heavily on documents as evidence; documents that may, as Foucault (2003b), pointed out, "have been scratched over and recopied many times" (p. 351). Munslow (1997) argued from his perspective as a deconstructionist historian when he turned to traces of the past, "I cannot reclaim their real meaning – all I have is the tale I chose to bring forth from the sources which are impregnated with the previous readings that I, and other historians, have of them" (p. 127). Thus, it is important to understand that the history I present in this thesis is a story that accords with my interpretation of the documents and texts I have sourced and, given the same documents and texts, another researcher may tell a different story.

Foucault's form of history also differs from traditional histories in that he sought out what he called subjugated knowledge. While Foucault (1980c) acknowledged that this could refer to historical erudite knowledges buried under or disguised by established regimes of thought, he suggested that subjugated knowledge should also be understood as:

A whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated; naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. (1980e, p. 82)

A critical examination of *le savoir des gens*; that is "particular, local, regional knowledge" (1980e, p. 82) and knowledge held by low-ranking people such as patients, nurses and delinquents combined with an examination of buried erudite knowledge, Foucault suggested, would uncover, "*a historical knowledge of struggles*" (1980c, p. 83, original emphasis). Sawicki (1991) pointed out that Foucault's genealogical approach opened up ways to historically examine knowledge of conflict and struggles but in particular to document forms of knowledge which had been neglected or ranked as not important; in this manner, leading to alternative ways of thinking about social phenomena. For example, in the context of this thesis, knowledge of men's football has been ranked much

higher than that of women's football. Jean Williams (2003) pointed out in her research of women's football in England that no single archive existed and, for some reason, the minutes and various materials of the Women's Football Association were "misplaced at the point of take-over [by the English FA] or are otherwise unavailable" (p. 5). In two definitive books written by men on footballing history in New Zealand, women's football received a scant four pages in each and not one statistical reference appeared in the statistics appendix (see Hilton, 1991; Maddaford, 1987). Thus, I hope by providing an alternative history of football in New Zealand, to not only reveal subjugated knowledge but also to allow the voices of female footballers to be moved higher up on the hierarchy via inclusion in a legitimate academic discourse.

Foucault (1977) pointed out the task of genealogy was not to demonstrate that the past could be known or researched from the present but it was about "writing the history of the present" (p. 31). In other words, a genealogical approach takes a question such as how has football become a 'normal' sporting activity for women and girls in New Zealand today and follows a complex course of descent (*herkunft*) in order to:

identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things which continue to exist and have value for us (2003b, p. 355).

One aim of *herkunft*, therefore, is to show that social phenomena are not teleological processes of history but processes of contingency, chance and even mistakes. Foucault also considered that one of his objectives in his genealogy of human sexuality was to study how human beings turned themselves into, or recognised themselves, as subjects of sexuality. Hence, the importance of including the human body in an analysis of descent because, as Foucault (2003b) pointed out, "the body – and everything that touches it: diet, climate, and soil – is the domain of the *Herkunft*" (p. 356). Thus, another aim of *herkunft* is to show that the bodily self is not constituted coherently through a rational historical process but rather through the "exteriority of accidents" (Foucault, 2003b, p. 355), within complex relations of power.

The second tool of analysis in Foucault's genealogical approach was emergence (*entstehung*) in which he aimed to disclose the productive influence of workings of power over time in order to reveal dominated and subjected voices

(Markula & Pringle, 2006). Emergence, Foucault (2003b) said, was “always produced in a particular state of forces” (p. 357). In this sense, Foucault made reference to genealogy as anti-science because its research was not attempting to add knowledge to the scientific domain but to oppose the effects associated with scientific discourses. He was concerned about how knowledges stemming from the human sciences were emphasised to such an extent that they had become complex strategic constructs and forms of domination in societies (Papps & Olssen, 1997). When specific discourses become dominant, they carry more authority or weight than other discourses and become established as ‘truths’. Gradually these truths or knowledges establish the boundaries of what is acceptable and appropriate, and have implications for how people define and relate to each other and themselves. Foucault (1978) refused to separate knowledge and power, stating, “It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together” (p. 100). Thus, as I demonstrated in Chapter Four, dominant discourses which constructed sport as a masculine activity held particular implications for women’s participation in sport.

In summary, Foucault (1980e) stated, “let us give the term genealogy to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today” (p. 83). Thus, a genealogy sheds light on “the distance which both separates and joins ‘us’” (O’Leary, 2002, p. 22); by returning to the historical eras of 1921 and 1973-75, I can demonstrate through examination of the emergence and disappearance of knowledges, discourses and practices surrounding female footballers, how circumstances are different while also showing how past conditions have influenced present understandings of women’s football. In this sense, as Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) pointed out, “the genealogist is a diagnostician” (p. 105) who, in my case, appraises the way football over time has become a normalised sport for girls and women in contemporary New Zealand society via an interrogation and critique of relations of power and knowledge surrounding female footballers.

Foucault (2003b) did not leave a set recipe or ‘how to’ guide on genealogical research, apart from advising readers that genealogy “requires patience and a knowledge of details and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material” (p. 351). Perhaps that is why there appears to be no consensus or shared understanding of how genealogy should be carried out by those using this

approach in other academic disciplines. Taking Foucault literally in terms of using his ideas as tool boxes, in my study I explore (and write) a history of women's football in New Zealand in which I identify and interrogate dominant power-knowledge discourses set within an *apparatus of football* (Foucault, 1980b). Researchers in women's football generally have made little attempt to situate their research within a social and historical context beyond football. Through an apparatus of football, I can consider and analyse how other power-knowledge discourses such as those produced through government legislation and the feminist movement, intersect with those produced from a footballing perspective. Thus, by providing an analysis of the broad historical and social connections and their linkages with women's football, I hope to gain a more complex understanding of how women's football emerged, disappeared, re-emerged and developed to become the 'fastest growing sport in New Zealand'.

In order to carry out genealogical research, I adopted the poststructuralist maxim that discourse is located in texts (Burrows, 1999) and took Foucault's (2003b) advice to locate as much source material as possible. The newspaper and magazine articles about women's football were sourced from the University of Auckland's library (on microfiche) and from scrapbooks belonging to the women I interviewed. The Auckland Football Federation held the minute books of the former AFA, AWFA and AJFA as well as some records of correspondence which, as an 'insider', I had free access to, including being able to borrow and take home anything I wished. I also collected data from academic and popular works pertaining to New Zealand social history. I also went back to some of the interviews I conducted for my master's thesis and, with the respective players' permission, included relevant material. Although Foucault did not interview people as such, he continually encouraged readers to get close to people's experiences in order to fully understand the processes of power relationships in today's world (Markula & Pringle, 2006). Subsequently, I carried out a number of interviews with women and men involved in football, and one with a woman involved with the feminist movement and the 1981 South African Springbok Rugby tour protest in New Zealand, which I discuss later in Chapter Eight. In addition, as part of the 'raw data', I included some reflexive accounts of my own experiences in football which I present in the form of vignettes in the same way as Foucault did to illustrate a particular point or setting. After listing all the data I was able to source, I now outline and discuss my data collection methods in the

next section under four headings: media texts, football texts, in-depth interviews and self-reflexive interrogation of my own experiences.

Media texts

Jeffrey Hill (2006) claimed that newspaper reports were an important source of evidence with which historians could construct histories of sport. In this thesis, I have used both newspaper reports and letters to the editor from leading newspapers around New Zealand to produce a history of women's football and, in each respective data chapter, I have identified the names of the newspapers and the period I analysed. However, there is reason to be cautious of using newspaper reports as factual evidence. As Hill (2006), who used the example of the foot and mouth epidemic in England in 2001, pointed out, reports were presented in a particular narrative form which "coloured the 'truth' and positioned the reading public to understand the epidemic from a specific point of view" (p. 118). Lee (2007), who narrated an account of a professional women's football team in Victorian England, also noted the use of newspapers as problematic as published articles may represent the particular viewpoints of the journalist, editor or even newspaper owner. In addition, different researchers may also interpret newspaper reports in multiple ways depending on their own values and beliefs and the type of questions upon which they focus.

Historically, the Letters to the Editor section in the newspaper has been positioned as one of few outlets where readers can forward their opinions on a number of issues; most of which have been previously raised by newspaper writers. Although, as Toni Bruce and Emma Wensing (2009) pointed out, letters to the editor have received little analytical attention in comparison to the extensive research carried out on newspaper articles, they do offer another source of information to "challenge media claims to truth" (p. 7). In addition, the number of letters written may also indicate the degree of controversy the issue has aroused. However, letters may not necessarily reflect a full range of public attention because, and particularly in 1921, those who write in may be better educated and therefore more able to fulfil editorial requirements of what constitutes an 'appropriate' letter (Bruce & Wensing, 2009). On these grounds, less educated writers may see their letters ignored, or published with considerable editing that may affect their original meanings. Nevertheless, while I agree that a certain scepticism should be adopted in the analysis of media reports and letters to the

editor, I believe media texts play an important part in historical research because they may be a major, if not the only, source of information. In my study, apart from a few entries in the AFA minute books during 1921 and references in two books on women's organisations in New Zealand (Coney, 1986; Else, 1993), my major source of information during the 1921 period derived from media texts. However, I am not using these media texts as sources to argue the origins of 'truth' about women's football but rather as texts in which to examine what dominant discourses emerged and how they constituted female footballers during this specific time.

Football texts

My second source of data came from examining a number of documents relating specifically to women's football during particular years, which I summarise under the following headings.

1. Minute Books

The first set of documents were contained in the minute books of the AFA, the AWFA and the AJFA, the three Associations that governed men's, women's and junior football respectively in Auckland. Minute books would constitute what Foucault (1980e) would count as 'official' knowledge because they record, and stand as records of, decision-making processes of football officials who have been usually appointed at Annual General Meetings to run their respective organisations. Lindsay Prior (2007) suggested that those who manufacture documents work within "well-established frameworks of relevance and order" (p. 379). The three Associations were all incorporated societies which meant in New Zealand they were legally required to fulfil certain conditions such as having a set of rules which prescribed how their society or Association was run (see e.g., <http://www.societies.govt.nz>). Thus, the minute books from the three Associations were all relatively standardised; each recording who was present, apologies for absence, a financial report, correspondence (and any action taken) and general business where members could raise various matters or detail forthcoming activities. When I was secretary of the AWFA, I wrote the minutes by hand during meetings and then typed them up at later date. After observing the beautiful copperplate writing of the AFA minutes during 1921, I suggest that the secretary also took notes during these meetings and later inscribed them in the

minute book. Meeting minutes are public documents in that once written, they are then either circulated to members or pasted into a minute book which is always available for open inspection at subsequent meetings or on request.

Minute books may be an excellent source of recorded facts such as financial details, names of representative players and motions (final decisions or actions to be taken) alongside the names of their mover and seconder but, I suggest, as documents that 'paint' pictures of a particular social setting they may have limited value. In these minute books, and perhaps because secretaries were mindful that they were public documents, there was little recorded detail of discussions leading up to the passing of motions. Controversial issues, especially those involving specific actions taken by members, were nearly always discussed 'in committee' and, therefore, only the committee's final decision was recorded. However, what was particularly valuable was the cross-checking and comparison between the minute books of the three Associations regarding what was recorded, or not recorded, of particular issues pertaining to women's football; a form of analysis similar to the qualitative post-positivist method of triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Flick, 2004; Mason, 2002). To carry out this comparison and cross-checking I examined the minute books of the following Associations through the stated number of years.

Auckland Women's Football Association 1973–1992

The two minute books during this time record the activities of the AWFA from the official start in 1973 to the end of 1992 when the AWFA merged with the AFA and women's football became governed by a women's management committee (WMC) under the auspices of the AFA.

Auckland Football Association 1920–1922 and 1973–1992

According to newspaper accounts, women's football emerged in 1921 in Auckland, so I checked one year before and one year later for any reference in the minute books to women playing football. During the 1970s and 1980s, the AWFA sought approval to affiliate to the AFA and have a permanent position on the Control Board whose members had overall control of all football in the Auckland region.

Auckland Junior Football Association 1973–1986

The decision to read the AJFA minutes was made after reading in the AFA Control Board meeting minutes in 1973 that there had been discussion whether women should play curtain-raisers to international games in preference to junior boys. Through this examination, I found that the issue of mixed football, that is allowing girls and boys over the age of nine to play football together, had arisen as early as 1974. I continued to examine these minutes until 1986 when the dispute over mixed football was resolved.

2. Official Correspondence

The second set of football documents came from official correspondence between the three Associations. All inwards and outwards correspondence of the AWFA was listed in its minute books, and was subsequently filed in alphabetical order and kept at the Auckland Football Federation headquarters in a filing cabinet. When I examined the minute books, I noted any correspondence that could be of interest but particularly that pertaining to AFA affiliation, curtain-raisers and mixed football, and then extracted the corresponding letters in the filing cabinet.

3. Scrapbooks

Scrapbooks, which were my third source of documentary evidence, could be said to be a combination of media articles and documents, for while the majority were composed of media articles, a couple contained letters of congratulations for making representative teams, personal photographs and other football insignia. In total I examined six scrapbooks; three were in my possession (the ‘official’ scrapbook which had been compiled by the first AWFA secretary and two family ones); the others belonged to three of the women I interviewed and who, at my request, brought them to their interviews. The three interviewees all allowed me to keep their scrapbooks, and photocopy anything of interest, before returning them. While scrapbooks may be highly personal in that the contents primarily reflect the achievements of the person concerned, they can be helpful in triggering ‘leads’ to other information sources, and thus, could be considered part of what Foucault (1980e) termed subjugated knowledge. However, one difficulty I found was that often the media articles in these scrapbooks had no date of publication or reference to the name of the newspaper. When I have used such articles in my study, I have referenced them as either the AWFA scrapbook, Cox scrapbook or a

pseudonym in the case of the interviewed women, followed by the word scrapbook and, if known, the date of publication. In addition, I have included a separate reference page for these articles and, wherever possible, have included as much information as possible to identify the year in which they were published.

Gary McCulloch (2004) suggested that “documents are social and historical constructs” (p. 6); as people, according to Kathy Charmez (2006), “construct texts for specific purposes and they do so within social, economic, historical, cultural and situational contexts” (p. 35). Although texts often represent what authors assume to be objective facts, Jennifer Mason (2002) suggested that the reading of documents should not extend to treating them as though they are direct representations or reflections of reality. Thus, texts need to be interpreted and read in the context of how they are produced, used, and what meanings they might have in a particular social location. Therefore, in the same manner that I have argued for media texts, I am not looking for ‘truths’ about women’s football; instead I am exploring these texts to see how their authors drew upon particular discourses to explain and justify their actions which, in turn, helped me gain further insight into how prevailing discourses impacted upon female footballers.

In his genealogical research, Foucault explored institutional archives to examine data already in written form. To do a genealogy of women’s football based primarily on written documents as Foucault did would have proved difficult because historically little has written about women’s sports. In order to generate more source material, I interviewed a number of female footballers and, in the next section, I discuss my second method of data collection.

In-depth interviewing

In order to gain access to what Foucault (1980e, p. 83) termed “local memories”, I conducted 15 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a purposively selected group of women involved in football. In addition, as part of triangulating my data to corroborate and expand on what I had read in the AWFA minutes about girls’ football in secondary schools, I carried out telephone interviews with the long-serving President and Secretary of the New Zealand Secondary Schoolgirls’ Soccer Association (NZSSSA) and one male secondary school teacher who had been involved in establishing girls’ football in his school. While the purpose of interviewing people is to ask them questions or to gather stories about their experiences, it is also a way of finding out about things that cannot be directly

observed, like relationships of power which are mostly experienced or felt. My decision to interview these individuals was also based on the recognition that interviewing has been, and still is, an important way in which feminist researchers may gain access to women's hidden knowledges (Reinharz, 1992). Foucault (1983) might have disputed the term 'hidden' if it meant that knowledges could be excavated for their deep or essential meanings, but if 'hidden' was used in the sense that women's knowledges were subjugated or "disqualified as inadequate" (Foucault, 1980e, p. 82), and therefore, seldom publically revealed, this may be another example of how research using feminist and Foucauldian concepts might complement each other.

The interviewees expressed their views, told their stories, reflected on earlier events and shared some of their significant experiences; in other words they expressed their multiple realities of football (Sparkes, 1992). For this reason, I base this part of my research on the understanding that people's personal experiences are valid and constitute a legitimate and important source of knowledge. Thus, in asking the women I chose to interview to describe their footballing experiences, I accept that they are the 'knowers' of their everyday world (Scraton, 1997); at the same time, I also understand that what an experience means to these female footballers depends on different ways of interpreting their worlds through the discourses available to them at any particular moment (Weedon, 1997).

Selecting the interview participants

My female interview participants were selected on the basis of three specific criteria. All participants had to have played for at least five years at any level whether club, provincial or national and had to have either coached and/or administered football, again at any level. Using these criteria would ensure that the participants had been involved in more than one aspect of football and, therefore, were more likely to have in-depth knowledge and experience of power relationships in football. The third criteria was that at least half the number of participants had to have started playing football between 1973 and 1975 because I wanted to specifically investigate the experiences of female footballers during the first three years when women's football re-emerged. The remaining participants could have started playing at any time after 1975. In order to record a wide range of experiences, I varied the selection of participants so that all levels of

involvement were represented; for example, club players and representative players; coaches with NZF coaching qualifications and those without; those coaching junior girls and boys and those coaching senior women; those administering at club level and those administering at national/international level.

My original plan was to divide the history of women's football into three decades to represent specific times where, based on my own knowledge, certain things were accomplished or achieved, and to interview women who then represented that specific period. This changed when I discovered that a) women were playing football in 1921 in New Zealand whose stories I could not capture because they were likely to be dead and b) of the eight women I interviewed for the beginning years in the 1970s, four were currently involved in administration or coaching and one had only retired from coaching at the end of 2003. It proved impossible to keep the women's stories and answers to my questions in 'tidy' categories of decades.

Ideally, I would have liked to interview women in football from all over New Zealand but cost and time factors limited this and all but one of the participants were based in the Auckland region. I was able to contact sixteen women who fitted my selection criteria through my personal networks in football. All eight women I approached who were involved in football in the beginning three years agreed to participate in my research. I approached a further eight women who became involved any year after 1975; seven agreed to participate and one said no on the grounds that she did not feel she had anything to offer.

My interviews were carried out over a three month period and I began first with the eight women who started playing football between the years 1973 – 75. I completed one or two interviews per week which also included personally transcribing each interview. Although time-consuming, I found this process useful for a number of reasons. From a practical perspective, having the interview fresh in my mind minimised the likelihood of missing or misunderstanding the interviewees' words and, as Blake Poland (2003) pointed out, helped to ensure the accuracy of my transcriptions. In addition, as both the interviewer and transcriber, I was able to think about the questions I asked and the responses I received with view to improving or changing them for the next interview, as well as to reflect on my data (Rapley, 2007).

Alexa Hepburn and Jonathon Potter (2007) emphasised the importance of quality transcriptions as a way of having a "closer record of what actually went

on” (p. 175) during the interviews. I tried to achieve this by transcribing the interviews verbatim and using symbols such as ... to indicate over-laps between speakers and - for one second pauses. I also noted (in brackets) when interviewees laughed and any physical movements they made to illustrate their comments. However, Hepburn and Potter (2007) added further, “there are practical limits” (p. 179) such as financial constraints and, as my primary focus was to examine the historical operation of discourses surrounding female footballers, I did not record the intonations of the interviewees or note their emotional expressions, apart from laughter.

Foucault (1978) suggested that research should start from what he called “local centres of power-knowledge” using different forms of discourse – “self-examination, questionings, admissions, interpretations, interviews” (p. 98) as a means of expressing forms of subjection and schemas of knowledge. I found that memories of my experiences in football were being constantly triggered throughout the process of interviewing and examination of the various texts. Thus, as part of Foucault’s suggestion above to examine and question myself, I now discuss my final method of data collection.

Self-reflexive interrogation of my own experiences

Just as genealogy interprets documents and books, I also use this genealogical approach to reflect upon my own involvement and experiences as they are relevant to this thesis. This is not a form of reflexivity where the intention is to have a clear understanding of one’s self in the research process; instead it is to acknowledge my involvement and to highlight that my experiences form a crucial part of the ‘raw data’ and documents which will be drawn on in this thesis. I have been involved in football in New Zealand, primarily in a voluntary capacity, for more than 30 years as a player, coach and administrator. These services were recognized in 1995 by inclusion into the New Zealand Soccer Hall of Fame and in 1996 with a MBE. When I started my doctoral research in September 2006, I was chairwoman of the women’s advisory group to New Zealand Soccer (NZS), club secretary of University-Mt Wellington AFC and a FIFA consultant to the 2009 U-17 Women’s World Cup in New Zealand. At the beginning of 2009, partly motivated by my desire to complete this research and partly because I realised that to continue to seek the best outcome for women’s football at national level would be both time-consuming and frustrating because, in my experience, a ‘culture of

gender-blindness' still existed throughout football, I resigned as chairwoman. Currently, the only positions I hold in football are secretary of University-Mt Wellington AFC and trustee of Mt Wellington Stadium Trust which is an organisation set up to lobby Auckland City Council to develop Bill McKinlay Park into an all-weather, multi-use mini-stadium.

These many years of involvement, at all levels, have given me an "intimate familiarity" (Denzin, 2001, p. 123) with the world of football in New Zealand and, as such, qualify me to be termed an insider researcher. Andrea Fontana and James Frey (1994), in their discussion of interviewing processes, stressed the importance of locating an insider who was willing to be an informant and act as a guide to help researchers understand the cultural customs and languages of the particular group being studied. While agreeing with Fontana and Frey (1994) about finding an insider to help in the research process, Rapley (2007) pointed out the difficulties he had in locating such a person. However, instead of locating and using an insider to help study a particular group of people or a social phenomenon, Norman Denzin (2001) suggested that:

because interpretation is a temporal process, researchers are wise to study those areas of social life in which they already have some intimate familiarity. By doing so, they can draw upon the stocks of knowledge that they have built up out of previous life experiences. This is one of the consequences of C. Wright Mills's directive to connect personal biography with sociological inquiry. (p. 123)

Denzin (2001) who, as an interpretive interactionist, endeavoured to "capture and represent the voices, emotions and actions of those studied" (p. 1), proposed reasons why researchers should be familiar with the phenomenon or group they were studying; that is, they can be classified as insiders as opposed to hiring one. The first two reasons for being an insider, Denzin (2001) argued, were based around language acquisition skills; it took time for researchers to learn the language of the group they were studying as well as having to come to understand the "range of meanings that any word or phrase has for a group member" (p. 123) within that language. Thus, it is not just a question of being another language such as French or English but that each group has its own range of vocabulary or jargon which may be quite incomprehensible to outsiders. In football, there are a wide range of words and phrases that may make no sense or convey an alternative meaning to someone not familiar with the game; for example, "you're square" or

“you’re too flat” does not mean old-fashioned or that your singing voice is not hitting the right notes but that you are standing side by side with your opposition player. As an insider researcher, with English as a common language with my interviewees, I am conversant with the language female footballers use to tell their stories and express their life experiences within the context of football. As an insider, I am also very familiar with the way the majority of documents have been written in football, for I was the official minute recorder for the AWFA for 15 years, and so can draw on knowledge of what was *not* officially recorded.

The other two reasons that Denzin put forward were that the researcher must learn the biographies of the persons who speak the language as well as understanding the relationships that exist amongst group members. This knowledge, he added, would take the researcher “further into the social structure of the group being studied” (2001, p. 123) but gaining these knowledges takes considerable time to learn and understand. As Denzin pointed out in his research with the A.A., his early interpretations were “thin and highly speculative” (p. 122) and it took three years before he “felt completely comfortable with the A.A. language and the meaning structures that lie behind that language” (p. 123). My lengthy involvement in football allows me, without having to spend additional time, to know the background of my interviewees; I know their families, their histories, what they do for a living but most of all I understand and know a great deal about the relationships within football; between players, administrators and coaches, both male and female. I suggest that learning and understanding relationships within a studied group is one of the most difficult tasks a researcher faces because the relationships amongst groups members can be contradictory, changeable and, in many cases, difficult to detect. Therefore, I argue that my insider status not only allows me the use of material that may be inaccessible to other researchers, and to know and choose interviewees who would fulfil my selection criteria but also offers me the opportunity to develop a more insightful interpretation through examining the “naive knowledges” (Foucault, 1980e, p. 82); that is, what my documents and people are ‘saying’ about the world of women’s football. However, I also trust that my research reflects an ability to stand back at times and observe from the outside in.

In this section, I have outlined and discussed how I located and collected my data about female footballers. In the next part, I discuss how I analysed this data using Foucauldian discourse analysis.

A Foucauldian discourse analysis

There is a fundamental methodological premise in Foucault's work that discourses, as knowledge and truth claims, play a significant role in constructing what is 'real' for individuals. However, because of Foucault's emphasis on the connection between discourse, power and knowledge, he never described fully how he went about analysing his own data nor did he set out a method for other researchers to follow. Nevertheless, Foucault (1981) did describe in *The Order of Discourse* four notions that he felt should serve as "the regulating principles of discourse analysis: the event, the series, the regularity and the condition of possibility" (p. 67). Foucault (1981) further stated that these four notions directly opposed concepts which had dominated the traditional history of ideas and, hence, this is one of the reasons why the majority of conservative and mainstream historians regard him as anti-historical. The notion of event opposed the idea of creation: Foucault argued, researchers should look for the material effects of discourse rather than seek *the* point of creation. The term series was opposed to unity; in other words; "discourses must be treated as discontinuous practices, which cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other" (Foucault, 1981, p. 67). Regularity was opposed to originality in that discourses did not bear the mark of individual originality such as an author but instead emerged on a regular basis from a variety of sources. The condition of possibility opposed signification in that researchers "must not resolve discourse into a play of pre-existing significations" (p. 67). In other words, discourses do not have internal or hidden essences that can be then excavated in order to reveal their 'real' meanings.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972) attempted to clarify his concept of discourse and suggested that he treated discourse sometimes as "the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (p. 80) as part of his archaeological approach (see below) which is different to his genealogical research. In this clarification, discourses may be seen as autonomous systems of "rules which constitute objects, concepts, subjects and strategies" and thus provide, "the means for isolating an object of investigation" (Howarth, 2002, p. 132). Foucault acknowledged that his concept of discourse was still in embryonic form in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* because he realised he had obscured and de-emphasised the workings of power (Markula & Pringle,

2006). In his later works in order to incorporate relations of power in discourse, Foucault changed from using an archaeological approach to a genealogical approach to investigate the social lives of humans. However, he did not completely abandon his archaeological approach for he stated, when discussing his two approaches, that:

‘archaeology’ would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities, and ‘genealogy’ would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play. (Foucault, 1980e, p. 85)

Thus, Foucault suggested using both these approaches would be helpful, and complementary, in analysing discourses surrounding social phenomena and individuals. In this study, I shall use an archaeological aspect to examine the “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). In other words, I shall investigate how statements, either individually or as groups, constitute female footballers in particular historical and social settings.

However, notwithstanding his methodological advice as above and this archaeological aspect, in this study, I predominantly followed Foucault’s advice in *The History of Sexuality* for analysing “the tactical polyvalence of discourse” (1978, p. 100). Thus, in my analysis of discourses surrounding female footballers, I read each text closely several times, trying to build up a picture of how female footballers were spoken of during the specified time periods. To do this, I examined the multiple elements of discourses which came into play; that is, I observed what was said, and conversely what was not said; I identified speakers and the positions from which they spoke and the institutions to which they belonged; I looked particularly for groups of words or statements that had similar meanings which regularly appeared in the texts about female footballers as well as identifying counter-discourses which challenged or offered oppositional meanings to these word patterns. I then broadened my search and examined how social practices, subjects or objects were enunciated in the context of female footballers, for discourses not only constitute subjectivities, they also are part of a wider network of power relations which include institutions (Weedon, 1987), such as medicine, sport and family, for example. Finally, as I started to identify consistencies that cohered into various discourses, I questioned them for what

Foucault (1978, p. 102) referred to as their “tactical productivity” and “strategical integration”. In other words, for female footballers and women’s football, how were discourses deployed and what outcomes or effects of power-knowledge resulted from the circulation of these various discourses within their particular community?

In his analysis of sexuality, Foucault (1978) explained that there was “no single, all-encompassing strategy, valid for all of society and uniformly bearing on all the manifestations of sex” (p. 103). Rather, he identified four overarching discourses, what he called “four great strategic unities” (p. 103) which formed specific mechanisms of knowledge and power surrounding sex from the 1700s onwards in western societies. From these four strategic unities, emerged four corresponding figures which not only became objects of knowledge, they also became “targets and anchorage points for the ventures of knowledge” (p. 105). Thus, through the strategic unities: a hysterization of women’s bodies (the hysterical woman); a pedagogization of children’s sex; (the masturbating child), a socialisation of procreative behaviour (the Malthusian couple); and a psychiatrization of perverse pleasure (the perverse adult), Foucault illustrated how sexuality was produced as a historical construct, inscribed within a great surface network, where:

the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasure, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledge, the strengthening of controls and resistance, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power. (p. 105-6)

In a similar manner, after examination of all the various texts, and through mining for dominant discourses in my review of women and sport, I identified the strategic unities that took the emergent female footballer as both the object and target for power-knowledge discourses within an apparatus of football, in order to demonstrate how the female footballer has been produced as an historical construct. Thus, the aim of this study is to interweave historical information gleaned from the various texts with the teasing out and demonstration of key discourses which target the female footballer, on the understanding that:

discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their

form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy. (Foucault, 1978, pp. 101-102)

As Foucault did not prescribe a set way of doing discourse analysis, researchers have interpreted his changing concepts of discourse, and the analysis of them, in multiple ways. My discussion in this section is intended to clarify the context in which I use Foucault's discourse analysis in the next three 'data' chapters. A lack of prescription in how to present one's analysis also characterises the way Foucault wrote his genealogies. A close examination of these works reveals multiple styles of presentations; within the same work, he may use traditional narratives favoured by constructionist/reconstructionist historians; he may employ metaphors and tropes favoured by deconstructionist historians or he may use vignettes to illustrate a point or offer evidence for a 'truth' claim. Sometimes he engaged in reflexivity and at other times he made statements of fact. However, Foucault never claimed to be a historian, a structuralist or a poststructuralist or, in fact, to hold to any particular position which entailed following prescribed rules associated with a particular discipline. For me, writing without prescribed guidelines or 'how to do it' instructions has been challenging and difficult. In the end, I decided to follow the example set by Foucault and employ a variety of writing styles; which, in this thesis, may range from traditional historical narratives to 'realist' tales to self-reflexive accounts (see Sparkes, 2002 for further discussion on writing styles).

In the next and final section of this chapter, I document and discuss how I considered and managed the ethical issues involved in my research processes such as issues of confidentiality and informed consent. While I have followed the University of Waikato regulatory guidelines for conducting ethical research, I also trusted that my common sense, respect for people and adherence to the principle of 'do no harm' would guide my research processes.

Ethical considerations of the research process

As I explained earlier, my lengthy involvement in women's football has allowed me to be an insider exploring a social world of which I was, and continue to be, a part. My respondents and I shared a common language and bond from being involved in football, so there was no misrepresentation of who I was, and gaining the trust of my interviewees, which Fontana and Frey (1994) consider "essential to an interviewer's success" (p. 367) was made easier. Comments such as "this is

off the record if you don't want to put it in", and interviewees who either chose identifiable pseudonyms such as nicknames by which they were known in football or wanted to use their 'real' names indicated to me that I had gained their trust. Nevertheless, as part of ensuring that no harm would come to the participants in my study, I replaced identifiable pseudonyms and real names with ones I considered unidentifiable.

At the beginning of my study, I made initial contact with potential participants by phone and/or email. During this 'informal' contact, I explained that they were not obligated to participate. Indeed, although I told them they could withdraw at anytime up until they had certified their transcript as correct, no participant chose to take up this option. Once the participants agreed to be involved, they received a participant information sheet (Appendix A) which explained the procedures in which they would be involved, their rights in terms of confidentiality and their ability to withdraw from the study, plus contact details for my supervisors and myself. They were also asked to sign a consent form (Appendix B).

Interview times and venues were organised around what suited the participants. Nine women came to my home because it was close to where they worked or lived. One woman who lived in the South Island emailed me two typewritten A4 pages detailing her experiences in football. Three women were interviewed in their own homes and two in their workplaces. All participants were interviewed on their own except for two who I interviewed together after we had all arranged to meet at a football match. With an interview guide organized primarily around relationships of power, footballing experience and femininity (Appendix C), each interview lasted between 1-2 hours. During this time, all of the participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and discuss any concerns they might have with the research process. I arranged later with three participants to have follow-up telephone interviews to discuss some specific discourses that had emerged from my data analysis. The participants also gave me permission to tape record their interviews and to use any information for any subsequent publications.

Consistent with a feminist Foucauldian approach, I tried to minimise the unequal power relations which are inherent in the research process because, irrespective of the relationship between the interviewee and interviewer, a degree of power will exist. While I acknowledge that I had a certain degree of control

over the interview process, I tried to strike a balance between the respondents' need to express or discuss something that interested them but had little relevance to my study, and the steering of the discussion back to the topics I wished to pursue or elaborate upon further without seeming too abrupt and spoiling the flow of the interview. I also saw the opportunity to minimise power relations by sending their transcripts to them to check, add to or delete anything they saw fit. However, none of the interviewees wanted to see personal copies of their individual transcripts although some asked if I could send copies of the three data chapters to them, which I will do when my thesis is finished. I was also able to give something back to my interviewees, a process usually incorporated in the concept of reciprocity (e.g., see Ryen, 2007 for comments on different forms of reciprocity). For two of the interviewees, one who did not know she had been photographed and the other who had lost her original copy, I was able to scan the relevant newspaper photographs from articles in the AWFA and my scrapbooks and email copies to them.

I started each interview with general questions such as 'how did you get into football?' before moving on to more specific ones, (see Appendix C) a traditional technique that Fontana and Frey (1994, p. 371) call "breaking the ice"; a process which helps to facilitate an empathetic environment and creates rapport between researchers and their interviewees (Amis, 2005). However, according to Fontana and Frey (1994), while establishing close rapport with respondents can open doors to more informed research, it may also create problems for the researcher. In other words, if rapport is established by becoming 'close' to respondents, information is usually more forthcoming, particularly that of a personal nature, but something of significance may be overlooked because of that closeness. Conversely, if the researcher remains 'distant', rapport becomes more difficult to establish and the subsequent quality of information may be lacking in richness and detail. A delicate balance, as Steiner Kvale (2007) contended, is required between the interviewer's pursuit of interesting knowledge and ethical respect for the integrity of the interviewee. Thus, I tried to create an environment which could be described as 'two footballers having a chat about the good old days', in the recognition, as James Holsten and Jaber Gubrium (1995) pointed out, that my interviewees were not so much "repositories of knowledge, treasuries of information awaiting excavation" (p. 4) but co-constructors of knowledge about women's football.

To record the interviews, I used a computer recording system called Olympus DSS Player. This system has a number of advantages compared to using conventional tape recorders. The recorder itself is quite small – it fits into the palm of your hand – and after a while the interviewees tended to forget it was there. I believed this helped in creating an empathetic environment so that the interview seemed more like a social encounter than a formal occasion (see Rapley, 2007 for further discussion on use of tape recorders). Once recorded, the interviews were downloaded directly into the computer and transcribed from the generated voice, thus the transference of spoken data to written was more efficient and quicker than using a conventional tape-recorder. No tapes were generated and the information was stored separately on my home and university computer, both of which are password protected.

The raw data has only been seen by my University supervisors and me. While I could not identify any serious risk to my participants through being identified, pseudonyms have been used in all written material, and any details that could identify participants have been changed. Throughout the interviews, and in accordance with the Foucauldian feminist perspective adopted in my thesis, I tried to refrain from making evaluative judgments about my participants' experiences in football and endeavoured to respect their personal values. Only once did I sense that my questions, which cohered around the constitution of femininity and non-femininity, were making an interviewee feel uncomfortable and, in this case, I did not pursue the questions any further. This particular interviewee lived with another woman but did not identify publicly as lesbian. I believed that she felt if she answered the questions about what constituted non-femininity, she would be positioning herself as a lesbian, and this was what was making her feel uncomfortable. I also refrained from asking her what she thought the public perception was of women's football in terms of sexuality. Apart from that one time, none of my interviewees had any issues with this part of the research process. In fact, I suggest, that the majority of my interviewees thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity to discuss the 'good old days' and to re-visit their part in helping to make a history of women's football; a suggestion which concurs with Kvale's (2007) assertion that it was a common experience for participants to enjoy their research interviews.

Towards the end of every interview, I gave each interviewee the opportunity to express concerns they might have with the current situation of women's

football as well as discuss any topic important to them that I had not covered. In addition, I also allowed time to ‘chat’ once the interview was formally over; that is, when the recorder was switched off. William Miller and Benjamin Crabtree (2004) pointed out that it was important to carry out ‘small talk’ for up to 15 minutes of post interview contact in order to set “a tone of empowerment and good relations” (p. 199) between interviewer and interviewees. Thus, rather than viewing this time as a way to gather further information, I used it as a ‘winding-down’ period for the interviewees to talk about their families and/or catch up on football news.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been twofold: one, to present the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions which underpin and direct this study; and two, to discuss the methods I have chosen to write a genealogy of women’s football in New Zealand. In summary, my thesis is about gendered relations of power, femininity and the female body, interwoven with a history of women’s football. As I have argued, Foucault’s genealogy, which focuses on historical relations of power, knowledge and the body, is the most appropriate research approach with which to interrogate power-knowledge discourses which surround female footballers and affect the development of women’s football.

The rest of this thesis is structured in the following way. The next three chapters constitute my ‘findings’ chapters; in Chapter Six, through an identification of dominant discourses surrounding female footballers, I tell a story of how *The Girl Footballer* in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch emerged and disappeared within three months in 1921. Through tracking those same identified discourses from 1921, I narrate in Chapter Seven how *The Lady Footballer* re-emerged in 1973 in Auckland, and women’s football continued to develop and flourish. I take a different direction in Chapter Eight and instead examine the conditions which made it possible for a key discourse, *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport for Women in New Zealand*, to emerge as women began to be involved in all aspects of football. In my final chapter, I sum up this thesis by reflecting on my use of Foucault’s genealogical approach as well as suggesting possibilities for further research.

CHAPTER SIX

The Girl Footballer – Why Did She Vanish?

Introduction

The story I want to tell in this chapter is set in 1921 when groups of women in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch formally decided to play association football, rugby football and rugby football league. No one knows what influenced several hundred women to form clubs, train and play these games during this particular historical moment but as an unrevealed period in the history of women's sport in New Zealand, a discursive analysis offers a fascinating insight into the feelings, attitudes and actions towards women who wished to participate in team sports.

I was aware, after seeing a brief description and photograph of the Aotea Ladies football team from Wellington in Charlotte Macdonald's (1993b) account of women's sporting and recreational organisations in New Zealand, that some women were playing football in 1921. However, my decision to search the newspapers for more information, which then led to the discovery of women playing all three sports, was triggered when one of the women I interviewed sent me three newspaper clippings from *The Press* in Christchurch about a women's representative game played on September 24, 1921 between Wellington and Christchurch. If women's football was played in those two regions at that time then surely, I reasoned, Auckland as the largest city in New Zealand would also have teams. If that turned out to be the case, then women's football was more widespread than previously acknowledged.

The majority of club football today normally begins on the first Saturday and Sunday of April and finishes around first week of September, so I started first by examining the Auckland-based *The New Zealand Herald* from April 1 onwards, finishing on October 30, 1921 which I thought would be sufficient time to include any mention of the Wellington versus Christchurch women's representative match. Through this examination, I found 17 articles and 3 letters to the Editor about women playing football, rugby union and rugby league. Subsequently, I searched *The Auckland Star* (11 articles and 7 letters to the editor); *The Dominion* in Wellington (20 articles and 4 letters to the editor); *The Press* in Christchurch (11 articles) and the *Otago Daily Times* in Dunedin (6

articles and 1 letter to the editor). In total, and including letters to the editor, there were 80 articles: 27 about association football; 13 about rugby football; 18 on rugby football league; 10 which referred generally to females playing sport or athletics; and 12 articles which either referred to girls playing football or the girl footballer without differentiating between the three codes. The use of the term girl, according to Coney (1986), varied from generation to generation but generally at this time a female was a girl until she was between 20 and 25 years old. The majority of articles used the headline 'Girl Footballer' in a generic sense - hence the title of this chapter - and it only became apparent on further reading whether the reference was to women playing rugby football, rugby football league or association football. Many of the speakers quoted in the newspaper articles also tended to use football as a generic term, so to avoid any confusion for the reader, I will use the following terms; soccer for association football; rugby union for rugby football; and rugby league for rugby football league unless the reference is in a direct quote.

The majority of these newspaper articles were published in the month of July. To further help corroborate and/or elaborate upon what was written in the Auckland newspapers, I also examined the minute books of the Auckland Football Association (AFA) from 1920 – 1922 for any references to women's soccer. Unfortunately I could not do the same with rugby league for the early minute books of the Auckland Association were destroyed in a fire at Carlaw Park, and finance prevented me from travelling to Wellington and Christchurch to research records from the Wellington Rugby Football Union and Canterbury Football Association respectively. Through the examination of the AFA minute books and the analysis of the 80 media articles and letters to the editor, I identified three overarching discourses or 'strategic unities' as Foucault (1978) called them, which I have named as *a medicalisation of women's bodies*, *a sportisation of women's bodies* and *a socialisation of feminine behaviour*. Through the deployment of these three strategic unities, *The Girl Footballer* emerged as a particular historical construct; not only becoming an object of knowledge, but also a "target and anchorage point for the ventures of knowledge" (Foucault, 1978, p. 105). Numerous discourses emerged within each strategic unity; as Foucault (1978) pointed out, we do not live in a world where discourse can be divided simplistically into acceptable/excludable or dominant/dominated but rather face "a multiplicity of discourses produced by a whole series of mechanisms operating in

different institutions” (p. 33). These discourses did not remain totally separate from each other; they all intersected, conflicted with and reinforced each other at different times. However, from the multiplicity of discourses that emerged from analysing these newspaper articles and minute books, I have identified what I consider to be the key discourses which produced significant power effects for the emerging girl footballer within an apparatus of football.

Clearly, as in any truth game, there are multiple ways in which we can ‘know’ *The Girl Footballer*. However, while acknowledging there is no ‘essential’ truth that can be told about this period of women’s football, in this chapter I aim to identify, and provide evidence for, a particular set of truths that developed around *The Girl Footballer* during the period covered by this chapter. I argue that there were a range of strategies that allowed these discourses to develop about women’s football, which resulted in how women’s football was discursively constituted and socially controlled at the same time. I weave together a range of evidence to show how a series of multiple and seemingly disparate power-knowledge discourses cohered sufficiently to allow for a brief appearance of *The Girl Footballer* and to her rapid (and extended) disappearance, at the same time as another ‘team’ sport – netball – secured its place as the most appropriate sport for females.

As discussed in Chapter Five, in contrast to other reconstructionist/deconstructionist histories, this particular history interrogates the existing sources for their relations of power. At the same time, however, it follows in structure the historical narrative and chronological approach used in Foucault’s (1977; 1978; 1985) genealogical histories. This chapter is structured in four parts: in the first three sections, I discuss the dominant discourses surrounding *The Girl Footballer* within a medicalisation of women’s bodies, a sportisation of women’s bodies and a socialisation of feminine behaviour before ending with an analysis of why she disappeared.

A medicalisation of women’s bodies

Throughout the 1700s, Foucault (1994a) believed that medicine, as a general technique of health rather than sickness, assumed an increasingly important role in governmental social policies. Furthermore, the delineation of the individual as a unique human being and, therefore, an object for positive knowledge; that is, a

“territory which could be mastered by a form of truth regulated by rationalities proper to the codes of scientific reason” (Rose, 1994, p. 49) also became an integral part of medicine. The continuing presence of doctors in academies, learned societies and their frequent roles as governmental advisors and political reformers, particularly in the second half of the 1700s, led Foucault (1994a) to claim that “the doctor becomes the great adviser and expert, if not in the art of governing at least in that of observing, correcting, and improving the social “body” and maintaining it in a permanent state of health” (p. 100). Thus, it was concerns with the maintenance of health, rather than their prestige as therapists, which assured doctors of a politically privileged position in the 1700s, prior to their accumulation of economic and social privileges in the 1800s (Foucault, 1994a).

Women gradually became integrated into the sphere of medical practices through a process Foucault (1978) termed “a hysterization of women’s bodies” (p. 104), one of the “four great strategic unities” (p. 103) which he believed formed specific mechanisms of knowledge and power centering on sex. Foucault described this process at considerable length as:

a threefold process whereby the feminine body was analyzed – qualified and disqualified – as being thoroughly saturated with sexuality; whereby it was integrated into the sphere of medical practices, by reason of a pathology intrinsic to it; whereby, finally, it was placed in organic communication with the social body (whose regulated fecundity it was supposed to ensure), the family space (of which it had to be a substantial and functional element) and the life of children (which it produced and had to guarantee, by virtue of a biologico-moral responsibility lasting through the entire period of the children’s education): the Mother, with her negative image of “nervous woman,” constituted the most visible form of this hysterization. (1978, p. 104)

These developments in medicine encouraged doctors to claim expertise in knowing the right and scientifically correct way to live, and many middle and upper-class women gradually came to see their bodies and view their natural functions through the eyes of Victorian doctors. As Vertinsky (1990) pointed out, what physicians had to say about women’s bodies, health and exercise, from their perspective as experts and ‘truth’ knowers, had an important impact upon

women's lives and provided a legacy which had a lasting effect throughout the 1900s.

I begin the discussion of the medical discourses surrounding women footballers in 1921 with one I have named *Doctor knows best* because the high regard in which doctors in New Zealand were held during this period meant that whatever they said was likely to be taken as the truth. Few people had access to medical knowledge and, as Andree Levesque (1986) pointed out, this 'expertise' entitled New Zealand doctors to pontificate on a variety of moral and social issues. Thus, even in the face of competing discourses that challenged the prevailing medical positions – in this case on females in football – the power effects of medical discourses were likely to prevail. Vertinsky (1990) claimed that medical discourses during the late nineteenth century appeared to be very similar throughout England and North America, as many physicians trained, practised and lectured in both countries. New Zealand, as part of Britain's colonial empire, would be subject to these discourses and its population influenced, to varying degrees, as medical lectures and theories from England were regularly reported in leading New Zealand newspapers, particularly in the women's sections of these papers (e.g., see Imogen, 1921a, p. 6; Vivien, 1921, p. 4). Although 107 women were known to be members of the New Zealand medical profession in 1921 (Maxwell, 1990), early medical science was dominated by men by virtue of their position in the public sphere and, therefore, the acceptability and legitimacy of medical discourses tended to be those circulated by male physicians and scientists (Papps and Olssen, 1997).

One of the strongest pieces of evidence for the *Doctor knows best* discourse is the level of media coverage given to medical doctors – mostly males – and their opinions on the suitability and appropriateness of females playing various forms of the football codes. The level of coverage leads to the question of why reporters and newspapers would ask “several Christchurch medical men” (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6) whether rugby union was suitable or desirable for girls to play. Clearly, their opinions not only 'counted' but doctors (both male and female) were seen as the appropriate source of knowledge about girls' bodies/physicality in sport. Even more importantly, not only were doctors quoted in the newspaper coverage but their opinions were actively sought by sports officials faced with this new phenomenon. Another strong indication of the power effects of the medical discourse of *Doctor knows best* was that few writers of

letters to the editor challenged these medical opinions; rather, they debated on different terms or questioned why *The Girl Footballer* would play these games despite adverse medical advice. For example, “fancy gentle womanhood engaging in this rough and tumble game, which is strictly condemned by the medical profession for the fair sex” (Reyburn, 1921, p. 10), and “...no doubt of it, the medical apprehension of serious after effects is based on solid, unassailable fact” (Mother, 1921, p. 6). However, Vivien (1921, p. 4) perhaps summed up the high regard in which New Zealanders held medical doctors when she wrote about what constituted adequate and reasonable exercise for girls in her column, ‘For the Ladies’ in *The New Zealand Herald*:

The point, which really is of paramount importance, the true crux of the whole problem, lies in the medical aspect of football for girls, and of all the opinions which are likely to be put forward, those of doctors and health authorities ought surely to carry the most weight.

Doctor knows best

When a girls’ rugby union club was formed on July 1 1921 in Wellington, and the suggestion made that another team might be formed in Christchurch, *The Press* cited a *Christchurch Star* reporter as having asked several doctors for their opinion whether rugby union was a suitable or desirable game for girls to play (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6). Comments from three male doctors, who strongly advised against females playing rugby union, were published in this article. “Dr Simpson”, whose opinions were given the most coverage, was quoted by the reporter as saying:

Football for girls would prove deleterious from both the physical and temperamental standpoint. Women were not intended to take part in such a rough, if manly, game as football; they are not built for it, and only a certain type are likely to be attracted by the idea. Running is good for women, and so is plenty of healthy outdoor exercise, but I must draw the line at football. The scrum work and the tackling alone are too dangerous for women, and, however much they attempt to modify the game, there will always remain a great deal of risk. (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6)

Twelve days later, a reporter from *The Auckland Star* described how no fewer than 40 girls had signed up the night before with the Parnell Rugby League club (Shorts and socks: 1921, p. 7). The girls who wanted to play rugby league for the

Parnell club, according to a similar report in *The New Zealand Herald*, were of various ages but mostly aged between 16 and 20 and were, on the whole, “neat and well-built, with an appearance that suggested speed and nippy play more than weight” (Girl footballers, 1921b, p. 9). The next night on July 13, at a meeting of the Auckland Rugby League Management Committee, an application for both affiliation and permission to play as a curtain raiser to a big fixture at Carlaw Park was put forward by the Parnell Girls’ Club. In the report carried by *The New Zealand Herald*, Mr Carlaw, the committee chairman, is quoted as saying “he thought the league would be doing wrong to encourage ladies’ football” but then he remembered that a ladies’ soccer team had been formed and had started playing in Auckland” (Girls’ football club, 1921, p. 9). However, he was also quoted as saying he was rather startled by the adverse medical opinions published about girls playing rugby union and accordingly he proposed that the question of affiliation be deferred until medical advice was obtained on the subject. Two other committee members supported his proposal, according to *The New Zealand Herald* reporter, with both citing adverse medical opinion as good reasons to discourage girls from playing rugby league and to refuse official recognition of any potential women’s clubs. The chairman’s motion was carried and a committee was then appointed to interview several doctors and report back (Girls’ football club, 1921, p. 9). *The Auckland Star* that evening carried an almost identical report to *The New Zealand Herald* (A delicate matter, 1921, p. 7). The next day, *The Dominion* (Football for girls, 1921b, p. 2), the *Otago Daily Times* (Girl footballers want to play league, 1921d, p.7) and *The Press* (Girl footballers, 1921e, p. 2) all published abridged versions of the Auckland newspaper reports through the United Press Association.

A deputation from the Parnell Rugby League Club, consisting of three women and several male members, then met the Auckland League management committee on July 20 to request permission to play at Carlaw Park. Both *The Auckland Star* and *The New Zealand Herald* carried reports of this meeting the next day. The President of the Referees’ Association, who accompanied the deputation into the meeting to explain how the rules might be modified to render the game suitable for girl players, was reported as saying that these modifications were “designed to prevent the rough and tumble of the game as played by the men” (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6). Backing up this statement, and at the same time perhaps trying to influence the committee’s decision, a member of the deputation

said that the club now had 65 girls enrolled and had “already held a practice match in which 64 scrums were held”, and they “were convinced that the game under the suggested modified rules was suitable for girls” (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6). *The New Zealand Herald* journalist, who reported on this practice match, made the comment that while it was difficult to distinguish whether the game being played was rugby league or rugby union, “the ladies played in a nice friendly manner and ‘tacking low’ was noticeable by its absence” (Parnell women practise, 1921, p. 7). Another member of the deputation, according to *The Auckland Star*, put forward the argument that as “women had successfully undertaken heavy work in the war they could play the League game under the modified rules” (Girl Footballers, 1921e, p. 7). After the deputation had withdrawn from the meeting, the Chairman was reported to have advised his members that all the medical doctors he had interviewed “were emphatically opposed to it” (Football for girls, 1921c, p. 6). However, just as medical discourses were shown to be contradictory and conflicting when women first started cycling (McCrone, 1988; Vertinsky, 1990), one member of the committee, Mr Stallworthy, was reported as stating that the doctor he had consulted had said “no great harm could result from girls playing against others of their own sex” (Girl Footballers, 1921f, p. 7). Although Mr Stallworthy may have had a vested interest in ensuring that the game went ahead as he had offered to coach the girls’ rugby league team (Girl Footballers, 1921b, p. 9), he was supported by another committee member, Mr Fielding, who was reported as suggesting that a trial match be arranged under the modified rules and doctors invited to witness the game at first hand before giving their medical opinion as to the suitability of the game for girls (Girl footballers, 1921f, p. 7). However, Mr Fielding’s amendment failed to gain a majority vote and the original motion that the request to play at Carlaw Park be declined was carried. In spite of the arguments put forward by the Parnell deputation, it would appear that medical discourse played a significant part in this decision. However, from my experiences of being on committees, relationships can play an important role in decision-making processes, and often certain members will vote the way the chairperson does or for a particular political reason, neither of which may be relevant to their personally held beliefs regarding whether women should or should not play rugby league. Nevertheless, one wonders what happened to those 65 females who signed up as members and started training; for apart from a small article on a ladies’ league match in Sydney by *The Press* and the *Otago Daily Times* on September 26

(see Little, 2001 for an account of this match), the five newspapers made no further reference to females playing rugby league for the rest of the examined period.

While controversy swirled around women playing rugby union and rugby league, initially, soccer from a medical viewpoint appeared to have been viewed with less disfavour, although several doctors were cited in the newspaper articles as saying they could not “honestly recommend” girls to take it up (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6). A number of factors may be responsible for this apparently grudging acceptance of women playing soccer: 1) women appeared to be already playing the game, seemingly without any drastic consequences; in the rugby league meeting with the Parnell club, the reporter reported that a number of speakers had stated that “girls who were now playing ‘soccer’ were anxious to take up the League game” (Football for girls, 1921c, p. 6); 2) the game of soccer was seen as a less violent game than either rugby or rugby league by the public in general (Footer, 1921, p. 5); and 3) the strong support from a female doctor – Dr Maud Fere – who initiated the formation of the first women’s club in Christchurch on 28 July 1921. In *The Dominion*, Fere is quoted as saying “Soccer is the finest sport for girls that exists – no medical man or woman could have anything to say against it...As a medical practitioner, I have no hesitation in supporting it” (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6). Nonetheless, when the reporter questioned her about whether girls should play rugby, her response was as conservative as the majority of her male colleagues. “Impossible”, she said. “Girls should not play rugby football. In fact they should not be allowed to play rugby football. It would mean nothing but harm and danger to them...Surely those few who have taken up Rugby will realise before it is too late the dire results of their folly” (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6).

A reporter for *The Press*, while pointing out how the “girl footballer continues to afford Wellington, and no doubt other towns, a fruitful topic of conversation,” emphasised in the next sentence that, “the proposal that girls should play football [rugby union] is, however, almost universally condemned, more especially by their own sex” (Girl footballers, 1921c, p. 2). A reporter for *The Dominion* expressed surprise that the rugby union girls had taken no notice of the advice or warnings published in *The Press* except for a suggestion that the rules might be modified (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6). However, the idea of modifying the rules appeared to have met with mixed reactions from the female players and officials concerned; One woman’s reaction, which was described in

the newspaper article as being “confidently asserted”, was to state “Except scrumming, we could play rugby with the greatest of ease” (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6). The girls, whom the reporter described as “larger”, would not hear of the omission, “Scrum”, they said, “why, that’s all the fun. That’s what we want” (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6).

Rugby league and rugby union were both described in the newspaper articles as strenuous and rough games but only in rugby league was the possibility of being “killed or seriously injured” mentioned (A delicate matter, 1921, p. 7), which suggested that rugby league was viewed as the more dangerous sport of the two to play. Rugby union was discursively positioned as a game where men had to withstand “hard knocks and rough treatment” (Footer, 1921, p. 5), and a “rough, if manly game” (Medical opinions, 1921b, p. 7). In contrast, soccer was viewed as an “energetic” game with “bumps, jolts and falls” (Crowhurst, 1921, p. 6). The way the games of rugby union, rugby league and soccer were discursively constructed suggested that an implicit hierarchisation of danger existed which categorised rugby league at the top and soccer at the bottom as the least dangerous game to play. This may help explain why only rugby union and rugby league officials called for modifications to the rules of their particular code. The women involved in rugby league agreed to modify their rules straightaway, but those women involved in rugby union were divided, with some in favour and some against.

Foucault (1977) believed that ‘comparison’ and ‘differentiation’ were two of five distinct modes of action which helped to ‘normalise’ people in society. The doctors quoted in the newspaper article positioned *The Girl Footballer* in dichotomous terms to men; for example, women were “fatter and not muscular and not as stable on their feet as men”, and “girls had smaller bones and were more fragile” (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6). These medical opinions were reflected by Footer who wrote to the editor of *The Dominion* stating that “a girl can receive as much harm from a slight knock as a man would probably suffer from a severe grilling ‘under the scrum’” (1921, p. 5). Examples such as these views helped to medicalise *The Girl Footballer* by continuing to support bio-medical discourses of women’s innate frailty, which had become a dominant ‘truth’ during Victorian times (McCrone, 1988; Parratt, 1989). However, one male member of the Parnell Club deputation to the Auckland Rugby League Association attempted to counter this discourse of female frailty; he is quoted in *The New Zealand Herald* as stating that “women had demonstrated during the war

that they could readily perform heavy work”, and if “the modified rules were adopted and published there would be a rush to form girls’ football clubs” (Football for girls, 1921c, p. 6).

The doctors quoted in the newspaper article also constructed those women who were likely to be attracted to the idea of playing rugby union in psychological and physical terms such as being “daring” and of “a certain type” (Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6), which possibly helped to construct *The Girl Footballer* as deviant or abnormal. Discourses on what ‘type’ of women played rugby union were also brought up in the Auckland Rugby League management committee when the question of girls’ rugby league was first mooted. One committee member, talking about women playing rugby union in England and France, is quoted as saying, “the type of women playing the game in those countries was different to the New Zealand girl” (Girls’ football club, 1921, p. 9). He further added that “the women who participated in the game in the older countries had been used to hard work. Some were employed in the mines, others at different kinds of manual labour which more or less fitted them for the rough and tumble of football” (Girls’ football club, 1921, p. 9). While I believe he was mistakenly referring to women’s soccer rather than rugby union, I suggest this speaker’s convictions revealed a middle-class desire to disassociate rugby league in Auckland from its English working-class connotations and the controversy surrounding professionalism versus amateurism in sport [see Holt (1989) and Dunning and Sheard (1979) for an account of when rugby football split into two sporting codes – rugby union (amateur) and rugby league (professional) in England in 1895]. It also reinforced, from a medical perspective, how working-class women were believed to be physically stronger and to feel little pain in comparison to their middle-class counterparts (Ehrenreich & English, 1979; Vertinsky, 1990).

You only have so much energy

The second discourse in this medical category which I have named *You only have so much energy* was a theory propounded by the medical and scientific professions in England and North America in the late 1800s. This explanation for the human body being compared to an energy field with limited amounts of bodily fluids was known as the vitality theory (Vertinsky, 1990; Lenskyj, 1986). Initially this theory focused on male seminal fluid; sport for boys was seen as a powerful

means to prevent excess masturbation with the resulting loss of semen (Holt, 1989) but it did not take long before the theory was applied to women and their physical activities outside the home (Nauright, 1995). Energy had to be carefully nurtured for the needs of the mind and the body (Vertinsky, 1990) for once used up, it was gone for good. The Auckland Star, for example, quoted Miss Cowdroy, headmistress of Crouch End Girls' High School in London, who explained:

A girl had a large store of vital and nervous energy which she could draw upon, if normally developed, at the great crisis of motherhood. That strength was a deposit account; but if she used it as a current account, as a boy could afford to do, her children would pay the bill. (Athletics for girls, 1921a, p. 7. This article was also published in its entirety in *The Dominion* two days later, 1921b, p. 2)

This discourse served not only to constrain women from participating in physical activity, particularly anything remotely strenuous, but also in higher forms of education. For example, Margaret Tennant (1986) cited Sir Truby King, who was a prominent opponent of higher education for girls in New Zealand, as stating that the stress placed upon girls by the education system would interfere with their physical development and produce neurasthenic (lacking energy) females, which would eventually render them unfit for their maternal responsibilities.

While this discourse in the 1920s was less dominant than the discourse *Doctor knows best*, combined together, they helped reinforce the medicalisation of *The Girl Footballer*. The question of *The Girl Footballer's* health and well-being, including the long-term effects if she went ahead and played these three sports, was continually invoked by doctors and individuals in positions of authority. For example, the male coaches of the newly established Birkenhead Girls' Association Football Club reported that while their players showed good promise "they do not intend to bring the teams before the public until they have a fair knowledge of the game, and an opportunity to decide if the exercise is at all likely to prejudice their health" (Girls at football, 1921, p. 9). *The New Zealand Herald* reporter highlighted how the Chairman of the Auckland Rugby League management committee would give the "utmost consideration" to the proposal that girls could play rugby league because "league should be careful not to sanction anything likely to prejudice the health or welfare of the girls" (Girls' football club, 1921, p. 9). Fere added her comment on girls playing rugby, arguing that "should a severe internal injury be received, a girl might be hurt for life" (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6). Three other

male doctors from Christchurch were also quoted as saying if girls played rugby, it “will prove prejudicial to their future health” (Medical opinions, 1921b, p. 7).

The consequences of disregarding or ignoring medical advice were also highlighted in several newspaper reports and these discourses criss-crossed with the discourse *Muscles for motherhood* which I discuss next in the sportisation of women’s bodies. A number of these statements were highly emotive such as that written by *The Auckland Star’s* columnist, Herbert Yeldham. In his lengthy report on women and games, Yeldham emphasised what had happened to the women of today who had ignored medical advice and ridden astride as opposed to the traditional way of riding side-saddle:

When women began to ride astride, a thousand warnings were published but they rode so. Now, today, every doctor who attends women who have ridden much astride, can quote cases of displacement (uterine) and other troubles, which can be traced (very frequently) to riding. Much of difficult maternity is due to it. (Yeldham, 1921, p. 17)

With subtitles of “Adverse medical opinions” and “Athletic women childless”, *The Dominion* reported how Miss Cowdroy had moved the resolution to set up a campaign to protest against the present English system of physical education for girls. Cowdroy, evoking medical knowledge, warned girls what would happen to them if they played certain sports:

The girl who had been trained to hockey, cricket and football suffered at childbirth. Sometimes the child suffered, and sometimes the mother; sometimes one of them died. Doctors had told her that difficult confinements could often be traced to strenuous sports. (Athletics for girls, 1921a, p. 7; 1921b, p. 2)

The only newspaper ‘seemingly’ to offer a counter-argument to these remarks was *The Dominion* which 23 days later, published a lengthy article from the New York Times. In this article, Dr MacCracken, president of Vassar (an American College for women) is quoted at length about women and athletics. At first he appeared to rebut Miss Cowdroy’s various assertions about how sports damaged women’s bodies and created problems in childbirth, by stating:

Proper athletic training improves a girl’s general health and physical condition. Far from injuring the next generation, I believe that it gives her children a superior inheritance of healthy and strength (Athletics for women, 1921, p. 5).

However, after MacCracken had described the system in place at Vassar for women's sports, which I will expand on further in the next section, he went on to explain that the published objections of Englishwomen like Miss Cowdroy to women playing sport "may be based on the mistakes of their own system" (Athletics for women, 1921, p. 5). MacCracken clearly did not agree with the English education system of putting girls through the same training without regard for individual difference and their playing of rough and strenuous sports such as hockey, soccer and cricket. Coupled with his choice of the word 'proper' to describe the athletic training which was given to his female students, he tacitly appeared to support Miss Cowdroy's assertions, as well as further reinforcing the discourse that *Doctor knows best* with regards to the scope, form and quantity of physical activity for females.

The amount of newspaper space dedicated to the opinions of doctors, and the respect given to their views, is strong evidence of their status; an indication that the economic and social privileges accorded to them in the 1800s, as Foucault (1994a) contended, had continued into the early part of the 1900s in New Zealand. Clearly, in this case, medical opinion did not unanimously support girls playing the three codes of football; and the quotes above clearly demonstrate ways in which women's physicality, in Foucault's words, "was analyzed – qualified and disqualified" (1978, p. 104). There will always be women who resist dominant medical discourses, such as the rugby union players who wanted to 'scrum' but, as Foucault (1980e) pointed out, when subjugated knowledge is examined, a historical knowledge of struggle for what gets to count as the 'truth' is revealed. Any potentially alternative discourses such as those proposed by the female athletes themselves were marginalised and ignored as medical discourses predominated. In this way, *The Girl Footballer* was constrained in her choice of sporting activity as the power effects of these two discourses, which contributed strongly to the medicalisation of her body, reinforced prevailing social beliefs of her innate frailty and the need to look after her health and well-being.

I now turn to the next strategic unity, a sportisation of women's bodies, a phrase I use to describe the process whereby female bodies were analysed – qualified and disqualified – and integrated into the sphere of sporting practices, primarily through an apparatus of education.

A sportisation of women's bodies

During the latter half of the 1800s, Foucault (1977) pointed out that schools became key sites for the production of docile bodies, along with other organisations such as the army, factories and prisons. Gradually, as David Kirk (1998) suggested, many western governments incorporated sport and physical activities into their education systems as a primary means for disciplining the body. Furthermore, Kirk (1998) argued that while many children could learn to move efficiently without access to physical education, the rationale for this development lay in the regulation and normalisation of their bodies. However, several academics have suggested that physical education has been strongly influenced by traditional understandings of gender and the roles that men and women play in their particular societies (Burrows, 2000; Fry, 1985; Scraton, 1992; Wright, 1993). As Bob Stothart (1974) pointed out, physical education for New Zealand boys during the first quarter of the twentieth century was primarily directed towards producing a strong and fit military force. In contrast, physical education for girls during the same time period, according to Lisette Burrows (2000), drew upon prevailing medical and scientific discourses which positioned the girls' bodies as "fragile, unhealthy and in need of remedial physical therapy to ensure the survival of the race" (p. 32).

The New Zealand Herald, on two occasions, cited girl footballers as being aged between 16 and 20 (Girl footballers, 1921b, p. 9; Girls at football, 1921, p. 9). Although all of the newspaper reports distinguished between the marital status of the officials and matrons in charge of the various teams by using the terms "Mrs" and "Miss", the majority of women involved in the setting up of the clubs and in playing the game, appeared to be single. This would place most of the women as being born approximately between 1890 and 1905, suggesting that it was possible that their first introduction to physical activity and games could have been taken place at primary school. As a geographically isolated country, New Zealand drew extensively on knowledge and practices borrowed from Australia, North America and England in its construction of physical education. Although many of these imported ideas would be adapted and modified, the influence of overseas physical educators remained highly significant in shaping and moulding physical education in New Zealand's schooling system (Burrows, 1999; Ryan, 1983). Early physical education in schools was adopted using material directly

taken from English syllabi (Stothard, 1991). While boys were taught forms of military drill, little official concern was paid to the girls until the Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act of 1901 made it compulsory for *all* children over the age of eight years to be taught some form of physical drills (Fry, 1985). Notwithstanding some differences between rural and urban schools, most girls were officially introduced to physical activity through the ‘Ling’ drill system which, according to Burrows (1999), was introduced into New Zealand by female graduates of the physical culture colleges set up by Madame Bergman-Osterberg, who founded the first teacher’s training college for physical education students in Dartford, England. Developed by Swede Per Henrik Ling, this drill system was designed to exercise and strengthen various muscle groups, often using apparatus such as dumbbells, swinging clubs and wands. Central to Ling’s system, however, was these physical activities had to correspond with a female’s physiological capacity; no undue strain, no unwelcome physical changes and nothing too vigorous (Fry, 1985). However, from an educational perspective, Ling gymnastics was attractive because it came with “a formal pedagogy which required uniform activity from pupils and an instant response to command” (Kirk, 1998, p. 43), thereby helping to produce docile bodies.

The introduction of team games such as hockey, rounders and cricket into girls’ public schooling in England in the late 1880s (Fletcher, 1984; Scraton, 1986) was likely to have been duplicated in New Zealand as private Protestant girls’ secondary schools were bringing out qualified physical education teachers from the various English women’s colleges of physical culture well before WWI (Fry, 1985). However, until the 1930s, entry to secondary schooling was limited to those who could pass the ‘Proficiency’ examination (Jones, 1978). This factor, coupled with prejudice against girls receiving higher education and the need for many families to use the labour of their daughters, makes it difficult to predict whether playing games at secondary school influenced the players to take up rugby union, rugby league and soccer at a later date.

I begin the discussion of sporting discourses with one I have named *Muscles for motherhood* because this discourse exerted considerable sway over the appropriateness of sport and physical exercise for females during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition, the question of what constituted adequate and reasonable exercise for females was seldom discussed in terms of ‘personal enjoyment’ but as a means of ensuring the health of her future children. This

discourse combined two scientific/medical theories: the first theory was larmarckism, the notion that physical traits acquired at an early age would be transmitted to future generations, making it important to encourage childhood activity for young girls (Vertinsky, 1990), and the second was concerned with improving the quality of the Anglo-Saxon race – commonly known as the Eugenics Movement (Fry, 1985). Eugenics, as Kirk (1998) has discussed, represented a concerted effort to apply the laws of heredity to the control of human procreation in order to retain only those innate characteristics possessed by those considered to be the more productive and socially adept members of society; that is, from an English perspective, white, middle- and upper-class individuals. Bergman-Osterberg constantly reiterated eugenic arguments about race regeneration to her students and in media reports, “I try to train my girls to help raise their own sex, and so to accelerate the progress of the race; for unless the women are strong, healthy, pure and true, how can the race progress?” (cited in Scraton, 1986, p. 76). The prevailing dominance of this discourse helped to challenge the lingering Victorian notion of female frailty; for how could a ‘frail’ woman produce healthy children?, simultaneously opening up considerable debate as to the “possible consequences of football to the future mothers of the race (Viven, 1921, p. 4).

The discourse I have named *Muscles for motherhood* is closely intertwined with the discourses *Doctor knows best* and *It’s your duty* (discussed in the next section) and possibly could be considered under one overarching discourse of motherhood. However, just as Foucault (1978) suggested in regards to sexuality that there was “no single, all-encompassing strategy...uniformly bearing on all the manifestations of sex (p. 103), I have elected to discuss each of the above discourses separately within its own strategic unity to demonstrate how the power effects associated with each discourse constructed the emerging girl footballer in slightly different ways. At the same time, I suggest, as these discourses intermeshed with each other within an apparatus of football, particular ‘truth’ claims about *The Girl Footballer* became reinforced and strengthened.

Muscles for motherhood

The connection between motherhood and women playing sport started to appear in newspapers towards the end of July 1921, three weeks after reports that women had started to form clubs, train and play rugby union, soccer and rugby league.

Some of these articles were sourced from England and the United States and published by arrangement in New Zealand newspapers. The first articles to appear were published side by side in *The New Zealand Herald* (Games for girls, 1921, July 27, p. 6; Physical training, 1921, July 27, p. 6). Both articles cited comments made by Mr Longworth who, as chief physical instructor for the New Zealand Education Department, had been travelling around New Zealand in 1921 addressing assemblies of teachers. Longworth emphasised the great value of physical training in the making of a sturdy nation, and how games especially should be encouraged for the growing child. However, his child was a gendered child, for he was quoted as stating that football was bad for girls; “Girls who did not play football would, when the time came, make better mothers to healthier children than would be born of more athletic mothers” (Games for girls, 1921, p. 6). The next day, a member of the public proffered his opinion on the matter to the Editor of *The Auckland Star*; “what effect is this [playing rugby] going to have on future generations remains as a matter of conjecture, but it is surely going to be detrimental” (Don Juan, 1921, p. 9).

The first overseas article, by arrangement with the *London Daily Telegraph*, was published in both *The Auckland Star* (Athletics for girls, 1921a, p. 7) and *The Dominion* (Athletics for girls, 1921b, p. 2). This article, described how some members of the Eugenic Movement in England in 1921 were so appalled at the current system of physical education for girls, believing it to be totally injurious to future generations, that they formed a committee in May 1921 to campaign against what they alleged as racial suicide. While not denying that physical exercise and training was necessary for both boys and girls, Sir James Crichton-Browne was reported as stating that “physiological and developmental matters had to be taken into consideration. To ignore sexual differences is to court disaster in the long run” (Athletics for girls, 1921a, p. 7). The opinions of Dr Arabella Kenealy, another member of the Eugenic Movement, were also cited in this newspaper article which was first published in the *London Daily Telegraph* on May 11, 1921. Her views, according to Vertinsky (1990), were widely circulated in both English and American newspapers. As far back as 1899, Kenealy had “accused girls’ schools of impoverishing girls’ bodies on the playing field and rendering them deficit for making healthy babies” (cited in Vertinsky, 1990, p. 21). In New Zealand, Kenealy’s concerns about the degeneration of the Anglo-

Saxon race and the fear that there would be no sons to carry on the family name were reported as follows:

Athletic women produce female off-spring, mainly, and seldom have sons. When sons are born to them, these are apt to be puny and delicate, or generally emasculate or of inferior type. The cultured classes who are mainly afflicted by athletic training are failing to provide sons of the fine physique and manly talents and initiative which have set our Anglo-Saxon race in the van of evolution. (Athletics for girls, 1921a, p. 7; Athletics for girls, 1921b, p. 2)

As I have indicated previously, doctors did not necessarily agree with each other's opinions. Kenealy and Fere, both female doctors, voiced differences about women's health and their ability to bear healthy children. Kenealy, from the examples above, believed that playing sport was the problem whereas Fere believed the problems were caused by the type of clothing women wore; "The present dress of the average civilised woman is a national curse. It causes atrophy and wasting of women's most vital muscle [the uterus], and too often bad internal displacement" (Ladies football club, 1921, p. 2). Fere's comments, which were part of her speech given to members of the newly-formed Ladies' Association Football Club in Christchurch, were also published three days later in *The Dominion*. In advocating for women to play soccer, Fere was reported as saying that she knew of "no game more calculated to restore the wasted vital muscles than Association football, provided of course, the player is properly garbed" (Imogen, 1921f, p. 2).

The second overseas article, from the *New York Times*, was carried in *The Dominion* and in this article, both a male and a female doctor supported Fere's assertion that muscular development was an advantage, particularly in childbirth (Athletics for women, 1921, p. 5). However, their description of the athletic system for females in place at Vassar, which MacCracken reported as being typical for most American women, reinforced Foucault's (1977) argument that schools had become key sites for the production of docile bodies. At Vassar, MacCracken stated:

Every girl is examined by the doctor and the physical director when she enters college and her physical work is prescribed according to her individual needs. A normal girl, physically sound, can take part with profit in all the sports and gymnasium work, but the girl who is abnormal or weak

is given special exercises and corrective work. Sometimes a girl will be required to come into the gymnasium every day for an hour to lie on a mattress and take breathing exercises. This is physical training for her particular case. (Athletics for women, 1921, p. 5)

In many western countries, vast amounts of statistics pertaining to women's health and strength had been collected by physicians, educators and physical education specialists attached to tertiary institutions in order to allay medical fears that female health would be damaged by overwork and professional training (Lenskyj, 2003; Vertinsky, 1990). Reinforcing the influence of overseas educators, Hammer (1990) described how the arrival of the weighing machine at Auckland Girls' Grammar in 1910 in New Zealand enabled the drill mistress to conduct annual physical examinations of the students. In a classic example of what Foucault (1977) meant by the disciplinary power of the 'examination'; each pupil was weighed, measured and tested for breathing capacity; any irregularity was recorded on the pupil's health card for future reference. Combining hierarchical surveillance and normalising judgement, Auckland Girls' Grammar became drawn into a medicalised form of control, ensuring 'docile' schoolgirl bodies that could be categorised and classified as normal or abnormal. As Foucault (1977) argued, "the examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge" (p. 192); the individual in this case being the schoolgirl. Paradoxically, as Hammer (1990) pointed out, these examinations were being carried out at the same time as girls were being encouraged to experience a greater degree of physical freedom through their activities on the sporting field.

This discourse *Muscles for motherhood* was enthusiastically promoted by highly influential New Zealanders of the time such as Sir Truby King and, as such, concerns about young women's reproductive capacity were often used to argue for severely restrained forms of physical activity which would do no harm to girls' reproductive organs (Burrows, 1999). Like medical opinion, however, headmistresses did not always agree that physical education should be provided *solely* as training for marriage and motherhood. Some headmistresses of private schools for girls perceived physical activity as a way for their students to become independent and responsible individuals of good character; thus, their participation was encouraged, albeit within a framework of ladylike decorum (Hammer, 1990).

Women can't play the 'real' game

The second discourse, which I have named *Women can't play the real game* centred on the common assumption that the real game of football, in all its variant forms, was defined and played by men. Contributing to this assumption, and reinforced by medical/scientific discourses that women were the 'weaker' sex, was the almost automatic acceptance that if women were to play any of the three codes, modifications would need to be made to the rules, to the techniques or to the duration of time. However, any form of modification to the sport further reinforced the discourse that the game women played was not the real one, as Don Juan pointed out in his letter *The Auckland Star*:

New Zealand is famous for its rugby football and to put ladies on the field to play a game wherein there is no tackling low, charging or a good scrum and call it rugby is either making a joke of the finest game in the world or else holding our girls up to ridicule. (1921, p. 9)

Several male referees, who were involved from the very start either by explaining the rules or by helping to coach the players, suggested ways of modifying the games. For example, the president of the Auckland Referees, Mr Ferguson, accompanied the Parnell deputation into the meeting of the Auckland Rugby League management committee to explain how tackling, charging, scrum work and playing the ball rules had been altered. These modifications, he is quoted as saying, "were designed to prevent the rough and tumble of the game as played by the men" (Football for girls, 1921c, p. 6). However, it was not always men who proposed the modifications. Several members of the Wellington Girls' Rugby Club, after having a week to consider their actions, suggested that the rules be altered to make play "softer" (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6). This proposal invoked considerable discussion. Miss Dingwell, a member of the Executive Committee, suggested, "scrums and the possibilities of being knocked out would be disastrous to us". "We can play proper rugby," said Miss Dawson, who was elected chairman (sic) of the Wellington Girls' Rugby Football Club at the inaugural meeting on July 4 (Imogen, 1921b, p. 2). "Well", retorted Miss Dingwell, "we won't find anyone to play against us in Wellington". The question to play rugby or play a modified form was put to the vote. 'Proper' rugby won. Miss Dingwell and two other members of the Executive Committee promptly resigned and were replaced by three other members present. (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6). (Similar reports of this meeting and the comments expressed by the members were carried

in the *Otago Daily Times* (Girl Footballers, 1921a, p. 7); *The Press* (Girl footballers, 1921c, p. 2) and *The New Zealand Herald* (Rugby game too rough, 1921, p. 9).

Perhaps those women who voted to play rugby in its entirety were aware how a modified form might appear to the public. Certainly the quick response of readers indicated a strong disapproval for any modification to the 'real' game.

If the girls are going to flirt with the rules in this manner, they might as well start playing soccer and let the rougher game go hang (Footer, 1921, p. 5).

While soccer was not modified in terms of the rules, the duration of the game was. According to press reports, each half varied between 15 and 30 minutes. However the contradictory nature of, and the ambivalence shown towards, girls playing soccer was demonstrated by a Wellington reader's response to Fere's public assertion (Football for girls, 1921d, p. 6) that soccer was a highly suitable game for girls:

If the lady aforesaid would watch a game of "Soccer" next Saturday played by teams of men, she will notice that play is not of the kid glove order by any means; and that the bumps, jolts and falls are quite severe enough to injure any girls who play the game in an energetic manner; If it is not played with energy, then it is not "Soccer" and this is the plain truth of it. (Crowhurst, 1921, p. 6)

In other words, a double standard was applied to *The Girl Footballer*. If a player performed in a vigorous manner, then she was likely to injure herself or others because of her innate frailty but if she played in a restrained, less energetic fashion because she was frail, then she was not playing the 'real' game of soccer. A case of *The Girl Footballer* being damned if she did or did not.

The prevalence and persistence of this discourse *Women can't play the 'real' game* within New Zealand society discursively positioned *The Girl Footballer* in several ways. Her sporting performance was always measured against men's – a performance usually seen as wanting – which ensured the reinforcement of being labelled the 'weaker' or 'gentler' sex. Another way was to ensure that her public performance was seen in terms of a spectacle or burlesque; one went and watched the women's game for amusement rather than to appreciate it for its quality, drama or excitement as one did the 'real' game. Lee (2007) pointed out in his retelling of an episode in women's soccer in England that one way to deal with the unsettling notion of women entering a 'male' sporting world

was to laugh at their efforts; to not take them seriously. *The Dominion* reported that two teams from the Aotea Ladies Football Club had played the curtain-raiser to the Brown Shield between Auckland and Wellington. Using six lines of space, they informed the readers that the large attendance did not take the game seriously, which is to be regretted, and there was much more laughter than applause (Association football, 1921, p. 7). However, press coverage of the match between Wellington's Aotea Ladies and Christchurch appeared to alternate between espousing elements of this discourse and offering praise for their playing efforts. From the *Otago Daily Times* there was, "At the end of the first spell, the girls were showing signs of tiredness and the brief respite was very welcome" and "there were humorous incidents in plenty which kept the crowd constantly amused throughout the game," before ending on a note of positivity, "the crowd surged around the girls and congratulated them freely on the excellent game they had played" (Ladies' Association Football, 1921, p. 7). *The Press* advised their readers that the players "ran and kicked, tumbled, passed or missed to their heart's contents. It wasn't good Soccer, but it was clean and refreshing" (Girls' football, 1921, p. 4), which was all relatively positive. Within the next two sentences, however, the discourse of physical danger for *The Girl Footballer* emerged again as well as the reporter's belief that this was not a 'real' game, for he claimed:

The game requires little description. The Christchurch girls did some fair foot-passing, and the Wellington defence was good. Not many 'headers' were attempted, and it could be just as well if this feature of the play were eliminated altogether from girls' soccer because on a wet day a heavy ball falling from a high kick and headed off, might cause injury. (Girls' football, 1921, p. 4)

How the referee performed was another strategy used by the press to highlight differences between men's and women's games, thereby further reinforcing the discourse that the men's game was the 'real' game. A spectator who was present at the curtain-raiser match between Aotea Ladies A and B in Wellington, wrote to *The Dominion* and said; "There was no 'dealing it out' and the referee (the only man on the field) was a happy man, as all of his decisions were accepted without a murmur" (A spectator, 1921, p. 7). *The Press* described referee Mr Davey in the Wellington v Christchurch match, as being lenient with the whistle. The reporter further added that the referee was "the object of sympathy as he went out to his duties, but he found them quite pleasant and not the least bit embarrassing; in fact

his decisions were not questioned by any of the players. They were too good ‘sports’ for that” (Girls’ football, 1921, p. 4). This type of discourse highlighted how behaviour of soccer players (male), both towards their opponents and the referee, became ‘normalised’, and illustrates why Foucault (1978) advised readers to reconstruct both “the things said and those concealed” (p. 100) in discourse analysis. The reporters, in their descriptions of how female soccer players refrained from such ‘male’ behaviour, not only reinforced gender difference but positioned the players as morally virtuous; a discourse which I discuss further in the next section as *The ‘gentler’ sex*.

In spite of these types of comments, and a large portion of the article in *The Press* given over to describing the players’ outfits, their shape and their sexual appearance which I also discuss in the next section, there was nothing in either newspaper to suggest that girls should give up playing soccer. Indeed the very opposite occurred, for *The Press* concluded their article with the sentence, “it seems certain that girls’ football has come to stay (Girls’ football, 1921, p. 4). However, the power effects of this discourse positioned *The Girl Footballer*, irrespective of the code she played, as an inferior version of a footballer. Unable to physically perform sport at the same level as men and viewed as a source of amusement, *The Girl Footballer* reinforced the commonly held assumption that only men can play the ‘real’ game. In addition, *The Girl Footballer* by reflecting and reproducing discourses of biological and psychological differences between men and women, helped to consolidate the equation of athletic strength with masculinity and the construction of these sports as men’s.

The best game for girls is netball

The final discourse in this section which I have called *The best game for girls is netball* highlighted the development and growing popularity of this game in New Zealand. Between the 1920s and 1960s, netball was known as basketball and sometimes outdoor basketball. Although the name was formally changed to netball in 1970 (Netball New Zealand, 2010), I will refer to this game as netball throughout this thesis to avoid any confusion. All of the newspapers I examined carried match reports or results of women playing croquet, swimming, athletics, tennis and netball but golf and hockey appeared to have received the most regular coverage. However, despite hockey being the major female club/team sport in the rural villages of New Zealand by the beginning of WWI (Crawford, 1987),

comments from the general public suggested that hockey did not meet always with universal approval. The editorial in *The Auckland Star*, while expressing extreme disapproval and using highly emotive language such as “anyone with a capacity for thinking” that rugby for girls could be anything but harmful, believed hockey “to be near or on the borderline” of what were suitable games for girls and women (Football for girls, 1921a, p. 4). In a letter to the editor “A bachelor of eighty summers”, who stated he had been blessed with many sisters, wrote that he viewed the idea of girls playing football with dismay for they were physically unfitted for such a rough game, adding “even hockey is blamed for causing permanent injury to growing girls” (A bachelor of eighty summers, 1921, p. 8). According to *The Press* reporter, many of the spectators watching the Wellington versus Christchurch representative match expressed the opinion that as it was played on Saturday, “Soccer is a more suitable game for girls than hockey” (Girls’ football, 1921, p. 4). As hockey was played outdoors on grass fields, it had a reputation for players getting muddy, dirty, sweaty and possibly bruised; all of which could be considered unfeminine and unladylike (Coney, 1986). However, it must be remembered that in those early days women’s hockey had to compete directly with men for fields on which to play as well as taking up more space than netball (Coney, 1986).

The discourse of netball as the best game for girls appears to have emerged from educational circles. Mr Forsyth, a member of the Technical Education Board in Wellington, raised the question of sports for girls because there had been so much talk about girls’ rugby and soccer clubs. He personally favoured netball as the best game for girls. When the Chairman (Mr Bennet) advised that the director of the Board, (Mr Howell) would keep sports for girls in the college along the lines he thought would benefit them, Mr Howell also confirmed that he thought netball was eminently suitable for girls (Imogen, 1921d, p. 2). In addition, Mr Longworth, National Supervisor of Physical Education in the Department of Education, toured the country advising the assembled teachers not only that “hockey was detrimental to the health of most girls, though some were hardy enough to offset any ill-effects” but that “the ideal game for girls was [netball] since it exercised the majority of muscles and the risk of strain inwardly was not great” (Games for girls, 1921, p. 6). The first principal of the Auckland Teachers’ College, Mr Milnes, was also a netball enthusiast and, according to Coney (1986),

did much to instil a love of the game amongst his students who would later help to spread the sport to girls' schools throughout the country.

In addition to educational institutions, netball found favour with several other organisations such as church groups and the YWCA whose Auckland branch encouraged netball in 1915 because it “provides healthy exercise in the open air for girls and develops the spirit of comradeship” (Coney, 1986, p. 170). Provincial associations were formed in Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago between 1911 and 1920 (Nauright & Broomhall, 1994). By 1924, the New Zealand [Netball] Association was formed and the game continued to grow slowly but steadily, holding annual tournaments which were rotated between the main cities (Nauright & Broomhall, 1994). Tracy Taylor (2001) offered the argument that netball's growth, and its subsequent billing as the national game for women, was based on its ability to simultaneously meet the requirements for female physical activity without transgressing the boundaries of acceptable feminine behaviour. Certainly the absence of any sanctioned body contact would have pleased those who were so concerned that tackling, scrumming and heavy falls would have serious consequences for women's future reproductive capabilities. However, an equally important factor to consider was the early acceptance from the teaching profession, the church and the YWCA and their ability to spread the game throughout New Zealand through these networks.

The power effects of this discourse were to ‘normalise’ netball as the most appropriate sport for females to play; a norm against which all other sports which women played, or might play in the future, would be compared and contrasted. Not only was netball discursively constructed as providing women and girls with healthy exercise, thus satisfying both educators and medical experts holding eugenic concerns, the way it was played accorded with public discourses of appropriate female behaviour, which I now turn to in the third part of this chapter.

A socialisation of feminine behaviour

As I discussed in Chapter Four, a key discourse in academia during the 1970s and 1980s centred on how individuals interacted and became familiar with their everyday worlds, a process commonly known as socialisation. Foucault wrote his genealogical works during this time and, while there is no discussion about the meaning of socialisation in these works, as an appointed Professor of the History

of Systems of Thought at the College de France and regular guest lecturer at colleges in United States, presumably he would have been familiar with socialisation theories. Thus, I have taken the liberty of paraphrasing his “socialization of procreative behaviour” (Foucault, 1978, p. 104) as the heading of this section to demonstrate how *The Girl Footballer* became the object and target of key discourses of femininity circulating in New Zealand society during the beginning years of the 1920s.

The first discourse in this section, which I have named *It's your duty*, emphasised the importance of women becoming wives and mothers not only as a ‘moral’ responsibility to ensure the well-being of New Zealand society but also as the ultimate role to which women should aspire. The beginning of the 1920s in New Zealand was characterised by a widespread concern for the physical fitness of its people and a decreasing population. The death rates from WWI and the 1918 influenza epidemic had obviously exacerbated this concern but considerable concern was expressed when it was discovered that New Zealand had the second highest maternal mortality rate in the Western world after the United States (Abbiss & Kunowski, 1999). The Minister of Health, after releasing the figures of six maternal deaths per thousand, was cited as stating that “the matter is one of national importance” and that, “in order to ensure the safety of mother and child, [he] was prepared to legislate on the matter” (Imogen, 1921c, p. 2). In an example of what Foucault (1980b, p. 131) meant when he said every society had “its regime of truth” the government statistician was present at the following meeting of the Board of Health to advise the members that the figures given by the Minister of Health were indeed correct (Maternal mortality, 1921b, p. 6. An abridged version was also carried in *The Auckland Star* (1921a, p. 7).

Public debate escalated on this issue, particularly once the media published the news that the birth rate had fallen in 1920 (e.g., De Lautour, 1921, p. 8), and this had occurred in spite of a record number of marriages, which could be expected after the war (Mein Smith, 1986). No doubt the depressed social and economic conditions encouraged some young couples to delay beginning their families, perhaps fear of dying deterred others, or simply, some women just did not want to have children. Echoing the concern of the general public, this point was reinforced by a reader’s letter to the weekly newspaper, *The Truth*; “I am aware that girls of today have very little or no time for children and when they

marry, the last thought in their minds is to make a real home for the man” (cited in Ward, 1999, p. 176).

This concern about marriage and children, according to Foucault (1978), emerged as a technique of power during the 1700s. Governments, Foucault (1978) stated, “were not dealing simply with subjects or even with a ‘people’ but with a ‘population’, with its specific phenomena and its peculiar variables: birth and death rates, life expectancies...patterns of diet and habitation” (p. 25). Foucault (1978) claimed that a country had to be populated in order to be rich or powerful but this was the first time that a society had arrived, in a constant manner, to an understanding that its future was tied not only to the number and the uprightness of its citizens, to their marriage rules and family organisation but to the manner in which individuals made use of their sex. Thus, the sexual conduct of the population was taken both as an object of analysis and as a target of intervention. While Foucault (1978) did not differentiate between men and women – he referred to them both as the “Malthusian couple” (p. 105) – it appeared that the medical profession in New Zealand placed the responsibility for the declining birth rate firmly with the mother (Mein Smith, 1986).

It's your duty

Public opinion which encouraged women to take moral responsibility to bear babies and create a loving sanctuary far away from the stresses of the public sphere for her ‘breadwinning’ husband was widespread, promulgated by middle-class men and women from educational institutions to national societies such as Plunket. A leading example was Blanche Butler, headmistress of Auckland Girls’ Grammar School from 1911-21, who maintained that looking after a home was women’s highest purpose in life. In lectures to YWCA girls during this time, she advised her audience that:

the ordinary girl...must have some purpose in life that is not herself. She has got to live her life as a sacrifice on the altar for others...Home is the sanctuary of all in it; the centre of love, tenderness and purity (cited in Coney, 1986, p. 49).

Continuing to reinforce such messages as this was the compulsory introduction of domestic home science (how to run a home) in secondary schools for girls in 1917. Some opposition came from female teachers, but generally it was one of the few times when feminists and conservatives applauded government action, even

though their underlying reasons were diametrically opposed; the conservatives sought to confine women to their proper sphere and train a pool of domestic servants, and the feminists, by elevating the status of homemakers and mothers, to provide equality with men and a better world (Coney, 1986). That women needed training for their role as homemakers and mothers was highlighted by an article from the *London Daily Express* which was reprinted in *The Auckland Star*. Dr Mary Scharlieb told women in England if they wanted to marry, they should go to New Zealand as there were more men available there. However, not only were they to regard marriage as a sacred business, they needed to make themselves efficient by studying all branches of domestic economy (Overplus of women, 1921, p. 7). Several years earlier, the Minister of Education had reinforced the need to have sufficient domestic training for schoolgirls in order to “render her great future work a source of interest and pleasure” (cited in Tennant, 1986, p. 99) because “home-making is, of course, the one task for which woman’s physical and psychical equipment supremely fits her (Football and feminism, 1921, supplement p. 1).

Even the prospective rugby girls in Wellington indicated that marriage was a ‘normal’ feature of their future life, and that once married, playing sport was not an option. Following the discussion on modifying the rules of rugby because it might be difficult to find a team to play against, the following conversation was reported in *The Dominion*:

A voice: “We could have a match with Christchurch next year”.

“Next year? We might all be married next year. I, for one, don’t intend to play Rugby,” was the rejoinder.

“Nor I,” from two other girls. (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6)

This conversation was reported in different versions but similar in meaning in the *Otago Daily Times* (Girl footballers, 1921a, p. 7), *The New Zealand Herald* (Rugby game too rough, 1921, p. 9) and *The Press* (Girl footballers, 1921c, p. 2). The final word must, however, come from an unsigned column in the *Otago Daily Times*: “For after all, a woman is a woman that she may be a wife and mother. Nature built her thus, and not otherwise” (What is a tomboy?, 1921, p. 8). The power effects of this discourse helped to normalise marriage and children as representative of ‘ideal’ womanhood in New Zealand society. Clearly, such statements were part of a wider belief that a woman’s duty, and what she was

‘naturally’ designed for, lay in serving the needs of her husband and family, rather than serving her own needs by playing competitive sport.

The ‘gentler’ sex

The next discourse I discuss, *The ‘gentler’ sex* accounted for the often considerable ambivalence which appeared to be shown towards women in New Zealand society during the early 1920s. On the one hand, the term gentle was interpreted to mean women were delicate, frail creatures who needed protection (at first by the father and then by the husband) to safeguard her from the rigours of life, with a hint of suggestion that to safeguard incorporated some form of control. On the other hand, gentle was also interpreted to mean moral, spiritual and dignified. With these ‘supposedly’ inherent qualities, women had the ability to reform the ‘base’ instinct of men. In other words, as Raewyn Dalziel (1986) pointed out, “without woman’s gentle hand, New Zealand men would fall rapidly into the dens of iniquity which usually incorporated anything from drinking and gambling to sexual vice” (p. 63). “We want you to be good women, morally, mentally and physically”, Fere is reported to have said to her football players at the inaugural meeting of the Christchurch Ladies Football Association Club (Ladies football club, 1921, p. 2). Fere was not alone in her beliefs: Dr Agnes Bennet, Superintendent of St Helen’s Maternity Hospital in Wellington and Dr Emily Siedeberg, the first woman to graduate from the Otago Medical School also assumed that women were morally superior to men (Olssen, 1980). In fact, according to Lenskyj (1986), most doctors adhered to the widely held Victorian principle that women were the ‘natural’ models of sexual and moral virtue, for it was assumed that women’s sex drive was much weaker than men’s. As their sexuality could therefore be more controlled, women became responsible for morality through their appearance and behaviours (Scraton, 1986). This aspect was communicated strongly by a large number of men and women who wrote to their respective papers about girls playing rugby and rugby league:

Cut it out girls, and do not forsake your enviable dignity in the eyes of mere man (Sport, 1921, p. 9).

Do they realise that such a game involves a sacrifice of feminine qualities and would expose its votaries to the coarse gaze and vulgar banter of a gaping crowd of men? (Tackle Low, 1921, p. 7).

The idea of girls mauling each other on the football field should be distasteful to every sensible person; the thought of them doing so before a gaping crowd of men ought to be objectionable to every decent-minded man or woman. (Football for girls, 1921a, p. 4)

Not only did discourses surrounding *The Girl Footballer's* capabilities render her incapable of playing rough and tumble sports, her public appearance, particularly in 'male' attire, was seen as degrading to womanhood in general. Underlying these criticisms was a concern for the crossing of gender boundaries. If femininity stood for all of the virtuous, gentler qualities in life, then rucking, scrumming and tackling, particularly with large numbers of men watching, would undermine the understanding of women's role as the 'reformer.' Even worse, the female players themselves might continue to take on the characteristics of men in their everyday life, and this possibility is discussed in my final discourse which positions the girl footballer as different to other women.

Am I different from other women?

The discourse of heterosexuality is heavily dependent on the assumption that a simple binary classification system exists, that of heterosexual male and heterosexual female, and for many people in 1921, heterosexuality may have been considered both a 'natural' state of human affairs as well as one ordained by religion, as exemplified by the comments of newspaper columnist Herbert Yeldham's that, "in the beginning God made them male and female. Each was to be the complement of the other; not rivals but 'mates;' not opposed but, mutually helpful; neither intended to usurp the functions of the other" (Yeldham, 1921, p. 17). Within the discourse of heterosexuality gender characteristics of men and women are also perceived as different and as opposite. However, it appears that it is only women who need to behave, or perform gender, in specific ways, for the end result of attracting and pleasing men. Questioning why girls would want to grovel after "a sticky muddy ball," 'Mother' ends her letter to *The Auckland Star* by subtly suggesting that they will never 'catch' a man if they continue to behave in this manner. "Let man tease about high heels, pneumonia blouses, lip-sticks and powder puffs. He prefers his womenfolk that way rather than acting the part of 'muddied oafs'" (1921, p. 6).

If the primary role of a female during this time was considered to be a wife and mother, then what were the ideal characteristics discursively constructed as

feminine. In newspaper reports about women in sport and *The Girl Footballer*, adjectives such as modesty, gracefulness, softness (achieved by abstaining from too many muscular exercises) and tenderness regularly emerged. These qualities, perhaps summed up under the umbrella term of ‘ladylikeness’, all appeared to be major attributes that men and women admired, respected and revered. Even when playing soccer, *The New Zealand Herald* reporter illustrated how a ladylike manner was to be admired when he stated; “onlookers were impressed by the keenness shown by the players to learn the rules of the game and the ladylike manner in which they conducted themselves” (Girls at football, 1921, p. 9).

An analysis of the newspaper reports also revealed that dress was discursively used to ‘normalise’ femininity, and appeared to be a decisive factor in whether players were perceived as feminine. Both rugby and rugby league players intended to play in socks, shorts and long jerseys. Proposals for reform in women’s dress and clothing were under discussion in New Zealand at this time, and appeared to have created some controversy. For the players, choosing to wear the same outfit as their male counterparts rather than a more conservative option of skirts or tunics, demonstrated their intent to take the game seriously. “We don’t want any skirts or bloomers. A windy day, and they are more trouble than they are worth,” the Wellington rugby girls are reported as declaring (Rugby for girls, 1921, p. 6). “We don’t want skirts, we want shorts, and socks, not stockings” was the response described by *The New Zealand Herald* reporter as unanimous from the rugby league girls when the question of what they would wear was raised (Girl footballers, 1921b, p. 9). Fere was an extremely strong advocate for the removal of corsets and other such restrictive clothing but she cautioned her soccer players in Christchurch that perhaps they had better “play in skirts until other women got used to it” (Football for women, 1921, p. 5). At some of the subsequent trainings, players did train in skirts but by the time they played Aotea Ladies, they were garbed in socks, long shorts to the knees and long jerseys. Both Aotea Ladies and Birkenhead girls played their soccer games in gym tunics and stockings, a fact which may have contributed to more public acceptance for women to play soccer. Certainly the media in general spent considerable space detailing what players were wearing or intended to wear when they played all three codes. In the soccer match Wellington versus Christchurch, *The Press* reporter suggested that the outfit of Aotea Ladies was not suitable “rig-out” for football on such a warm day while complimenting Christchurch girls on their choice of outfit: even though the

“combination lent an added appearance of weight,” “their wide shorts did not look any way tomboyish” (Girls’ football, 1921, p. 4). In response to one criticism that women footballers had “overstepped the mark” (Disgusted, 1921, p. 7) in attempting to play rugby league, ‘A Lady Player’, responded to her critic (self-described as a 19-year-old girl) by stating that she and her fellow members could still “retain their ladylike qualities even though they are playing in masculine attire” (A Lady Player, 1921, July 22, p. 6). Furthermore, ‘A Lady Player’ informed her critic that “only evil and narrow-minded people will imagine that the girls are indulging in anything but clean and healthy sport” (A Lady Player, 1921, p. 6). Wearing shorts, and by their extension trousers, was symbolic of the authority men held in society, so concern over who wore ‘pants’ was not just a matter of fashion, it was one of power (Lee, 2007). For the players to wear similar playing outfits to their male counterparts was tantamount to challenging the power that men held in society as well as appearing to challenge the prevailing discourse that men and women were different.

A grudging respect, at times, was paid to the courage of those women who chose to play the codes of football but, in most cases, there was a subtle acknowledgement that those who played, or attempted to play, were somehow different to the ‘normal’ female. At various times, tomboy, hoyden, hobbledehoy and “only a certain type” were all used as descriptive terms (e.g., What is a tomboy? 1921, p. 8; Medical opinions, 1921a, p. 6). However, in a three-columned article in *The Auckland Star*, the connection between girl footballers and their sexuality, or lack thereof, was first posited:

There is a place called Middlesex. I am not trifling when I suggest that the name indicates the status of the girl athlete. It is always wise to be definite; well for her to be man or woman, but man-woman? No! (Yeldham, 1921, p. 17).

As I discussed in Chapter Four, during the 1920s and 1930s, discourses of sexuality slowly filtered into mainstream awareness through publication of works from notable sexologists. Foucault (1978) demonstrated how medical experts used this knowledge of sexuality to construct and categorise a whole range of sexual identities. However, judging by Yeldham’s use of the term “Middlesex”; his description that *The Girl Footballer* might prefer the “masculine side of life”, and his written prediction that “as we advance in knowledge we may be able to produce a race of hermaphrodites – neither men nor women” (Yeldham, 1921,

August 13, p. 17), it would appear that discourses surrounding women's sexuality and sport had not emerged at this particular time in New Zealand. Yeldham's comments thus supporting Cox and Thompson's (2000) assertion that at the beginning of the 1900s, sportswomen were often branded as 'mannish'; a term that signified no more than a crossing of normative gender boundaries.

The beginning of the 1920s was a significant time of social change including new forms of dance, movies, less desire for early marriage and more freedom for women (Levesque, 1986). Were the women who formed these clubs to play rugby union, rugby league and soccer different to other women of their time? Were they encouraged by sufficient relaxation in social attitudes to believe they could play these sports? Were they influenced by the sporting activities they might have played during their schooling years, or did they simply observe men playing and see no reason why they should not do the same? Certainly, *The Press* seemed to think that Saturday September 24, 1921 "marked another step in women's advance" as the soccer players representing Christchurch and Wellington "proclaimed their right to play football – a pastime which those of the stronger sex had considered was their own special privilege" (Girls' football, 1921, p. 4). Fere (1921) may have been right when she was quoted as saying "one of the strongest reasons for young women playing football was that they wanted to". However, the fact that power-knowledge discourses can constrain and limit people's reality is evident in Fere's (1921) mistaken understanding that "no power in the world would stop them" (Football for women, 1921, p. 5). After a reported widespread enthusiasm to form clubs, train and play one of the three football codes, *The Girl Footballer*, appeared to have vanished from public view within the short space of three months. In the final section of this chapter, I now discuss and analyse her disappearance.

What became of *The Girl Footballer*?

For rugby league, the answer was straightforward. The Executive Committee of the Auckland Rugby League Association, on medical advice, turned down the Parnell club's request for affiliation and permission to play at Carlaw Park. The question of affiliation is important, for under the rules of most team sports, you are not permitted to play against teams whose clubs are not affiliated to a ruling body, be it provincial, national or international; for example, see Auckland Football Federation Rule 7.7. "To participate in the Federation's competitions any

Club must be registered and affiliated with the Federation” (2010, p. 9). With this type of rule contained in the constitution of most sporting organisations, administrators have the authority to disqualify or penalise any team or club who associates or plays with an unaffiliated member. Thus, in paraphrasing Foucault (2003a), a relationship of power exists when “an organisation tries to control the conduct of an individual” (p. 34) through the mechanism of exclusion. This strategy has been used on a number of occasions to effectively exclude women from playing the various football codes (see e.g., Little, 2001 for women’s rugby league in Sydney and Newsham, 1997 and Lee, 2007 for women’s soccer in England).

With the Auckland soccer teams, no further mention of the Classic club was found (Another ladies’ club, 1921, p. 9; Classic club, 1921, p. 3). The Birkenhead club was reported as having played one match between their A and B sides (Girls at football, 1921, p. 9). According to the AFA minute books, Messrs Reason and Mahoney (both committee members) reported on the progress of the Birkenhead players. Mahoney had both coached and refereed the above match. The committee then made arrangements for the Birkenhead players to watch a men’s trial match to select a final squad to travel to Wellington to compete for the Brown Shield. They were even prepared, subject to availability, to reserve seats in the stand for them (AFA Minutes, 1921). Thus, it would appear that the AFA had no reservations in supporting girls playing football. However, when the Aotea Ladies Football Club wrote to the AFA requesting to play a match against the Birkenhead Ladies in Wellington, the following response was noted in the minute book; “It was resolved to reply that we have no Ladies’ club playing under our jurisdiction at present” (AFA Minutes, 1921).

In between those two meetings of the AFA, three weeks had passed. During that time, the adverse publicity surrounding girls playing rugby and rugby league had increased. Had the Classic and Birkenhead players been constrained to give up playing football because of the controversy and the criticisms surrounding these two other sports? Had the AFA committee members been equally affected and quietly decided that as the Birkenhead club had not yet affiliated (The lady players, 1921, p. 3), they could reply as they did to the Aotea Ladies. According to Terry Ward, whose mother and two aunts played for Aotea Ladies, when the women’s rugby team wanted to wear shorts, “this caused an uproar” and the

female soccer players, not “wanting this type of publicity, terminated their involvement after one season” (Ward, 1999, p. 174).

Despite the Wellington rugby ‘girls’ apparent desire to play and the resultant publicity, I cannot find any reference to a match actually taking place. Similarly with the Christchurch ‘girls’: even with the good intentions of Canterbury Football Association and the relatively positive reporting from the media, no further games appear to have been played after the match against Wellington on September 24, 1921.

The circulation of ‘truth’

Using press clippings and letters to the editor to analyse a particular period assumes that what is said (and not said) reflects the discourses of that time, although it must be remembered that those who write to the papers are usually more vocal than the vast majority. There can be no question though, as Foucault (1980b) noted, that through the apparatus of information, the media played an important role in constructing and disseminating the ‘truth’ about the emergent girl footballer. The timing, choice and positioning of the various newspaper articles, and the constant reference to medical opinion, left readers in no doubt that these ‘poor’ women could be irretrievably damaged and, therefore, incapable of fulfilling their ‘designated’ role in life if they were to play rugby union and rugby league. Certainly some of the letters to the editor supported this perspective such as “Footer” who considered it the “duty of the promoters of the scheme to enlighten the prospective players on the dangers that lie before them” (1921, p. 5). Despite some resistance to this discourse of bodily danger, in her letter to the editor, one girl footballer perhaps did more harm than good when she referred to her critics as wowsers, meaning that they were spoilsports and teetotallers (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1982).

Those who are offering their unasked for opinions belong to the section of the community to whom it would be the greatest of pleasure to build a roof right over New Zealand and make of it one gigantic church. In other words, they are wowsers. (A Parnell pioneer, 1921, July 22, p. 6)

While it may have appeared to the Parnell player that her critics were attempting to force their particular version of morality upon her, the tactical deployment of the key discourses discussed in this chapter, particularly the intersection and ‘collision’ of *Doctor knows best*, *Muscles for motherhood* and *It’s your duty*,

positioned the emergent girl footballer as irresponsible (for not heeding the mainly medical warnings of danger) and selfish (because her ‘duty’ lay in fulfilling the needs of the nation, her husband and family rather than her own pleasures). Without knowing the cause of puerperal fever (the main cause of maternal mortality), and confronted with the fact that New Zealand women were dying in childbirth at the second highest rate in the Western world, the ‘truth’ that women were ‘deliberately’ harming their future children through the self-indulgent act of playing a ‘man’s sport was a highly powerful constraint, and one I believe ensured that the players quietly gave up playing these three sports. Any self-knowledge that *The Girl Footballer* had of her own physical capabilities was disqualified as inadequate and beneath “the required level of cognition or scientificity” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 82); thus, revealing the ‘struggle’ for whose ‘truths’ dominated. The combination of power and knowledge centred in these three discourses, in particular, ensured that women would not play these three sports again, institutionally, for another 50 to 70 years. The intersection of discourses of femininity, in combination with all the other discourses discussed in this chapter, also helped to position, and further reinforce, that women’s main role in New Zealand society was as wife and mother; a role that became even further entrenched through a later ‘scientisation’ of domesticity.

In the same way, as Foucault (1978) pointed out that the relationship of the psychiatrist to the child called into question the sexuality of the adults, the relationship of the media to *The Girl Footballer* in creating such proliferation of discourses called into question the gender appropriateness of sport. The integration of these three strategic unities allowed for the emergence of the notion that the three football codes – rugby union, rugby league and soccer – would be entrenched firmly from then on in New Zealand society as ‘men’s’ sport while netball would find approval as the ‘best game for girls’, eventually becoming the national sport for women. In this way, it also allowed men to reclaim the integration of ‘their’ masculine values with men’s sport while netball came to represent quintessential New Zealand femininity.

Using Foucault’s genealogical approach to analyse the discourses that circulated during this period has revealed some of the complexity around how women’s sport develops or, in this case, did not develop. *The Girl Footballer* who emerged in such a blaze of publicity, vanished without a trace. Within the short space of three months, rugby union, rugby league and soccer for women

disappeared from public view and from the ‘eyes’ of ‘official’ history. However, one is left with one small tantalising doubt; if women had chosen not to play rugby union and rugby league just as soccer for girls was emerging in a relatively positive light, could soccer rather than netball have become the national game for women?

I finish this chapter with a poem that appeared in *The Dominion* (F.E.B., 1921, p. 8) to illustrate how some New Zealanders believed, or perhaps hoped, that football for girls was no more than a craze, a passing fashion, and once she had been given the opportunity to play the game, *The Girl Footballer* would come to her senses and return to her ‘normal’ everyday self.

The Ladies’ Rugby Team: A Sad Prophecy.

Powder puffs seen in the background, the salve for the lips
Placed in a bowl by the side of the dressing room door.
Garters of ribbon, and pins that will remedy rips,
Lie in a box by the sideline where Cassandra trips –
Where the Amazons chafe at thought of the battle in store.

Natty new jerseys and trousers, the curve of the limb
Showed to perfection ‘neath colours of prettiest hue,
Louis-heeled footer boots, circling the ankle so trim.
With the silk Tange lacing, the leg so adorably slim
Will kick in a way that will show the Rep. Teams what to do.

Glorious moment of scrumming, the feminine cry
Thrilling the souls of the hardened old men on the line,
Sound that the Amazons made in their mission to die,
While the half gets the ball, and suddenly passes it by
To powder her nose, which is red, and has started to shine.

Back to the forwards it comes, and the moment is tense.
Ah, Gertie has got it and sends it across field to Bess.
Pass! – but the forward has far too much feminine sense.
Her lover is there, and is cheering hard down by the fence,
So she pays him a visit and asks what he thinks of her dress!

Tessie, the lock, has the ball and yells for the backs.
She goes for her life, where the goalposts stand egging her on;
Look, she is tripped by the wing with the neatest of knacks
And the whole field resounds to the swiftest of feminine smacks.
“You cat!” screams the lock, as the neat chance of scoring is gone.

That was the end, for the rival teams eager for gore,
Tramped on the referee, aimlessly waving his hands;
Punched they, and scuffled and scratched on the hard earthen floor,
Biting and screaming and howling, the while as they tore
Hair from the other girl’s head in great mis-shapen strands.

Such was the day when they found themselves hopelessly wrong
Rugby was not meant for those of the ‘poor weaker sex.’”
Thus did each muse on the homeward path, weary and long,
Weeping the while at the thought that she once had been strong
And silently fell on the others’ poor knocked about necks!

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Lady Footballer: 1973 – 1975

Introduction

In this chapter, I narrate the story of the institutionalisation of women's football in Auckland during its first three years from 1973 to 1975. According to the Northern Women's Football Association (NWFA) minute book, the decision for women to play 'official' football in Auckland was preceded by a letter circulated to all football club secretaries in March, 1973 asking, "Does your Club have a ladies team? Is there sufficient interest in your Club to form a team?" With these words, clubs were urged to send two delegates, preferably the team coach and captain of the women's team, or otherwise any interested club members, to attend a meeting on March 12, 1973 at Mt Roskill clubrooms (NWFA minutes, no date given). Encouraged by the knowledge that women were playing football overseas, the representatives of the six clubs who turned up for this inaugural meeting believed it was the right time to establish a ladies competitive football league. On Sunday, April 29, 1973, ten club teams took to the field and played their first competitive game of football under the auspices of the NWFA (NWFA minutes, no date given).

The title of this chapter, *The Lady Footballer*, has been selected to reflect both some names of teams playing that first year (e.g., Eastern Suburbs Ladies, Papakura Ladybirds and Eden Saints Ladies), and a term for women that connoted certain behaviours and practices. Unlike in the previous chapter where I used the term soccer for football in order to avoid any confusion for the reader, in this chapter and for the rest of my thesis, I revert back to the term football as this is the common term used today. The evidence in this chapter comes from multiple sources: interviews with eight women who played football in these three beginning years; six scrapbooks; the Auckland Football Association (AFA) and NWFA minute books, articles from *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Auckland Star* which I searched from the period March 1 to October 31, 1973 (the first year of playing); and, in similar manner to Foucault (1977; 1978) who used vignettes to illustrate a point or offer evidence for a 'truth' claim, I present some reflective vignettes of my own footballing experiences during 1973 – 1975, which appear in italicised font.

I utilise the three ‘strategic unities’ identified in the previous chapter and track the same discourses which constructed *The Girl Footballer* in 1921 as well as identifying any emerging discourses, all of which would be deployed to construct *The Lady Footballer* as an object of knowledge as well as a “target and anchorage point for the ventures of knowledge” (Foucault, 1978, p. 105). In order to identify and analyse the presented discourses, I have included additional historical information from the 1950s in New Zealand. As part of the apparatus of football, the social values and norms of those times would be experienced by my interviewees as children, as well as helping to inform their parents about what was considered appropriate behaviour for their daughters.

Again, as in the previous chapter, I acknowledge there is no ‘essential’ truth that can be told about this particular period of women’s football but, within this chapter, I aim to identify and present evidence for a particular set of truths that developed around the lady footballer between the years 1973 – 1975. These particular truths, circulated and disseminated through power-knowledge discourses produced within an apparatus of football, cohered sufficiently to allow for the emergence of *The Lady Footballer*. Unlike her predecessor – *The Girl Footballer* – the more positive discursive construction of *The Lady Footballer* during this period allowed her to develop and flourish.

As discussed in Chapter Five, this particular history interrogates the existing sources for their relations of power but, at the same time, it follows in structure the historical narrative and chronological approach used in Foucault’s (1977; 1978; 1985) genealogical histories. This chapter is arranged in four parts; in the first three sections, I discuss the key discourses surrounding *The Lady Footballer* within a medicalisation of women’s bodies, a sportisation of women’s bodies and a socialisation of feminine behaviour before ending with an analysis of why women’s football flourished and developed rather than disappeared.

A medicalisation of women’s bodies

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how a medicalisation of women’s bodies reinforced prevailing public beliefs of feminine frailty as well as the need to ensure women’s health and well-being through two key discourses, *Doctor knows best* and *You only have so much energy*. Scientific discoveries which revealed that pubertal changes for young men and women were governed by hormones, as

opposed to energy systems, played a large part in dispelling the discourse *You only have so much energy* which had circulated during 1921 (Vertinsky, 1990) and, therefore, is no longer discussed in this chapter. However, the continued prevalence of the discourse, *Doctor knows best*, suggested that the status of doctors during the 1973 – 1975 time period, and the publication of their views, meant their ideas still carried considerable weight with the general public. While their advice concerning the prevention of disease such as avoiding heart attacks by understanding its symptoms was more often published than general comments on societal issues, evidence from media articles suggested that public advice from medical and professional experts concentrated primarily on married women with children.

Eight of the women I interviewed grew up in New Zealand during the 1950s; a time often publically described as halcyon or golden because, as Macdonald (1993c) pointed out, there was full employment and free education at all levels. However, from a gendered perspective, Coney (1993a) suggested that the 1950s could also be considered a very conservative decade with social policies designed to promote heterosexual marriage and motherhood. Stevan Eldred-Grigg (1990) described in his historical account of New Zealand working people, “the labour ideal of man out at paid work and the woman busy with housework came close to reality during the 1950s. Dad earned his wages, Mum kissed him goodbye at the kitchen door” (p. 163).

The pervasiveness of these beliefs was encouraged by the emphasis placed on the idea that men and women had separate careers; an ‘equitable’ arrangement where men’s talents were realised by working outside the home and women’s talents were realised within the home. Thus, while WWII had created opportunities for women to be more involved in the public sphere, as well as realising their capabilities to fulfil a far wider range of occupations than before, the middle-class ideal of separate spheres for men and women which had become prevalent in the late 1800s became, as Helen May (1992) suggested, “the yardstick by which New Zealand society could measure normality in the arrangement of their family lifestyles” (p. 339) in the decades of post WWII. In a 1957 editorial in the New Zealand Women’s Weekly, Jean Wishart summed up the importance of the family;

From a family may arise a great man or woman, or bad or weak ones, useful or useless individuals. Upbringing exerts a powerful influence in our lives...But family is even more than an influence. It is the one ultimate reality on earth. (NZWW, 1957, November 4, cited in Cook, 1985, p. 50)

The family, or in Foucauldian terms, the “Malthusian couple” (Foucault, 1978, p. 105), had not only become a strategic unity for the deployment of sexuality but, in the course of the medicalisation of women’s bodies, mothers were “brought into a kind of alliance with the doctor” (Rose, 1994, p. 65) through the responsibility they owed to the “health of their children [and to] the solidity of the family institution” (Foucault, 1978, p. 147). Thus, when psychological prescriptions in the western world began to promote marriage as the only way to adult happiness (May, 1992), invariably these directives were addressed solely at women. Helen Cook (1985) in her examination of New Zealand Women’s Weekly magazines during the 1950s detailed the advice given to women by numerous ‘experts’, including doctors, educators and organisations such as the Marriage Guidance Council. An example of the type of psychological advice given to women in order to create a happy marriage in this magazine was illustrated by Mary Miller in her weekly advice column where she warned women to hold back from ‘ruling the roost’, even if they were forced ‘temporarily’ into the breadwinner’s role, by stating:

Masculine pride is easily hurt. If any woman values her marriage happiness she’ll take care not to do anything to hurt that pride (NZWW, 1955, cited in Cook, 1985, p. 57).

Utilising a Foucauldian perspective, Nikolas Rose (1994) believed that the “field of medicine was a site for the deployment of diverse forms of *expertise*” (p.51, original italics); thus, I begin this discussion of the discourse *Doctor knows best* with the understanding that it includes a wide range of knowledgeable individuals who have “made disease their business and made a business out of sickness and health” (Rose, 1994, p. 51).

Doctor knows best

During the 1950s, John Bowlby concluded from his studies for the World Health Organisation that children separated from their mothers or mother substitutes in their early years would suffer irrevocable psychological damage and, according to Sue Kedgley (1996), this theory of maternal deprivation was enthusiastically

incorporated into government policies in New Zealand. While May (1992) suggested that this theory was essentially a prescription for Pakeha middle-class families during the mid 1950s and 1960s, its influence continued well into the 1970s. In spite of the fact that Bowlby's research examined the experiences of children in institutions who were not only deprived of their mothers but all human contact and cognitive stimulation of any kind, the popularisation of this theory in New Zealand resulted in effects far more widespread than the institutional setting to which it originally applied; an example of what Foucault meant when he said to challenge "the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things which continue to exist and have value for us" (2003b, p. 355). Jane Ritchie and James Ritchie (1978), researching from a psychological perspective in New Zealand, posited that these effects resulted in women believing that the future health and well-being of their children was their *sole* responsibility as well as ensuring they continued to give the same one-to-one care associated with babyhood to their young children. Unless there was an emergency, this discourse encouraged mothers to believe that if they left their children at all between the ages of 6 months and 3 years, they would be responsible for robbing their children of good health and well-being (Kedgley, 1996), thus, acting as a powerful constraint to any activity that would separate mother from child or, as Ritchie and Ritchie (1978) noted, it "frightened mothers back to the nursery" (p. 16).

These ideas gradually became incorporated into discourses of being a 'good' mother, and are an excellent example of what Foucault (1978) meant when he stated, "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (p. 100). The effects of this discourse of being a good mother not only produced feelings of guilt if mothers deviated from this 'normalised' behaviour by leaving their young children for any length of time, it also constrained their potential participation in leisure activities like sport. The lingering effects of this discourse can still be noted today. Leberman and Palmer (2008) described how all 10 mothers in their recent study mentioned having feelings of guilt when they left their children at home due to their leadership roles in elite level sport. One of their participants tried to understand the source of her feelings of guilt by questioning; "Is it a female thing? You just start feeling so guilty and why is it?" (2008, p. 42). I suggest that Foucault's (1978) claim that, "power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself" (p. 86) reflects the significance of his genealogical approach for revealing the workings of power within this discourse.

Not leaving your children has come to be perceived as a ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ role of motherhood, hence the feelings of guilt from these particular mothers, while the scientific knowledge that underpins it (Bowlby’s theory), which was based on ‘faulty calculations’, has been concealed and masked.

All the women I interviewed from these beginning years who had children believed it was *their* responsibility to look after their children and, because from their own particular perspectives they never left them, they did not experience any feelings of guilt. Taking full responsibility for the care of children, however, impacted on the women’s experiences of playing football in different ways. Some women took their children everywhere they went. For example Jayne, as a single parent, never left her two children: “Wherever I went the boys came. I didn’t believe in palming them off so that I could do things by myself”. However, what happened when the footballing mothers were training or playing?

Ritchie and Ritchie (1978) used the term ‘tribes’ to describe how communities or neighbourhoods in New Zealand were incorporated into ‘parenting’ of children. In other words, rather than mothers taking total care for their children, everyone in their respective communities shared responsibility by ‘looking out’ for children to see they came to no harm. Jayne illustrated how she negotiated both discourses; by taking her children with her to football, she complied with the discourse of being a good mother but, once playing or training, she made the assumption that her football community would take care of her children and ensure no harm came to them:

They were under everybody’s eyes. If I was playing, everybody was looking out for them because they were young. Somebody would always make sure that there were okay – not getting into too much trouble.

However, as Jayne’s two boys grew older, this discourse of being a good mother started to collide with discourses of sexuality which constructed boys as sexual beings rather than innocent children with no sexual knowledge:

After the games, we would go and get changed. In those days I smoked and I would have a cigarette before I would have a shower. Quite a few of the girls smoked and we were all sitting there in the changing rooms and the boys would always come in too. You would sit there and then we would have our showers. After a couple of years, one of the girls said, “I think it’s time the boys stopped coming in now, they are staring!” They had to wait

outside. I had to make sure I gave them some money for a coke and bag of chips and they would sit in the clubrooms and wait for Mum.

However, Patria did not agree with letting the football community supervise her children and said;

I wasn't the type of person to leave my children unsupervised. They were my responsibility and I wasn't prepared to leave them on the sideline for other people to look after them while I played.

Her comments that only a certain type of person would leave their children unsupervised on the sideline, (that is, a 'bad' mother), suggest how Bowlby's theory came to be taken as the 'truth' and in this way, created power effects by normalising how 'good' and 'bad' mothers behaved towards their children. In her case, however, these effects were not sufficiently strong enough for her to give up playing; instead she 'left' her children with her parents. In this way, Patria was able to maintain her position as a 'good' mother. However, this was not the case for Trendi who gave up playing football. In spite of being a National team representative, she felt pressured to give up playing once her children were born because her husband believed it was her responsibility to care solely for their children:

I gave up playing because of my husband. Yeah. He wouldn't sit on the sideline and look after the kids. He never changed a nappy. I mean he wasn't going to be that sort of new age man that did the house chores and that sort of things. I was pressured not to play.

Unlike Trendi, I was not prepared to give up the game I had fallen in love with, even though I took full responsibility of caring for my children by taking them everywhere with me. However, resisting this discourse of good mothering especially when it articulated with the discourse *It's your duty*, which I discuss in the third part of this chapter, did not come without consequence. As a vignette detailing my mothering experiences below, I highlight additional evidence of how the 'judges' in our society, in this case people within football, 'normalised' motherhood by discursively categorising what was 'good' or 'bad' behaviour.

As I always 'looked out' for other people's children wherever I was, I expect that philosophy coloured my thoughts that other people would do the same for my children but I never left my children. I took them everywhere with me; to training, to playing the game, to Newmarket Park and even to work in the early days when I was a fitness and craft

instructor. To that extent, I probably did believe it was my responsibility to look after our children. However, and perhaps because for years as a young girl I had roamed the countryside without any adult supervision, I thought my children were quite capable of looking after themselves. After all, it wasn't as if they didn't know where I was. I do remember one woman in particular – her daughter was in the team – expressing her disgust at my children playing in the mud while I was training. My children would take their clothes off, fold them neatly and place them at the foot of the stairs. Then they would run around naked and have a wonderful time. When I asked them why they took their clothes off, they said it was to save me having to do the washing.

In my interview with Patria, she reminded me about the comments she had heard about my perceived mothering skills. “There were lots of people at Newmarket Park who made comments about you and your children. It was something like, “she never looks after them, they're always playing in the mud and they never have shoes on...She doesn't feed them properly either.”

Fathers on the whole, according to Kedgley (1996), were only publicly mentioned in passing as people who might occasionally ‘help’ mothers. Although by the late 1960s, Dr Benjamin Spock, whose various editions of *Baby and Childcare* were widely read in New Zealand, was calling for more equality in parenting for fathers, his equivalent in New Zealand, Dr Neil Begg, Director of Plunket's Medical Services in New Zealand from 1956 to 1977, continued to reinforce the notion that the raising of children was women's work (Kedgley, 1996). In addition to Trendi, who categorically said her husband would not look after their children, the remaining interviewees reinforced this belief for they did not mention their husbands at all in relation to childcare. Thus the various discourses which ‘scientised’ motherhood and domesticity tended to legitimise men's relative freedom from domestic responsibility and childcare, although men did face considerable pressure in society to be good financial providers for their families or, as Patria put it; “Men are the earners, that's their function”.

In 1973, psychiatrist Dr Fraser McDonald caused a public uproar when he spoke out about suburban neurosis – a new illness affecting New Zealand mothers, many of whom were trapped in newly built suburbs without facilities or transport and sometimes with only small children for company. A woman

interviewed by New Zealand psychologists Ritchie and Ritchie (1978) described how lonely she was in her early years of marriage when she stated;

I was socialised into believing I could find my greatest fulfilment as a mother. I don't think I have ever been so lonely and alienated as in those early years with a baby, no car, no telephone, and a neighbourhood of retired persons with conservative traditional attitudes. (p. 13)

Despite having no children, in her life history memoirs, Colleen Williams (2004) also recorded how “incredibly lonely” she felt during her early days of marriage in 1953 when she was no longer working. She also added, “to make matters worse, my husband played golf and on Saturday, he would leave at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrive home at 6 o'clock at night – that was six days in the week that I was alone” (p. 97). Feelings of anxiety, uselessness and despair were other symptoms that most women experienced with this ‘illness’ but they were manifested particularly in those young women who, as Anne Else (1996) pointed out, discovered their pre-marital expectations did not match the reality of their everyday lives.

McDonald and other psychiatrists, seeing large numbers of married women exhibiting these symptoms, suggested that these women needed time out – whether through work or pursuing a personal interest – from the constant care of their young children if suburban neurosis was to be cured (Kedgley, 1996). Doctors from other disciplines also began to question whether children needed full-time mothers. Prominent amongst these was economist Dr Sutch (1973) who believed that no person, alone, could develop a child's potential and thought that “the responsibility put upon the untrained and usually lonely mother was unique and unreasonable” (p. 128). This was not an ‘illness’ peculiar to New Zealand women. Ten years earlier in the United States, doctors and magazines had started to identify similar symptoms in American women; they named this new female ‘illness’ the “housewife's syndrome” (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p. 254). However, I suggest it was Friedan's (1963) use of the term ‘the problem that has no name’, in her seminal book, *The Feminine Mystique*, which drew public attention to this so-called illness and perhaps acted as catalyst for the emerging women's liberation movement in the United States in the 1970s.

Foucault (1978, p. 99) pointed out that relations of power/knowledge are not static but are “matrices of transformations”, whereby something unexpected may be produced or created from a particular form of knowledge. By the end of 1973,

the YWCA, an organisation traditionally supportive of women's needs, had set up several activities that reflected women's need to break away from suburban isolation, as well as running courses to help women re-enter the work force (Coney, 1986). My experiences detailed in the vignette below not only illustrated the type of activities that 'Take a Break' entailed for two hour sessions at a time but also demonstrated the reality of some women's lives within newly built suburbs such as Mangere and Glenfield.

I was a YWCA instructor for these 'Take a Break' activities, working in Mangere and Glenfield. After taking a series of different keep-fit exercises set to music, I then taught the women macramé, canework, leatherwork or copperwork. There was a small charge – I don't remember how much –and they also paid me for any of the material they used. I remember one woman was so good at leatherwork that we ended up running a leatherwork stall together at Cook Street Market...but most of all I remember being shocked by one woman with three children who said when her children were younger, she hadn't left the house for 18 months except to get milk and bread at the dairy. Finally, the doctor told her husband that he had to take her out occasionally.

I suggest, based on the psychological and other material presented, that increased public recognition of the need for married women with children to 'take a break' or have 'time out', coupled with increasing awareness of the word 'equal' in newspaper articles such as "Equal opportunity after equal pay is aim for women" (Purdue, 1973, p. 2), encouraged both married and single women to become involved in football. Within the space of three years, the game grew from the original 10 teams to 27 in 1975 (AWFA, 1983) Many women, particularly those who watched their husbands, boyfriends or brothers play, became involved in playing either through word of mouth or being directly approached by a club official or another female player. Setting up a separate association from men's football and then urging existing football clubs to promote and form teams proved to be a successful strategy. However, I argue that a significant difference between what happened to *The Girl Footballer* and *The Lady Footballer* lay in the media coverage, which I will discuss in the concluding section of this chapter. No newspaper editorials or letters to the editor appeared that debated the wisdom of, or objected to, women playing football; consequently, no sporting official sought medical advice on whether women *should* play football. However, this discourse

Doctor knows best did have significant impact upon those players who had children, and I suggest that *The Lady Footballer* was both simultaneously constrained and empowered by the power effects when this discourse ‘collided’ with the discourse *Muscles for motherhood* which I discuss in the next section and *It’s your duty* in the third section. The conflict and contradiction immanent in the combination of these three discourses perhaps explains how the interviewees negotiated their participation or non-participation in football in such different ways, a point reinforced by Foucault (1978) when he stated that “discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power” (p. 101).

In the next section of this chapter, I discuss the second strategic unity, a sportisation of women’s bodies, the processes whereby *The Lady Footballer* would be integrated into an apparatus of physical education as a child and then, as an adult, into the sport of football within the public sphere.

A sportisation of women’s bodies

One of the major developments in New Zealand schools was the introduction of physical education as a core subject in 1946; a decision that arose from the recommendations of the 1942 Thomas Report (Stothart, 1974). Up until that stage physical education in primary schools and training colleges had been controlled to a certain degree by the Education Department but, as Stothart (1974) pointed out, secondary schools showed no discernable pattern with each developing its own sporting programmes according to the particular school’s needs. As a core subject, this meant two periods of school time per week were allocated to practical physical activities taught by specialist teachers. By the 1950s, the understanding that physical activity was a necessary part of any schoolchild’s development can be noted by its articulation in the 1953 Primary School Syllabus:

The whole trend of modern thought in this field of education is towards using movement as a medium for much wider educational purposes – as a means of social development and creative expression, and as an opportunity for the exercise and education of the mind and the emotions as well as the muscles (cited in Stothart, 1974, p. 41).

Notwithstanding that some educators believed that physical education should focus predominantly on the physical dimensions and capacities of children rather than being used as a character-building exercise to mould ‘good’ citizens

(Burrows, 1999), the proliferation of playground climbing apparatus in primary schools during the 1950s allowed both boys and girls to explore movement possibilities, develop muscles and to use their imagination and initiative. Gradually by the 1960s, incentive award schemes were established into schools for gymnastics and swimming along with the publication of a series of booklets designed not only to introduce pupils to new sports but to help teachers understand and coach them (Stothart, 1974). Many schools also offered outdoor education and leisure sports as options instead of the more competitive team sports (Fry, 1985). However, discourses surrounding boys being ‘naturally’ more physically active did constrain girl’s involvement in sport to varying degrees; for example, from a differentiated allocation of playground space (Fry, 1985) to an often discursive portrayal of passivity and/or apathy towards physical activities (see e.g., Burrows, 2000; Scraton, 1992). As Chelsea, one of the women I interviewed, recalled, “I don’t really think they looked at sport as being part of what you needed to do at school because you had cooking and sewing classes”. However, despite domestic science being made “compulsory for all girls” after the 1942 Thomas Report (Middleton, 1998, p. 40), the decision to include physical activities as a core subject also meant that the women who played football in 1973 – 1975 would have been exposed to some ‘compulsory’ form of physical activity.

Another factor which may have influenced the development of women’s football was the strong immigration flows primarily from Europe (e.g., between 1947 and 1975, a total of 77,000 women, children and men arrived from Great Britain under the assisted immigration scheme, with smaller numbers from the Netherlands and other European countries). Football was, and continues to be, the national game for many European countries and, as noted in Chapter Four, families played a significant role in influencing or introducing girls to sport (Bruce, 1987; Greendorfer, 1983, 1992; Hargreaves, 1994). Out of the eight women I interviewed who were involved in the beginning years of women’s football, two grew up in immigrant European families, one had a European father and two had married Englishmen. When I asked one of these women if her parents objected to her playing football with boys, she replied, “Mum and Dad didn’t know that much about it, they just knew there was a football game and, being from Europe, football was it”.

I begin the discussion of sporting discourses with the one I have named muscles for motherhood. In the previous chapter, I contended that the power

effects of this discourse constrained *The Girl Footballer* to participate only in those types of sport and physical activity that ensured her reproductive health. By 1973, the knowledge forms that had centred around Lamarckism and eugenics had been overturned by scientific discoveries such as DNA, reflecting Foucault's (1978) argument that discourses are never stable but shift and can be reutilised as other discursive elements come into play.

One such discursive element that came into play in New Zealand society during these beginning years of women's football was the emphasis on breast feeding to ensure the best possible start in life for babies; a practice which, according to Ritchie and Ritchie (1978), had been "fast disappearing in modern technological and affluent societies" (p. 5). La Leche League, which started in New Zealand in 1967 combined with mothers' groups, members of women's liberation groups and alternative life-stylers to strongly support the idea that breastfeeding was natural and best for babies by coining and promoting the slogan 'breast is best'; and by 1971, breastfeeding rates began to rise after a 30-year decline (Kedgley, 1996). As this slogan emerged into popular awareness, this discourse *Muscles for motherhood* shifted from attempting to perfect women's bodies for childbearing through appropriate physical exercise to one that centred on potential danger to breasts for future breastfeeding. In this way, as Foucault (1978) suggested, female bodies had to guarantee, "by virtue of a biologico-moral responsibility" (p. 104), the healthy life of their children. Within the context of women's football, concern now focused on the players' breasts and the possibility of these being damaged with the resultant implications for future breastfeeding. The underlying question was what would happen if a football hit you in the chest? Would you damage yourself for life and be unable to breastfeed your future children?

Muscles for motherhood

In football only goalkeepers can handle the ball; if players intentionally handle the ball, the referee will stop the game and award a free kick to the opposing team. If the free kick is given near the goal area, most teams will set up a defensive 'wall' consisting of two or more players to help the goalkeeper decide which side of the goalmouth to defend. Today, female players standing in the wall are permitted to cross their arms in front of their breasts and male players are allowed to cross

their hands in front of their genitals. This is the only time when a penalty for handling the ball is not awarded (see FIFA, 2009 for laws of the game).

However, this was not the case in the early years of women's football and the effects of this discourse *Muscles for motherhood* could be seen in the conflicting and inconsistent rulings from the referees, which many of the interviewed women and I experienced while playing. Some referees announced prior to the start of a game that players would not be penalised for bringing their hands up to ward off balls heading towards their chest area. Other referees took the more logical view that if players had sufficient time to bring their arms up to protect their breasts, they had time to move out of the way and would penalise players handling the ball. Some referees never said a word before the game and some allowed one player to handle the ball to protect her breasts but penalised another player for doing seemingly the same action. Patria remembered incidences like this very clearly but had not thought to connect it with discourses of motherhood:

There were some players who put their hand up to hit the ball, and I mean some referees would let it go and say "play on". Others would say "hand ball". Just a referee's whim at the time, really.

My memories of this discourse, which I describe in the vignette below, are very vivid because, in addition to my experiences with referees, I was approached by a 'breastplate' manufacturer to endorse his product.

In addition to concern with the ball hitting our breasts, considerable attention was also paid to whether physical contact could harm our breasts. An elbow in the breast while heading the ball, bodily contact when contesting possession and even landing heavily on one's breasts after an awkward tackle led one man to manufacture the 'breastplate'. Fashioned in hard plastic with a moulded shape into which the breasts were fitted, it covered the front of the body from waist to top of the chest and was held in place with ties across the back. In a sense, it was like half a corset done up at the back instead of the front. Some players were persuaded to wear them during games but most, after trying them on, refused point blank on the grounds that they impeded their freedom of movement and could do more damage to the opposition because of the hard plastic. As the New Zealand captain at the time, I was approached by the manufacturer to endorse his product; one I had no compunction in turning down because of

the following rationale: Many sports spectators have viewed male players rolling around in agony when accidentally kicked or hit by the ball in the groin, yet concerns were never expressed about the connection between damage to men's genitals and their future reproductive abilities. Nobody ever suggested that men wear a plastic box (as they do in cricket) in case the ball damaged their ability to father children at a later date.

This concern with football's impact on women's breasts was not confined to New Zealand. Jonny Hjelm and Eva Olofsson (2004) pointed out how the Swedish Football Association asked a group of medical experts to investigate whether there was "any connection between hard blows to the chest region and the occurrence of breast cancer" (p. 190), when it took on the organisation of women's football in 1972. In Brazil, where women were forbidden by law to play football until 1979, Sebastiao Votre and Ludmila Mourao (2004) noted that Dr Pricela Celano had publically recommended that "players avoid the ball's impact on their breasts in order to prevent mastitis" (p. 263), a disease usually associated with breastfeeding.

While this discourse *Muscles for motherhood* did not stop or inhibit women from playing football, the scientific 'truth' claim that having a ball hit you in the chest or breast area could damage your ability to breastfeed your future children, or generate breast cancer or mastitis did affect *The Lady Footballer*. The majority of players, as I remember, rarely used the technique of 'chesting'; a technique specific to football where a ball above waist height is controlled and cushioned on the chest area; most players preferred to bend their knees and 'head' the ball or attempted to bring their feet up to kick it. As I also recall, coaches did not teach players the chesting technique in the beginning years. Another power effect of this discourse was produced when it intersected with the next discourse I discuss, *Women can't play the 'real' game*, for if women were unable to, could not, or refused to execute the full range of techniques necessary to play football, then it became another way to discursively construct *The Lady Footballer* as an inferior footballer.

The second key discourse in this section, which I have named *Women can't play the 'real' game*, suggests that the real game of football was still commonly assumed to be that which was defined and played by men. As I discussed in Chapter Four, by the early 1970s women were participating in sport in ever-increasing numbers (Coakley, 2009). In educational circles, physical activities and

sport were also seen as necessary requirements for human health and, to some extent, an outlet for self-fulfilment. However, while the actual inclusion of girls into physical education gave them the physical groundwork to believe they could play sport, some educators continued to posit sport as a male domain. For example, the chairman of the New Zealand Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation panel discussion, which was held at Massey University in 1970, expressed the following about who would benefit from sport:

sport has potential for either furthering the human condition or for retarding it. That is, it is the purpose to which sport is put that is important. And only *men* have purposes. So *men* express their purposes, their values through their activities, and so sport entails values which exceed the obviously physical, and which leave marks on the individual long after *he* has given up active participation (Shaw, 1970, p. 38, emphasis added).

In spite of such remarks, New Zealand women appeared to have followed the same overseas trend and participated in a wide range of sports. As I searched through *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Auckland Star* from March 1 to October 31, 1973 for any articles on women's football, I also noted women's sports that were mentioned. Women's golf appeared to receive the most consistent coverage but individual sports such as tennis, badminton, rifle shooting, fencing, table tennis, bowls, athletics, swimming, ten pin bowling, ice speed skating and gymnastics, and team sports such as cricket, softball, netball and hockey all received some coverage, albeit in small articles.

While the umbrella meaning of this discourse *Women can't play the 'real' game* remains similar to that discussed in 1921, the difference in 1973 lies with the emergence of four secondary discourses. I suggest that as women's participation numbers increased in both the range and type of sport, these secondary discourses were strategically deployed to underpin and reinforce that women were not able to play the 'real' game of football. As Foucault (1978) might have argued, these four discourses which I detail below "took on a consistency" and gained both in effects of power and production of knowledge so it is possible "to describe them in relative autonomy" (p. 104).

A need for modification

I start first with the discourse, *A need for modification*, as this had not changed since its emergence in 1921. In the first letter sent to all football club secretaries in

March, 1973, a number of proposals were put forward for discussion at the forthcoming meeting; one of the first suggestions set down regarding the playing of the game was that of modification to the rules (NWFA Minutes, no date given). The ‘real’ game of football was played in two halves of 45 minutes each way with two players permitted to be substituted at any time. Most of the five women and two men who turned up to the inaugural meeting of the NWFA were already involved in some aspect of club football, and so had some understanding of the game itself and its administration. The fact that there was unanimous agreement that the rules be modified for female players by shortening the game to 30 minutes each way and allowing three substitutes (NWFA Minutes, 1973), highlighted the prevailing attitudes of those first club representatives. In spite of accepting that women were physiologically capable of engaging in a strenuous activity such as football, and thus resisting discourses of women’s inherent frailty, they were still influenced sufficiently to understand that this could only occur if the women’s game was modified in some way. It would take another eight years until 1981 to change the duration of the game to 40 minutes each way with two substitutes (AWFA, 1983) and a further ten years until 1991, and only at elite level, before men and women would play to exactly the same rules.

It’s a bit of a novelty

This second discourse, which I have named *It’s a bit of a novelty*, reflected the comment from one of the interviewees, Trendi, who thought men’s teams from other divisions within her club came to watch them play because it “was a bit of a novelty to see girls playing football”. According to Patria, few men, including her husband, took women’s football seriously in those beginning years. “They thought”, she said, “it was just a big laugh, nothing serious, couldn’t kick a ball, couldn’t control it, all that stuff”. In addition, some players did not take themselves seriously because, as Gaye pointed out, they were never going to be good players:

It wasn’t taken seriously – and because it didn’t start in the juniors, it was women trying to learn a game that men had learnt from when they were young. So we would never be as good as them. You always felt that you will never be as good as a male. We played to get a bit of enjoyment – a bit of different enjoyment sure – but not as serious as the men’s game.

According to both the NWFA minutes (1973) and some interviewees, the majority of clubs did not take their women's teams seriously in the first year of playing and refused to buy playing gear for them, forcing players to either fund-raise for their own strip or accept hand-me-downs from the men's teams. Training was also a problem. Some teams were not allowed to train on the club grounds if the first team (men) was playing on it on Saturday (Ruane, 1999) while others were given no facilities for training at all. Hannah remembered in her first year of playing that the club grounds were not available because no one would pay for the floodlights so her team had to find "whatever patch of grass they could" and improvise for floodlighting in the following way:

We used to line all the cars up along the side of the field so that we would only have to have the car beams on one side. It made you play one-sided football because you really only ever wanted to play with your back to the lights cause every time you turned with the ball into the lights, you couldn't see the ball.

Some interviewees believed that club administrators felt that women's football would be a short-lived phenomenon; by the end of the year the novelty factor would have worn off and women would stop playing. Perhaps many male administrators hoped that would be the case. However Ken Armstrong, a prominent football player and coach in Auckland, in summing up the 1973 football season in his regular column in the Saturday evening sports paper, the *8 O'Clock*, stated; "Women's football is here to stay" (NWFA scrapbook, 1973). His prediction, although proving to be highly accurate, illustrated the uncertainty surrounding the beginnings of women's football. However, two factors helped to change people's perception that women would give up playing within the year; the rapid growth of the game and the number of female players who served on their club committees. As Gaye pointed out:

Maybe they thought it wasn't serious and that it wouldn't grow, but when it actually went from one league to two to three to four in such a short space of time, then they knew, hey, this isn't just an overnight thing. It is serious...also some of the people went onto the committee and that made a difference as well.

An inferior version of football

An inferior version of football was the third discourse which underpinned and reinforced the dominant discourse *Women can't play the 'real' game* because it constructed men's football as the 'real' game and/or the standard to which all football was compared and measured in some way. For sports played by both men and women, it always seemed to be the women's game that was perceived as lacking or wanting in some respect. The power effects of this discourse also encouraged players to constitute themselves as inferior versions, which Jayne exemplified by saying;

I don't think we would ever be on a par with the men. I never saw it in my time. I don't know whether it happens nowadays but because we don't draw the crowds like the men, it's an inferior sport for women. Women's football is an inferior game, same as women's cricket. Who knows who is who in the New Zealand women's cricket team? The men are sort of up there so I don't think women are quite, I don't know, accepted.

From an administrative perspective, this discourse also had long-term effects by constraining and limiting the development of the game through lack of finance. Press coverage in *The New Zealand Herald* at the beginning of 1973 suggested that it was not just women's football that faced the constraints of this discourse but other women's sport as well.

New Zealand Women's Cricket Association, in an unusual step to raise funds to send their national team to tour England, set up a 40 over game between well-known male cricketers and top female cricketers resulting in \$200 being raised. (Young woman cricketer shows way, 1973, p. 1)

New Zealand Women's Amateur Rowing Association is sending a crew of 4 women and a male coxswain to contest the Australian women's championship. For the honour of representing their country in Australia, each member of the party could be faced with finding between \$400 and \$500 to finance the trip. (With women's lib no rocking boat, 1973, p. 13)

An examination of the 1973 minute books of the AFA and the NWFPA revealed what appeared to matter most to members. For the AFA members, a large proportion of the time at their meetings was spent discussing representative fixtures, both within New Zealand and by bringing teams in from overseas to

play. Support from an increasing immigrant population from Britain, plus sponsorship packages, publicity and subsequent gate sales guaranteed substantial financial rewards for the AFA. In contrast, and in accordance with most women's sporting bodies at the time, the NWFA members spent the majority of their time discussing how to raise money through organising galas, socials and selling raffle tickets – none of which gave substantial financial return. An example of how the NWFA organised fund-raising by having stalls selling sausages, toasted sandwiches and drinks at the end of the season knockout competition is recorded in the minute book in the following manner:

Knockout Competition

Michaels Ave, Ellerslie 22-23 September 197. 16 teams entered.

Barbecue, sausages and hot dogs re Ray Mears, 50 lb of each. Tomato sauce re Bob Trew, plus charcoal and bread. Soft drinks to be ordered re Northern Bottlers, 30 dozen of each, plus stand and ice. Toasted sandwiches, machine available re Suburbs. Six ladies meet at Ellerslie Friday night to make same. All Clubs to try and provide two helpers for above stalls, phone secretary with names. (NWFA minutes, 1973)

In the beginning years, I suggest that few women resisted this discourse, accepting that they were the 'inferior' version of a footballer. In the long term, however, this discourse created not only financial effects for the development of the game but in its intersection with the next discourse (which I have named *It's a man's game*) created barriers by casting doubts on players' athletic ability and their femininity as the game developed nationally and internationally.

It's a man's game

As women (and some men) tried to set up teams within existing club structures, some received considerable support, some met with considerable resistance, and some met with a degree of ambivalence, in this way exemplifying Foucault's concept that "there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy" (1978, p. 102). The degree of support from clubs in those beginning years appeared to be dependent on three factors; a) the nationality of those who held positions of power in the administration of the club; b) whether players were the wives or girlfriends of committee members/ first men's teams/supporters and c) if the male coach of the women's team had some sort of status in the club.

Hannah thought her male coach, a popular figure playing both junior and senior football for the club, helped to open doors for her team to play football in the beginning years, while Trendi's team was mostly made up of wives and girlfriends of the club's Rothman's League team. The Rothman's League was the first truly national club championship for any sport in New Zealand; as such the teams attracted large crowds wherever they played. All three Auckland men's teams in this League were thriving; financially from gate-takings and large membership numbers, and socially through organised activities for members to attend (Maddaford, 1987). While Trendi felt her club was supportive of the women's team, it is recorded in the minute book that out of the eight clubs present at a NWFA meeting, two delegates complained that they were getting no help at all from their Club (NWFA Minutes, 1973), both of which had teams in the Rothman's League. When Jayne's team applied to join a club, she said that the secretary, a Scottish immigrant, told her that football was not a game for women:

“Oh that's not a women's sport. That's a man's sport. Women can't play in this club. We are not going to recognise them”, was the big catch cry from Bill McKinlay, “Who do they think they are?” They wouldn't give us a strip, and they wouldn't let us play on the playing fields next to the clubrooms. (Jayne)

Malia also received negative comments from Englishmen who would say to her, “playing football, you're playing women's football. It's not a woman's game, it's a bloody men's game.” Displaying elements of liberal feminism, her response was always “well if you can play the ruddy game, so can we.” This type of response from men who had emigrated from countries like England and Scotland, where football strongly assists in the construction of 'ideal' masculinity, was not unusual in the beginning years of women's football. Why were these men so negative towards women playing football? Williams (2003), who wrote a feminist reconstructionist history of women's football in England, maintained that nobody had been able to satisfactorily explain why the English expressed such peculiar contempt for women who played football. Perhaps as football epitomises an ideal masculine identity and when women play football, they challenge that identity, creating uncertainty and confusion about what it is to be male and female in a society. However, just as these particular men wholeheartedly endorsed the discourse *It's a man's game*, other male immigrants from the British Isles resisted it, supporting and contributing in many ways to the development of the women's

game. However, as far as I can remember, only one of these supportive immigrant men held positions of power in club administration.

In a similar manner, responses from New Zealanders varied greatly. Some women did not approve of their own sex playing football. Malia's aunt was horrified not only because Malia was playing football but at the suggestion that if her own daughter wanted to have a game, she could also play. "Oh no, she's not playing that, she's a ballerina." Many men had mixed feelings regarding women playing. On the one hand, they were accustomed to thinking of football as a sissy's or girls' game, and so there was no reason why women should not play in a country where to be a 'man' was to be a rugby player. Loosehead Len, an iconic rugby columnist for the *8 O'Clock*, expressed this sentiment when he was reported to have commented after watching me coach a men's football team; "Just what I have always said – football is a game for sheilas!" (Cox scrapbook, 1975). On the other hand, sport in general was idealised as a male domain and the encroachment of females into this space was seen as rather a 'surprising' thing for women to do, as highlighted by the following comments from Reverend Bob Lowe in his regular column in the *New Zealand Women's Weekly*;

I am always slightly surprised at the widespread interest many women have in sport. I am even more surprised that so many play particular sports so well. As Dr Johnson once remarked when discussing women preachers – "It is like dogs walking on their two hind legs. They may not do it well but the marvel is that they do it at all". (Lowe, 1973, p. 68)

Given that the Auckland newspapers did give coverage to women's sport, it was surprising that no publicity was accorded to the beginning of women's football in 1973. The first major article appeared in the *8 O'Clock* (NWFA scrapbook, 1973). No date was given but a mention in the NWFA minutes (1973) that an article in the *8 O'Clock* would be forthcoming, suggested that the date was likely to be July 8. Written by Dorothy Simons, it was titled "Soccer's definitely not a joke for the girls", which implied that other people had indeed thought it was. Simons went on to point out that not only were the girls taking football seriously but the AFA was also taking them seriously by accepting the NWFA as a sub-association. The second major article appeared in the *Auckland Star* advising the public that the AFA had decided that the curtain-raiser to the Auckland versus Juventus game would be the first Auckland women's representative match against Wellington. The unnamed writer reported that this decision by the AFA Control Board was

“not without internal criticism” and went on to advise readers that “women’s football is so new in New Zealand that detractors are likely to have a field day”(NWFA scrapbook, 1973).

In a similar manner to 1921, the New Zealand Herald report of the representative game was both patronising and positive. Describing the previous year when teams were playing football socially as a “game of kick and giggle, with more giggle than kick,” Terry Maddaford, the reporter, ended more positively by reporting that;

The players approached the representative match at Newmarket Park with a determined and dedicated spirit. There was an air of confidence in all they did and anything they lacked in strength they made up with some determined running (NWFA scrapbook, 1973, October 6).

An invitation for the national team to compete in the Asian Cup hastened the formation of the New Zealand Women’s Football Association (NZWFA) in 1975. The newly-fledged organisation had no financial resources and the cost of the tour was funded by player contribution, fund-raising activities and a small grant from the Government, perhaps in recognition of 1975 as the International Women’s Year (from memory, I think the grant was \$2000). With little football experience, few people rated the team; some thought it was a waste of time even to go, and one writer even called them “the ugly ducklings” (cited in Cox & Ruane, 1997, no page number). In a manner somewhat reminiscent of the publicity which would surround the future All Whites journey to Spain in 1982, winning the Asian Cup created widespread interest when the team returned to New Zealand. *New Zealand Truth* reporter Josh Easby headlined his report in large print, “We’re proud of you, soccer Cinderellas” and in smaller print, “OUR GIRLS...champs of Asia” (Chelsea scrapbook, 1975). While Easby may have used the fairy tale of Cinderella to symbolise the NZWFA’s lack of money and the players’ lack of experience, his reference to the chairman of NZWFA as “Prince Charming” and his description of the team as “mostly wives, sisters and sweethearts of soccer players” (Chelsea scrapbook, 1975), continued to reassure readers that though these women played football well enough to win, they were still attractive to men; in other words, the players were heterosexual. Chelsea’s recollections of her invitation to appear on the Max Cryer show after the team’s win also reinforced the efforts that the media made to assure that the players were perceived as feminine. As Chelsea said, “I understood why he [Max] wanted to because people

thought females who played soccer were butchy, rough-looking things and this was just to say, ‘well, hey, no we are not’.” As captain of the team, I was also invited on Max’s show and, in the vignette below, I describe some of the excitement I felt on our return to Auckland, before describing the instructions Chelsea and I received prior to appearing on the show.

I will always remember the amazing reception we received on arrival back at Auckland International Airport after winning the Asian Cup. Hundreds of fans turned up to welcome us home. Even television turned up. To be honest, I think the media coverage might have been more inspired by factors other than national pride for our sporting victory. Our team had not been favoured to win the final; the majority of Hong Kong spectators had placed their money on Thailand, our opposition. As we did a victory lap holding the Cup aloft, a number of people threw cans and other rubbish at us as well as lighting fires in the stand. We were later told that the Hong Kong spectators were really upset at losing their money. After being kept in our dressing-rooms for about an hour, the police escorted us onto the bus. We were told to lie on the floor because the crowd were throwing stones at the bus. I thought it was a rather exciting way to finish the tournament.

A week later after we returned home, Chelsea and I were invited to appear on television as guests of the Max Cryer show. We were told to bring several different coloured evening dresses with us and Max would decide what we would wear. Chelsea ended up in a red halter-necked full length gown; mine was also full length, cut low in the front and sparkly midnight blue. After our hair and make-up was finished, we were duly inspected by Max. He put his hand straight down the front of my dress to change the position of the diamante brooch before pronouncing, “You’ll do”.

In contrast to the comments of the *New Zealand Truth* reporter, NZFA councillor Charlie Dempsey’s remarks seemed more straightforward when he congratulated the team at a reception held shortly after landing: “By winning the tournament, the women have done more for New Zealand soccer than anything the men have achieved in the past year (Chelsea scrapbook, 1975). However, by using men as his yardstick of achievement, Dempsey’s remarks were rather damning; the national men’s team failed to qualify for the FIFA World Cup in

1973 and subsequently played no fixtures at all in 1974 (see Hilton, 1991 for a list of all national men's games).

Foucault (1980b) claimed that the media, as an apparatus of information, produced and disseminated 'truths', but it also plays an important role in creating awareness of a sport. Coverage of women's football in Auckland had been relatively limited until the beginning of 1975 when the media gave considerable coverage to the tour by Sydney's top two women's club sides. Of the ten articles (four with photographs) that appeared in the NWFA scrapbook, only three newspapers were identified and all three included photographs of female players: one written by Simons was in the *8 O'Clock* (NWFA scrapbook, 1975) advising of the arrival of the Sydney teams and the game venues; the second by an unnamed reporter for the *Courier* (NWFA scrapbook, 1975) discussed how the Papakura Ladybirds team would play the Sydney teams as part of Papakura City's celebrations. However, in the third article which appeared in *The Sunday Herald* (NWFA scrapbook, 1975), Maddaford used the headlines "Women's soccer steals a march" to point out to the AFA that "soccer men could well follow the women's lead" (NWFA scrapbook, 1975) in creating international tournaments for male players. Women's football received even further media coverage, including television, after winning the Asian Cup which continued to reinforce that not only did women play the game but they had done exceptionally well by beating five other countries, including Australia. The following year the number of teams increased in the women's leagues from 27 to 38 and in the secondary schoolgirls' leagues from 10 to 12 (AWFA, 1983). The media coverage also helped to inspire some girls and women to play, as Iva recollected in her interview with me; "I was 12 years old and I remember watching the TV and seeing the New Zealand team coming through the airport. It was on the news and I said to my mother, 'I'm going to be in that team one day'".

Despite the consistency of these four secondary discourses as they cohered into the dominant discourse of *Women can't play the 'real' game*, as I suggested with the discourse *Muscles for motherhood*, their deployment did not stop *The Lady Footballer* from playing the game. It is possible, of course, that these discourses may have constrained some females from joining football clubs to start playing. Despite the occasional complimentary remarks such as expressed by Maddaford when he stated that female soccer administrators had "stolen a march on their male counterparts" in organising an Australasian football tournament

(NWFA scrapbook 1975), several newspaper reporters continued to discursively position *The Lady Footballer* as a woman who can't play the 'real' game; for example, "It might not have been of World Cup or even national league standard but it was good fun and at times pretty serious business (NWFA scrapbook, 1975). One article strongly reinforced that women knew nothing about the game. It did this by describing the two women who were sitting their referee's examination as, "not because they wanted to wear black" (the colour of the referee's uniform) or even become referees once qualified but rather they were attending the course in order to "find out more on the whys and wherefores of the game" (NWFA scrapbook, 1974). These comments, as Foucault (1978) might have pointed out, helped to reinforce that these two women knew nothing about the game of football. I suggest, in similar ways demonstrated by these examples, the power-knowledge effects of the discourse *Women can't play the 'real' game* has effectively positioned footballing men as the 'knowers' of the game and sole arbiters of what could be described as 'good' football; and, in this manner, any alternative knowledge that *The Lady Footballer* possessed about football was "disqualified as inadequate" (Foucault, 1980c, p. 82).

In contrast to women's football, however, netball continued to be defined and determined on female terms, thus, women's knowledge of netball was not subjugated or disqualified as inadequate but located high up in the hierarchy of sporting knowledge. Apart from the occasional mixed play in rural primary schools through lack of numbers, such as the one I attended, netball during this time was only played by females; and, as Nauright and Broomhall (1994) claimed, "since the 1930s netball has been the dominant women's team sport in New Zealand" (p. 389). In the final part of this section, I examine how this discourse, *The best game for girls is netball*, which emerged in 1921, consolidated through the next 50 years as the dominant discourse in the context of women's sports. Not only was netball often the first 'team' sport that the eight interviewed women played during their schooling years, it wielded considerable influence on discursively constructing gender appropriate sporting behaviour during 1973 – 1975.

The best game for girls is netball

Netball was included in the physical education curriculum for secondary school girls during the 1930s and 1940s onwards and, according to Nauright and

Broomhall (1994), the majority of primary schools also adopted it as a winter sport for girls “once the medical profession recommended it” (p. 395). After the disruptions caused by WWII when tournaments and meetings were cancelled, netball continued to grow steadily from the 1950s onward, particularly as netball associations established their own playing facilities in the provincial regions of New Zealand (Nauright & Broomhall, 1994). One important change took place in the late 1950s; Macdonald (1993a), in her discussion of Netball New Zealand, stated that as moves to form an international netball organisation grew, increasing pressure was placed on New Zealand to play the same rules as other countries. Proposals for and against decreasing the then current 9 player-a-side game were strongly debated in the various associations. Finally the motion to play the 7-a-side game was put, and passed, at the 1958 national AGM. This rule change came into practice in most regions in the early 1960s (MacDonald, 1993a). Perhaps this change also reflected the thought that women were capable of more physical movement than previously thought. From personal experience, the static 9-a-side game where one’s movement was restricted to a specific third of the court could not be compared to the more challenging and less restrictive 7-a-side game which came in halfway through my secondary school education.

More changes and developments were to follow in the 1970s. Influenced by a social climate that suggested married women needed ‘time-out’ from looking after their children, which I discussed in the discourse *Doctor knows best*, netball administrators around the country created new competitions, including ones held during the week. Married women, who traditionally were expected to give up playing, now flocked to join these new mid-week competitions. Nauright and Broomhall (1994) stated that these women organised care for their children; while they do not specify who cared for the children and where, I suggest that women on the sideline ‘looked out’ for these children while their mothers played, in a similar manner as expressed by some of the married lady footballers. In this way, married netballers could also discursively construct themselves as ‘good’ mothers, while enjoying a social and physical outlet from their normal daily routine.

Perhaps changes to the playing uniform could be considered one of the most significant changes. Box-pleated gym tunics and blouses (sometimes ties and stockings as well) which had become for the first half of the 1900s the “standard school uniform for New Zealand girls” (Coney, 1986, p. 163) was adopted by netball teams throughout the country and enabled the players, according to

Nauright and Broomhall (1994), to move much more freely. This uniform by the 1970s was replaced by a more modern outfit of short skirts, short-sleeved tops and socks (Netball New Zealand, 2010). However, even with these small changes in playing outfits, netball continued to conform to dominant notions of femininity and appropriate female behaviour. Newspaper clippings described Joan Harnett, captain of the national team in the late 1960s and early 70s, as “a long-legged beauty”, “the male’s ideal sportswoman” and “the essence of femininity” (cited in Romanos & Woods, 1992, p. 47), reinforcing feminist claims of the 1990s that the print media consistently constructed female athletes as objects of men’s desire (Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Duncan, 1990).

Neither competing with men for space, nor challenging dominant constructions of masculinity or femininity, netball continued to flourish as the most recognised and ‘appropriate’ sport for females in New Zealand (Cox & Thompson, 2004). Consequently, many footballers found that when they asked people to guess what sport they played, the response they received was netball (Cox, 1998). Trendi discussed how people were quite astonished when they discovered she had given up netball in order to play football, and questioned her judgement:

“Why on earth have you given up netball when you are so good at netball?”

I didn’t really have an answer. I don’t actually know why I gave up – why I wanted to do soccer so much. Maybe it was what males were doing and there was going to be more male contact. I don’t know – football’s exciting and a bit different.

From a feminist perspective, femininity and masculinity as ‘normative’ principles of heterosexuality are usually expressed in dichotomous terms. In a sporting context, netball symbolizes some of these differences: being played in skirts rather than shorts, involving non-contact versus contact play and being spatially regulated as opposed to complete freedom of movement (Cox & Thompson, 2004). The playing surface is another major difference; it is difficult for netballers to get dirty as they play on concrete or asphalt courts. In contrast, footballers play on grass fields, often muddied by previous games and inclement weather. Getting muddy and dirty contrasted strongly with the ‘cleanliness’ of netball and I suggest, using my own experience as an example, that this was another reason why some people disapproved of women playing football.

My football game finished late so I jumped in the car without showering or changing and came straight down to Newmarket Park so I wouldn't miss the start of the match between our men's team and Christchurch United in the National League. The headquarters of the AFA were at Newmarket Park so I asked the female staff if I could change out of my muddy football gear in their toilets. One of them just looked at me in horror and said, "Do you really enjoy getting so muddy"?

Foucault (1977) argued that normalisation became one of the great powers at the end of the classical age; normality indicated membership of a homogenous social body but also played a part in classifying and ranking individuals in a hierarchy of status. In this sense, the close association of feminine appearance and practices with netball acted to normalise women in sport, particularly as their first contact with a team sport as a child was likely to have been netball. Therefore, I would suggest that the power effects of this discourse, *The best game for girls is netball* were twofold: firstly, those women who deviated from the feminine norms associated with netball, such as *The Lady Footballer* were classified and objectified as other or different; and secondly, the normalisation of netball as an appropriate female sport allowed it to be hierarchised as the number one sport for women in New Zealand.

In the next section, I turn to discuss the final strategic unity – a socialisation of feminine behaviour. I begin by discussing briefly the women's liberation movement and its campaign to improve the position of women in New Zealand. While all eight interviewed women denied being feminists, it was unlikely that they were not influenced, to varying degrees, by the manner in which feminism was discursively constructed in the newspapers and by changes in Government legislation affecting their status in society. It was common during these particular three years for the media to comment on women taking up positions formerly dominated by men such as the headline; "Freighter crew to include three women" (1973, March 29) and "women have established another foothold in a hitherto male domain – the control room at the headquarters of the Auckland Metropolitan fire brigade in Pitt St" (Firegirls blaze a trail, 1973, October 4, p. 2). By 'venturing' into the hitherto male-dominated world of football, *The Lady Footballer* believed she had 'equality' with men and perhaps, for this reason, saw no need to hold overtly feminist beliefs.

A socialisation of feminine behaviour

The women's liberation movement, or as it was also known, second wave feminism in New Zealand emerged during the late 1960s to early 1970s, fuelled, as Judith Aitken (1980) suggested, by the improved education and economic capacity of women and their increased access to the contraceptive pill during the post WWII period. Macdonald (1993c), while agreeing that New Zealand women had never been so well-educated, suggested that the increasing social trend to marry early and bear children found many women living on the "margins of society and condemned to inequality" (p. 8). The number of children born since the interwar years had increased, considerably, peaking in 1961 with 4.1 births per woman (Statistics NZ, 1993). In the discourse *Doctor knows best*, I discussed how psychiatrist McDonald coined the term suburban neurosis in 1968 to describe a syndrome that resulted in anxiety and feelings of uselessness as women discovered the reality of their daily lives was vastly different from their unrealistic pre-marital expectations (Kedgley, 1996). Coupled with public comments in 1973 from economist Sutch (1973) that women should not be confined to menial tasks and drudgery, whether through housework or paid employment, many women started to question what they saw as their disadvantaged position within society; not only was their lower status reflected in the type of occupations open to them but also in their income.

As May (1992) suggested, when Germaine Greer visited New Zealand in 1972 to promote *The Female Eunuch*, her speeches calling women to revolt against their traditional female roles galvanised many individual women into action; some joined groups to lobby, particularly the government, for change; others made changes in their own lives. Caught between the tensions of 'idealised' womanhood and experiences of their own reality, over 1,500 women attended the first United Women's Convention in Auckland in 1973 and, as Coney (1993a) argued, this was a clear indication that women's discontent was widespread. The Women's Liberation Movement was never a nationally organised movement; instead women joined hundreds of small groups or collectives to carry out its aims. The catch cry of the movement, the 'personal is political,' revealed, perhaps for the first time, as May (1992) pointed out, the depth of discrimination against women in all aspects of society.

By 1975, and coinciding with the International Women's Year, government statutes had resulted in the Equal Pay Act (1972) and the Domestic Purposes Benefit (1973); the Select Committee had published its report on women's rights and a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion was set up. In 1974, the University of Waikato and Victoria University both offered a Women's Studies course and the first Women's Refuge was set up in Christchurch (Herd, 2005). Two examples from The New Zealand Herald clearly indicated that when women did something considered untraditional, discourses associated with the feminist movement were always included; for example, "BEWARE THAT SIREN SOON – IT MAY BE A FAIR COP", were the headlines on the front page, warning motorists that the Auckland City Council had decided to employ female traffic officers at exactly the same rate of pay as their male counterparts (1973, March 15, p. 1). The second example was placed in the sports section; using the headline "WITH WOMEN'S LIB NO ROCKING BOAT" followed by "with the arrival of these days of women's lib perhaps it was only a matter of time before the fairer sex set their sights on rowing as a competitive sport," the reporter advised readers that the New Zealand Women's Amateur Rowing Association was sending a coxed four to the Australian Women's championship for the first time (1973, April 11, p. 13).

I begin the discussion of socialisation discourses with the one I have named *It's your duty* which appeared to be as prominent in 1973 as I suggested it was in 1921. However, there was a distinct change in how it was now discursively constructed. In 1921, it was every woman's duty to marry and bear children – in other words it was their biological destiny. Perhaps influenced by the sex/gender distinction that early second wave feminists used to circumvent this biological imperative (Oakley, 1972), and an understanding that marriage might be just an option for women (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994), this discourse by 1973 focused on the appropriate characteristics and behaviours of married women in order for them to be perceived as 'good' or 'normal' wives and mothers.

It's your duty

This discourse, *It's your duty*, primarily positioned the married women I interviewed as their husband's 'helpmate' or 'supporter'. Echoing Thompson's (1999b) research detailing how wives facilitated and serviced their husband's sport, both Patria and I washed (without payment) the playing strip for the men's

teams that our husbands coached as part of our understanding of what ‘normal’ wives did. Patria’s husband coached a National League team which travelled throughout the country to play, and as she explained;

On Sunday night the guys would come off the plane from Otago at midnight. My husband would come home with the gear bag and I would be washing gear at 1 o’clock in the morning. I would wash all the dirt off the socks first and then put them through with the shorts. The shirts I would leave to soak and then put them through the next day. (Patria)

The women’s team at Mt Wellington had initial difficulties in being accepted by some of the male committee members and, as Jayne recollected, members of her team did a tremendous amount of work around the club in order to be considered ‘proper’ club members. Sports feminists such as Thompson (1999b) would argue their hard work was facilitating men’s sport rather than their own and as such would continue to position sport as a man’s domain. From Jayne’s perspective, however, this was a necessary strategy in order to become accepted, and she said:

Gradually the women’s team would do things, like we would get involved. I remember when they had a working bee; our team came and painted the changing rooms. We weren’t greasing to get in but just letting them see that we were valuable club members. We used to sell toasted sandwiches in the canteen to make money for them and often used to take our turn at collecting the gate-money.

Single players who were interviewed talked about going along and supporting the top men’s team of their club yet there is no mention of any reciprocity of support from the male players. Women’s support and service of men’s sport, according to Thompson (1999b), is no more than an extension of their duties as good wives. In most male sports, players’ wives and girlfriends were called upon to provide and serve afternoon tea or at least bring a ‘plate’ for the after-match function; and as Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith (1989) wrote in their examination of gender, power and culture in New Zealand, provincial shows and race meetings were also dependent on the mobilisation of wives’ domestic skills.

The quality of selflessness, which appeared to be an integral characteristic of the discourse *It’s your duty*, was found to be as prominent during the early 1970s as it was in 1921. In words reminiscent of what headmistress Blanche Butler told girls from the YWCA that the ordinary girl “has got to live her life as a sacrifice on the altar for others” (cited in Coney, 1986, p. 49), both Chelsea and

Hannah used the word selfish to describe ‘putting themselves first’. In Chelsea’s opinion, you had to choose between being an elite athlete and a married woman because you could not do both: “To be a high performance athlete you must be purely *selfish* and think of yourself first, so you are totally focussed on what *you* want to do. By doing that, you become a high performance athlete”. Hannah also illustrated that she understood there was conflict between social expectations of being a selfless woman and her personal desire to be the best football player she could:

You know I was just so focused on playing. I didn’t care if it rained or shined as long as I could play football. I was very, very one-sided and *selfish*. I just wanted to play and I wanted to be the best when I was playing and I would have trained like a mad woman to be able to keep achieving it too.

While these interviewed women might be considered as participants in a breakthrough generation, through increased social freedom from fertility control and access to improved education, the power effects of this discourse can be seen in the way they negotiated this discourse of *It’s your duty*. Irrespective of their marital status and despite feminist discourses of women’s right to equality, opportunity and independence, these women appear to have been strongly influenced in their formative years by dominant discourses surrounding the nuclear family and the role of women in New Zealand during the 1950s.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the discourse *The ‘gentler’ sex* ambivalently positioned *The Girl Footballer* both as a moral reformer and as a physically frail woman in need of protection from the ‘evils’ of society. By 1973, the discourse that women were physically frail and in need of protection appeared to have disappeared. This disappearance, I suggest, may have resulted from changes to the physical education curriculum in New Zealand schools and to the general increase, as Coakley (2007) suggested, in numbers of women participating in sport by the 1970s. Thus, in the next part of this section, I only discuss how this discourse positioned *The Lady Footballer* as a moral reformer.

The ‘gentler’ sex

By 1973, the discourse *The ‘gentler’ sex* suggested that New Zealand society still expected women to be responsible for upholding moral standards of behaviour for both men and women. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the interviewed

women's understanding of swearing which suggested that women, as part of their reforming role, were not only expected to refrain from swearing themselves (or run the risk of being thought unladylike), but also to stop men from swearing. Chelsea expressed how she negotiated the tricky problem of being usually the only woman in the football clubrooms, a predominantly male environment where swearing often took place:

If the men were in the changing rooms and I went past and they were swearing and carrying on, that was my problem but if I was in the room with them and they were swearing and carrying on, I wouldn't stand for it. I would tell them, "don't talk like that, I am around." They did – they actually behaved.

Jayne also told men off for swearing in front of her and would never let her sons swear, but Patria, because she thought "men did not have the brains to use other words", did not object to men swearing as long as the words were not directed at her personally. The simple fact of men swearing placed many female footballers in a catch-22 situation, as the vignette below detailing my experience the morning after attending an all-male coaching dinner, demonstrated.

One of the male coaches apologised to me next morning; "I'm sorry there was so much swearing last night after dinner." Oh dear, what do I say to that? I hate swearing, my insides wince with the harsh sounds and the anger so clearly evident behind the words, particularly the references to female anatomy. From my upbringing, it is considered ungentlemanly to swear in front of women plus I'm not used to it. But I know if I ask them to refrain, the likely response is, "well, leave if you don't like it." Then I miss out on sharing the camaraderie that is part and parcel of the night times. I can't win. If I object to their swearing, then I am not one of them, I am other, reinforcing again that I am a woman rather than a coach. If I don't object, then there are questions such as 'well, she didn't say anything.' In the end, I just shrugged off his concern and pretended it didn't matter.

I suggest that swearing, as an integral part of this discourse *The 'gentler' sex*, reflected not only the confusion and conflict many men felt about the entry of women into football – a domain they had been accustomed to thinking of as their own – but also, in general, about women's entry into the public arena. If they accepted the discourses of liberal feminism and treated women equally, did that

mean they treated them just the same as they would their fellow man? Or were they expected to alter their behaviour? How were they meant to behave? In a similar manner, as I have demonstrated above, *The Lady Footballer* also had to choose and/or negotiate her positioning, in this case, as the ‘moral reformer’. This discourse clearly shows how “a multiplicity of discursive elements” (Foucault, 1978, p.100) can come into play to create complexity, resistance and compliance in relationships of power, and offers researchers the opportunity to explain why people utilise discourses in different ways.

In the final part of this section, I discuss the discourse which I have named *Am I different to other women?* According to May (1992), the complementary equality which sanctioned men and women to utilise their different talents in different spheres of society was, by the beginning of 1970s, now embodied in the notion of equal rights for men and women and the right to be different. However, as I discussed in Chapter Four, differences between men and women were thought to be biological or psychological, rather than discursively constructed, and different qualities and characteristics became stereotypically associated with each sex.

Am I different from other women?

An examination of the 1973 registration lists indicates no discernible pattern between women’s teams in terms of age; teams included players from 14 to 36 years of age, although the bulk appeared to be between 18 and 22. Papakura Ladybirds and Eastern Suburbs Ladies teams both had mothers and daughters playing together. In the 1921 era, married women took up administrative roles in newly formed clubs and acted as team chaperones but never took to the field to play. This time, both married and single women played; chaperones became team managers, and any administration by women was carried out within an existing football club structure. However, reports in Auckland newspapers in 1973 consistently referred to players (even though many were single and quite young) in terms of their heterosexual relationships, identifying them as wives, girlfriends or mothers. Simons reported in the *8 O’Clock* that “Margaret Hodge, secretary of the East Coast Bays club and wife of its Chairman, did a good job in goal for Bays” and Mrs Innes, who was the first secretary of the NWFA, thought women wanted to play football because “the girls want to share a common interest with their husbands, boyfriends and children”. (NWFA scrapbook, 1973). *The Sunday*

News made the assumption that in spite of playing football, a beautiful girl *must* have a husband or boyfriend. “Why does a beautiful girl play a knicker-ripping, pantyhose-laddering game, hair-style-flattening game like soccer? And what does hubby or the boyfriend think?” (NWFA scrapbook, 1973). The Auckland Star advised its readers that ‘Football is a family affair for Ray and Gaye Mears’, depicting the parents dressed in football gear with their two daughters in dresses, one of whom was kicking a football (NWFA scrapbook, 1973).

The complex relationship between playing a traditionally male sport and constructions of femininity and sexuality have been noted in several studies of football (Caudwell, 1999; Cox & Thompson, 2000) and rugby (Chase, 2006). So if the discourses produced by the media assumed that that the players’ sexuality was heterosexual, how then did the interviewed women construct their femininity?

In discussions with the interviewed women, their understandings about femininity varied considerably. Some like Iva thought that having a husband and children ensured her femininity, reinforcing the association between biological imperatives and heterosexuality. Others thought femininity was about a ‘look’ – body size, and the way you dressed and moved, reinforcing Wood’s (2005) suggestion that women’s appearance acted as a significant marker of femininity. Jayne’s understanding of femininity was quite traditional and equated femininity to being ladylike; “a lady wouldn’t get dirty and fall over and kick somebody or swear. I don’t imagine a lady would be terribly physical and get a sweat up”. To get around her perceived conflict of being a lady and playing football, she insisted that her team be called a women’s team rather than the prevailing tendency to name club teams as ladies’ teams such as Eastern Suburbs Ladies. Jayne felt that to describe oneself as a woman enabled freedom from the restrictive behaviours associated with being ladylike.

Mothers, according to Hannah and Trendi, were associated with instilling these restrictive behaviours in girls at an early age; a comment which accords with suggestions by both Brownmiller (1984) and Haug and Others (1987) that women were ‘drilled’ in feminine practices. In this way, young girls come to understand and differentiate between ‘normal’ and non-normal femininity. During her interview, Hannah recalled; “You know, if my Mum saw me now, slouching and with my legs uncrossed, she’d say, ‘Sit up straight’.” Trendi described how her

mother always dressed her in lovely dresses, “pink and mauve and other pretty colours with embroidery on” because that was how girls should be dressed.

Concern with what women wore was also taken up by the media, as it was in 1921, which served to help normalise femininity. Maddaford in *The New Zealand Herald* reported that the Auckland representative players playing their first game against Wellington were “decked out in a smart uniform, shin pads, imported boots, headbands and all” (NWFA scrapbook, 1973). Headbands were not part of men’s playing kit (that was to come 20 years later) so perhaps Maddaford was implying a gender difference for in the photograph which I have of this representative team, not one player was wearing a headband.

Three of the interviewed women enjoyed practices stereotypically attributed to boys. Hannah took great delight in being a tomboy and, although the label marked her as ‘different’ to other girls, she nevertheless enjoyed being able to compete with males on seemingly equal terms at Primary and Intermediate Schools. While Hannah does not mention what happened at Secondary School, she says she continued to play football in the park with her brother and his friends until she was approached to join a women’s team when she was around 15 years old:

I always was a tomboy. I grew up with a neighbourhood of boys; there were 15 boys in our street. I would get to school, and there are girls there, and I went, “How do I fit into this?” I was always down at the rugby field, playing rugby with the boys. I used to hate Christmas time because I would end up with all the blooming stuff like dolls and my brother ended up with trucks and tanks.

In western society, this resistance to ‘training for femininity’ (that is, the adaptation to the female sex role through restrictions in movement and physical manners of expression) is often alluded to in psychological terms as tomboyism (Palzkill, 1990; Young, 1980). As I discussed in Chapter Four, a common finding in different countries was that female footballers often referred to themselves, or were referred to by others, as tomboys. In Jayne’s case, she said, “I was always a tomboy. I wasn’t a particularly feminine person although I liked to get dressed up and put makeup on now and then”. Chelsea, perhaps because she was older and had travelled overseas prior to playing, noted that she and her fellow players might be different to ‘normal’ New Zealand females:

I was a tomboy because I was brought up with brothers and we used to play together. We [the team] were very similar – we wouldn't really give a damn what people thought, we would just try and play. The players were a different breed because they were not your norm, they were your tomboys.

The remaining players, all of whom had played different sports at school and had been influenced by their family or friends' contact with football, simply saw playing football as a new experience – something that was exciting and bit different – so why not have a go? However, once the players had played their first game of football, it appeared that any conflict produced by this discourse and I different was simply ignored as love for the game, and the social companionship which they found within their teams, created opportunities for *The Lady Footballer* to step outside the 'normalised' role for women during that time. In the vignette below, I detail how I remember my first game of football on Sunday April 29, 1973 – the first day of the start of the NWFA league competition in Auckland.

Twenty-two women – some young, some not so young – gathered together at Nicholson Park, Mt Eden to play their first game of football. Laughter filled the air on the frosty Sunday morning as everyone tried to remember what they had learnt in training. “Kick the ball hard”, yelled the coach. Oops, I missed it completely! “Keep your eye on the ball”, then encouraged the bemused coach. Andy was only 25, but we thought he was an expert; he could really play football. Up and down the field we ran. Then, a sprint to the ball, crash went two players' bodies as they tumbled to the ground. “Are you okay?” “Sure, are you?” said the two players as they helped each other up from the muddy ground.

Down the wing, the player sped, ball at her feet. Yes, she is going to cross it. ‘Watch the ball, keep your eyes open all the time, hit it with your forehead’; the thoughts tumbled through my head, echoing the coach's instructions from Wednesday night. Ouch, it's hard. Oh my god, it's gone in the back of net. Yeah, I've scored my first goal and it's a header. I punch the air and dance around in excitement, imitating the male players when they score a goal. Happiness fills me as I jog back to the halfway line to restart the game, 1-0 to us. On the sideline, the small crowd comprising parents, husbands, boyfriends and two or three children clapped, “well done, Barbara”.

30 minutes each way. It doesn't seem a long time. I wished the game could go on forever. I love scoring goals – the sensation of whacking the ball as hard as you can and seeing it fly into the back of the net far beyond the outstretched hands of the keeper. Well, she isn't too athletic; maybe that's why she's in goal, that's where they stick women who can't run. But perhaps nobody has taught her yet about how to dive to her left or right. She's never going to stop goals standing still in the middle between the goalposts. And she has to keep her legs together, at least this way the ball will hit her on the shins rather than go through her legs. Oh, that would be so embarrassing.

The whistle blows for full-time and my first game comes to an end but it's only seven days until the next one. Why did I have to wait until I was 26 to play football? This is love at first kick. As I walk off the field to my family and then to the dressing room, I make a vow to myself, I am going to master this game.

In the same way as my reflections indicated, all of the interviewed women expressed a delight in and a love of the game after playing it for the first time. For some, like Malia, it was more than love, “it was a passion” that has sustained her for more than 30 years; she is still involved in coaching young players today. For others, the camaraderie and socialising after the game were equally as important in maintaining their love of the game, as Jayne recalled with a degree of nostalgia:

We played because we loved playing but we also liked the social gatherings afterwards. Metro and Mt Wellington had a wonderful relationship and we would all bring our guitars and we would be sitting there at 5 o'clock in the evening singing away. You know it was just fantastic. My boys still talk about how much they loved those days.

Football became incorporated into these women's lives. As Chelsea pointed out: “It has given me my lifestyle”. Football offered many opportunities for these women such as learning new skills, travel to foreign countries, meeting new people and holding decision-making positions; opportunities which allowed them to step outside the ‘normalised’ roles for women, particularly those prescribed for wives and mothers. For many people, gaining different opportunities as well as experiencing ‘togetherness’ is a highly motivating reason for participating in sports. Sports sociologist Coakley (2009) described this motivation to participate in sport as “intrinsic enjoyment” (p. 8) but I suggest the explanation offered by

Swedish academic Lars-Magnus Engstrom better described how *The Lady Footballer* felt about her football; “one does not participate in sport primarily in order to achieve something but instead, the ‘activity is (self) sufficient in itself” (cited in Hjelm & Olofsson, 2004, p. 197).

The love that the players described for football, plus the prevailing discourses of liberal feminism, may have enabled *The Lady Footballer* to resist, in her own differing ways, any negative discursive effects of power relationships. In other words, the power effects of pleasure may have been greater for *The Lady Footballer* than the potential power effects of the other discourses. However, the combination, the intersection and the modification of all the various discourses discussed in this chapter, cohered sufficiently to provide a positive environment in which women’s football could develop. I now turn to examine the differences between how *The Girl Footballer* and *The Lady Footballer* were produced as targets and objects of knowledge, which led to two totally different outcomes for female footballers

Why did women’s football flourish?

Significant social changes preceded both time periods when *The Girl* and *Lady Footballer* began to play football. In the previous chapter, Levesque (1986) suggested that women’s growing independence after WWI created a climate of fear which affected the emergence of *The Girl Footballer*. In contrast, the social changes in the late 1960s helped to produce a climate of ‘equality’ that enabled *The Lady Footballer* to start and continue to play football. Facilitated by discourses of liberal feminism, which actively promoted the idea that women should have the same access as men to social, political and economic activities, women and men established the NWFA and various club teams. Liberal feminist discourses, I suggest, also influenced the decision of the AFA to allow the NWFA representative team to play a curtain-raiser (against Wellington) to an international match in their first year of existence. This decision had significant effects; not only did it ensure that the public, possibly for the first time, saw the best of women’s football but also, as the ruling body of football in Auckland, the AFA helped to start the process of ‘normalising’ women’s football by signifying a tacit approval for women to play the game.

A number of material factors were also important. The establishment of women’s football took place on its own. Despite considerable lobbying from the

Auckland Women's Rugby Association, the Auckland Rugby Union did not accept them as an affiliated association until 1991 although women had been playing rugby socially since the mid 1980s (Sabbage, 1991). Women had also been playing rugby league socially during the 1970s but, according to a spokeswoman at the Auckland Rugby League Association, the women's game was not formally organised until the start of the 1990s. Consequently, women's football did not suffer from being grouped together as a generic form of football as it did in 1921. While there were initial problems with obtaining sufficient grounds on which to play (see Cox & Thompson, 2004), the decision of the NWFA to play their competitions on Sunday, rather than on Saturday when the men played, was crucial in ensuring that the women did not have to compete with the men for ground resources. Thus, any likelihood of creating conflict by forcing club committees to make choices about who would play on the club grounds was eliminated. In addition, as Maddaford suggested in *The New Zealand Herald*, "with competition play on Sunday, rather than Saturday, women find they are getting much more support – often from soccer-playing husbands or boyfriends (NWFA scrapbook, 1975), an assumption that also helped to reinforce the heterosexual normativity of *The Lady Footballer*.

The combination of dominant discourses discussed in the previous chapter led to the disappearance of *The Girl Footballer*. By 1973, some of these constraining discourses had virtually vanished or at least had emerged in a modified form which made it possible for women to play football. For example, both discourses *Doctor knows best* and *Muscles for motherhood* were modified sufficiently to allow *The Lady Footballer* to play football but did not, to any degree, diminish the responsibility she owed to the "health of [her] children [and to] the solidity of the family"(Foucault, 1978, p. 147). The media's discursive construction of *The Lady Footballer* as heterosexual also, I suggest, continued to reassure the (primarily male) readers that women playing football were 'properly' feminine in other ways and, combined with the influential discourse that *Women can't play the 'real' game*, any challenge to male dominance of the sport was removed.

The discursive construction of *The Lady Footballer* as a female entitled to have some leisure time of her own but one who nevertheless continued to perform her 'proper' functions in society and behave in appropriately feminine ways coincided, to varying degrees, with the female footballer's own perception of

reality. None of the interviewed women were committed feminists; they did not establish football or play because of any firmly held feminist principles. They still continued to perform the duties considered important for a 'good' wife/mother/girlfriend; and as untrained footballers with little skill, received no accusations of being pseudo-men or lesbians. While the discourses of liberal feminism helped to lay the foundations, paradoxically I suggest that women's football was allowed to flourish precisely because *The Lady Footballer* was not fighting to be 'liberated'. However, the women who played in these beginning years could be considered as 'norm-breakers' because through their actions, they challenged the 'judges of normality' within an apparatus of football.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand (1980 to 2008)

Introduction

In contrast to the previous two chapters in which I examined how *The Girl* and *The Lady Footballer* were constructed in particular ways as they emerged as “objects of knowledge” (Foucault, 1978, p. 105), in this chapter I primarily examine the power-knowledge discourses in one strategic unity – the sportisation of women’s bodies – over three decades as women’s football became normalised as *The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*. The focus on this strategic unity results from the fragmentation and splintering of discourses associated with the other two strategic unities – a medicalisation of women’s bodies and a socialisation of feminine behaviour – which made it difficult to identify and track them throughout this period. As Foucault (1978) pointed out, “we must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable” (p. 100). Discourses associated with these two strategic unities did not disappear completely but their power effects were minimal during this period, especially in terms of normalising football as a sport for women to *play*. As a result, I have not examined them in depth. Foucault (1977, p. 184) argued that normalisation emerged as “one of the great instruments of power” in the 1700s, a period during which:

the marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation were increasingly replaced – or at least supplemented – by a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogeneous social body but also playing a part in classification, hierarchization and the distribution of rank.

Normalisation is an instrument of disciplinary power which, as discussed in Chapter Three, is more successful if carried out in a system of gratification-punishment that rewards individuals for good behaviour rather than just punishing those who commit offences (Foucault, 1977). Normalising judgement does, however, make those who deviate from correct behaviour subject to a range of micro-penalties that include “minor deprivations and petty humiliations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 178).

In this chapter, which is directed towards my second research question, I focus on what Foucault (1978) identified as the “tactical productivity” and “strategical integration” of power-knowledge discourses as they influenced how female footballers experienced their integration into all aspects of football, including coaching and administration, as opposed to being objects of knowledge. As Foucault (1978) argued, this approach requires questioning power-knowledge discourses:

on the two levels of their tactical productivity (what reciprocal effects of power and knowledge they ensure) and their strategical integration (what conjunction and what force relationship make their utilization necessary in a given episode of the various confrontations that occur). (p. 102)

Rabinow and Rose (2003), in their introduction of Foucault’s works, suggested that Foucault used history to “grasp the way” contemporary configurations of problems and solutions “had come into existence” (p. xiii). Thus, in this third and final data chapter, I not only seek to understand the conditions whereby a discourse of *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand* “took on a consistency” (Foucault, 1978, p. 104) to ‘normalise’ football as game for females of all ages to play but also to examine how it concealed the problematic nature of women’s attempts to become involved in coaching and administration. I employ a wide range of sources of information as evidence in this chapter: in-depth interviews with an additional seven women; telephone interviews with four people; six scrapbooks; the minute books of the AFA, the Auckland Women’s Football Association (AWFA – formally changed from the NWFA in 1978) and the Auckland Junior Football Association (AJFA); and letters of correspondence from the AWFA between the AFA and the AJFA. In addition, I have incorporated socio-historical work from a number of New Zealand sociologists and historians, as well as using my own experiences as a form of evidence and an additional source of information because during this time I was involved in playing, administration and coaching football. These personal recollections are, as in the previous chapter, presented in italic font. I continue to structure this chapter in accordance with Foucault’s historical narrative and chronological approach as well as including a high level of detail because, as Rabinow and Rose (2003) suggested, through the concept of the apparatus, Foucault was able to “cut reality in different ways” as new problems, articulations and connections came into view, “precisely because of the level of detail at which they are described” (p. xv).

A quick glance on the internet brings up literally thousands of articles where authors have claimed their particular sport is indeed *the fastest growing sport* either in their own country or globally. In most cases, their claims are based on recorded increases in participation numbers. In New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s, football administrators, government officials and media personnel alike used this discourse to describe how women were participating in football in ever-increasing numbers. For example, in the magazine *The Sun* in 1988, reporter Les Wilson stated that “there are now 90 competitive teams in Auckland alone and no one has totalled the school teams. So soccer is certainly the fastest growing team sport for women” (Cox scrapbook, 1988). In another unnamed newspaper, as part of a report on the New Zealand Women’s Football Association’s (NZWFA) national tournament held in Auckland in 1983, the following words were underlined: “The sport has grown from 10 to 60 teams in just one decade” (Chelsea scrapbook, 1983). However, the use of this discourse is problematic because, as Williams (2003) argued in England, it emphasises a superficiality that does not recognise the length of time women have been playing the sport; instead focusing on a female interest in football that is perceived to be of recent duration. One of the interviewed women encountered this kind of understanding as recently as 2007:

I just went to the BP station in Dominion Rd and the guy looked at the Coach Force thing [logo on the car] and said, “oh not many women play soccer do they”. I was like “quite a lot play soccer. It’s one of the most played sports in the world for women”. “Well what about here?” I was like “yep, it’s pretty huge.” (Myra)

This discourse implies a linear, progressive development of the game and suggests that the interests of women in football have been successfully met. The history of women’s football, the ways in which female players were discursively constructed at different historical times and football’s struggle to be accepted as an appropriate sport for females are all overlooked by this emphasis on consumption; that females are *doing* football. To *do* football, however, encompasses more than just playing the sport; it also includes other aspects such as administration and coaching.

The analysis in this chapter highlights Foucault’s (1978) argument that “we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one;

but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. It is this distribution that we must reconstruct” (p. 100). In the previous two chapters, the distribution of medicalisation and socialisation discourses (and their ability to criss-cross and interweave) exercised significant power effects on women in football. By the 1980s, however, the power effects of these strategic unities did not have as significant an impact upon the development of women’s game as did discourses around the sportisation of her body. It is for this reason that I structure the chapter slightly differently from the two previous chapters, and begin with a medicalisation of women’s bodies and a socialisation of female behaviour before finishing with a sportisation of women’s bodies.

A Medicalisation of Women’s Bodies

The use of neo-liberal discourses within governmental circles (Cheyne, O’Brien & Belgrave, 2008; Gillespie, 1993; King, 2003) impacted in several ways on the medical profession during the 1980s. The claim that the medical profession should control the health system because of its superior knowledge was challenged by neo-liberal reformers who argued that better care could be provided by separating professional services from managerial services (Cheyne et al., 2008). In addition, this perspective emphasised that patients were to be treated as consumers who had the right to be informed, and to make choices based on that information. Of all the major events of a medical nature, the Cartwright report into the treatment of cervical cancer at National Women’s Hospital in Auckland perhaps could be seen as a watershed in the development of ethics in research in New Zealand and in doctor-patient relations (Dew & Kirkman, 2007). In particular for women, the report significantly impacted on the relationship between women’s bodies and the medical profession for, as Marilyn Waring claimed, “the Cartwright report made a huge difference to women’s sense of rights about their health and what they can ask and what they can expect” (Cited in Herd, 2005, p. 59).

Doctor knows best

The discourse of *Doctor knows best* continued to circulate throughout New Zealand. However, this time there appeared to be greater resistance from women in following doctors’ advice. Whether one or a combination of factors such as evidence released by the Cartwright report, the feminist movement’s emphasis on

women taking control of their own bodies and the individualistic philosophies of neo-liberalism were influential in creating this resistance is difficult to determine. However, as Dew and Kirkman (2007) argued, the traditional dominance of the medical profession was under threat from a number of quarters, including the women's health movement, the professionalisation efforts of midwives and nurses, and the growth in alternative or complementary therapies. Joyce Herd (2005) pointed out during the 1980s, "women not only demanded control of their own bodies but access to information about the medical and surgical procedures carried out on them" (p. 52). Some women used that information to make informed choices about their health but others, as Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice (1998) claimed, chose instead to adopt a variety of alternative health strategies.

Women's health groups seldom raised concerns around sport or physical activity, as evidenced by the lack of any research in this area during the decade 1976-1986 (Curry, 1988). However, the establishment of a Women's Health Committee in 1985 with a brief of examining health issues from a women's perspective, not only involved women in policy and decision-making processes but also marked a transition from concentration on maternal, reproductive and child-bearing issues to the recognition that women's health covered a wide range of experiences (Health Services Research and Development Unit, 1988), including physical activities. In the same year, a governmental inquiry into sport found a general consensus that a positive correlation existed between physical and mental well-being and regular physical exercise (Sport on the move, 1985). Its findings led to the establishment of a task force specifically charged with identifying and removing barriers that impeded women and girls' participation in sport; in football this resulted in an allocation of money to hire a full-time executive officer for the national body, NZWFA, for the first time.

During the 1980s many of the medical/scientific theories which had constrained women's involvement in sport were beginning to be dismissed for the myths that they were. Dr Ken Dyer (1982), in *Challenging the Men*, pointed out that women had traditionally performed at significantly lower levels of sport to that of men but those self-same women had also been subject to strong social pressures designed to deter them from striving for maximal success and high achievement. He further suggested that with training and exercise programmes, the performances of female athletes could "approach, equal or exceed men" in

certain sports within the lifetime of the current participants (Dyer, 1982, p. 7). Various research studies around the world indicated that the training response of female athletes differed very little to that of male athletes (see Drinkwater, 2000). The Australian Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act, 1984 which rendered unlawful the exclusion of girls (and boys) under the age of 12 years from participating in any sporting activity was based on medical research that stated “prior to the onset of puberty, there are no significant physiological differences between boys and girls” (Oldenhove, 1989, p. 188).

Thus, while the influence of the *Doctor knows best* discourse had constrained and restricted women’s participation in sport for many years, the number of medical scientists involved in researching women in sport continued to grow and it was their research findings that made it possible to countermand previous scientific ‘truths’. In this way, women in sport faced with scientific claims that excluded their *full* participation in sport could exercise power by pitting medical science against medical science or, as Foucault (2001) would say, using a “mode of action upon the actions of others” to refute such claims (p. 341).

In women’s football, the *Doctor knows best* discourse only visibly emerged in one domain – that of mixed junior football. In ongoing debates in the early 1980s, I recall regularly citing medical research that stated there was no significant difference between young girls and boys in order to support my argument that both the AWFA and AJFA should permit boys and girls to play together. Indeed, although I read widely and searched for scientific knowledge to support my position, this knowledge was initially rejected by male and female administrators grounded in the discourse that constructs men as the ‘knowers’ of football, and I discuss this further in the next section. Thus, in contrast to the 1921 debate *between medical doctors* about the suitability of female participation in football, by the 1980s the struggle had shifted to *whether* male and female administrators *would accept* recent medical research that supported mixed football or continue to be strongly influenced by discourses that constructed girls as weaker and more vulnerable and thus at physical risk from playing with boys. Chelsea, for example, recalled a male administrator arguing that “it’s not fair to have a girl in a boys’ team because the boys will not tackle in case they hurt her”.

The debate that occurred in New Zealand over mixed football reflected challenges in many western countries to discourses of female frailty. During the mid-1970s to mid-1980s growing numbers of legal challenges to girls being

forbidden to play on boys' teams emerged. In a prominent 1978 case in England, when a 12-year-old girl was banned from playing football in a local league with boys, the judgement for this decision was based on biological beliefs that women did not have the strength and stamina to run, kick and tackle. This result became case law in England and was used to prevent other young girls from playing mixed soccer for the next decade (Hargreaves, 1994). The debates around mixed sport perhaps can be summed up, as Hall (2004) suggested in Canada, as belonging to two opposing factions – the separatists and the integrationists. The separatists argued for separate (but equal) programmes for boys and girl but if girls were integrated into boys' teams, then boys had to be allowed to play in girl's teams and this, in their opinion, would be “extremely harmful to girls' and women's sport” (p. 36). The integrationists, on the other hand, argued that ability and not gender should be the criterion for forming teams and girls should be permitted to play with boys if they have the necessary skills. Foucault (1978, p. 99) pointed out that relations of power/knowledge are not static but are “matrices of transformations” whereby something unexpected may be produced or created from a particular form of knowledge. During this period, new medical knowledges regarding the equivalence of (particularly young) bodies led to power effects that enabled people to challenge conventional knowledge about sporting females and, in the case of mixed football, meant that by 1985 mixed football was adopted by both the AWFA and AJFA.

In summary, the constraining elements of the *Doctor knows best* discourse that dominated in the previous two eras did not appear to impact a great deal on the individual player during this period, although it is possible that neo-liberal discourses about women taking responsibility for their own health by choosing to participate in physical activity and sport may be viewed as a positive influence. However, the tactical productivity of dispelling the myths related to previous discourses related to medicalisation of women's (sporting) bodies appeared to be the most significant in the consolidation of the discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*.

A Socialisation of Feminine Behaviour

The struggle to improve the status of women in New Zealand society continued throughout the 1970s. Free contraception, equal pay and opportunity, abortion on

demand and non-discriminatory education were just some of the demands of members of the women's liberation movement, as Macdonald (1993c) noted, in their quest to change the stereotypical role of the passive, submissive sex object that passed as the successful 'woman' in New Zealand. Many of these demands, often resulting from strategies formulated at the four women's conventions held in Auckland (1973), Wellington (1975), Christchurch (1977) and Hamilton (1979) resulted in legislation giving women more opportunity and choice in their lives. As Margaret Wilson (2005) asserted, these conventions fulfilled several purposes but recognition that "women fulfil many roles throughout their lifetime and that we should not be stereotyped into one role [wife and mother] for our entire lives", was what many women sought throughout those years. The domestic purposes benefit which was introduced for all parents (and taken up by mainly women) caring for dependent children without the support of a partner in 1973, the Matrimonial Property Act in 1976 which provided for an equitable division of assets when a marriage ended and the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 which was directed primarily at removing barriers limiting women's entry into jobs and professions, were just some examples of legislation which were passed (Statistics NZ, 2005), and which enabled women, perhaps for the first time, to make real choices in their lives.

Some women sought to make changes through altering people's perceptions and expectations by, for example, reviewing sex-role stereotyping in New Zealand books read by primary school children. Set up by the New Zealand Council of Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity, 14 women examined 208 stories, ten dictionaries and wordbooks to ascertain how males and females were portrayed (Working Party on Sex-Role Stereotyping, 1975). Their findings, which were presented to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Women's Rights in April 1974, clearly indicated that males and females were depicted in traditional stereotypical ways. Adult females were almost exclusively shown in domestic situations or as schoolteachers. Role depictions of women, including witches and fairy godmothers, were limited to just 19 whereas men were shown in 61 different occupational roles. Depictions of children playing were also highlighted in stereotypical ways: 8.8% of boys played team sport but only 1.4% of girls while 19.3% of girls but only 1.6% of boys played with dolls (Working Party on Sex-Role Stereotyping, 1975). The National Council of Women (NCW) also advised the Select Committee on Women's Rights that girls, in spite of equal access to

education, were achieving less because society did not value their education as highly as boys (Page, 1996). In addition, if those girls who did go onto tertiary education continued to enrol only in arts subjects, then, as Dorothy Page (1996) suggested in her centennial history of the NCW, the New Zealand public was unlikely to see future appointments of judges, magistrates and other such professional roles. It is not surprising that the Select Committee on Women's Rights when it released its report in 1975 found that the main cause of sexual inequality in New Zealand was the acceptance of different traditional roles for men and women (Statistics NZ, 2005).

Many of these demands were driven by a liberal feminist agenda; if discriminatory practices could be eliminated through legal or social policies, men and women could then be viewed and treated as equals in their particular society. However, accepting women (or men) as a homogenous group where social changes would result in equal outcomes for everyone belied the growing awareness that women's needs and aspirations varied considerably. Influential factors such as age, sexual orientation, ethnicity and cultural beliefs also created differences. One of the major reasons for the demise of the women's conventions after 1979, according to Wilson (2005), was because the organisers acknowledged their inability to cater for the diversity and differences amongst the women who attended.

In a similar manner by the start of the 1980s, the feminist movement (the term 'women's liberation movement' was seldom heard by now) was splintered and, as Christine Gillespie (1980) suggested, in retreat. Many of the challenges and issues put forward by members of the movement, such as around abortion, created rifts between the women who objected on moral and religious grounds and those who believed it was their right to choose. Conflict also was created between the different philosophies of feminism such as Marxism versus radical, between those women who saw men as the 'enemy' and those who saw men as 'part of their lives' and Maori women who saw the feminist movement as "self-indulgent, mono-cultural and racist" (Coney, 1986, p. 280). While some groups which had a specific service focus such as rape crisis and sexual abuse counselling survived, the very complexity and diversity of these issues, and the animosity that was created at times, resulted in many of the earlier groups ceasing to operate (Coney, 1993b). However, individual women continued to take up the challenge of changing sexist attitudes and beliefs within their particular fields of interest such

as religion, the arts and professional organisations and unions. As Anne Else and Ros Noonan (1993) stated, these women “lobbied successfully for new positions and structures to give women members an effective voice” (p. 196). In this manner, the feminist movement entered the 1980s as a “fragmented conglomeration of groups” (Coney, 1993b, p. 60).

As I stated in the previous chapter, none of the eight interviewed women who played in 1973 helped to establish women’s football or played because of any firmly held feminist principles. Two women categorically denied being feminists: Trendi said, “I’m not a feminist” and Patria stated, “No, definitely not, I’m not a feminist”. However, the women’s comments about feminism often revealed a commitment to the principles of feminist equality but ambivalence about the discourses associated with *being* a feminist. Hannah and Gaye demonstrated this ambivalence when they said, “I’m not a staunch feminist but I would stand up for our rights” (Hannah) and “I’m not a feminist, although I want to see women have a fair share of life” (Gaye).

Of the seven women I interviewed who started playing football in the late 1970s and early 1980s, only two felt comfortable about referring to themselves as feminists. While the majority of women identified “fighting battles”, “being strong” and “knocking at boundaries” as feminist characteristics, Myra revealed how she had been influenced by media-generated discourses of the ‘truth’ about feminists, when she explained, “when you say to someone I’m a feminist, it’s like ‘big dyke’ or ‘bra-burning’ or ‘hate men’”. Jemina, who had spent much of her football and working career having to fit into male-dominated institutions, felt that feminists “moan about stuff that doesn’t really need moaning about” and that this “probably devalues a lot of things that they are trying to do”.

Despite also holding different views and understandings of the meaning of feminism, all of the interviewed women used discourses of equality in some form or other. For example, Myra pointed out that the football players she knew “would not define themselves as being feminists but I think everyone has those thoughts that you know they should be equal”. Throughout these years, the term equality or its variant forms were very much in the forefront of public attention through publicity about government legislation reforms and media coverage of examples of sexual inequalities. It is therefore highly likely that most people during this time would have read or heard of ‘equal pay’, ‘equal treatment’ or ‘equal rights’, although the meaning of the terms may have differed slightly from person to

person. Thus, I suggest, while feminism did not appear to play an active part in the lives of these women, through constant exposure to discourses of equality they were able to constitute and see themselves as equal to men; in this way, feminism and, more importantly, discourses of equality could be said to have played an influential role in their everyday lives.

It's your duty

By the 1990s, the discourse *It's your duty* retained its power effects but it was rendered fragile (Foucault, 1978) by a shift in the vocabulary used to describe marriage and motherhood in media articles. Words such as 'duty' and 'sacrifice' were now rarely heard or read. However, examples of marriage and motherhood in general sporting contexts continued to appear in the media, such as "New Zealand's best woman jockey now a proud mum" (People in Racing, 1991, p. 16). An article headlined "Family first for Tracy" discussed a netball player who resigned as a Silver Fern because of her "desire" to spend more time with her husband and family (Family first, 1991, p. 7). In media coverage of football, "SWANZ² mothers given celebrity status" was the headline of an article describing how two players at the FIFA Women's World Cup in China were receiving the bulk of Chinese media attention because they were mothers (Iva scrapbook, 1991).

The ongoing power effects of this discourse were also evident in the public reaction to media coverage of MP Marie Hasler's prize-giving speech at Baradene College in which she suggested that marriage and motherhood might not live up to women's expectations and that divorcee or single status might become a reality for many females (Hasler, 1991, p. 8). In a letter to the editor of *The New Zealand Herald*, Annemarie Kerridge not only argued that marriage and motherhood towered above any career and that "the richness of marriage surpasses any expectations I ever had" but suggested that Marie Hasler as a single woman should not be giving advice to schoolgirls; "If you haven't tried it...don't knock it" (Kerridge, 1991, p. 8).

One of the interviewed women, who attended an all-girls' high school like Baradene, was also exposed to a discourse that, like Hasler's comments, challenged the discourse of *It's your duty*. Mayi explained how she and her

² SWANZ – Soccer Women's Association of New Zealand. This term replaced New Zealand Women's Football Association at the beginning of the 1990s and remained in force until amalgamation with Soccer New Zealand.

classmates were continually told that they were too bright for motherhood and, as the top stream of students, they were destined for greater things. Reflecting on this experience, Mayi called it “social engineering”, and related how many of her friends from this class have struggled in their relationships with men after having it continually reinforced at school that motherhood was only for those of lower intellect.

Nicholson and Usher (1992) have suggested that it is the motherhood role that is the most characteristic of ‘femininity’. This biological capacity to bear and breastfeed children is extended ‘naturally’ to assumptions about women’s sexuality and their role in heterosexual relationships. Thus, the power of *It’s your duty*, even though the words duty and sacrifice have vanished, is highly influential in constraining women to act within what Butler (1993) would call a matrix of heterosexuality. The disappearance of words like sacrifice and duty does not lessen their tactical productivity. As Foucault (1978) pointed out, “silence and secrecy are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions” (p. 101). Therefore, the silence around the words sacrifice or duty and their replacement with vocabulary such as ‘proud mum’, ‘mothers’ and ‘desire’ (which intersected with discourses of neo-liberal free choice) continued to reinforce the discourse that motherhood and marriage were still the ultimate ambition for women.

The ‘gentler’ sex

In contrast to the previous chapter, the responsibility of women to uphold moral standards of behaviour in relation to swearing had changed considerably. By the 1980s, certain swear words were beginning to be heard on television and films and swearing no longer remained exclusively the domain of men. As a player and a coach during the 1980s, I heard players swear both on the playing field and in the dressing rooms. Some male coaches, perhaps demonstrating a perspective ‘of everyone being treated equally,’ no longer refrained from swearing in the presence of female players. One of the interviewed women saw it as quite normal that her male coaches would swear at her (or any other player) if she was playing badly or not putting in sufficient effort: “If you were slack, ‘F’ was quite a common word” (Sally).

In these circumstances, this discourse that previously constituted women as morally responsible for controlling swearing (their own and men’s) had, in Foucault’s (1978) terms, loosened its hold and provided for a “relatively obscure”

area “of tolerance” (p. 101) in which women and men could swear at and with each other without any apparent constraining effects.

Am I different from other women?

Many of the interviewed women agreed that they knew or recognised a feminine person when they saw her: Sally said, “You can look at someone and go, yeah she is a feminine girl, she likes wearing dresses and little tank tops and that...” For Myra, “probably your first thought of feminine is appearance.” However, most struggled to define exactly what femininity was. As have women in other western countries (see Holland, 2004; Wood, 2005), interviewees offered a range of meanings including connections to women’s biological make-up, to psychological attributes, to marriage and motherhood, and to how women walked and dressed. For example, when asked what she did to make herself feminine, Iva initially answered “I have kids and a husband”. This range of meanings was also noticeable in newspaper articles which drew upon psychological traits in comments such as “women are notoriously reluctant to promote themselves” (Life at top not all it seems, 1991, p. 3), and upon biological discourses in the argument that women should not serve aboard combat ships because with their “natural motherly instincts they would not be able to kill” (Phare, 1991, p. 1). Further, just as Francis (2006) pointed out, their descriptions of femininity were discursively constructed in relation to their understandings of masculinity, such as by saying feminine women did not have “deep voices” (Chelsea), did not have “short hair or anything like that or doesn’t look androgynous or anything along those lines” (Myra) or did not like “rough and tumble stuff” (Sally). Myra was not unusual in describing femininity by its distance from masculinity: “I don’t know how we got the message of what feminine is. I guess the further away from male, the male spectrum you get, the more you are perceived as feminine”.

The interviewees’ collective explanations reflect a poststructural understanding that femininity is no longer a monolithic term but one of multiplicity. As Iva expanded on her ideas, she appeared to see femininity as performative, in Butler’s (1990) terms:

I watched the netball the other night and that wasn’t very feminine, the way they were all throwing players around. ...I thought ‘shit, it is quite physical eh?’ I don’t know; [netball] can be feminine. I mean it’s a game so you play the game, then you finish, then you are whatever else you want to be.

The shift in discourses of femininity, particularly in relation to the discourse *Am I different from other women?*, was evident in Sally's comments. Describing growing up in the 1970s, she said, "When I was growing up, if you were a tomboy you played sport didn't you? But if you were feminine girls, you did the dancing. You didn't touch a football. You didn't run, nothing". In the 1980s, one interviewee recalled how her sexuality was questioned when she was the only girl in a representative team at an AJFA U-15 football tournament:

My teammates were really good, they just treated me as a player but I remember one boy coming up to me and saying, "Are you a transvestite or something?" I didn't know what it was but I knew it wasn't a good thing because he snarled at me when he said it. (Myra)

However, the change in discourses about femininity and sport were evident in Sally's reflections on her daughter's experiences in the 2000s when football and dancing would both be acceptable: "Now, they've got both. They've got the option of doing both and it's pretty well accepted for girls to do sports now".

By the time Sally's daughter began to play football, the 'strategical integration' of the various power knowledge discourses discussed in this section cohered sufficiently to allow for the emergence of a new discourse, *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*, and, within an apparatus of football, produced the conditions necessary for this discourse to circulate as the 'truth' about women's football. In the next section, under the strategic unity of *A sportisation of women's bodies*, I explore how a range of discursive elements intermeshed into a 'heterogeneous ensemble' to create a positive environment in which women's football could be normalised.

A Sportisation of Women's Bodies

The 1980s were a turbulent time for New Zealand in economic, social and sporting spheres. New Zealanders faced unprecedented inflation, unemployment and increasing levels of poverty (Cheyne et al., 2008; Gillespie, 1993; King, 2003), although this did not appear to have made any significant impact upon women's football, perhaps because those who played and administered women's football were predominantly white and middle-class. Legislative changes driven by a liberal feminist agenda of equality also reflected changing social discourses about women's roles in society (Else & Noonan, 1993; Page, 1996) and

influenced female footballers' claims for equal rights. Fundamentally, feminism takes as its central tenet that women have the right to participate fully in all aspects of social life (Thompson, 2002); irrespective of women's (or men's) personal beliefs, the efforts of the feminist movement and the associated Government legislation throughout the 1970s helped to change women's status and role in New Zealand, thereby creating possibilities for women to construct their 'reality' in different ways from their mothers and grandmothers. Sport, too, in Foucauldian terms, came to be seen through new 'eyes' as the country faced the reality of the inherently political nature of sport in ways that challenged rugby's status as the national game. These elements, in conjunction with the All Whites inaugural qualification for a football World Cup, and the ongoing successes of the national women's football team, intermeshed into a heterogeneous ensemble that created a positive environment in which football, and women's football specifically, could develop and flourish.

The three sporting elements I selected on the basis that they all began within six months of each other and, thus, had an overlapping and immediate effect: The FIFA World Cup qualifying series started for the All Whites on April 25, 1981 with a match against Australia and ended June 23, 1982 in Spain against Brazil (Adshead & Fallon, 1982); the Springbok tour commenced on July 22, 1981 against Poverty Bay and finished with the final match against the All Blacks in Auckland on September 12, 1981 (Ministry of Sport & Culture, 2009); and the national women's football team flew to Taiwan in early October 1981 to compete for the first time in the World Women's Invitational Tournament and finished runners-up (Cox & Ruane, 1997). While I believe there was a multiplicity of discursive elements that played some contributory part, I argue the immediacy of effect of these three sporting elements can be observed by the growth in the number of teams playing football the following year and hence, the discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand* could emerge and circulate as the 'truth'.

The first element was the game of rugby union. Despite New Zealand being a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement which discouraged sporting contacts with South Africa, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) refused to cancel the Springbok tour in 1981 (Richards, 1999). The Government also refused to intervene in what it believed was essentially a rugby matter. These two decisions led to widespread confrontation between people who thought the games

should be cancelled; those who thought the games should go ahead; and the police whose job was to ensure the games went ahead without any disturbances. Ostensibly the tour was fought on two ideological fronts; those who viewed the tour as Jock Phillips (1987) did with “disgust that New Zealand should host representatives of a regime build upon racism” (p. 262), and those like Prime Minister, Sir Robert Muldoon, who believed in the “basic principle of the right of sportsmen to make the final decision” (Richards, 1999). The protesters came from all walks of life; the church, unions, the National Council of Women, the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) and various other organisations to participate in anti-tour activities and demonstrations before, after or during the 15 matches played throughout the country.

Several female researchers have claimed that notable amongst these protesters were the number of female participants (Coney, 1981; Page, 1996; Thompson, 1988). New Zealand historian Jock Phillips (1987) not only recalled that the protesters were “almost equally divided between the sexes” (p. 262) but that his group was led by a woman. Sue Macdonald (1982) believed that even more women would have joined in anti-tour activities if protest organisers had provided options for childcare or alternative arrangements that would enable women to protest with their children. According to Thompson (1988, 1999a), female protesters turned out in large numbers not just because of international race relations but because of a deep-seated resentment, anger and frustration towards a ‘national’ game that was so strongly associated with other sources of male-dominated power such as government and business. A group called Women against Rugby (WAR) emerged from these protests in 1981 and, as an example of Foucault’s power-resistance concept, called upon women to stop “doing the labour which had traditionally serviced rugby for men and boys” (Thompson, 1999a, p. 80). However, the number of women who participated in these anti-tour protests either individually or in groups has been debated; for example, Charlotte Hughes (2005) in a book chapter that examined ‘rugby myths’, disputed the existence of WAR in 1981, stating that they did not form as a group until 1983. Thompson categorically refutes Hughes’ assertion; as she told me in a telephone interview, “I remember them handing out lapel buttons at the Women and Recreation Conference held in 1981 in Wellington which I was attending” (personal communication, March 23, 2009).

Irrespective of these different ‘truth’ claims, it appeared that this tour unleashed public and private debate about concerns including New Zealand’s domestic racial problems, the patriarchal value system of rugby, and questions of law and order; as James and Saville-Smith (1994) stated, the tour exposed “deep rifts in New Zealand society” (p. 53). However, as Trevor Richards (1999) pointed out, what lay behind the 1981 tour did not develop and then disappear in the space of one or two years but should be seen as the “climax to a complex and powerful set of conflicting pressures and attitudes which had been building for 60 years” (p. 3). The dominating discourse of rugby as the ‘national’ game was now under threat (Pringle, 2004). When the Springbok touring party flew out of New Zealand in September 1981, it left behind a game in disarray and a society “acrimoniously divided and reeling from months of bitter controversy” (Keane, 1999, p. 49). For some New Zealanders, their experiences during this tour prompted a reassessment of their values and beliefs about sport: “We were politicised by the 1981 tour. Never again will we see sport as unproblematic, trivial or harmless. We came to understand its nature and its power through that experience” (Thompson, 1989, p. 37). For others, their experiences resulted in taking direct action and many parents took their children away from rugby and delivered them to other sports; in conjunction with the success of the national men’s football team in reaching the 1982 FIFA World Cup (discussed next), football was a major beneficiary of these parental actions (Jackson, 1995).

The second element that contributed to the development of women’s football was the qualification of the national men’s football team (the All Whites) for their first ever FIFA World Cup. According to All Whites’ coaches John Adshead and Kevin Fallon, the qualifying series for ‘Spain 82’ and the heart-rending story of a little country and its basically amateur players who travelled more than 100,000 miles to play 30 games over a 15 month period, captured the imagination of countless New Zealanders (Adshead & Fallon, 1982). The support the team received was unprecedented for football in New Zealand. Over 30,000 supporters packed Mt Smart Stadium to watch the home games against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. For the final and crucial game, FIFA decided the match against China would be staged in Singapore. With only \$1 left in the bank, Charlie Dempsey, director of the World Cup campaign, appealed directly to the public for donations. Within three days, the public had contributed \$70,000. Dempsey

remarked, “The money just flooded in, even neighbours coming to my house with the money” (Devlin, 1988, p. 85).

The symbolism represented by the ‘virtuous’ All Whites’ displacement of the ‘tarnished’ All Blacks was a possible explanation for the team’s rise in popularity. However, Keane (1999), while accepting this explanation was difficult to resist, claimed that the appeal of the All Whites lay initially in the “surprising and unlikely nature of their success” (p. 50). Adshead and Fallon (1982) suggested that the major factor in public support for the team was created by media coverage, particularly when Television New Zealand (TVNZ) decided to broadcast every game live. As they pointed out, for the first time and irrespective of the time of day or night, the New Zealand public was able to share in the growing excitement as the All Whites continued their ‘Road to Spain’. My vignette below highlights the extent of my family’s emotions as we were able for the first time to watch, live on television, the All Whites competing overseas:

My family and I never missed a game. Hearts thumping as the tension mounted....could we score one more goal to win?....the final whistle....the screams of delight....we did it! Another hurdle crossed....then the phone calls to celebrate....but most of all, looking out the window and seeing all the houses in the street lit up....they were watching the game too and it was 3, 4, 5 o'clock in the morning. It was really satisfying seeing so many people, including those we knew were rugby supporters, share our love of football.

Traditionally, New Zealand men’s football had received little consistent media coverage. As a consequence, unlike national rugby and cricket players, the All Whites were seldom recognised by the general public. The 1982 Road to Spain campaign highlighted the importance of the media’s ability to portray athletes as sporting heroes; now everyone wanted to know the team. As Adshead and Fallon (1982) pointed out, we “spent long hours at speaking engagements, in shopping malls, attending a host of functions, and obliging almost every single request (p. 182).

This popularity challenged football’s previous marginalisation as a minority game disassociated from discourses of masculinity and nationalism; male footballers had been collectively labelled ‘sissies,’ ‘wimps’ and ‘girls’ on the basis of the belief that to be a man was to be a rugby player (Cox & Thompson, 2003). The vocabulary of ‘sissies’ was an important part of this discourse in the

experiences of the interviewees. As one said about playing football in the 1970s, “everybody thought soccer was a girls’ game anyway and that was the general answer from anybody, you know, that it’s a girls’ game anyway” (Hannah). Another said, “I was from a rugby family so I got a bit of stick about playing soccer because that is a sissie’s game. But also I was a sissie, so I was okay, girls could play soccer” (Trendi).

The compulsory playing of rugby in secondary schools curricula since 1905, and the ongoing success of the All Blacks’ international tours had entrenched the sport within dominant discourses of New Zealand masculinity and nationalism (Phillips, 1987). However, in conjunction with the challenge to rugby’s sporting dominance caused by the 1981 Tour, the success of the All Whites helped to shift the discourse of the game from one played by “poofers’ and ‘sissies’ to one presumably capable of being played by ‘real Kiwi jokers’” (Keane, 1999, p. 55) and began to connect the sport to discourses of national identity.

In 1983, junior registration team numbers increased just over 11% throughout the country (Deverill, 1983). Many of these increases came from regions considered traditional strongholds of rugby such as Thames (from 39 teams in 1982 to 49 in 1983) and Southland (from 71 to 82 teams) (Deverill, 1983). While these team numbers do not identify the sex of the players, the success of the All Whites also appeared to encourage girls to play. For example, one of the women I interviewed started to play football because “I watched the All Whites play and wanted to be like them” (Holly) and a secondary schoolteacher recalled being asked to start up girls’ soccer by his pupils; “It was in the period immediately following our 1982 World Cup, when every kid and his dog wanted to play” (J. Blair, personal communication, March 7, 2009). In one year in Auckland, there was a substantial increase in the number of female teams playing under the AWFA’s jurisdiction, from 53 to 58 senior and from 11 to 13 junior teams in 1983.

The third element that had significant implications for the growth, image and acceptance of women’s football was the success of the women’s national team. As indicated by the example of the All Whites, winning at international level may be viewed as an important way of gaining media coverage, particularly for minority sports, and even more so for women’s sport (Bruce, 2009). Local women’s football in Auckland received considerable newspaper coverage during the 1980s, albeit within a framework of the 8-13% everyday newspaper coverage

that women in sport received during this time (see Bruce, 2008). Local papers were particularly good at profiling successful players or teams within their catchment areas: for example, “Eden family shares love of soccer” headlined an article profiling my family in the *Central Leader* (Cox scrapbook, 1984). In another example, the headline “Mount team gearing up for five in a row” appeared in the *Eastern Courier* beneath a large team photograph of Mt Wellington women’s team who were looking to win their fifth consecutive League Championship and Knock-out competition (Cox scrapbook, 1985). The best coverage in terms of space was given by the weekly *Soccer Express*. While this newspaper was not targeted to a general readership, the match reports, player profiles and general information every week did create publicity and awareness of the women’s game and its elite players within football circles throughout New Zealand. Continuing success at the World Women’s Invitational Tournaments held in Taiwan every three years also helped to generate considerable media coverage throughout the country as reports of the games were circulated via the New Zealand Press Association. In addition, television broadcast highlights of the majority of the National tournament finals throughout the 1980s and programmes such as *Nationwide* continued to create public awareness that females played football.

Immediately after the Springbok Tour and during the All Whites’ continuing qualification series for the World Cup, the national women’s team achieved the runner-up position at the World Women’s Football Invitational Tournament in 1981. Within football circles, this success was constituted in similar David-and-Goliath terms to the men’s surprising progress against teams considered to have access to much greater resources. In the vignette below, I reflect on how the overlapping timing of our experiences changed the way we saw women’s football within the broader footballing community.

After the anger, disgust and shame that many people felt during the protests against the Springbok Tour, I felt that our team was, somehow, allowing people to regain some of their lost pride in being New Zealanders. As we kept winning against major footballing nations, just like the All Whites, I began to see our women’s team as part of the footballing family, rather than separate. This feeling was reinforced at the All Whites’ qualification games at Mt Smart Stadium when our success was announced to the thousands of people attending. Everything was exciting for football and we were part of

that excitement. This was the first time that I got the impression that we were two equal parts of one family. Even though it was probably not true, it was like they cared about us and we cared about them.

Within a 12-year period, the national women's team won the Asian Cup (Hong Kong, 1975); the Oceania Cup (New Caledonia, 1983); and was never out of the top four places in the World Women's Invitational Football Tournament (1981, 1984, 1987, Taiwan). Although the fledgling NZWFA did not have sufficient funds to attend the first World Women's Invitation Football Tournament in 1978, with the promise that all internal costs would be paid, the NZWFA accepted the invitation to attend in 1981 (Cox & Ruane, 1996). From then on until the last one in 1987, the tournament became a permanent fixture in NZWFA's sporting calendar. Teams came from all around the world. Some were national teams with a formal governing organisation and player selection processes. Others, reflecting the lack of organisation and responsibility for women's football in their respective countries, were club teams who had raised their own airfares to travel to the tournament (see Hong & Mangan, 2004 for examples).

The 1984 tournament marked a turning point. Television coverage of all games (both live and delayed) allowed the New Zealand team to watch themselves play for the first time and to imagine themselves as serious, 'real' players. The equivalent of almost half a million New Zealand dollars was spent on an opening ceremony that Australian journalist John Economos described as "spectacular, magnificent and unforgettable" (Cox scrapbook, 1985). More than 6,000 male and female performers of all ages performed military and gymnastic drills, fan and dragon dances before a captive audience of 28,000.

Perhaps from my perspective as a player, the most amazing sight was to see thousands of children holding up different coloured cards across one side of the stadium and who, on a set signal, would send appropriate messages to the team marching in. For the New Zealand, the welcoming message contained a number of sheep, perhaps a reflection on what Taiwan knew most about our country.

The networks developed in previous tournaments, combined with the power knowledge effects of this event and discourses of liberal feminism, enabled women's football administrators to see the game with new eyes and to imagine a reality in which women could have a FIFA World Cup just as the men did. Thus,

the tactical productivity of discourses embedded in the event resulted in women's football administrators taking specific action: in 1986, members of the Oceania Women's Football Confederation gave a list of proposals to Charlie Dempsey and asked that he, in his role as a FIFA Executive member, present them to the forthcoming FIFA Congress in Mexico (Minutes of the Oceania Women's Football Confederation Congress held in Christchurch, 1985, April 3). The President Joao Havelange listened to the proposals put forward for the first Women's World Cup (Williams, 2003) but it took a pilot World Cup in Xian, China in 1988, and then much further discussion at FIFA level, before the inaugural FIFA Women's World Cup finally took place in Guangzhou, China in 1991. Unfortunately, New Zealand was not present. Although NZWFA officials understood that their team, as the highest placed team in 1987, would represent Oceania Football Confederation in Xian, politics saw Australia take New Zealand's rightful place (Cox & Ruane, 1996). However, the New Zealand team reversed the situation in 1991 by beating Australia in the qualifiers and became the first team to represent Oceania at the inaugural Women's World Cup.

As discernable connections and articulations emerged between seemingly disparate elements, such as feminism, the economy, the Springbok Tour, the All Whites campaign and women's football success, patterns with productive effects for female football can be mapped. Many of these patterns centred on gender relations: for example, the discourses arising out of the anti-tour protests which challenged women's support and service of rugby as an extension of their wifely duties (Thompson, 1999a) reinforced discourses of liberal feminism and government legislation which offered women an opportunity to constitute their role in society in different ways. Rugby was also highlighted as a gendered activity that excluded the majority of females from any involvement in playing, coaching or administration (see Birrell, 2000). In contrast, football appeared to offer inclusionary practices that made it possible for women and girls to be involved in all aspects of the game rather than just in the service of family members. For those women who took their children away from rugby and enrolled them in football, the combination of discourses surrounding the anti-tour protests, the victorious national men's and women's football teams and feminism all may have helped to constitute a 'reality' that women, as well as their children, could play football.

Patterns also emerged around the question of nationalism and how sport could contribute to New Zealand's status in the world. Coakley (2009) reported that several research studies had indicated that Government involvement in sport was frequently motivated by quests for recognition and prestige. However, it appeared during this time, it was individual New Zealanders who were motivated by the loss of prestige that they believed had accrued as a result of the NZRFU and the Government's actions. In contrast, the discursive construction of the All Whites as a modern-day version of the biblical 'David and Goliath', and its continual reinforcement in the media, I believe enabled individuals to see football for the first time not only as a sport that could bring prestige to New Zealand but also as a 'real' sport. Veteran sports broadcaster Phil Gifford, aka Loosehead Len, was reported to have said during an interview in 2009 that the impact of the All Whites and '82 World Cup on junior rugby had caused consternation within rugby clubs on the North Shore and that the NZRFU had quickly responded to this challenge of losing young players to football by sending ex-All Blacks to schools around the country to promote their game (Buckle, 2009).

Despite this combination of discourses cohering to create a space in which women's football could develop and flourish, I acknowledge that when elements within an apparatus combine, the outcomes are often unpredictable. Further, as Foucault (1978) pointed out, "relations of power-knowledge are not static forms of distribution, they are 'matrices of transformations'" (p. 99). For example, rugby demonstrated the ability to transform itself within a short period of time: the inaugural 1987 Rugby World Cup held jointly in Australia and New Zealand gave "an opportunity for the players to be world champions and for the game to be redeemed in the eyes of a disaffected public" (Kirk, 2007, p. 1). However, rugby's redemption did not lead to football's demise or stagnation.

Within these turbulent times in New Zealand society, netball also experienced many changes to its organisation. In the next section I discuss the first discourse *The best game for girls is (not just) netball* in a sportisation of women's bodies to demonstrate how new connections and relationships between elements may become "a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1978, p. 101).

The best game for girls is (not just) netball

The shift for netball from a wholly voluntary body to an increasingly professional one occurred during the 1980s (MacDonald, 1993a). At this time, netball became one of only four sports, and the only women's sport, to be broadcast free-to-air on the national television network. Even though netball had been the highest participant and culturally dominant female sport for many years, media coverage and sponsorship had been limited. Spurred by the television deal, the New Zealand body embarked on a successful programme to raise its profile and attract media coverage and commercial sponsorship. Elite netball players, particularly those chosen for advertisements, became household names through regular appearances in the media. In addition, the construction of the Silver Ferns (the national netball team) as the 'complementary partners' of the All Blacks helped cement this discourse of netball as the only, or preferred, sport that women should or could play. Maya believed that the ease with which men, even as recently as the early 1990s, could dismiss her standing as an elite footballer meant that they believed netball was the only sport for women. She explained,

If we were playing netball – those guys have got a high opinion of netball for some reason. That is about the only sport in New Zealand apart from the individual [ones] like swimming that have any standing, I reckon, within men's eyes.

The number of times that netball was mentioned during my interviews with footballers suggested both a frustration with and an awareness of 'female appropriate' sport in New Zealand society. One woman who grew up in the 1960s said, "You always grew up playing netball – netball was seen as feminine" (Sally). Another interviewee, who grew up in the 1970s, highlighted the continuing dominance of netball as a sport for girls one decade later. She explained, "I had always done other sport so I had netball and you know, swimming" (Mandy). This discourse remained powerful for some parents whose daughters wanted to play football in the 1980s:

Mum wanted me to play netball straight from the word go and made me give up soccer for netball when I was seven. I played football for my whole life from five years old except for that one year when I had to play netball. [After that year] I went straight back to soccer. (Melita)

As I have discussed in the previous two chapters, the discourse *The best game for girls is netball* was highly effective in constructing netball as the quintessential

game for females in New Zealand. Since the late 1920s, relationships of force have strategically integrated this discourse into a 'truth'. However, Foucault (1978) asks us to seek "the pattern of the modifications which the relationships of force imply" (Foucault, 1978, p. 99). Therefore, in this section, I argue that the dominant discourse created at first "a space of differentiation" (Foucault, 1977, p. 182) in which secondary schoolgirls' football could develop, albeit initially as a marginalised activity and, in this way, allowed a modification of this 'truth' to emerge. Through netball's exclusion of girls whose skill and ability did not reach a required standard and through the integration of football into school sporting practices, I argue that football became normalised as an appropriate sport for girls to play, leading to a modified discourse, *The best game for girls is (not just) netball*.

In Auckland, the establishment of secondary school girls' football in 1975 followed a similar pattern to the start of women's competitive football in 1973 (see Chapter Seven). The AWFA secretary sent a circular to all secondary schools in Auckland asking if they were interested in forming girls' teams to play football after school on Wednesdays (NWFA minutes, 1975, March 5). Manurewa High School, Aorere College and Otahuhu College from South Auckland, Avondale College and Kelston Girls High from West Auckland, and Westlake Girls' High from North Shore applied to enter. With ten teams, the competition was divided into two sections with the winners of each playing off for the finals (AWFA, 1983). The decision of the NWFA Executive to play this competition on a Wednesday afternoon was to prove a far-sighted move at such an early stage in the development of the women's game. Not only did it ensure that football eventually became part of the school curricula for girls, it also ensured that girls never had to choose between playing club or school football; a conflict that has dogged the club/school relationship for boys for whom all competitions are played on Saturday. Additionally, by not competing with Saturday netball or hockey, it enabled players to play other sports (G. Jarvis, personal communication, February 20, 2009).

By 1982, the original 10-team league with its two divisions had increased to 31 teams, divided into six geographically based mini-leagues (AWFA, 1983). According to Grant Jarvis, long-serving President of the New Zealand Secondary School Girls' Soccer Association (NZSSGSA), football was the fastest growing sport for schoolgirls during the 1980s and 1990s (personal communication,

February 20, 2009). However, not all schools viewed girls' football in a positive light, echoing research findings in New Zealand that some teachers had traditional ideas about appropriate physical activities for girls (Robson, 1979). For example, football was not an option in 1982 at Epsom Girls Grammar. According to one of the interviewees when she asked the Headmistress if she could start up a team, she was told "it's not a game we want our ladies to play" (Maya). However, two years later the Headmistress relented; after 60 girls turned up for the initial trials, two teams were entered into the various League competitions. The Deputy Headmaster agreed to be in charge; his seniority and enthusiasm for football may have convinced the Headmistress to change her mind but perhaps more credibility was gained when the Auckland Secondary Schools Association took over the organisation of the girls' leagues in 1983 (AWFA minutes, 1983, March 28).

In the initial years of schoolgirl football, very few girls could play the game. Yet, as Kathy Seaward, former secretary of NZSSGSA, commented, "skill and ability never became factors for exclusion whereas nearly every girl could play netball, and usually to a relatively high standard" (Personal communication, February 15, 2009). Players with little netball experience were thus less likely to be selected for teams; in contrast, because football was so new, skill was not a reason for excluding players. Just like the senior women, enjoyment appeared to be a crucial factor in developing the schoolgirl game: "once the girls played the game, they loved it" (K. Seaward, personal communication, February 15, 2009). Irrespective of shape, size and ability, girls could attain their own level in football; it was this understanding that football was a "socially-bonding medium" that Grant Jarvis believed created a supportive and positive environment in which players could enjoy playing (Personal communication, February 20, 2009).

As the game developed in schools throughout the country, schoolgirls were given opportunities to represent their school at provincial and national level and, according to Grant Jarvis, their achievements were recognised in school assemblies and with the awarding of sporting 'blues' in the same way as any other top team in the school (Personal communication, February 20, 2009). Such practices operated as normalising instruments for football. Indeed, these practices of 'equal' treatment for girls' football demonstrate the way that disciplinary power (of which normalisation is an instrument) can reward "simply by the play of awards" (p. 181). For example, the awarding of a blue is not only recognised publicly through its presentation, usually on prize-giving day, but it also becomes

visible every day because it is worn on the school uniform. In addition, national and international honours are now available for the best players: The NZSSGSA organises major and minor tournaments for school teams every year, from which a national representative team is selected and regularly plays international fixtures.

Making this type of classification visible to all, however, also “hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes” (Foucault, 1977, p. 181) and, in this manner, began to individualise the girls who played football. The normalisation of schoolgirls’ football included being incorporated into the broader practices of sport and football, such as weekly training, fitness programmes and specialist coaching. Since 2000, for example, several all-girls’ high schools in Auckland have employed former elite male players to coach their teams. Thus, like netball players, aspiring footballers had to begin to exercise “constant pressure to conform to the same model” (1977, p. 182) of achievement in sport by disciplining their bodies through training and fitness regimes.

For some girls, school was their first opportunity to play football; one that might never have eventuated if football had only been available through clubs. Further, for many girls, school was the first time they encountered football as an organised, competitive game for girls.

I started the game in fifth form at school. I think I was 15, but it was only really at that age that it was available to get into. Before that I used to play with the guys who were playing soccer. I used to just kick around with them. (Sally)

Those who demonstrated some ability were often asked to come and play club football on Sundays, which was how Jemina began playing for her local club: “I think it was just a couple of girls at school who said, ‘Hey, look we play down there as well. Come and have a look’. So I went down with them”.

Many secondary school girls’ teams faced similar barriers to those suffered by club teams in the beginning years of women’s football; that is, lack of grounds, lack of coaches and access to equipment. While the growth and development of schoolgirls’ football may be attributed to its positioning as an alternative sport to netball (K. Seaward, personal communication, February 15, 2009), I suggest that the NWFA’s initial action in establishing and administering the school leagues was of vital importance. However, setting up football in schools was not a pre-meditated move, nor was it part of a grand strategy designed by NWFA administrators as a way of developing awareness and visibility of women’s

football. By this I mean that the committee members did not have a lengthy debate on the matter or strategise how their ideas might be implemented; rather there was only a one-line comment under ‘Matters Arising’ that read “Circulars sent to all Auckland High Schools re competition this year” (NWFA minutes, 1975, March 5). This is an example of what Foucault meant by contingency: it is difficult to know what form or effect will result from certain actions.

One possibly unexpected outcome was girls playing on boys’ teams, particularly in smaller rural areas and in representative teams. The following two examples perhaps also indicate the power of new scientific knowledge (discussed earlier) that challenged ideas about biological differences between girls and boys (Dyer, 1982). In the 1980s, although a number of parents objected to Myra’s inclusion in an U-15 representative team on the grounds that she was taking their son’s place, the male coach told those parents, “If your son was good enough, he would be in the team”. Helena, who also experienced being the only girl in an U-14 representative team in the mid 1990s, thought her male teammates accepted her because of her male coach’s insistence that she would not be treated any differently from them. She explained:

Everyone I was involved with just respected that this player had this ability – this was why this player was playing. It was instilled by the coach as well because he hadn’t had a girl in the team before and he actually said to everyone at the trials, “you’ve got a girl playing. If she makes the team, she gets treated exactly like you. She has to run as fast as you, play as hard as you and train like you”. That made a difference to them but it also made a difference to me. It was like, “I’m going to be treated like one of the boys. I’m not going to get special treatment. That’s cool”. (Helena)

As my two-part vignette below describes, older women who perhaps had held more traditional views about what sports and behaviours were appropriate for women (see Part 1) came to accept football more readily when they had granddaughters playing the game (see Part 2).

Part 1: In contrast to my rugby-playing brothers, my parents didn’t openly celebrate my sporting success. It was nine years after I first represented New Zealand that they came to watch me play for the first time. It was 1984, New Zealand versus Western Samoa, and I was the captain. As football is a game played through 360 degrees, part of being a ‘good’ footballer, particularly a defender, is the use of commands to let players

know what is happening off the ball. For example, 'man-on' signifies players coming towards you, usually from your rear as you cannot see them. 'Time,' means nobody is near you so you have time to look up and see where you can pass the ball instead of hitting it first time. Other types of commands can be expected from a captain. After the game finished and we were on our way home in the car, I asked my parents, "Did you enjoy the game?" My mother's response was, "Barbara, do you really have to shout so loudly? It's very unladylike".

Part 2: However towards the end of the 1980s, when both my daughters were playing, she found that many of her friends and acquaintances also had granddaughters playing the game and a conversation would occur about how they were all getting on. Both her granddaughters were New Zealand and Auckland representative players and I often wondered if it was a case of 'one-upmanship' because suddenly, from her perspective, it became okay for women to play football – but she never changed her mind about it being unladylike to shout on the field.

At the beginning of this section, I argued that through the exclusion of secondary schoolgirls whose skill and ability did not match up to a 'normalised' netball standard, a 'space' was created in which football could develop. Coupled with other elements, such as liberal feminist discourses, the All Whites' and national women's team success, the actions of the NWFA committee members, and the disenchantment with rugby following the Springbok tour, this space allowed girls' football to become integrated into school sporting practices – such as the awarding of blues, and recognition of achievements – and to be normalised as an appropriate sport for girls. Indeed, by 2001, Auckland had over 190 registered schoolgirl teams (G. Jarvis, personal communication, February 20, 2009). And, as one interviewee said about the early 2000s, "especially for younger girls, it's being seen as a real sport choice" (Jemina).

As I discussed in Chapter Seven, during the early 1970s four secondary discourses emerged as fragments or secondary discourses of the dominant discourse *Women can't play the real game*. During the period of time discussed in this chapter, these four secondary discourses continued to gain both in effects of power and productive knowledge, such that they "took on a consistency" (Foucault, 1978, p. 104) sufficiently to be considered and discussed as key

discourses on their own rather than as secondary discourses of *Women can't play the real game*. I start this section with a discussion of the first discourse *A need for modification*.

A need for modification

Until 1981 women's football continued to differ from the men's in the length of the game (30 minute halves instead of 45 minutes) and the number of substitutes permitted (two instead of three). Two male members of the AWFA executive committee proposed at the AWFA delegates' meeting on February 24, 1980 to narrow the gap by adopting two substitutes and increasing the length to 40 minutes each way for all divisions three and upwards. According to the minutes, there was a lengthy discussion with the decision to be deferred until the next meeting in order to give delegates time to discuss it with their teams. On March 23, 1980, the delegates again discussed changing these rules; while some were happy to leave the matter to be implemented at the discretion of executive committee, it was passed that no changes would be made until the start of the 1981 season. At the Annual General Meeting (November 30, 1980) it was unanimously passed that all teams would play 40 minutes each way and have two substitutes, which would commence for the 1981 season.

Physical fitness is a measure of a person's ability to perform physical activities that require endurance, strength, or flexibility and is determined by a combination of regular activity and genetically inherited ability (Ministry of Health, 2009). For most division one and two teams, two nights a week training plus a game on Sunday was the normal practice throughout the football season. Most training sessions I attended, for example, had a fitness component that included running laps around the football field, sprinting from cone to cone, and various strength exercises, all of which lasted approximately half an hour before moving onto football specific exercises.

During this period, research showed that endurance, strength and flexibility (all components of physical fitness) could be improved by 'scientific' training (Dyer, 1982). Therefore, to be strong and athletic was not automatically the 'natural' right of men but something that women could also achieve (Dyer, 1982). This new knowledge challenged both the biological discourses that had positioned women as 'naturally' frail and weak (Dyer, 1982) and social expectations of how they *should* behave that had helped to constrain women from engaging in

strenuous exercise. Scientific discoveries such as these, as well as media coverage of a range of women's sports (Coakley, 2009) assisted in dispelling the many physiological discourses constraining women's participation in sport. However, from my own experience, it appears that coaches of elite women's football, most of whom were male players, did not necessarily draw on these discourses; rather, they drew on their own experiences when putting on coaching sessions, albeit with somewhat arbitrarily imposed modifications based on their understandings of biological differences between men and women. The following vignette captures my experiences of fitness training at the provincial and national levels during the 1980s.

During the 1980s, all our representative training was based around research in men's football. Ad hoc measures were thrown in to balance our 'supposed' biological weaknesses. For example, if male players had to do 10 times 100 metre sprints in less than 12 seconds with 1 minute rest in between, we had to do 8 times 100 metre sprints in less than 15 seconds with 1 minute rest in between. It was just there was no research done on women in football to enable a more scientifically-based programme. What distances did women run during a game? What were they capable of running? It was a matter of trial and error to a certain extent and watching to see how tired players got. Training players until they were at the point of physically throwing up was seen as a good test that you were pushing them to the extreme! This happened quite often and some of us even came to enjoy pushing through this barrier to reach the exhilaration that came after it!

Subsequently, players' fitness levels increased with regular trainings: the fitter they got, the more they achieved which is perhaps why these two men proposed changing the rules. They were both coaching division one women's teams and may well have used their personal observations that players were physically capable of exerting sufficient effort to sustain a longer (80-minute rather than 60-minute) game.

Their ability to play for these extended periods, combined with the introduction of the FIFA Women's World Cup for women (to be played according to the same rules as men), may well have led to the elimination of modified rules for the elite levels of women's football at the beginning of the 1990s. Neither the AWFA nor the AFA recorded or minuted any discussion of this change.

However, rather than an expression of the normalisation of women's football, this absence may be the result of the AWFA's decision in 1991 to become a Women's Management Committee under the auspices of the AFA for a trial period of two years. During this period, the formerly monthly AWFA meeting was dispensed with in favour of two compulsory club delegates' meetings at the beginning of each football season. The trial period of two years proved to be satisfactory to both members of the AWFA and the AFA and, at the end of 1992, the AWFA formally merged with the AFA to become one body controlling senior football in Auckland. However, the detailed 'history' of women's football that had been recorded by AWFA secretaries in the past disappeared as subsequent minutes of any meetings of the Women's Management Committee were replaced by the more formal AFA format that primarily recorded motions and actions to be taken.

It's a bit of a novelty

The second discourse that I discuss is *It's a bit of a novelty* continued to impact upon women's football in spite of the large numbers of participants playing at club, school, provincial and national level, and the degree of institutionalisation the game had undergone. For example, female footballers could potentially participate in international fixtures for the national and U-19 teams, national tournaments for senior, youth and secondary school players and regular weekly competitions.

The discourse was often manifested in ways that challenged women's football as a 'real' sport; that is, as one that could be taken seriously. Two of the interviewed women emphasised how football was not taken seriously in their working environment, although in Maya's case, there was also a question over the gender-appropriateness of football.

We've got an Olympic athlete at work; she's been gone for two months with the World Games. I asked for ten minutes the other day [to play football] and got told to sort out my priorities (Tayla).

Yesterday I went into my boss and said "I'll have to take some time off – it's just for the afternoons from 2 pm for National Tournament" and he goes, "well it's only Auckland." I walked out. Then I thought 'no way you bastard' so I walked back in and said "would you say that to [rugby league player]?" He said he was only joking. He backed down really quickly but I

said to him “don’t give me that shit just because I’m playing football and I’m a woman, it’s not fair.” That’s exactly what he’s saying. I mean there’s no question at all if [rugby player] came in and said “oh I’m playing”. He had trials last week on Friday and there was no question of him not going to North Harbour. What’s the difference between me and him? It’s the fact that I’m playing football and I’m a woman. (Maya)

Another example of the failure to take women’s football seriously came when the New Zealand Sports Foundation publicly queried whether women’s football was sport or recreation (Iva scrapbook, 1991). It was not until the national women’s team qualified for the FIFA World Cup, thus apparently earning credibility, that New Zealand Sports Foundation lent their support (Iva scrapbook, 1991).



Feminist research during the 1980s and 1990s suggested that women’s participation in sport was marginalised and trivialised in the media, especially in visual representations (Alexander, 1994, Boutiller & SanGiovanni, 1983; Creedon, 1994). In the cartoon above (Iva scrapbook, 1991), the lack of knowledge shown in the incorrect naming of the event (a tournament run by the Oceania Football Confederation to find a team to compete at the World Cup, rather than the World Cup itself), and the call to treat an injury with make-up both create an impression that the game is a novelty and does not need to be taken seriously.

The power effects of this discourse – expressed through trivialising the sport well into the 1990s – was resisted by the players through their approach to the game. The chance to be involved in the 1991 World Cup campaign was the ultimate aim of every elite player. For that reason, they took their sport seriously, not only training twice weekly for their clubs, but completing individual fitness

programmes as well. Many took up gym memberships in order to make prepare themselves as well as possible.

The remnants of this discourse were still apparent in 2008 when New Zealand hosted the inaugural Under-17 Women's World Cup. However, although the novelty of such young women playing football initially may have attracted spectators, the quality of football instead helped to further normalise the game by challenging this discourse *It's a bit of a novelty*.

Sport, as part of women's social world is "a very powerful means by which we are constantly being told we are less physically capable and that therefore men deserve to be dominant" (Thompson, 1989, p. 37). In the next discourse *The inferior version of football (no longer?)*, I demonstrate how this discourse shifted and changed over approximately a thirty-year period

The inferior version of football (no longer?)

Through the 1980s, as people slowly began to accept that women were playing football and that it was here to stay, men's football became the yardstick by which women and their game were evaluated, and in most cases, found wanting. Reflecting the view of many football men at this time, Ron Armstrong, a national player and coach of the highly successful Mt Wellington team which included several New Zealand and Auckland representatives, was quoted in a newspaper article as viewing the capabilities of elite female players "as somewhere between U/14 and U/16 boys" (Cox scrapbook, 1984). In this view, Armstrong demonstrated one of Foucault's (1977) five distinct modes of action – that of hierarchisation, a form of disciplinary power that helps to normalise certain actions, behaviours and achievements. The practice of ranking became a problem when club administrators used it as a rationale to deny female players equitable treatment. I remember vividly being told on several occasions by male administrators that until our team – it did not matter whether it was for New Zealand, Auckland or club – could beat 14- and 16-year-old boys' teams, we should not expect any more than they received, which of course was precisely nothing. Two interviewed women commented on how men, using their own experiences of football as a yardstick, often cited lack of technical ability and knowledge as reasons for not enjoying women's football.

I was talking to a guy at Glenfield one year and he said, “I’d heard about women’s football so I went and watched the team play. And he said,” I watched and it was shit and I’m never going to watch again so don’t be telling me that women’s football is any good”. (Jemina)

There is always an undercurrent with female players – that it is not really football as such. I think it is more that they [men] think that women can’t actually play football as opposed to being a woman kicking a ball around. (Sally)

Another element of the discourse that was used to hierarchise women’s football as inferior to the men’s game was the pace at which women played. For example, “It’s not seen like men’s football, people say it’s too slow” (Helena). However, this hierarchisation did not have the same resonance when applied to New Zealand men’s teams who were constructed as not being able to match the pace of international teams. Although none of the interviewed women discussed this element, I clearly recollect how footballing people discussed this aspect:

During the 1970s and 1980s, I remember that when visiting professional club teams from England played Auckland representative teams, it was always acknowledged that the English teams won these games because they played at a higher pace. However, instead of positioning the Auckland team as playing an inferior version of football because they were slower, most spectators acknowledged that the difference in pace was just a consequence of different training schedules; Players who trained full-time were always going to be faster than players who trained twice a week at night.

Male coaches were sometimes more ambivalent in their attitude: on one hand they would condemn the female players for their lack of physical ability, using an unconscious comparison to men’s ability; on the other hand, they would praise them for their psychological or mental qualities. Ron Armstrong, in the same newspaper article discussed above, added that women “feast on tactical coaching and demand the same type of sessions their male counterparts receive....their willingness to learn certainly makes up for *their lack of physical and technical ability*” (Cox scrapbook, 1984, italics added). In a 1991 article written by an NZPA reporter, national coach, Dave Boardman also commented on the willingness of players to learn, “because they understand they have something

to learn whereas most blokes think they have nothing to learn” (Iva scrapbook, 1991).

The discourse *It's an inferior game* also allowed clubs to justify their advantaged treatment of their top men's team. Unable to be 'matched' by any other team in the club, this team by 'right' had first choice of all facilities and resources, including financial reward for its players. However, influenced by feminist discourses of equality, all the women I interviewed agreed that the top women's team should receive the same benefits as the top men's team: that is, access to practice fields, uniforms, elite training and funding. Instead, as Sally explained about the club for whom she used to play in the 1990s:

This club had a very negative reaction to girls and women's football. It was almost like banging your head against a brick wall. I just kept trying to get equality. They were very into pushing the boys forward [for elite coaching programmes] and I said, “well, you need to be doing that for the girls as well...you need to be setting something like that up for them” but they weren't interested in doing that for the girls.

Even as recently as 2000, Jade reported that, “In my experience as an administrator, the clubs all viewed women's football as second rate – even third or fourth – if they had a men's reserve team and a male youth team respectively”. She further added that “funding for players, payment to coaches, access to grounds on training nights and who gets what playing kit was all geared around the men and their pathway in the club structure”.

Thus, for most club administrators (both male and female), discourses of equality were performance-based; that is, the hierarchising of the top men's team as the number one team in the club was based on the fact that not only did the team play in the highest level of competition available to them but also, within a club environment, no other team could beat them. From a Foucauldian perspective, this hierarchical structure is normalised by the maintenance of club practices that ranked male and female players through a reward system and, in a similar manner to secondary schoolgirls playing football, exerted constant pressure on them “to conform to the same model” (Foucault, 1977, p. 182) in order to achieve those same rewards.

However, for many female club players, particularly those who were national representatives, the coupling of this normalisation of hierarchical structures and their understanding of liberal feminist discourses of equality

created a reality that enabled them to strategise and take new courses of action. In one case, I was a member of a team that included many Auckland and New Zealand representatives (i.e., women who were rewarded by the hierarchical practices in the club). As members of the ‘first’ women’s team of the club, we felt we deserved equal standing and treatment to the men’s team. When this club refused to fulfil the criteria set by the AWFA that similar dressing rooms, toilet and shower facilities and a good playing surface had to be provided for women’s and men’s Premier League teams (AWFA minutes, 1986, November 30), we left en masse to join another club which could fulfil the criteria. In this instance, while we were both an object and an effect of power through hierarchisation as a mode of action, we were also an object and effect of knowledge through discourses of equality; it was this coupling of power and knowledge that created a tactical productivity that allowed us to act on our feelings of dissatisfaction and move to another club.

This power-knowledge coupling did, in the 1980s, create conflict between some female players’ notions of equality between women and the reward system inherent in sporting practices. Jemina recollected how her club’s decision to reward the first women’s team by waiving their subscription fees, this upset the reserve women’s team. She explained; “you got something but you lost something through it, because a lot of our mates played in the reserve team as well – they gave you a bit of a hard time”. At the same time, the discourse *it’s an inferior version* led to male players expressing resentment about rewards given to the first women’s team, if the men perceived they were getting ‘less’ than they deserved. As a club secretary and a national representative player, Chelsea thought that, “sometimes the men got jealous of the girls, especially in our era with all those trips away”. Jemina, who commented on how well the club had looked after her team, explained that, “we’ve done pretty well for the last 10 years. We have been very well supported by the club, to a point where the guys resent it”. However, when the club ran into financial problems in the mid-2000s, the cutbacks appeared to have been applied only to the women’s team. When Jemina, who was now coaching this women’s team, queried the club secretary about why she was not being paid, she was told that the club did not sufficient money. Yet, according to Jemina, the coach of the first men’s team was still being paid. Thus, while the discourse *The inferior version of football* appeared to retain its power effects in female football into the 2000s by hierarchising women’s football as inferior to

men's, by 2008 the quality of play in the U1-17 Women's World Cup appeared to be "changing mindsets" (Zanitti, 2008, p. 1). *Waikato Times* reporter Matt Richens made this change overt in his description of the difference between expectations and 'reality' during the World Cup:

Many thought 15- to 17-year-old girls playing wouldn't live up to the hype of the other tournaments run by Fifa and the inaugural showing at this level for women was more about equality than anything else. That has proved to be completely wrong and the skill level and freedom with which the girls play has been fantastic to watch. (Richens, 2008, p. 9).

In a somewhat tongue-in-cheek approach, the *Christchurch Press* also documented this shift in the discourse, perhaps to the point where the discourse could be reframed as *The inferior version of football no longer*.

Cantab Kev plunked his double-shot long black down on the cafe table as Auckland Alf raised his snout from his latte bowl and glanced at his foamy Movember moustache as reflected in the glare from his white shoes. "I wish the footy didn't have to end," said Kev, a man known to watch seven Super 14 games and three Six Nations tests in the one early-autumn weekend. "Know, what you mean, mate," agreed Alf, who may have moved south but still clung to his Warriors season ticket. "Hasn't it been great? Skill, pace, clinical execution." "What's that?" asked Terence, as he took off his bicycle clips and stuffed his Wellington Phoenix scarf into his psychedelic hemp carrier bag before slugging his herbal tea. "Anthony Boric and his first test try at Murrayfield? Or The Beast Manu Vatuvei's four touchdowns against the Poms?" "Nah," chanted Kev and Ted in unison. "The under-17 girls soccer World Cup." ... Such a scenario has played out at workplaces around the nation where legions of hitherto staunch rugby union nuts, league loyalists and doubting Tamatis have conceded that a teenagers' tournament has been New Zealand's best sporting show this spring. (U-17 World Cup, 2008, p. 11)

By the end of this period, therefore, I suggest these three discourses began to "loosen its hold" (Foucault, 1978, p. 101) on the discursive construction of female footballers as *players* who could not play the 'real' game. However, the fourth discourse, *It's a man's game*, while loosening its hold in relation to *players*, became "a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1978, p. 101) and a

set of practices that constrained women's entry into positions of power in an amalgamated football sphere.

It's (still) a man's game

In the third and final part of this chapter, I examine the experiences of the interviewed women, particularly as they moved into male-dominated coaching and administration spheres, to demonstrate how tactical strategies of power were deployed to constrain this involvement, thus, revealing the problematic nature of the discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*. As I suggested in the first section of this chapter, most people during these years would have read or heard of the term equality in all its variant forms. The experiences of these women as they moved into spheres of coaching and administration during these times appear to be shaped through different understandings and deployment of discourses of equality. As Foucault (1978) argued, it was not a matter of one discourse versus another, rather discourses are a lot more slippery; and the same discourse – in this case equality – could be interpreted and used in different ways by different groups. Thus, although both female footballers and male administrators and coaches used a discourse of equality to justify their actions and decisions, they often understood it quite differently.

Helena's experiences, which I have quoted at length because they are representative of how women's football could still be treated at club level in the late 2000s, reflected how discourses of equality influenced her understanding as a coach that the men's and women's team would be treated in the same way.

The previous year when they were in the Premier League competition, the women got a budget similar to the men's because both were playing at the elite level of football. When I started coaching, I was told at the beginning of the season that the women's team had a budget. Near the end of the season, I just mentioned it to the members on the Board, "Look what's going on? Are we going to have something that we can subsidise all the expenses we need this year?" The Vice President was sitting next to me and he said, "You're not going to get your contract again" and I said, "Can we sort it out at the next meeting?" I went there and they basically said "all in favour, say aye", and no one said anything in favour of giving the women something – not even a couple of grand just to throw around to the players. We all had to pay fees again. I just thought that was so unfair because the

men were getting \$10,000 pumped into their first team, playing division 3 and coming 5th or 6th. Plus, they went over budget. We couldn't even get a \$1,000 dollars out of them. We also had issues with fields; the men decided at the beginning of the season that they wanted Field 3 to train on for the year – that's fine – we went on Field 4. Then Field 3 was shut down and we were expected to move and find somewhere else to train.

Helena refused to move off Field 4, arguing that as the men had chosen Field 3, it was now their responsibility to find somewhere else to train, not hers to move. However, her strong-minded stance may have led to the non-renewal of her contract. Strong, feisty women demanding the same facilities and resources as men are often seen as threatening, particularly to those club administrators (mainly men but some women) who are more used to seeing women in compliant, nurturing roles. This point was also reinforced by several of the interviewed women: Hannah believed most men “didn't like being challenged”, Sally thought that “yes, you do have to be a little bit careful” with male coaches, “they certainly don't like you all of a sudden telling them a few home truths”, and Iva who commented that while there were probably a few more women in higher roles than there used to be in the different sports, “once they start chirping up about something, I think, they find themselves down a rank or two. You know, as long as you're going along with the ride, it is alright.”

This difference in interpretation of equality was also evident in letters of correspondence between the AWFA and the AFA which I have included below in different font size so they can be seen all on one page. It was customary for the AFA to cancel all men's football matches whenever its representative team was playing an international match on the grounds that players would want to support the Auckland team as well as learning “a few of the football talents and skills that have been lacking in New Zealand football” (AFA, 9th Annual Report, 1982, p. 2). Presumably their rationale was that female players would want to do the same.

20th May 1983

Dear Barbara

I have been requested to advise your Association that at the Control Board Meeting last evening, it was the recommendation that any games fixtured for Sunday 29th May must be finished by 1.30pm.

Yours sincerely,
AUCKLAND FOOTBALL ASSN.

Annette J. Bourke,
SECRETARY.

26th May 1983

Dear Annette,

Your letter regarding the Control Board's recommendation that games on 29th May must be finished by 1.30pm was discussed at our recent Executive meeting.

While our Association will endeavour, wherever possible, to co-operate with your recommendation we would like you to understand the following points:-

1. As our fixtures are done on a monthly basis, 9 days notice is not sufficient.
2. Some Councils have a Sunday policy of no play before 1.00pm, therefore it is not always possible to re-schedule matches.
3. Last year when Auckland played an international against Taiwan, I asked that consideration be given to re-scheduling some Country Food games [men's]. No co-operation in this matter was given.

My Executive feels very strongly that in these situations, co-operation should be a 'two way thing'. Accordingly, I hope for any future games of either Association that we will be able to work together for the mutual benefit of soccer.

Yours sincerely,

Barbara Cox
Secretary.

21st June 1983

Dear Barbara

The Control Board at its meeting held on 15th June received your letter concerning cancellation of fixtures when overseas teams are playing in Auckland and a note was made of same.

Yours sincerely,
AUCKLAND FOOTBALL ASSN.

Annette J. Bourke,
SECRETARY

Bringing professional teams in from England was an expensive exercise; the more spectators through the gate, the more likely a profit. Thus, I would suggest their motive for ‘recommending’ that the AWFA cancel its fixtures’ was for financial reasons rather than benefitting the players. However, the obligatory verb ‘must’ incorporated in the exchange of letters does indicate a belief that the AFA was the ruling body of *all* football in Auckland. In contrast, my response as secretary of the AWFA, indicated that our committee believed that two associations existed; one to govern men’s football; one to govern women’s football and, presumably therefore, two ‘equal’ associations.

The power effects of the discourse of *It’s a man’s game* were also strongly evident in the language used by the now-amalgamated New Zealand Football Association. In Foucault’s (1977) concept of disciplinary power, exclusion is of the five modes of action in the process of normalisation. In the early 2000s, New Zealand Football documents still used the male pronoun to describe all football players and officials. The exclusion of vocabulary such as she, her, and female, even in descriptions of positions that were often held by women, in the organisation’s constitution is a practice that normalised the discourse that *It’s (still) a man’s game*. At three consecutive annual general meetings, I had to raise the issue of gendered language before any action was taken. In 2010, it appears that the words “he or she” now appear throughout the New Zealand Football Rules (2010) document. In addition, Jade and I also both noticed in the 2000s, and complained in writing about, the complete exclusion of images of females on several football websites, as well as in a poster promoting football to children.

In both these cases, it was the discourses of liberal feminism that were productive for women once the men’s and women’s organisations merged, as we argued on the grounds of equality that if one body governed all football, then both genders needed to be made visible. However, the ways in which this discourse was taken up and used by different individuals demonstrates what Foucault (1978) meant when he said that discourses have tactical productivity because they produced reciprocal effects of power and knowledge. In this manner, female footballers were both empowered and constrained as they became ‘normalised’ into the world of football: the productivity of the discourses of equality enabled women to see how things should (or could) be, and to devise strategies or actions to challenge or change exclusionary practices.

In the next section I include a number of vignettes describing how some of the interviewed women experienced their integration into the coaching sphere. Some of these experiences occurred while they were coaching women's teams; others occurred while they were attending residential coaching courses. As the first woman to attain a senior coaching badge, in 1986, I have also included some of my own experiences presented in italicised form. While these vignettes reveal multiple discourses, some of which reflect discourses discussed in the last two chapters, the purpose is not to analyse each discourse but to demonstrate to the reader how the discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand* produced an understanding that female football was flourishing, yet concealed the difficulties that women appeared to face as they ventured into hitherto male domains. The two following examples took place in the 2000s and demonstrate the power effects of the discourse *It's a man's game* in constructing men as the knowers of football; thus, while women can play the real game, their football knowledge is subjugated in relation to positions of power such as coaching or administration. In coaching, for example, the classification of female knowledge as “low-ranking”, “directly disqualified” or “marginal” knowledge (Foucault, 1980e, p. 82) means that they struggled to be accepted as conveyors of football ‘truths’.

We had a run of five losses in a row. We should have been winning games but we knew what the problem was, we had a weak goalkeeper and were losing each game like 4-3 and 5-3. The director of coaching kept coming to me as the coach, and saying, “I’m going to take them over because you should be winning games”. I thought “bloody hell, you haven’t been there”. We all know what the issue is, the whole team voted and agreed. Even the goalkeeper said, “I’m the weakest link, what can we do to make me better?” Anyway, I changed her to another position and eventually we won our league. He really gutted me though when he asked me to step down. (Helena)

I think the U-12 girls asked him if he had played football. He said, “no, no, no but quite often great players don’t turn into great coaches”. Then he said to them, “you name me a great player who is a great coach.” I was sitting there because I was his assistant coach and all the girls pointed at me. He said, “she might be a great player but I’m a better coach”. It was just

belittling and I think it's because I was a woman; I don't think he would have said that to a guy. (Sally)

The next three vignettes describe some of my experiences over three years in residential coaching courses held at the University of Waikato, as I strove to gain my senior coaching badge (the top coaching qualification). In the first three vignettes, I was the only female amongst approximately 38 men which included five to six male staff members employed by NZF to conduct this senior coaching course. In these examples, multiple discourses emerge, including traditional discourses of femininity (as caring), practices of exclusion (in appropriation of space and application of similar dress expectations even in situations where this might not be appropriate).

“Barbara, go and talk to [name of male], he's just had a pretty bad session and he's pretty down. See if you can cheer him up and give him a bit of comfort”. What am I, his mother? The thought trails wispily through my mind. But no, I obediently pick up my belongings and go and sit with him trying to offer some sympathy for his poor coaching session. I don't get it. Nobody makes any allowance for me on the field. The male players crash into me, tackle me, they don't seem to hold back or treat me any differently when they play against me. So why am I singled out to be this nurturing, comforting female? I don't even see myself as a comforting nurturing soul.

“Get out, you can't come in.”

“Why not,” I respond, “This is the coaches' social room. See” and I pointed to the notice on the door.

“Well I'm having treatment.” I looked at him. He is sitting there on the couch in his underpants, holding a large icepack to the top of his inner thigh. He has obviously pulled a groin muscle.

“What on earth is the matter with you? I've seen men in underpants before.”

“Well, it isn't right – you shouldn't be here.”

I ignore him and continue to make myself a cup of coffee. Of course it never occurred to him to stay in his room. The social room was male space and I was trespassing.

“Ah, Barbara – you’re in the blue team this morning,” a coaching staff member said as he handed me a blue shirt. Funny that – every morning I come to the playing field wearing a different coloured shirt but never once am I allocated to a team where my shirt is the same colour. Where do I change? The football field is a wide open space at Waikato University but there are some trees off to the side. What do I do? Do I head for the trees and change my shirt there and feel rather prissy or do I make myself as small as possible, sit on the ground and try to change my shirt without anyone noticing? The question flows through my mind – am I being immodest changing my shirt here in front of everyone? I’m sure they don’t care – after all a bra isn’t much different to a bikini top. Or is it expected of me to go into the trees and change? I think the coaching staff think it’s funny.

The last vignette took place at a FIFA course in 1994 with people attending from all the member OFC countries. The attendees were divided into administration, coaching or refereeing sections. I was the only female coach but there were two women present in the administration section.

“Hey Barbara, go and make the tea for us.”

“I’m not your slave. Make it yourself.”

“Well, it’s a woman’s job – that’s what real women do.”

‘Maybe,’ the thought briefly crossed my mind, ‘maybe I’m not a real woman’ but reassuringly I remind myself there is more to being a woman than making the tea. One of the other male coaches, without any prompting, starts to make the tea for everyone. I’m grateful for his intervention. It is possible that they are ‘winding me up’, and I shouldn’t take offence but underneath his words, I feel a latent hostility for my being there in the first place.

In the early 1990s, Hannah was one of two females who attended the same residential coaching course at the University of Waikato that I did to sit her senior coaching badge. She described what happened when the other female coach put on her coaching session. “When she went out there, I could see the sniggers and the looks on the other guys’ faces when she was taking her session and I thought, ‘I wonder if they are doing that when I am doing mine?’” Hannah said the first time she went, “I didn’t feel like I was accepted at all” but for her second attempt to attain the senior coaching badge, she felt much more confident:

For the second time, I had had a whole year of coaching under my belt and I had established a style of my own and I knew exactly what I was going to do when I went there. I wasn't going to take any prisoners, I was going to 'show you buggers just exactly what I am made of'.

Rather than seeing disqualified knowledges as always subjugating, Foucault (1980e) argues "that it is through the re-appearance of this knowledge...these disqualified knowledges, that criticism performs its work" (p. 82). In this instance, Hannah's (female coaching) knowledge, with the confidence gained from a year's experience, re-appears in ways that are no longer subjugating; less concerned about acceptance, she is now focused on demonstrating what she can do. Hannah gained her coaching qualifications on this second attempt. However, she also commented on how the environment was highly sexualised: "They were all trying to get you to go to bed with them – there was a lot of testosterone flowing around". Leading female sports officials in New Zealand have also recounted stories of having male sports officials pat their bottoms, place suggestive notes under their hotel doors and proposition them for sexual favours in return for managerial appointments (Cameron and Kerr, 2007). While such practices clearly challenge the interviewed women's ideas about equality, Jemina's beliefs imply that she has accepted that, in the coaching sphere at least, *football is (still) a man's game*. Her comments relate to her experience as the only female on three residential coaching courses in the early 2000s.

You are standing there and the guys are talking about masturbating and they go, "Oh, sorry Jemina".... You can't say – I mean I am not – I don't get offended by it. Like I've been 10 years in a male-dominated industry so you just don't get offended by that sort of stuff. I think you have just got to accept that if you are coming into *their* environment, whether you are a female or if it was a guy coming in your environment, you can't expect 20 people to change for one. (emphasis added)

These eight vignettes have demonstrated some of the difficulties that female footballers have faced as they negotiated their way into the male-dominated world of coaching football. The question then for women who wish to enter such an environment is: Do you adapt and learn, as Jemina did, not to 'get offended' and 'to just get on with it'? Or do you challenge the very structures of the organisation, becoming like a feminist who, again in Jemina's words, "moans about stuff that doesn't really need moaning about". In many ways, women's

entry into coaching football reflects the same confusion and conflict that revolved around the issue of swearing in the 1970s discussed in Chapter Seven. If swearing today is rarely seen as an issue, does this suggest that gradually as more numbers of women become involved in coaching, the environment might evolve into a 'normal' one rather than a male-dominated one? The results of research around the world do not make this seem a likely occurrence. In Chapter Four, I pointed out that there had been little global change in women's visibility in decision-making positions in sport in the 2000s (Acosta & Carpenter, 2008, Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). Within New Zealand, the results of the New Zealand Olympic Committee's (2007) sports survey of its members indicated that the situation had deteriorated since a similar survey carried out in 1994. Football was one of the 48% of member sports who did *not* meet the International Olympic Committee target of ensuring a 20% female representation on their respective boards (NZOC, 2007). NZF currently has 1 female and 6 male board members. The situation was reversed in comparison to the 1990s when NZWFA was a separate association; then the chairwoman, the executive officer (paid) and the majority of committee members were female with one, or at the most two, male members.

There have been many reasons put forward for the under-representation of women in administrative and coaching roles in sport, ranging from demands of marriage and childcare to the way candidates are selected for these positions (Cameron, 1993, Cameron & Kerr, 2007; McKay, 1997; Shaw & Cameron, 2008). Longevity or staying in these positions also seems to be a problem. Only three of the eight women I interviewed are now still involved in the administration of the game (all in paid positions) and of the seven women involved in coaching, one continues to coach women at elite level (paid) and two are still coaching midgets and junior girls (unpaid). Some sporting organisations set up specific initiatives to integrate women into these positions (NZOC, 2007) but it still appears that women are not taking up administration and coaching positions with the same enthusiasm they demonstrate for playing sport. In the case of football, an examination of the above vignettes and other comments suggested that some of the interviewed women felt a sense of annoyance and of being 'wronged' by the unequal treatment they received in comparison to their male counterparts. Sally and I both felt frustrated by administrators (primarily male) who showed so little understanding of the term equality and who continued to treat male and female

players differently. None of the interviewees revealed the same ‘passion and love’ for coaching that *The Lady Footballer* and the secondary schoolgirls demonstrated they had for their game. Thus, I suggest that this examination of how discourses of equality have affected female footballers may offer an alternative explanation why so many women simply show no desire to be involved in coaching and administration and/or give up after a short time. However, with so few women involved in these positions, the discursive construction of men as the ‘knowers’ of the game will likely remain a site of struggle.

In summary, an examination of female football from approximately 1980 to the present has shown how new and different elements, associations and relations intermeshed sufficiently into a common network to allow for the emergence of a key discourse *Female Football - The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*. As the ‘truth’ of this discourse continued to circulate and be reinforced by the ever-increasing participation numbers, including secondary school girls and young girls playing mixed football, and the success of the U-17 Women’s World Cup, women’s football developed and flourished. This discourse took on a consistency which was further reinforced by the disciplinary practices adopted in clubs and secondary schools and, gradually, women’s football became normalised as an appropriate sport for females to *play*. However, while this discourse suggests that the interests of women in football have been successfully met, it has subjugated knowledge of historical struggle and, as female footballers entered into male-dominated sphere of coaching and administration has revealed that female footballers’ interests or needs have not been met. Analysing the emergence of this key discourse *Female Football - The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand* has revealed the complexity and slipperiness of this discourse, particularly when a “multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies” (Foucault, 1978, p. 100) were examined as well. The manner in which female footballers, male administrators and coaches used various discursive strategies at different times to justify their actions and decisions has revealed an insightful understanding of how power relations operate and may be exercised in football. Hence, Foucault’s warning with which I end this chapter:

We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. (1978, p. 101).

CHAPTER NINE

A time for reflection

In the final chapter of this thesis, I divide my discussion into three sections. In the first section, I discuss whether this study has answered my major question, “how has women’s football in New Zealand gone from a position of struggle to a point where the game is perceived as “a ‘normal’ sporting activity for women and girls? I also discuss the usefulness of using Foucault’s genealogical approach in writing a history of women’s football and interrogating that same history for relationships of power which both constrained and empowered female footballers. My second section is an applied one and reflects my feminist beliefs that theory and practice should not be separated, notwithstanding that I am mindful of Foucault’s warning that change is difficult to implement as well as leaving me open to criticism that I know the ‘truth’ of women’s football. In my third and final section, I look at one future research possibility that has been created by this thesis as well as reflecting on what I have gained from undertaking this lengthy study.

A genealogical history

Foucault acknowledged that his theoretical work was “always in relation to processes that I saw taking place around me” (cited in Rajchman, 1985, p. 35). My motivation for undertaking this research was also triggered by what was happening around me in women’s football: the growth in participation numbers of females playing the game; the way it seemed to be readily accepted as a sport for females, and the amazing enthusiasm shown by spectators and media alike watching the inaugural U-17 FIFA WWC held in New Zealand in November 2008. Foucault (1980d) once asked; “how is it that at certain moments and in certain orders of knowledge, there are these sudden take-offs, these hastenings of evolution, these transformations which fail to correspond to the calm continuist image that is normally accredited?”(p. 112). I found myself paraphrasing Foucault by asking a similar question, “how has women’s football come to be seen in such a different light when my experiences and those of the interviewed women in the 1970s had been one of struggle to be accepted as ‘serious’ footballers, and few individuals realised women had played the game in 1921?” And if there has been such acceptance of females playing football, how have they come to be treated so

differently to their male playing counterparts, and how has it evolved that so few women are involved in coaching and administration? Through Foucault's genealogical approach, I found subjugated knowledge and an emergence of multiple power-knowledge discourses which have revealed not only a way to understand these issues in contemporary women's football but also how a historical struggle for the 'truth' constructed female footballers in specific ways. Foucault (1978) pointed out that the nineteenth-century homosexual became "a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology" (p. 43). Thus, in paraphrasing Foucault's comments above, when a footballing woman became a personage, she became a type of person who acquired a subjectivity, a history, an anatomy and a specific physiology.

One of the major aims at the beginning of this study was to write a history of women's football in New Zealand so that future players might learn that they have footballing mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. In doing so, I was following traditional concepts of history; that is, documenting how women struggled to gain entry into a male-dominated world of football; and recounting the past as a series of narrative events in chronological order whereby present day football, as both Booth (2004) and Papps and Olssen (1997) suggest, was seen to emerge unproblematically from a collection of historical records and facts. However, this traditional method, while valuable in uncovering and recording such historical details, did not tell me how women in football became 'personages'. Using a genealogical approach, with its emphasis on examining data from a wide range of social and historical sources to analyse how power-knowledge discourses emerged to intersect with or reinforce each other within an apparatus of football and the revealing of subjugated knowledge enabled me to discover, for example, that *The Girl Footballer* "had been a temporary aberration" (Foucault, 1978, p. 43). She emerged with a particular subjectivity, a history and a specific physiology which were all discursively constructed through media reports and letters to the editor in 1921, yet *The Girl Footballer* seemingly disappeared within three months. In contrast, as the genealogical tracking of the dominant discourses of power-knowledge demonstrated in Chapter Seven, with the birth of the Northern Women's Football Association, *The Lady Footballer* became "a species" (Foucault, 1978, p. 43), made intelligible through a variety of power-

knowledge discourses that allowed her to start and continue to play as the game developed. In Chapter Eight, an analysis of the connections and relations between the different elements within an apparatus of football, revealed how certain conditions made it possible for the emergence of a key discourse *Female Football – The Fastest Growing Sport in New Zealand*, which, as more and more females of all ages started to play football, circulated and continued to reinforce the ‘truth’ of this discourse. However, as the ‘judges of normality’ (Foucault, 1977) accepted football as an appropriate sporting activity for females, football remained a site of struggle as women entered the hitherto male-dominated spheres of coaching and administration.

My thesis challenges a dominant discourse throughout the history of women’s sport; that men have oppressed women. This assumption has been based on a traditional understanding of power; that either a ‘headquarters’ or a ‘top’ person exists, from which power originates to dominate over those at the bottom. This genealogical examination of women’s football has demonstrated that there is no ‘top’ to or ‘holder’ of power; rather, as Foucault (2000b) maintained, power is a “productive network that runs through the whole social body” (p. 120); it circulated all around the female footballers as they played, coached and administered in predominantly male environments. Power is too complex to reduce simply to dichotomous terms of oppressor/oppressed and, as my study indicates, not *all* men tried to prevent women playing football and not *all* women supported women playing football. Foucault (1978) argued strongly that power relations were not repressive or negative; that is, “this power has neither the form of the law nor the effects of the taboo” (p. 47). Women were not banned or prohibited by law from playing football at any time during the period studied in this thesis. What this research has made explicit is how disciplinary power and power-knowledge discourses operated or were exercised within a footballing sphere to produce certain power effects which both constrained and empowered female footballers. Female footballers also demonstrated why feminists Sawicki (1991) and Weedon (1987) suggested that Foucault’s work could have a liberating effect for many women because, at various times, female footballers demonstrated that they positioned themselves as strategists rather than victims of power. The WSANZ sub-group submission to the Human Rights Commission in 2004 that achieved the reinstatement of the Women’s Football Committee and the

appointment of a woman directly responsible for women's football within New Zealand Football (discussed in Chapter Two) is just one example of this.

Through genealogical examination, this thesis has revealed that discourses of femininity do change over time. In 1921, *The Girl Footballer* with her 'innately' frail physiology required a certain amount of 'appropriate' exercise in order to perform her duty of re-populating New Zealand after so many lives were lost through the Spanish flu and WWI. Her femininity was discursively constructed within heterosexual discourses of marriage – hence the need for her to be attractive to men – and motherhood. I suggest that one male newspaper columnist (Yeldham, 1921) unwittingly summed up the dichotomous nature of femininity in New Zealand in 1921 when he claimed that if girls chose to play football, then they obviously had decided “they prefer the masculine side of life” but if girls desired “the genteel praises of husband and children” then they chose the feminine side of life (p. 17). Despite a gap of 52 years, *The Lady Footballer's* femininity continued to be discursively constructed through the same heterosexual discourses of marriage, motherhood and femininity. However, and perhaps with the influence of a wider range of discourses in circulation, by 1973 *The Lady Footballer* had more choices than her predecessor *The Girl Footballer*. Provided she continued to behave within a prescribed framework of heterosexuality, she could play football and still be perceived as feminine.

Using Foucault's genealogy

There appear to be three major ways in which Foucault's genealogy can be helpful in sporting research studies. Firstly, you can record a history of your sport and, irrespective of the current debate in academia between reconstructionist and deconstructionist historians, I believe it is important that what has gone before is not forgotten, particularly for women's sport which is seldom publicly recorded. In addition, as it did in this research of a history of women's football, a genealogical approach may reveal a great deal of subjugated knowledge and, in this way, change people's understandings of how they perceive their history. Secondly, in the examination of the power effects produced by power-knowledge discourses, the resultant struggle to achieve the 'dominant' discourse or the 'truth' allows an insightful understanding of how power may be exercised in society during particular time periods. In turn, this may help us understand how these discourses shaped men's and women's perceptions of reality, yet, simultaneously

prevented them from seeing other views of reality. The third helpful aspect of using a genealogical approach is Foucault's (2003b) advice to locate as much source material as possible. While previous research of women's football has seldom ventured outside the sphere of football, obtaining as much material as possible from the widest of sources prompts the researcher to think about the broader socio-cultural discourses circulating at particular times and how seemingly disparate elements may come together to provide unforeseen and accidental outcomes. I believe Foucault's genealogy has been an exciting and challenging theoretical approach with which to gain insight and understanding of the issues in contemporary women's football in New Zealand as well as giving an opportunity to produce a historical account of women's football for future reference. I also believe that Foucault's approach can be utilised in a more applied sense, which I now discuss in the following section.

Some applied thoughts

This section of the chapter is an applied one rather than theoretical and is based on my feminist beliefs that theory and practice should not be separated. It is also based on the hope that those who administrate football want to see the women's game flourish as well as promote women's involvement in coaching and administration. While I do not intend to offer a 'blueprint' of how to develop football or claim that I know the 'truth' of women's football, this genealogical examination does highlight the emergence of certain conditions/discourses which appeared necessary in order for women's football to develop and flourish in New Zealand. One of Foucault's (1994b) claims was that power could be exercised strategically; that is, power could be used as "a mode of action upon the actions of others" (p. 341). The contrast between how the media discursively constructed *The Girl Footballer* discussed in Chapter Six and *The Lady Footballer* in Chapter Seven, for example, suggests that if sporting administrators are aware of how power-knowledge discourses intermesh within an 'apparatus of information', it might enable them to actively devise discursive strategies in order to counteract discourses which constrain the development of women's sport. Conversely, it may also enable them to construct strategies which disempower women to be involved in a particular sport.

Political action to bring about beneficial changes in women's lives has been a central tenet of most feminist discourses (Thompson, 2002), notwith-

standing debate whether feminist poststructuralism allows for this opportunity on behalf of a female community (Aitcheson, 2003; Ropers-Huilman, 1998). As I discussed in Chapter Three, I took the position that it was possible to ‘speak’ of a female footballing community without assuming that the term signified *all* females in football. The majority of women I interviewed revealed a love for football and, at the same time, acknowledged how they had benefitted from their involvement. It is this understanding of the benefits of football which motivates and underpins my desire to change football so that any female may have the opportunity to be involved. I am cognisant of Foucault’s warning that a combination of discourses may result in unexpected effects and that change is not easy to implement. However, despite Foucault’s warning, I hope that some of the ideas that have come out of my thesis which I discuss next, may help sporting administrators see through different ‘eyes’, and “make use of this knowledge tactically today” (1980c. p. 83) in order to construct a favourable environment for female involvement in football to flourish.

It was quite clear in my thesis that schools played a significant role in the development of women’s football, specifically through integrating football into their sporting environment and generally, through developing female athleticism via compulsory physical education in schools’ curricula. Equally important appeared to be the role of the media; the ways in which female footballers were discursively constructed helped to constrain and/or empower women’s involvement in football as well as promote awareness that women played the game. The ‘Legacy Programme’, which was initiated by FIFA to help promote the recent U-17 WWC in New Zealand and the U-20 WWC in Chile, specifically targeted the early involvement of the media and used strategies such as inviting (and paying for) journalists to attend other FIFA WWC tournaments and to visit the FIFA headquarters in Zurich (Zanitti, 2008). This investment, according to Urs Zanitti (2008), not only resulted in successful attendance figures in both countries but also helped to change the mindsets of thousands of people, including the attitude of media and television towards female football. The final factor emerging from my study was the significance of getting influential men, such as FIFA President Sepp Blatter and New Zealand player Wynton Rufer, to publicly show their support for female football, particularly in its embryonic stages. I suggest, in a similar manner to other ‘judges of normality’, their support helps create early acceptance of football as an appropriate game for females to play.

A further research possibility

This study has highlighted one key research opportunity which would contribute, I suggest, to a further understanding of women's sport in general and women's football in particular. The women I interviewed who played and administered in the beginning years of women's football, described their passion for the game. In contrast, an examination of the vignettes detailed in the previous chapter implies that when these women moved into coaching and administration positions, they did not experience a great deal of pleasure: in fact, it appeared that they experienced the conditions and attitudes as, at times, distasteful, frustrating and unfair. Foucault (1980b) claimed that relations of power did not just form knowledge and produce discourse, they also "induce pleasure" (p. 119). In Chapter Seven, I argued that the power effects of enjoyment were greater for the lady footballer than the potential power effects of the other discourses which led, through her action and choices, to the development of women's football; *The Lady Footballer* was prepared to fight for and conceive tactical strategies to ensure she could keep playing. What if the opposite is true? If the power of discourses such as *It's (still) a man's game* continue to produce effects, such as feelings of frustration, annoyance and a sense of unfairness, what then is the point of being involved in these aspects of football? In other words, because there is no pleasure to be gained from coaching or administering football, then there is no reason to fight or devise strategies to guide other people's conduct. One resists simply by walking away. In my review of literature in Chapter Four, researchers documented a number of reasons why women were under-represented in coaching and administrative positions. However, none identified discourses related to lack of enjoyment or pleasure as a possible reason. Therefore, I would suggest that further research into this aspect may offer a more insightful understanding of why women are predominantly continuing to choose only to *play* sport.

Over the past thirty plus years that I have been involved in football I have witnessed many changes; some have had positive effects, some have made little impact and some have created negative effects for female footballers. I regret to say, as my thesis draws to a close, that I have a rather ambivalent outlook for the future of women's football. On the one hand, I see more opportunities opening up for players, particularly to play professionally; consequently, I believe participation numbers will continue to increase. On the other hand, if the discourses of negativity which surround women's involvement in coaching and

administration continue to support the discursive construction of these positions as ‘male’ and, as the rewards for coaching women begin to match those for coaching men, I suggest these positions of power will, as Acosta and Carpenter (1994, 2008) have found in the USA, become even more dominated by men. The recent emergence of a discourse which ‘speaks’ of football only as a de-gendered game that men and women play, rather than speaking of women’s football or men’s football, also has implications for the future; not only does it assume an equality of involvement at all levels, it also subjugates the type of knowledges which have been revealed in this study.

A final reflection

I have gained a great deal from these three and a half years of study. I have learned to listen more carefully when people talk so that I can understand how dominant discourses colour and shape their perceptions of reality while simultaneously preventing them from seeing other views of reality. I have also learned to see how my life narratives are embedded in and limited by the dominant knowledges and discourses available to me, regulating and constructing me in particular ways. Perhaps, however, the two most valuable tools I have discovered and will continue to utilise in my everyday life are: an understanding that power is strategic and that certain objectives can be realised through the deployment of the “tactical productivity” (Foucault 1978, p. 102) of selected discourses; and an understanding that while I am both subject and object of prevailing and historical discourses, I am able to critically reflect how I allow discourses to form part of me; how to resist others albeit knowing there might be some consequences, or even how I might attempt to modify discourses to create new meanings. I finish this study with a quote from Foucault (1973) because, as he eloquently expresses in *The birth of the clinic*, one’s subjectivity is always in motion, shifting and changing through encountering new discourses, new experiences and taking up new ways of being:

What counts in the things said by men is not so much what they may have thought or the extent to which these things represent their thoughts, as that which systematizes them from the outset, thus making them thereafter endlessly accessible to new discourses and open to the task of transforming them. (p. xix)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Project Title: Women's football in New Zealand: Issues of power and gender.

My name is Barbara Cox and I am a PhD student studying women's football in New Zealand in the Department of Sport and Leisure Studies at the University of Waikato.

About the Research:

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, approximately 40 million females play football worldwide. The FIFA World Cups and the Olympic Games offer opportunities for females to play on a world stage, and lucrative commercial endorsements and educational prospects are available for those who reach elite levels. Today, New Zealand has approximately 35,000 women and one in three girls under sixteen playing football, but few women coach and /or administer the game. Coaching and administration are often called positions of power because they involve decision-making processes which impact on how the game develops.

In the past ten years, several studies have been made of women's football. Whilst a few of these studies examine how women experience playing football, the majority are historical studies, outlining the beginnings of women's football in their respective countries. There is no research focusing on how women experience and deal with relationships of power such as, for example, approaching the committee to set up a women's team in a club or coaching a team. I have asked you to become involved in this study because you were (are) one of the few players who became (have become) a(coach or administrator) during(time period). In the interview, I would like to hear your stories about what happened when you became involved in playing and coaching/administration.

Will the interview be confidential?

Any information gained from the interview will be stored in a confidential manner in my office, and access to the raw data will be limited to my University supervisors and me. As a participant, your identity will remain anonymous and I will use the pseudonym that you have written down and will also change any details that could identify you.

Your Involvement

If you consent to join the study, you will be asked to participate in an interview in your home or in another mutually agreed location for between 1 – 2 hours. The interview will involve answering questions about your involvement and experiences in women's football in New Zealand. You will also be asked to sign a consent form stating your agreement to participate. If needed, and with your consent, a follow-up interview may be arranged. Again with your consent, a tape-

recorder will be used to tape the interview and a transcript (a written recording) will be made. You will receive a copy of this transcript to check, amend or delete anything as you see fit.

Your Rights

As a participant, you have the right to withdraw from involvement in this project at any time up until you have certified and made any needed corrections to the transcript. You have the right to refuse to answer any questions put to you during the interview(s). You may also contact my supervisors to discuss any issues or concerns that you may have in respect of this study.

Contact Details:

If you wish to participate in this study, please read the consent form and sign it accordingly. If you have any further questions or comments about this study, please feel free to contact me. My details and my supervisors are listed below:

Researcher:

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Appendix B: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Title of Project: Women’s Football in New Zealand: Issues of Gender and Power.

Researcher: Barbara Cox MBE

I have read and understood the participant information sheet for this project. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions about the project and have them answered to my satisfaction by Barbara Cox. I understand that this study involves an interview which will be taped and transcribed. I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question during the interview, as well as understanding that I may withdraw at any time from this research project up until I have certified my transcript as correct.

I agree that the research data gathered for this study will be used in the production of Barbara Cox’s PhD thesis, research articles and presentations.

I understand that my interview data will be kept confidential and in a secured place. However, due to the nature of a PhD research process, I understand that Barbara’s supervisors, Dr Toni Bruce and Dr Richard Pringle will be the only other individuals who will have access to the raw data. I understand that my privacy and confidentiality will be protected and a pseudonym of my choice will be used in any published material, including the researcher’s PhD.

I agree to participate in this research project under the conditions set out on the information sheet.

Name: Signed:.....
(Please print clearly)

Date:.....

Name:.....Pseudonym.....
.....

Positions held:.....

Years of experience:.....

Age:.....

Appendix C: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interviews will be semi-structured but will cohere around the five following themes.

Involvement in women's football

How did you get involved in women's football?

What was your involvement?

- a) In playing
- b) In coaching or administration or both

How would you describe the following people's reactions when they learnt you were involved in women's football?

- a) Family
 - Mum
 - Dad
 - Partner
 - Children
 - Relatives
 - Siblings
- b) Friends
- c) People at your work
- d) people in the football environment

How would you describe your relationship with the following?

- a) Club administrators
- b) Coaches
- d) Male players in the Club
- e) Female players

Can you describe any experiences that were memorable for you when you first started?

What did/does your involvement mean to you – how important is /was it to you?

Femininity

What do you think the public perception is of women's football? – How did they describe it?

What does being feminine mean to you?

Is there a woman you would describe as being typically feminine?

Is there someone who you would describe as unfeminine

Are you feminine; in what ways?

Is there anything you use or like that you see as particularly feminine?

What did femininity mean to you before you started playing football?

What does it mean now?

What is an ideal soccer body?

What is an ideal female soccer body?

What is an ideal female body?
Has this changed sincedo you think?

What do you think the public perception is of women's football in terms of sexuality?

How do think women in football are treated in comparison to men?

Do you/Did you experience any discomfort/conflict between being a football player/coach/administrator and being a woman?

Power

Who do you think has the most power in football?

- a) at club level
- b) at regional level
- c) at national level
- d) at international level

Who has the most power in women's football?

- a) at club level
- b) at regional level
- c) at national level
- d) at international level

Who does not have much power?
Can you think of why this is the case?

What does power mean to you?
Can you remember any times when this power you have described was used?
Is power shared equally between men and women?
Is this true in all areas of football?

Who has/had the most power in the team you played/play for?
Were there any tensions in the team you played for?

Resistance

Who encouraged you to become involved in football?
Was there anybody who was against your involvement?
In what areas do you think you were accepted?
In what areas were you not taken seriously?

Did you perceive any barriers or limitations to your involvement in football?
If no, did other women experience any?
If yes, how would you describe these barriers?
When these barriers or restrictions were placed on you, how did you react?
What about other women – how did they react?
What did you do to challenge these restrictions?
What strategies were successful?
What strategies failed?
Did you experience any decisions that somebody made that you believed were

unfair or unjust?
If yes, who was this 'somebody'?
How did you react?
Is your experience common to other women?

What have you done to try and change things in women's football?
What have other women done?
What has worked?
Why?
What has not worked?

When you reflect back – is there something that you can pinpoint that you learnt from playing soccer that was different to anything else you learnt but helped you in your later years whether at work or family or whatever

Feminism

What does feminism mean to you?
Are most of the football players feminists?
Can you identify any feminists in football?
Who?
What is it about them/her that makes them/her a feminist?

Discourses

Talk about some of the discourses that have emerged from study of scrapbooks and various other documents.

What does this mean to you?
Do you remember people talking about women's football in this way?
If so, who?

General

What do you see as the biggest challenges for women's football?
What do you see as the greatest successes for women's football?

How have things changed for women in football since -----?
What are your strongest memories of that time-----?

Is there anything you would like to talk about?