

PALGRAVE
HANDBOOKS



THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF FEMINISM AND SPORT, LEISURE AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Edited by
Louise Mansfield, Jayne Caudwell,
Belinda Wheaton and Becca Watson



The Palgrave Handbook of Feminism and Sport,
Leisure and Physical Education

Louise Mansfield • Jayne Caudwell
Belinda Wheaton • Beccy Watson
Editors

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Introduction: Feminist Thinking, Politics and Practice in Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Louise Mansfield, Jayne Caudwell,
Belinda Wheaton, and Beccy Watson

In this first-of-its-kind *Handbook* we bring together close to 50 chapters of new and invited feminist writings on sport, leisure and physical education (PE). This has been an exciting and enjoyable endeavour for us as women working in different higher education institutions spread across north and south England, and New Zealand. Individually we all completed our gender-related PhDs in the late 1990s/early 2000s. We met each other at this time through conference attendance and other academic networks. Since then we have worked together in various settings as feminist academics and advocates. However, this is the first time we have all collaborated on one project.

For us, feminist scholarship represents a movement that is at times divergent in its aims and articulations, and we cannot ignore diversity across and within it. “We”, using this pronoun in a feminist way, continue to account for difference and seek to tackle inequality as overarching principles of our feminism. The range and merit of different feminisms is based upon different interpretations

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of what is regarded as salient and significant for scholars and activists; this sentiment resonates throughout this handbook. A collection such as this enables us to showcase different contexts, and different concepts identified and detailed by contributors, as vital to the establishment and development of sport, leisure and PE feminisms.

In this introductory chapter, we discuss the three main rationales that underpin the handbook. These rationales reflect our location as editors and this positioning does tend to centre the UK, and our place in the West/Global North. We focus on the contemporary social and political milieu; the contribution the handbook makes to on-going feminist commentary in sport, leisure and PE; and our personal motives for bringing this project to fruition. We do not offer an introduction to individual chapters here because we do this at the start of the five themes, which examine sport, leisure and PE through the following foci: feminist challenges and transformations; feminist epistemologies, methodologies and method; feminist theories; contemporary feminist issues; and feminist praxis. By introducing each theme, we aim to clarify the internal logics of the five themes, and to ensure readers appreciate the value of each chapter in relation to other chapters in the theme.

Given the scale of the handbook and the nature of working together remotely, there have been a number of challenges. For example, it was not always easy to group contributions together in what we hope offers readers (and authors) thematic coherence. Also, we recognize that our collection could not and does not cover all aspects of sport, leisure and PE comprehensively across each theme. Our intention was to recognize the importance of these different, but intersecting spheres within girls' and women's lives, and across feminist debates. Indeed our own research spans these different spheres, including contexts from girls' PE and formalized competitive sports, through to older women in informal and community-based leisure. From start to end, we have advocated a broad and inclusive approach, which seeks to embrace authors and their work at the intersections of disciplinary boundaries. With that said, we have relied on English-speaking authors. Obviously, this gives the collection a specific inflection that we must acknowledge as Western/Global North. We are aware that this pooling is a matter of concern, and that it limits the diversity of voices represented.

Public Issues: Social and Political Change

There are semi-naked women playing beach volleyball in the middle of the Horse Guards Parade ... They are glistening like wet otters (Boris Johnson, 2012, ¶ 20)

Women who have children are ‘worth less’ to employers in the financial sector than men, Nigel Farage has said. (Dominiczak, 2014, ¶ 1)

Fat. Pig. Dog. Slob. Disgusting animal.

These are just some of the names that Donald Trump has called women over the years. (Cohen, 2016, ¶ 1)

This handbook was completed at a time when right-wing and far right-wing political parties have gained a commanding and influential grip on traditional Western liberal democracies. For instance, in Europe, the Freedom Party in Austria, the Danish People’s Party in Denmark, the National Front in France, and the Swiss People’s Party in Switzerland all secured significant percentages of the overall vote (35%, 21%, 28% and 29% respectively). It is also the year (2016) when the right-wing Law and Justice Party (PiS) of Poland were forced to reject legislation to ban abortion because the country’s women (and some men) took to the streets, en masse, to protest. Protesters carried slogans remonstrating: ‘My Uterus, My Opinion’ and ‘Women Just Want to Have FUN-damental Rights’ (Davies, 2016, ¶ 6).

At first, it might appear that the relationship between liberal democracy and feminism is tenuous. However, the work of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), especially his treatise on *The Subjection of Women*, stands as an early testimony of the significance of gender relations and its assembly with freedoms, liberty and rights. Specifically, Mill’s articulations provide a valuable frame for interpreting sexist and misogynist rhetoric apparent in the public spheres of party politics, and in the multiple domains of sport, leisure and PE. For example, Mill wrote:

All of mankind’s selfish propensities, the self-worship, the unjust self-preference, are rooted in and nourished by the present constitution of the relation between men and women. Think what it does to a boy to grow up to manhood in the belief that—without any merit or any exertion of his own, though he may be the most frivolous and empty or the most ignorant and stolid of mankind—by the mere fact of being born a male he is by right the superior of every one of half the human race. (Mill, 1869, p. 48)

Despite positioning men and women within a binary opposite, Mill was careful not to essentialize women and/or men. In fact, he clearly highlighted the social and cultural construction of gender, and gendered power relations, as is evidenced in the above quotation (‘grow up to manhood in the belief...’). His concerns with how power is distributed in regard to gender and within fair and just societies remain implicit to notions of liberal democracy. This point was reiterated recently within women’s popular culture when Sady Doyle, writing

for *Elle* magazine, and discussing the gendered behaviours of Putin, Trump and Assange, argued: ‘It’s time to take sexism seriously as a political force: Misogyny is dangerously capable of aligning otherwise disparate factions’ (2017). As Laura Bates (2016) argued, when she recently provided commentary on Trump’s self-defined “locker room” banter, contemporary politics, power and sexism are an insidious concoction. Furthermore, sexism and misogynies are often concealed through claims of so-called “harmless talk”.

Using “locker room” banter and “harmless talk” to defend sexism and misogyny are familiar tactics in UK sport-related contexts. Further examples are provided in the discussions following the recent separate public comments made by Ryan Babel (professional footballer) and Peter Alliss (former professional golfer):

he [Babel] tweeted a female follower in response to a question asking him about his views on former manager Rafa Benitez: ‘I think you should concentrate on growing some t*** instead of speaking about football ... ur a girl ... stay in ur lane...’ (Orr, 2015, ¶ 3)

The Scottish club’s [Muirfield] vote to change its rules and allow women fell short of the required two-thirds majority. ... Veteran BBC golf commentator Peter Alliss said women who want to play at Muirfield should ‘marry a member’ in order to play. (BBC, 2016)

Bates (2016) demonstrates the discursive complexities of sexist and misogynist outbursts by highlighting how public debate shifts back to women and girls to secure a resolution for sexism and misogyny. She reflects on how this happened when she was asked to respond—in an interview for UK BBC Radio 4’s *Today* programme—to the Trump tapes in which he ‘boasted about being able to commit sexual assault because of his status as a powerful, famous man’ (¶ 2). The interviewer turned the discussion towards ‘whether or not in 2016 it’s acceptable for men together to talk about women in a sexual manner without feeling guilty about it’ (¶ 6). Drawing comparisons with previous media focus on a key UK report on sexual harassment in the workplace (TUC, August, 2016), Bates cogently demonstrates the ways the media steer debate from the actual acts of sexist abuse, sexual violence and assault, and toward the view of ‘whether women were making a fuss about nothing, or whether the harassment and assault the report described was just “office banter”’ (¶ 10). We have witnessed similar twists in public narratives in sport, leisure and PE contexts when the emphasis turns to women’s and girls’ attitudes instead of the behaviours of men and boys, for example, when male student athletes and professional athletes make explicit rape-supportive statements such as ‘she provoked it’ and consider themselves above reproach (Withers, 2015).

In Western liberal democracies, the work of feminist activists such as UK journalist Bates (2015) exposes the functioning of gendered power relations within daily gendered discourse in ways that spotlight seemingly acceptable common occurrences of gendered inequalities and gendered injustices (e.g., “everyday”). It is this culture as alluded to above that provides one exemplar (albeit Western-centric) of the broad societal and political backdrop that has influenced our intent to compile an edited collection exclusively and explicitly focused on feminism. We want to keep feminism at the forefront of critical debate, advocacy and activism because gender relations remain a powerful and obdurate force in all societies and cultures. As feminist academics and social scientists we are concerned with making sense of how gender functions in the contemporary social and political epoch, especially when there are sentiments that suggest an era of postfeminism within Western (neo-) liberalism, and within sport, leisure and PE cultures.

For us, postfeminism puts feminism in a bind since it appears to harness a position in which traditional theoretical frameworks of feminism are made redundant, irrelevant or no longer required. McRobbie (2008), for instance, challenges an uncritical shift to postfeminism in popular culture and social life by exposing a pro-consumerist repertoire of femininity and a (mis)appropriation of the rhetoric of “girlie”/girl power ideals (based on beauty and fashion). Her work reveals the ways this shift marginalizes a critical feminist analysis of gender inequality. For her, postfeminist ideas run the risk of taking a position that ultimately disempowers girls and women by legitimizing the sacrifice of feminist politics to the fashion-beauty complex, and masking new forms of gender regulation such as competitive femininity (McRobbie, 2015). Unsurprisingly the challenges of postfeminism and postfeminist sensibilities are taken up in some of the chapters in this handbook.

Collectivism: Contributing to Existing Feminist Debate

As a contribution to the field, this handbook complements existing books that document feminism vis-à-vis either sport, leisure, PE and/or physical activity (see, for example, Birrell & Cole, 1994; Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1990; Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1989; Henderson, Freysinger, Shaw, & Bialeschki, 2013; Markula, 2005; Messner & Sabo, 1990; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002; Wearing, 1998). Our edited collection is the first for some time to specifically and explicitly address feminisms, despite burgeoning numbers of publishers’ Handbooks on a range of sport-, leisure- and PE-related topics.

Existing material that is available to us as contemporary feminist scholars of sport, leisure and PE, is spread over time and across a range of academic outputs. It would be impossible to capture all of this material in this short introduction. However, if we pay attention to the chronology of the development of this feminist theorizing, as it appears in peer-reviewed journal articles, it is evident that PE preceded leisure and sport studies. A cursory search dating back to the start of last century (1900) shows that issues surrounding gender, feminism and PE were often mentioned, but not fully analyzed at the onset (see, for example, Clarke & Lantis, 1958; Lindhard, 1940; Park, 1978; Warden, 1916). In 1979, Hall makes explicit the link between feminism and PE in her work on 'Intellectual sexism in Physical Education'. This was followed by a period in which scholars considered gender and its relation to femininity and masculinity (e.g., Parker, 1996; Sherlock, 1987; Vertinsky, 1992) as well as sexuality (e.g., Clarke, 1998; Sykes, 2001). Two feminist scholars whose work has made an impact on the critical feminist analysis of PE in the UK are Sheila Scraton (1985) and Anne Flintoff and Scraton (2001). However, there are few journal articles that link, overtly, feminism and PE in their titles and there is no evidence of book or edited book titles that make the connection. This is in spite of the long tradition of critical academic scholarship on PE.

The study of leisure is different and the scholarly association between feminism and leisure is evident, albeit most noticeable post 1990. This decade is when feminist leisure scholars reflected on feminism and leisure and links with service provision (Aitchison, 1997), patriarchy (Dustin, 1992), leisure constraints and leisure research (Henderson, 1991; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1992), postfeminism (Scraton, 1994) and spatiality *qua* cultural geography (Aitchison, 1999), to name a few of the topics of analysis. Compared with PE, these leisure feminist analyses are tagged as feminist; they reflect the era and the shifts in theoretical thinking. Perhaps this depth of feminist conceptualizing is a consequence of the close ties between critical social theory and leisure studies. For example, the initial leisure studies analytic lens, in the UK specifically, is identified as Marxism and neo-Marxism (Rojek, 1995; Tomlinson, 1989). Leisure feminists challenged this particular theoretical beginning because it ignored gender. This challenge was also the case in other spheres of the social sciences at the time.

The feminist leisure agenda continued into the new millennium. During this time, previous work concerned with researching leisure and leisure constraints endured, and expanded to include new settings such as Iran (Arab-Moghaddam, Henderson, & Sheikholeslami, 2007). Following feminist debate across the social sciences and humanities, there were new theoretical

developments such as poststructuralism and representing the “Other” (Aitchison, 2000). Resistance (Shaw, 2001), diversity (Allison, 2000), confronting whiteness (Watson & Scraton, 2001), and intersectionality (McDonald, 2009; Watson & Scraton, 2013) were placed firmly—as feminist concerns—on the leisure studies agenda. It is clear that during the last three decades feminist leisure studies has developed as a substantive and robust framework for informed critical analyses.

The feminist intervention into sport studies can be described similarly, albeit there is evidence of scholarly intervention a decade earlier. In the early 1980s, the feminist challenge to traditional sport studies made apparent gender relations as a relation of power. Works on sport and oppression (Bryson, 1983) and empowerment (Theberge, 1987) as well as the philosophical questioning of traditional epistemology (Hall, 1985), were complemented by calls for a move from femininity to feminism (Hall, 1988). As Hargreaves (1986) and Birrell (1988) made the point, there was a shift from women in sport to gender relations as foci for critical analysis. It is this centring of power that has contributed to the development and application of now familiar concepts in sport studies such as hegemonic femininity (Krane, 2001) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995).

This scholarship of the 1980s offered a strong foundation for sport feminists to move to analyse in detail gender and the body (e.g., Cole, 1993; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Theberge, 1991 and later Markula, 2006), gender and sexuality (e.g., Caudwell, 1999), gender and race (e.g., Scraton, Caudwell, & Holland, 2005) spatiality, gender and race (e.g., van Ingen, 2003), and sexuality/queer and whiteness (e.g., McDonald, 2002) to name some of the avenues that have contributed to the development, diversification and rigour of feminist approaches to gendered issues, theories and concepts.

Unfortunately, there is insufficient space to document the considerable quantity of existing feminist contributions to the fields of sport, leisure and PE. Attempting to plot a cursory view of existing material is fraught with exclusions and this is not our intention. The point is that we, as contemporary feminists, must remain mindful of established and enduring developments and contributions; it is important to provide a historical view to evidence this point. The act of referring to existing feminist work is not only an exercise in scholarly integrity; it is a project of feminist collectivism. This folding in of the past to the present ensures we do not forget the women, and men, who have aided contemporary feminist research, advocacy and activist agendas. And we pay tribute to their contributions to scholarly debate. The individual content as well as the entirety of this handbook should be viewed as complementary contributions to the sustained vibrancy of feminisms in sport, leisure and PE.

Private Lives: The Personal Is Political

In July 2012, on a train between Glasgow (International Sociology of Sport Association annual conference) and Edinburgh (Leisure Studies Association annual conference), Louise suggested to Belinda and Jayne that it was time, given our long-term commitments to gender studies and feminism, that we edit a book on feminisms in sport, leisure and PE. The timing of Lou's proposition was triggered by the public debates surrounding women's involvement in London 2012, specifically the contradiction that although this was the 'women's Games' (Scott-Elliot, 2012), women athletes continued to face barriers and constraints to participation (e.g., initial refusals to allow Saudi women to attend; opposition to women's boxing; and suggested policy requiring women boxers to wear skirts/skorts). We spent the journey making plans, enthusiastically scribbling on paper and electronic devices. The possibilities to invite authors seemed endless. Riding on this excitement, we agreed that Louise should speak with publishers attending both conferences. The idea was welcomed by Palgrave and we started the lengthy process of moving the thought of publication into the practical tasks of composing a proposal, receiving reviews, inviting authors, receiving draft chapters, reviewing and editing, setting deadlines, missing some of these deadlines, and submitting a formatted complete manuscript. Early on in this process, we realized it would work better if we invited Beccy (Rebecca) to join us given her longstanding scholarly work on feminism and leisure.

As with most academic outputs there are numerous behind-the-scenes incidents that usually go unknown to the reader. This project is no different and during the time it has taken to complete the handbook, contributing authors—and the four of us—have faced personal circumstances that must unavoidably overtake submission deadlines. The obvious conflicts have been with ever-present work commitments and family life (we mean "family" in its broadest sense). In addition, there has been serious illness, accident, bereavement and redundancy. We are indebted to all authors for their commitment to the book and for their excellent contributions, but we are especially indebted to those authors who have managed very difficult personal circumstances to submit their chapters. In academia, we have a habit of forgetting these significant disruptions in favour of productivity and presenting a sanitized version of an academic output.

Unfortunately, however, output and production can be viewed as the mainstays of contemporary academic life. Reflecting on our various pasts (and contemporary circumstances) it is clear that we have relative privilege. These privileges allow us agency and opportunities to be responsive to this culture of

performance; we have established careers in higher education in the UK and New Zealand, and we have the privileges that go with this type of employment. Despite our different cultural locations (e.g., social class, sexuality), the shared nature of our experiences as white, able-bodied women growing up, at school and university, in our families and in the workplace, have shaped how we have developed our individual and shared feminist sensibilities. We were all born in the UK in the late 1960s and grew up during the 1970s and 1980s, we played outside, we were active in formal and informal sport and physical activity, we gained entry to higher education and benefitted from the opportunities and privileges that educational qualifications beget.

Our childhoods were during a cultural and political period symbolized by the crass gendered politics of *The Sun* newspaper (daily Page 3 topless women), Thatcherism and the miners' strike, and emerging local authority policies such as Sport for All (1982). We were brought up by a generation who had witnessed the impact of extreme inhumanity across Europe a few decades earlier. We had adults in our lives that understood the need to care for vulnerable members of our communities and not to exploit and oppress the marginalized. During this period there was a different form of capitalist endeavour compared with the second decade of the twenty-first century. For instance, we were not exposed to the same omnipresent and pernicious feminine beautification industrial complex that girls and young women experience today.

Every epoch has its vectors of power, resistance and transformation and as young women academics studying in the UK we were introduced to predominantly British-based feminists who had and were making significant challenges (e.g., Jenny Hargreaves, Margaret Talbot, Rosemary Deem, Sheila Scraton, Celia Brackenridge, Anita White and Eileen Green to name a few). Some of these women became our mentors and we learned the tenets of feminist thinking, practice and activism through working with them and/or reading their texts. Individually, we developed our feminist politics at different times in our adult lives. For two of us it was relatively early in our twenties, and for the other two it was later and during times of critical reflection. It does not matter when we individually identified as feminists, what matters is that we were aware of a generation of UK feminist (during the early 1990s) that had transgressed many gendered boundaries pertaining to sport, leisure and PE before we took up feminist scholarship and advocacy.

Today, there *seem* to be more women, men and non-binary individuals who identify as feminist within our spheres of sport, leisure and PE. Over the last 20 years, we have noticed that more undergraduate and postgraduate students complete gender-related dissertations and we hope that this momentum continues into the future. At the same time, we recognize that students often fail to understand and/or accept feminism; very few openly identify as feminists.

In bringing this section to a close, we return to the feminist adage ‘the personal is political’ and the discussions we have had about the recent sexual abuse cases in men’s competitive football in the UK (Dodd, 2016). Celia Brackenridge first wrote about sexual abuse in sport, leisure, PE and sport coaching in the early 1990s. Her critical feminist work outlines the extent of abuse and argues for cultural, practice and policy change. During our recent conversations, we have wondered whether Celia’s work (1994, 1997; Cense & Brackenridge, 2001), as an exemplar of feminist praxis, will be adopted by UK governing bodies of men’s football and/or men’s sport. Are these governing bodies sufficiently open to such crucial feminist praxis vis-à-vis the sexual abuse of boys and men? We fear they are not. Finally, we pay tribute to the men who broke the silence, and we pay tribute to Celia and her long-term fight to expose abuse in sport, leisure and PE.

In Conclusion

One of the most powerful characteristics of feminism is that there is no single feminist movement or theory that has informed an understanding of gender and its associations with class, sexualities, ethnicities and disabilities. Instead there are multiple feminisms. This multiplicity can mean fragmentation, conflict and tension across and within different feminist points of view. For example, as editors we have not always agreed with each other and/or contributing authors. At times, our feminist thinking and theorizing has been challenged, but we regard this as a positive and in some instances we have invited disagreement, debate and dialogue. During our final editors’ meeting we raised the question: does feminism require agreement? Addressing this question in relation to this handbook and future feminist projects, we agreed that collective projects benefit from disagreement as long as interactions are shaped by kindness and generosity as well as criticality. For us this means that when handled with care, points of departure can be affirmative and encouraging.

Clearly, over a sustained period of time, the political and theoretical dimensions of feminism have altered. With these shifts have come changing influences on feminist research, scholarship, advocacy and activism. Depending on the theoretical and methodological position of feminists, different questions about and accounts of gender, sport, leisure and PE prevail. Feminism and feminisms, as a theory/ies, methodology/ies and praxis, celebrates these internal complexities because the intricacies and nuances apparent have served to expand our critical analyses of gender. The “expansion” of feminism has meant that it is often difficult to gather this wealth of knowledge in one place. In this

handbook, we have brought together a range of feminist points of view, allowing for an exploration of the productive tension between competing intellectual arguments and feminist methodologies, and serving as encouragement for future collective contribution.

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Theme 1

**Challenges and Transformations in
Women's Leisure, Sport and Physical
Education Movements**

Challenges and Transformations in Women's Leisure, Sport and Physical Education Movements

Becky Watson, Louise Mansfield, Jayne Caudwell,
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Feminist (leisure) researchers in the 1980s and 1990s argued that the context of women's leisure was, at best, one of 'relative freedoms' (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988), something achieved in the context of multiple constraints (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1989). Some empirical studies in the UK questioned whether and how women had leisure at all, 'Women's leisure what leisure?' (Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1990) and 'All work and no play' (Deem, 1986) being particularly significant contributions that drew on critical feminist analysis at the time. A number of feminists were already connecting leisure, sport and physical education in the early 1980s (Deem, 1982; Hargreaves, 1986) and in 1980 Margaret Talbot made the case for women's sport to be analysed in the context of leisure (Talbot, 1980). This has had, and continues to have, a profound influence on scholarship in and across our varied areas of interest and analysis (Hall, 1987; Hargreaves, 1994; Scraton, 1985).

A consensus emerged that women's and girls' involvement in sport and/or forms of physical activity and active recreation could only be achieved via

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ongoing processes of negotiation of gender (Deem & Gilroy, 1998). There was some evidence, albeit among a minority of sports scholars, that masculinity and sport required more pro-feminist, critical analysis (Messner, 1990), while it was also noted that not all analysis of women's leisure was feminist (Henderson, 1996). Jennifer Hargreaves (1986) was pivotal in challenging the 'malestream' of sport sociology and for developing a *feminist* premise for leisure, sport and PE scholars that draws on and contributes to cultural (studies) as well as sociological analyses of sport. Whether explained through the language of ideologies or discourses (Wearing, 1998) it was recognized that gendered processes were/are at once contemporary *and* historical processes (Hargreaves, 1994; Vertinsky, 1994). Feminist leisure and sport scholars—and under that general heading those focusing on physical education, physical activity, active recreation, travel and tourism, and more—continue to examine how various embodied expressions can be (potentially) empowering whilst simultaneously constrained by dominant discourses and material practices of gender (Scraton & Watson, 2015).

Approaching this theme editorially has been illuminating: seeing how different authors approach their topics and how they articulate various interpretations of salient and significant features of feminism/s that span disciplinary areas and temporal phases. The chapters indicate that although we can trace purposeful and effective developments across sport, leisure and PE-related feminisms, feminist "work" is far from complete with regard to overcoming inequalities on the basis of gender and other intersecting factors. A number of pertinent issues are outlined across and within the chapters that resonate with many of the contributions in this handbook as a whole and reflect Jayne (Caudwell)'s observation that '...feminist contributions from the past remain relevant to contemporary sport and that feminist ideas *can be* passed down and folded in to, recombined with, the present' (2011, p. 122, original emphasis).

It is apt that this theme opens with an overview of how gender and PE have been understood since the 1980s and outlines some of the key feminist interpretations of this interrelationship. Sheila Scraton reflects on her pioneering empirical work on girls' experiences of PE in the UK and contextualizes this alongside developing feminist analysis over the last four decades. She also identifies challenges that remain ongoing. We are grateful to Gertrude Pfister and Mari Sisjord (and Waxmann Publishers) for granting us permission to reprint Sheila's article. In the second chapter, Jessica Francombe-Webb and Kim Toffoletti overview some of Jennifer Hargreaves' key work including her contribution to a critical feminist lens, particularly the problematic of structure–agency dualisms and the challenge of material and cultural accounts

of girls' and women's experiences of sport and PE. Challenges posed by these dualisms are present throughout many of the chapters in this first theme and indeed throughout the handbook as a whole. Francombe-Webb and Toffoletti bring their review into the present by considering a postfeminist sensibility and invite readers to consider Hargreaves' legacy for sport feminisms as not just wariness towards postfeminism (as Hargreaves and others understandably are) but as a platform from which to engage with the "material" contexts and consequences of postfeminism.

Feminist sport history is central to the dialogue between Patricia Vertinsky and Beccy Watson, the first of the two dialogue chapters that feature in the handbook. Vertinsky's contribution to this area is vast and by drawing on extracts from an interview carried out in 2016, the dialogue highlights ways in which feminist sport history and different interpretations of sport history and related disciplinary areas across physical education, kinesiology and sport is an ongoing feminist endeavour.

This first theme of the handbook also demonstrates that in various different guises and at different times, much of what we know as masculinity studies is inextricably linked to feminist conceptual and theoretical developments. A history of the development of sport and masculinities scholarship is detailed in Richard Pringle's chapter. Pringle draws on and combines various tenets of feminist theorizing and considers how they have been used in recognizing males as gendered beings, for informing a view/s of masculinity as a relational concept, and to consider the intimate connections between gender, bodies, sexualities and associated gender performances.

Following this the chapter by Stephen Wearing, Jennie Small and Carmel Foley provides coverage on how a project for gender research and theory in leisure and tourism scholarship has developed since the 1970s. We can trace further evidence of structure–agency debates that have underpinned much feminist thinking and Wearing et al. demonstrate how developments in theorizing the body in tourism have been both a product and a constituent of poststructuralist analysis in feminist leisure studies. Within the context of leisure and tourism, they consider how ideas of multiple, gendered subjectivities and access to alternative gender discourses, explored through sites of leisure and tourism as culturally gendered enclaves, can allow for the re-writing of masculine and feminine scripts.

Jayne Ifekwunigwe weaves together critical analysis of the cultural representations of tennis player Serena Williams and popular music postfeminist icon Beyoncé to outline and convey the significance of Black feminism and its changing conceptualization from early third-wave Black feminists in the 1980s through to Care Free Black Girl (CFBG) feminisms of the present day—arguably another/different iteration of postfeminist sensibility that

Ifekwunigwe goes on to critique. Ifekwunigwe's contribution also acts as a stark reminder of just how white the "established" canon of feminism has been, and continues to be, both within and outside sport studies.

Cheryl Cooky provides further engagement with the cultural contexts of sport feminism in the chapter where she addresses several thematic developments in the sociology of sport on gender, sport and media. Drawing on work from the 1980s onwards, Cooky charts the development and contributions of US feminists to this area of feminist analysis, outlining key studies, assessing their legacies and highlighting salient future directions for feminist scholarship across gender, sport and media.

The last three chapters in this theme demonstrate both continuity and new scholarship by assessing various aspects of feminism and feminist critique within coaching, sports organizations and women-for-sport developments respectively. Nicole LaVoi and Anna Baeth argue that despite a growing body of literature pertaining to women in sports coaching being amassed over the last 40 years, women coaches remain in the minority in nearly all sports, at all levels, across the globe. Meanwhile, women coaches are visible, powerful reminders that women can be and are successful leaders in sport (and PE). They conclude that a feminist position is necessary for change to occur within the organizational structure of sport, and for gender stereotypes and bias to be challenged and overcome. In complement to this, Annelies Knoppers and Fiona McLachlan argue for feminist engagement with and analysis of the management of sport organizations. They chart the presence (and/or lack) of feminist work across sport management and sport organization research over the past few decades and across the key academic journals publishing work in this area. Knoppers and McLachlan argue that feminist calls for change are complex and require multi-level consideration.

In the tenth and final chapter within this first theme, Jordan Matthews provides coverage of the development of a social movement for women and sport, combining a postcolonial feminist frame with social movement literature. He assesses some of the consequences of how (predominantly Western-based) women-and-sport social movement organizations have increasingly institutionalized their activism in order to change sport for women. These developments are not without tensions, including ideological and political differences between women. Matthews draws on archive materials from the Anita White Foundation to demonstrate how much of what we often regard as some of the "known" and established "facts" of women's activism in sport requires more nuanced attention be paid to past and ongoing developments of social movements for women and sport.

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Feminism and PE: Does Gender Still Matter?

Sheila Scraton

Introduction

This chapter explores how our understandings of gender and physical education (PE) have developed since the 1980s as differing feminist approaches engage with a changing social and cultural world. The types of question that I am grappling with reflect many debates that are currently being played out in the media and academia (Banyard, 2010; Walter, 2010). These include: Is feminism still needed? Are we now in a postfeminist era where gender equity has largely been achieved? Can girls ‘just do it’, as Nike’s advertising campaign for girls’ sport suggests? Has a focus on shared inequalities been replaced by questions of difference, identities and individual choice? How do we keep feminist praxis when theory seems to have become quite divorced from practice? I am reflecting on where we are in relation to these debates in the second decade of the twenty-first century and whether the questions being asked in feminism, as highlighted above, have resonance for the world of PE.

Although feminist theories of gender and PE have become more sophisticated and engage with new and relevant questions, I am not so convinced that PE practice has changed quite so much. There is little doubt that feminist thought has contributed to our understandings of gender and physical education since the 1980s. Feminist analyses of PE in the second wave of feminism drew on both liberal and structural approaches to explore gender relations.

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My work at that time, focusing on the teaching of girls' PE in an area of northern England, used a socialist feminist lens to identify key issues in the construction and reproduction of, and resistance to, dominant gender power relations (Scraton, 1992) and was influenced by the developing work of feminist sports scholars (eg. Hall, 1988; Hargreaves, 1979) and feminist educationalists (eg. Arnot & Weiner, 1987). My aim was to examine how images of femininity and the construction of gender-appropriate behaviour were reinforced and/or challenged by the structure, content and teaching of girls' physical education in secondary schools (11–18 years). My conclusions highlighted how teachers of PE had clear ideas about “appropriate” activities and behaviours for girls based on dominant notions of acceptable femininity. I argued that the teaching of PE contributed to the construction of a female physicality linked closely to a “compulsory heterosexuality” that was central to unequal gendered power relations. Whilst I took a fairly deterministic, structural approach, I also began to explore the potential of girls to challenge and resist gendered expectations and suggested that PE was an important site for the physical and political empowerment of girls and young women.

Since I conducted my research, feminists in PE have contributed increasingly sophisticated accounts of difference, identities and bodies that have moved our understandings on from the early structuralist accounts of gender inequalities. This chapter provides a brief encounter with developments in feminist theory and their application in PE. My key argument is that gender still matters, we do still need feminism and a social justice agenda but we need far more nuanced understandings of how social relations intersect and are performed in different sites and contexts. A major challenge is how we can translate our theoretical understandings into transformative practices. “Doing” gender research requires us to be more creative about how we research in order to understand complexity and think about how change for the better for all young people and PE may come about. My focus throughout is on PE in the English context, although research from a range of scholars across the world continues to inform the feminist PE agenda in the UK.

The Changing World of Feminism

From the early 1990s, at about the time I published my work on gender and PE, the argument that we were moving into a postfeminist era gained considerable credibility. In the academy, second-wave feminism with its emphasis on centralized power systems and shared oppression became strongly contested by poststructural and postcolonial feminists. Influenced by the writings of

Foucault (1980), power became conceptualized as far more fluid, with the emphasis shifting from inequalities and oppression to diversity, identities, discourse and the ‘radical de-naturalizing of the postfeminist body’ (McRobbie, 2009, p. 13). Centralizing language and discourse, meaning and identity is understood as fluid and enacted processes, explored through the term ‘performativity’ by Butler (1990, 1993). Rather than seeking one single theory or “grand narrative” such as patriarchy, poststructuralism denies the notion of a single truth or cause, rendering regimes of truth unstable and open to alternative ways of seeing. From this perspective there are endless possibilities for change, transgression and transformation allowing for agency and empowerment. Postcolonial feminist theories draw on poststructuralism, but at the same time recognize the critique of black feminists who argue that much structural feminism is written from the perspective of white, Western, middle-class women, thus marginalizing the lived experiences of black women and those deemed to be ‘outsiders’ or ‘other’ (Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 1991). By giving voice to those rendered silent, dominant discourses are displaced by those seen to be on the margins (Spivak, 1988). Postcolonial feminists emphasize language and discourse and by challenging Western discourse turn attention to global and gendered power in colonial and imperial contexts.

Developments in feminist theory, particularly the move from structural and material analyses to poststructural understandings, have not been without their critics. A key debate is whether the shift to diversity, identity and individual agency de-politicizes feminism and distances it from shared inequalities (Stanley & Wise, 2000). However, a focus on diversity and identities has importantly drawn attention to the differences *between* women as well as ‘...how identifications and disidentifications are simultaneously experienced by subjects in specific spatial and temporal moments through the course of everyday lives’ (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). Valentine goes on to remind us that identities are complex and as such are situated accomplishments. However, the ability of individuals ‘to enact some identities rather than others is highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which our experiences are lived’ (p. 18).

Parallel to these developments in feminist sociology and cultural studies has been a growing political and cultural backlash against feminism, arguing either that feminism has succeeded and is no longer relevant or that it is unnecessary because fundamentally it was wrong in the first place (Scraton, 1994). This latter argument found expression within popular culture on the pages of newspapers and magazines of the 1990s (McRobbie, 2009) and was critiqued in the writings of academics such as Faludi (1992) and Roberts (1992). Faludi in particular coined the term “backlash” and although mainly writing about white America, gives an account of how politically and culturally, feminism is

increasingly seen to be responsible for many social ills and individual unhappiness. A more positive postfeminist reading is that, in contrast to feminism having got it wrong, it is no longer necessary because it has succeeded in its fight for equality. In a changing social, cultural, economic and political world, individuals now have the freedom and choice to construct their identities, to have “girl power”, to be who they want to be at different times and in different places. Neo-liberalism, which has been in the ascendancy in the Western world over the past three decades, with its emphasis on the market, individual responsibility and self-determination, mainstreams “equality feminism” and incorporates equality, diversity and tolerance into its rhetoric (Duggan, 2003). For McRobbie (2011), modern young womanhood is being re-made in ways that suggest that feminism has now been taken into account; this is constantly reproduced in popular culture and the media. Feminism is being swallowed up by a neo-liberal discourse that hinges on the notion of personal choice. Feminism and the neo-liberal discourse are not at odds with each other, rather they are intertwined. Women, especially young women, are seen to recognize that it is now about individual choice and effort—a new meritocracy. They want equality and empowerment but accept that it is up to them to be strong, take their opportunities and they will succeed. There may still be some constraints and barriers along the way but these can be surmounted with the right attitudes and effort. Of course what this does is take the politics out of feminism and makes any feminist voice appear to be from a bygone age when feminism was strident, speaking only of oppression and ‘in the “victim” camp’ (Banyard, 2010; Heywood & Drake, 1997). McRobbie (2011, p. 5) argues that we are in fact not in this positive postfeminist era but in a new gender regime whereby:

...the subjectivities of young women are defined and described in a repetitive manner in popular and political discourses along the lines of female individualisation. This permits the replacement for feminism through stressing not collectivity or the concerns of women per se, but rather the competition, ambition, meritocracy, self-help, and the rise of the Alpha Girl The young woman is addressed as a potential subject of great capacity ... she is a ‘can do girl’.

For McRobbie this spells out the need for a major challenge to this postfeminist logic arguing that the incorporation of feminism within social and political discourse does indeed dismantle it and make it unable to, or ineffective at, challenging the new inequalities that are as pernicious today as they were several decades ago (Walter, 2010). She argues that this new gender regime is eroding many of the institutional gains that feminism has made over a period of about 30 years. Whilst feminism remains relatively strong in some parts of

the academy (although this is also being eroded), it is within political and popular culture that feminism is seen to be no longer necessary; this is recreating a powerful divide between academic research and practice.

What is clear from this brief discussion of changing feminisms over the past two decades is that there have developed more complex understandings of gender and a growing divide between academic feminism and political and cultural postfeminism. The next sections consider how our understandings of gender and PE have developed over the past two decades before arguing that this academic discourse has become increasingly divorced from the practice of PE which is entwined within the dominant neo-liberal discourse of postfeminism.

Feminism and PE: Bodies, Identities and Difference

A key area at the forefront of feminist thinking is the body (Bordo, 1995; Grosz, 1994). Interest focuses on how gendered meanings of an ideal heteronormative female body are produced through the media and popular culture and are taken up by young women (Markula, 1995). Research demonstrates how the ideal feminine docile body—white, slender and non-sporting—is constructed and then worked on by women through fitness and exercise practices developed to discipline the body to the ideal (Azzarito, 2009). This takes forward the early work of Iris Young (1990), who argues that girls learn to restrict their bodily movements and physicality by literally learning to “throw like a girl”. As Garrett (2004, p. 235) found in her research on young women’s experiences of PE and physical activity:

Such is the strength and power of discourses around the body that the confidence with which a young woman engages with physical activity and physical education seems to be significantly influenced by the ‘appropriateness’ of her body as well as her fear of public display.

Embodiment is fundamental to young people’s identities and positioning in PE (Azzarito, Solmon, & Harrison, 2006; Hills, 2007; Oliver, 2010). As Flintoff, Fitzgerald, and Scraton (2008, p. 78) argue, ‘Different bodies do matter in PE: how they move and how they “look” is central to whether individuals feel comfortable and are judged as having “ability” and, hence, status in the subject’. Garrett (2004), focusing on young Australian women’s physical stories of their school experiences, identifies three types of bodies constructed within and through PE: the bad body, the comfortable body and the different

body. Paechter (2003) takes this further, focusing on how gender is performed in PE; how it is a crucial arena for enacting hyper-masculinities and femininities and where gendered forms of bodily usage are constructed.

However, girls and women do not simply take up notions of the ideal body but negotiate and resist through constantly re-presenting and redefining the images on offer to them. Azzarito (2010) identifies the construction of “new” femininities, the ‘Alpha Girl’ and the ‘Future Girl’. These are powerful, sporty femininities that, by emphasizing fitness and health, challenge and contradict traditional notions of the feminine docile body (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). These images of femininity provide sites of resistance and empowerment for girls and young women and can be seen as a reconstruction of female physicality. Just as my research in 1992 identified PE and sport as a potential site for the reconstruction of a ‘new’ active physicality for girls and young women, this research two decades later suggests that this is indeed what is happening. Several researchers have explored the concept of “physicality”, arguing that the potential for girls and women to gain control of their lives lies in their physicality or direct physical experience of their bodies (Gilroy, 1997; Scraton, 1992). Physical power comes from the skilled use of the body and the confidence that this produces (Hills, 2007). PE, therefore, is a crucial context for the construction of a positive physicality; some young women become empowered by the skilled and pleasurable experience of physical movement, while others embody a gendered physicality of powerlessness (McDermott, 1996). This research provides us with a more rigorous understanding of female physicality and how girls and women can embody traditional docile bodies or construct resistant, active bodies. However, importantly, the more recent work of Heywood (2007) and Azzarito (2010) takes the analysis further by arguing that these new sporting femininities, whilst reflecting individual agency to resist traditional discourses of femininity, also are informed by white Western ideals.

Global neo-liberal trends informing new femininities herald homogenization, and without the theorizing of difference, they produce a utopian form of pre-packaged successful Western girlhood. (Azzarito, 2010, p. 269)

This resonates with McRobbie (2011); not all girls have access to these new femininities and a neo-liberal discourse of opportunity and progress provides an illusion of gender equality that fails to account for persistent social inequalities and creates a new gender regime of successful and unsuccessful femininities. This illusion becomes part of a globalized consumer image of postfeminism that renders feminism and “old” inequalities redundant. Research on female bodies and physicality in PE makes an important contribution to our understanding

of the complexities of femininities and how girls and young women perform active, physical bodies that construct new femininities. However, researchers such as Azzarito and Heywood argue coherently for the need for social and political analysis that places this research within a neo-liberal postfeminist discourse of equality that continues to marginalize all those whose identities and bodies become “other” to the “can do” girls.

Masculinities have also come under critical scrutiny as researchers over the past 20 years have explored gender *relations* in more detail (Connell, 2005). Boys who do not fit the ideal of athletic, sporting masculinity also face negotiations and resistances in their experiences of PE. Tischler and McCaughy (2011) use hegemonic masculinity to examine the intersection of masculinities and school PE from the perspective of boys who embody marginalized masculinities and conclude that competitive sport-based PE functions to oppress boys who are seen to be outside the norms of masculinity but that they can also be active agents in resisting these processes. Bramham (2003, p. 68) similarly argues that we need to be cautious about a simple view of ‘effortless hegemonic masculinity’. Hickey (2008, p. 156), using narratives, explores how some young males navigate their identities within and against dominant sporting discourse. He concludes:

While many boys choose not to participate, or take an interest, in the hyper-masculine male sports, they are very likely to have their identities calibrated against the sorts of masculinity such games project. Given the powerful role that sport plays in wider social definitions of gender, the merits of one’s performance in sport and PE become powerful sites for distributing the sort of gender capital that will determine who’s a real man and who’s not!

While there may be some spaces for alternative masculinities, PE continues to be an important site in the making and re-making of hegemonic masculinity. This would suggest that we need to continue to research hegemonic masculinities and emphasized femininities as well as exploring new alternative gendered identities.

In addition to research on gendered identities, there have been a number of studies that explore the relationships between gender and sexuality, centralizing heterosexism and homophobia in PE (Clarke, 1998; Sparkes, 1994; Squires & Sparkes, 1996). This work focuses on individual experiences, often through the use of narratives, as opposed to the institutional and structural research carried out in the 1980s. This is an important development telling us far more about the complex and fluid nature of gendered and sexualized identities. Research on teachers identifies heterosexual gender regimes and the

discrimination that many gay and lesbian PE teachers face as well as their active resistances (Clarke, 2002). It is unsurprising that researchers have not explored fully the experiences of gay and lesbian young people in school PE. Section 28 of the Local Government Act of 1988 in the UK prohibited the promotion of homosexuality in schools, thus making access to research virtually impossible (Clarke, 2002). Although this act was repealed in 2003, the sensitive nature of talking about sexuality with young people has meant that we have little empirical research in the area. Sykes (2010) is an exception in that her research, drawing on poststructuralist and queer theory, explores how the taken-for-granted ideas of the “athletic” body rely on the ‘marginalisation of multiple forms of queerness’. Working in Canada, she interviewed adults who self-identify as a sexual minority or gender minority, have a physical disability and/or have a body shape or size that is socially undervalued. She gathered retrospective data, a technique that avoids direct research on students, by getting the adults to look back at their school PE experiences. This research is an example of exploring difference, not only in relation to a single issue such as gender, but across identities between and within individuals. Her data provides rich and emotive examples of how bodily discourses articulate with each other to produce “queer bodies” in PE and how individuals who embody some form of queerness often have to engage in difficult and embodied coping strategies.

Wright and MacDonald’s (2010) Life Activity Project also engages with multiple identities and their intersections, adopting a longitudinal approach to studying the place and meaning of physical activity in the lives of young people in Australia. Although not focusing specifically on school PE, it provides a wealth of information on choices, self-perceptions and embodiments of young people in relation to physical activity. Their analysis points to the dangers of homogenizing or universalizing young people’s experiences and the sole use of either structural explanations or individual biographies devoid of cultural, social and geographic location. Their work begins to engage with the theoretical ground between structural accounts and individual explanations and assumes ‘biographies to be produced in relation to changing material and discursive circumstances and that attention to the complex and dynamic nature of lives is necessary to fully understand how identities are constituted’ (Wright & MacDonald, 2010, p. 3). This chimes with the work of Benn (1996) and Dagkas and Benn (2006) who focus on the complex intersections of PE and Islamic practices and beliefs; Farooq and Parker (2009), who explore sport, PE and Islam, particularly in relation to the construction of masculinities; and Azzarito (2009) who explores young people’s construction of the body in and through PE at the intersections of race and gender. Knez (2010)

as part of the Life Activity Project looks at young Muslim women living in Australia and explores the complex ways in which these women constitute themselves as female. The data provide nuanced understandings of how young women negotiate their own meanings of Islam and shape their own subjectivities whilst also recognizing the impact of powerful discourses of gender and fundamentalism.

Although just a snapshot of the types of feminist PE research over the past two decades, the studies discussed demonstrate how our understandings of gender and PE have moved on since the 1980s. Rich accounts of individual experiences, with an emphasis on diversity and deconstruction, challenge any universalistic notions of femininity and masculinity and allow for far more complex understanding of diverse and fluid gendered identities and their intersections with other social categories.

Feminist Praxis

A fundamental tenet of feminism has always been the relationship between theory and practice. Stanley (1990, p. 15), writing at a similar time to my early work on gender and PE, defined feminist praxis as

...an indication of a shared feminist commitment to a political position in which 'knowledge' is not simply defined as 'knowledge what' but also 'knowledge for'. Succinctly the point is to change the world not study it.

Hall (1996, p. 78) takes this approach and in applying it to the world of sport feminism argues that there needs to be far more unification between 'theory and practice, the personal and the political: in sum what I have defined here as praxis'. Although gender research, drawing on feminist poststructuralist theories, is now far more sophisticated, asks complex questions and provides more nuanced understandings, I would argue that there remains a significant gap between research and PE practice (Macdonald, 2002). The latest report from the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) in England makes for depressing reading for all those concerned with gender and PE. Through a survey of 1500 school students they show that over half the girls are put off physical activity by their experiences of PE; over half of all the girls and boys think that there are more opportunities for boys to succeed in sport; nearly a third of all boys think that girls who are sporty are not feminine. Their summary suggests that rather than diverse femininities being constructed and enacted by individuals:

...social norms around being female and feminine are still affecting girls' attitudes and behaviour. Notably, being 'sporty' is still widely seen as a masculine trait. While 'sporty' boys are valued and admired by peers, 'sporty girls' are not, and can be viewed negatively. Meanwhile, being feminine largely equates to looking attractive. (Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, 2012, p. 4)

Whilst recent feminist research in PE has engaged with important questions about the body and physicality, it would appear that little has changed since my study in the 1980s. The report finds that activities remain very gender specific; girls do not appear to have confidence in their skill levels; many girls feel self-conscious about their bodies and appearance, with compulsory PE clothes and showers after activity yet again being singled out as problematic; space continues to be dominated by boys; and teachers are seen to focus only on the "sporty" girls. Whilst our knowledge of gender has developed significantly, change in relation to everyday practice seems to be limited, with a disjuncture between research discourses and PE practice. This does not deny some important initiatives that have taken place, such as some curriculum reform (Ennis, 1999), more opportunities outside school for some girls (Flintoff & Scraton, 2001) and "girl-friendly" PE initiatives (Nike/Youth Sport Trust, 2000). The Nike/Youth Sport Trust (2000), for example, helped teachers devise a set of strategies aimed at increasing girls' participation in and enjoyment of PE. These included the introduction of new activities, changed teaching styles, improved changing-room environments and/or running promotional events (Flintoff & Scraton, 2006). The research of Dagkas, Benn and Jawad (Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011) is also a recent example of researchers focusing on individual voices whilst explicitly linking these voices to informed recommendations for educational policy. In this case the voices are those of teachers, young people, head teachers and parents and the research captures the concerns and experiences of those involved in the inclusion of Muslim girls in PE. Although not overtly feminist in approach, this research does raise consciousness of the diverse needs of Muslim girls and the barriers to participation which they continue to face. This research is a development from the liberal, equal-opportunities research of the 1980s in that it engages with access and opportunity but with a more complex understanding of identity. Macdonald (2002, pp. 209–210) makes a pertinent point when she argues that 'as modernist institutions, schools are shaped by timetables, space allocation, bounded subject communities, industrial models of teachers' work, and frequently traditional syllabuses'. Research that remains within a modernist discourse of equality, access and opportunity can still contribute to helping to reform our schools. However, this change is based on inclusion and access just as in the 1980s rather than any

radical revision of PE itself. A critical feminist praxis requires a discourse and politics of transformation (Walby, 2000) that fundamentally questions all aspects of PE. However, the radical feminist work of the 1980s has been largely supplanted by poststructuralist analyses which are increasingly divorced from the everyday lives of teachers and students who have to cope with neo-liberal politics and policies based on individualization in a consumer-driven market place.

But gender does still matter, as the recent study by the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) highlights. Gender still matters because both the institution of schooling and the individuals within it remain influenced by powerful gendered discourses that impact on what is taught, how it is taught, and gendered expectations about behaviour, appearance and abilities, albeit that these are complex and diverse. If our research has produced exciting new knowledge in the past 20 years but practices remain largely unchanged, how can we ensure we do not have two parallel worlds of the academy and PE practice that never meet? How do we move towards feminist praxis?

Gender Still Matters

Poststructural analyses have certainly opened up our understandings of the complexities of difference and the social construction of gender. In highlighting discourse, culture and identity, poststructuralism rebalances the determinism of many structural accounts of material inequality. However, I would argue that it is not a binary relationship between equality *or* difference, rather it is the need to understand and explain the systematic links between equality *and* difference (Scraton, 2001). Feminism is about exploring the fluid construction of diverse identities but with an acknowledgement of enduring oppression and material inequalities. This 'middle-ground' theorizing enables analysis of specific circumstances encountered by individuals, whilst maintaining an explanatory and analytical perspective focusing on systems and processes (Valentine, 2007). One approach to exploring this middle ground is through a theoretical engagement with intersectionality (Grabham, Cooper, Krishnadas, & Herman, 2009). Whilst there are many critiques and concerns about intersectionality within feminism, it can be a useful approach as it focuses upon specific *contexts* and the political, social and material *consequences* of social categories (Valentine, 2007). Theoretically, engagement with the messiness of accounts somewhere between modernist accounts and poststructuralist analyses reminds us that the focus should be on inequalities *and* identities, not one or the other. I would want to see feminist PE research exploring

more fully this 'middle-ground' theorizing; a critical PE feminism that recognizes both multiple categories and identities whilst locating these within political, social and economic power structures. It is important that feminist PE continues to forge strong links with mainstream feminism and researchers involved more broadly in critical social research.

However, while this can help develop useful knowledge there clearly remains a significant gap between the production of this knowledge and its implementation in our schools. This should not deter those researchers interested in exploring ideas and developing theory. Academics apply their theory through their teaching and the education of the next generation of practitioners as well as seeking to inform national and local policy. It is crucial that research and critical ideas are fed into teacher education to ensure informed teacher educators in the future. This is a major challenge. Dowling (2011, p. 201) exploring the concept of the 'professional teacher' in Norway argues that student PE teachers 'seem to be locked into "modernist" or "classical" ideas about good PE practice'. Her research into PE teacher education suggests that theory is seldom linked to practice and that being a 'good' PE teacher centres on being a competent performer. Dowling considers that 'the PE teacher is still cast as someone whose work is confined to the gymnasium, rather than an educator who nurtures society's citizens of tomorrow' (p. 218). Similarly, Brown and Rich (2002, p. 96), researching PE student-teacher identities, suggest:

...a vision for gender inclusive futures in physical education strongly implicates physical education teachers' gendered identities. While the quality and commitment of our participants' approach to their profession is not in doubt, the dimensions of their gendered identities which they drew upon during the difficult circumstances of teaching are implicitly strategic enactments that tend to fit into, rather than challenge the Gender Order in society, sport and physical education.

Teachers play an important role in reinforcing or challenging gender in PE. Despite the detailed knowledge that has been developed over the past few decades, very little appears to have found its way into the teacher education curriculum (Wright, 2002a). Students continue to receive limited critical work relating to gender in their teacher education programmes. Writing in relation to teacher education in Australia, Wright (2002b, p. 204) argues powerfully that constraints on gender reform do not come from the lack of appropriate national policies but rather 'through the discursive construction of IPETE programmes and the investments of those who teach and study in

them'. In the UK, as the routes into teaching become increasingly diverse, it is difficult to see how this situation will improve in the future but it is crucial that it does if critical ideas are to be fed into practice.

The way we “do” gender research is also important in linking researchers to practitioners. We need to try to incorporate teachers and young people into our research methods rather than including them simply as respondents. Participatory methods including photography, mapping exercises, storytelling, role play, drama, journal writing and poster design have all been used recently to gain more detailed and relevant data in sport and PE research (Fitzgerald & Jobling, 2004; MacPhail & Kinchin, 2004). Enright and O’Sullivan (2012) argue that educators and researchers need to ask questions that produce different knowledge through different means, thus producing different ways of thinking and being in the world. This would seem to replicate the intention of feminist praxis. If teachers, students and researchers can come together to produce knowledge, then the rich multi-layered data generated could help bring theory and PE practice closer together.

Conclusion

Since the 1980s when I conducted my research into gender and PE, feminist theory has developed to produce new and exciting knowledge. A focus on difference and identity has meant that girls and women are no longer seen as an homogeneous group and the binaries of femininity/masculinity, individual/society, structure/agency have been transgressed, with new questions and new understandings developed. Yet the relationship between feminist PE theory and practice remains problematic. I have argued that we need to continue to develop feminism through a focus on the middle ground between structural and post-structural understandings. This approach does not view gender as an identity separate from other social identities such as class, race, ethnicity, (dis)ability or sexuality. We need more rigorous theorizing that can explore the intersections of identity and provide layers of understanding mapping individual biographies onto broader social, political and economic structures. Applying such theory to ensure feminist praxis is in no way straightforward as neo-liberal discourse sets up a “new” binary between postfeminism and feminism. Although not easy, the relationship between feminism and PE must be retained so that there is a critical engagement with both equality and difference. If knowledge from the academy is to influence practice then we require critical, reflective practitioners who understand and query the complexity of difference within a moral agenda of social justice. Ideally these practitioners are central to research as partners in

innovative projects. PE should be a continuing focus for feminist research not only because there remain significant issues in relation to equality, difference and PE but also because PE, with its primary concern for the body, physicality and movement, offers a crucial site for the exploration of feminist theoretical understandings.

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Sporting Females: Power, Diversity and the Body

Jessica Francombe-Webb and Kim Toffoletti

It is a huge challenge to present an overview of Jennifer Hargreaves' work in a way that does justice to both her theoretical developments and her substantive contribution to knowledge. Hargreaves' scholarship has been central to understanding, from a socio-historical and socio-cultural perspective, women's involvement in sport, leisure and physical education (PE) as well as developing intersectional analysis of women's active bodies. Her explorations at the intersection of cultural studies, physical culture and women's embodiment resonate particularly with our own feminist analyses and for this reason we have centred our review around a number of interrelated themes as opposed to reviewing her publications in a discrete manner or documenting her work chronologically. Inevitably our review will be partial as we focus on some key themes that have been pivotal in Hargreaves' research and detail the ongoing significance of her work for contemporary feminist sport, leisure and PE scholars.

Our review seeks to capture Hargreaves' conceptualization of how women's sporting experiences are understood and imagined within the changing and complex circumstances of the historical present. In doing so we foreground her attempts to sidestep any inclination to universalize women's experiences, highlighting the fact that her research is fundamentally *for* women by linking theory

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to praxis. We do this through our attention, first, to the role of cultural studies as an approach that enables her critical project to make women visible in sport histories, spaces and cultures. Second, we explore Hargreaves' analysis of gender relations as power relations, and finally we offer our examination of how diverse bodies are theorized and accounted for in her work. Our chapter concludes with reflections on her legacy for contemporary feminist scholarship, looking to our own critical postfeminist explorations into female sporting bodies to highlight the ongoing significance and impact of her research agenda.

Critical Approaches to Women's Sport: The Structure/Agency Nexus

The development of Hargreaves' thinking can be traced to the emergence of the critical sociology of sport in the Marxist tradition, alongside the growth of cultural studies (Hargreaves, 1982). These streams of thought influenced her early approach to understanding sport as a social construction necessitating examination in relation to the economic, political and social conditions of the time, as well as her interest in sport as a cultural practice shaping the everyday lived experiences of participants. Hargreaves has been committed to understanding women's experiences within sports as well as the broader social context whereby sports constitute one aspect within the materiality of women's everyday lives. For instance, schooling has been addressed by Hargreaves to explore how the organization, teaching and management of classrooms consolidate gender divisions that inform students' perceptions of physical education and sport abilities (within and outside the school context) according to gender (Hargreaves, 1994). At the same time, it is suggested that PE offers a site to challenge gender norms and create an alternative 'movement experience for both sexes' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 151). Her focus on the everyday has enabled exploration and scrutiny of 'patterns as well as differences' in order to enhance insights into 'the realities of the dualism between agency and structure' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 12). Both theoretically and empirically Hargreaves' methods encourage us to refrain from locating individuals as passive recipients of ideology while also not underestimating 'the ways in which cultural patterns and economic, political and ideological order specific to the totality of social relations affect the participation of women in sports' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 12). Put simply, Hargreaves' work treads a careful line that does not overemphasize human subjectivity nor is it overly deterministic in its analysis of specific social structures and historical circumstances. Engagement with socio-historical context and how women negotiate their subjectivities in ways

that are temporal and radically contextualized allows for nuanced readings of women's embodied experiences of sport. In turn, Hargreaves recognizes the need for advanced theoretical perspectives in order to contend with the complex relationship between choice, agency, power and subjectivity.

Our starting point within this review is to highlight and discuss the cultural inflection in Hargreaves' work. It is this theoretical grounding and her strategy for women's advocacy and praxis that has enabled her to carve out a unique contribution that, although formulated in the Marxist tradition, refrains from producing accounts of individuals who 'are unavoidably trapped by the structural conditions of capitalist sports' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 17). Instead Hargreaves is clear that sports feminism must account for autonomy from the economy and the intersections between class, gender, sexuality, race, disability (a far from exhaustive list) that shape women's experiences of sport in different and complex ways. The critical intellectual sensibility that Hargreaves develops focuses on how social forces are contested and where subjectivities are negotiated and meaning is created and embodied. This is a form of 'Marxism without guarantees' (Hall, 1996) in which Hargreaves does the work of extrapolating the socio-historical context, contending with the interrelations and assemblage of social forces and remaining cognisant that '*identities, practices, and effects generally, constitute the very context within which they are practices, identities or effects*' (Slack, 1996, p. 125, emphasis in original).

The importance of this for feminist sports studies is the recognition that women's ability to carve out sporting spaces is constrained, shaped by and simultaneously shaping broader cultural forces that (re)establish normative expressions of femininity. Hargreaves' argument that gender relations in the home profoundly impact women's attitudes toward sport offers an example of this perspective. An unequal domestic division of labour in heterosexual partnerships sees women servicing men's leisure interests at the expense of their own, with working-class women less likely to have supports for leisure such as money and time. The tradition and culture of sports also mitigate against women's participation, even if they have the social and financial capital to do so, as 'women often feel intimidated by the fierce masculinization of public sports venues' (Hargreaves, 1994).

Hargreaves' work, then, although not postmodern, is anti-reductionist in its interrogation of the axes of power that are complexly articulated in and through sport and she refrains from the disempowering 'possibility of reducing culture to class or to a mode of production' (Slack, 1996, p. 121). Hargreaves (2004, p. 199) teases out the 'realities of injustice and discrimination in sport, the lived social experiences of oppressed groups' in a way that is not over-determined by the economic, but articulates the complex interplay of

the historical, social, political *and* economic. Class, therefore, can only be read as being inextricably bound by the embodied and inscribed hierarchical meanings around gender and ‘other factors such as age, disability, ethnicity, marital status, occupation and sexual orientation’ that ‘affect women’s involvement in sports and point to the ways in which women’s sports derive meaning from the totality of social relations’ (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 40). For us, this speaks to a philosophy that is not economically deterministic; that is, it does not assert ‘a *necessary correspondence* between various elements of society and the overbearing economic real’, nor is it shaped by the romanticism of cultural humanism, which asserts ‘a *necessary non-correspondence* between various elements of society, thus providing the human agent and cultural practices with a romanticized level of autonomy’ (Hall, 1985, cited in Andrews, 2002, p. 112, emphasis in original). Hargreaves avoids partial, one-sided explanations, instead providing a critical account of the ‘relation between individual body processes and social processes’ (Hargreaves & Vertinsky, 2007, p. 2). For instance, her discussions of women’s experiences of homophobia in sport take account of the ideological and symbolic significance placed on championing heterosexual femininity so that athletes ‘who do not display on their bodies the usual insignia of conventional femininity, face insinuations and defeminization’ (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 170). This stigmatization has material effects for both lesbian and heterosexual athletes, with the former often compelled to hide their sexuality and the latter emphasizing conventional femininity to avoid being ridiculed as lesbian (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 171). This dynamic between the personal and the social body pushes us to think about the complex relations between the enactment of agency and the limitations and possibilities of this for women in sports contexts—be that lived experiences of sport or the governance and institutionalization of sporting forms. Employing this approach requires a combination of socio-cultural and historical analysis with first-person accounts and we see these inextricable links being forged throughout Hargreaves’ work, notably as she emphasizes gender relations as power relations that are maintained, negotiated and transformed over time.

Power and Feminist Theory: Exploring Gender Relations as Power Relations

In theorizing the links between power, social arrangements and individual actions, the intellectual traditions outlined above provide the scaffolding through which Hargreaves explored the social production of gender inequality in sport, culminating in the germinal publication *Sporting Females: Critical*

Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport (1994). With its emphasis on 'both the lived experiences of women in sports and the structural forces influencing participation' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 2), *Sporting Females* locates the absence of gender in sport theory and articulates the value of feminist perspectives to redressing the marginalization of women's experiences and viewpoints, both in the sporting domain and in critical writing about sport.

One of the most significant contributions to feminist sport scholarship emerging from *Sporting Females* is Hargreaves' (1994, p. 1) use of 'gender as a fundamental category for analysis', coupled with an expansive understanding of women's sports that encompasses a diversity of women, their bodily practices, and relationship to sport, leisure and physical activity settings. Understanding the operations of gender in sport, for Hargreaves, requires an understanding of the historical and social construction of modern sports as a domain for the expression and articulation of masculine superiority; an association commonly upheld by biologically determinist ideas of sexual difference. Unlike critiques of biological determinism offered by sociologists of sport and leisure up to this point, which tended to either universalize (hence disregard) the specificities of women's sporting experience or to detail male-led inquiries into women's sport participation, Hargreaves reorients the focus away from women's "difference" or "Otherness" towards exploring gendered relations of power.

By calling for a more thorough analysis of gender relations in sport sociology, Hargreaves' thinking prompts us to look beyond functionalist accounts of sport and gender whereby sport socializes individuals to dominant gender norms within a given social context. Instead, her focus on the interrelationships of gender and power offers a framework through which to investigate 'changes, ambivalences and conflicts over gender divisions ... and the significance and shifting nature of gender relations' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 3). This approach generates new conceptual possibilities to explore the differences between women and the varied circumstances and competing interests that problematize the notion that "women in sport" are a homogeneous group with similar needs and experiences.

To make sense of the complexities and conflicts that arise when examining women's participation in physical activity at the micro-level of everyday actions, Hargreaves advocates for ways of thinking about gender that are attentive to the dynamic and contestable nature of gender as an organizing category, while remaining cognisant of wider structures of social control. Hargreaves' (1994, p. 3) approach was novel at the time in its claim that, contrary to contemporaneous feminist explanations, 'sports do not produce a straightforward system of domination of men over women'. Her work makes important interventions in seeking out moments of resistance, subversion and

contestation of gender inequality in sport by women historically. Hargreaves offers, therefore, a nuanced exploration of male-dominated culture that highlights the heterogeneity of women's experiences and the ways in which sports can be pleasurable and empowering experiences for girls and women.

This was a departure from the focus of feminist interventions in the sociology of sport derived mainly from second-wave feminist equality agendas concerned with exposing discrimination against women and creating equal opportunity pathways for female sports participation, as typified by work emanating from North America during the 1970s, in which women's marginalization remained largely under-theorized (Hargreaves, 1994). In the UK and elsewhere, a more culturally inflected approach to women's leisure provided a theoretically oriented lens through which to understand women's relationship to sport as shaped by the intersections of class and patriarchy (Hargreaves, 1994). Pursuing these insights, Hargreaves draws attention to the relational dimensions of gender, arguing that existing feminist theories for explaining women's subordinate status in sport and leisure activities fail to adequately consider multiple relations of power, not only between women and men, but between different groups of women and different groups of men. Nor can a focus primarily on women's oppression under patriarchy sufficiently account for other systems of power in society that shape the formation of varied social identities, experiences and circumstances (Hargreaves, 1994). Hargreaves makes this point when documenting the physical education of working-class girls as a form of social regulation during the nineteenth century in the UK. She notes the complicity of middle-class women in maintaining ruling-class privilege through training working-class girls in bodily self-control via exercise (Hargreaves, 1994). As this analysis exemplifies, in her early work Hargreaves articulated the relationship between class and gender, with subsequent writings placing greater focus on the intersections of gender and vectors of difference such as ethnicity, sexuality and ability. It is to Hargreaves writing on difference and diversity that we now turn.

Body, Identity and Diversity

Central to Hargreaves' analysis of gender relations of power in sport is the body. Bodies and questions of embodiment feature throughout Hargreaves' oeuvre, forming the basis of her interrogations into the material-cultural dimensions of sports participation and consumption. By attending to the embodied aspects of sport—how one knows and experiences their social identity as contained and defined by their bodily experiences through time and

space—Hargreaves’ writings compel feminists of movement cultures to pay attention to sporting women’s lived experiences of *having* and *being* a body for what it can tell us about the formation of personal and collective identity and the operations of difference and exclusion (Hargreaves, 2000). A key insight that Hargreaves brings to feminist studies of physical activity is that embodiment is not neutral, but can work to sustain social inequality through the inscription of values on different bodies.

One such instance of Hargreaves’ (2000) embodied approach can be found in her analysis of the sporting experiences of women with disabilities. Investigating the feelings that disabled women have towards their bodies offers a means to explore *how* perceptions of their sporting capacities are formed and the *impact* such attitudes have on sports participation. Hargreaves makes clear that an exclusive focus on social and economic barriers to disabled women’s participation in sport and physical activity cannot sufficiently account for the personal experience of being a disabled woman and what it feels like to inhabit a body that may be in pain or unable to walk, see or hear (Hargreaves, 2000). Accounting for the subjective reality of experiencing disability, all the while attentive to a wider social context that views disabled bodies as incomplete or inadequate, can lead to a better understanding of why disabled women may or may not choose to participate in sport, or pursue certain sports or sport models (such as disability sports) over others (like mainstream activities). Disabled women’s experiences of physical activity are recast in ways that reorient debates over access and opportunity to ask *why* certain bodies are perceived as normative and desirable and *how* such assumptions impact on disabled women’s relationship to, and understanding of, their own sporting bodies as experienced in and through wider culture. What is made apparent in Hargreaves’ writing on disabled women’s embodied relationship to sport is the ‘link between the personal and the cultural, between the physical body and the social body’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 196), which allows for a consideration of the wide-ranging encounters disabled women may have with sport and the generative emotions physical activity may evoke. Challenging the assumption that disabled women are universally excluded from and discriminated against in sport settings, Hargreaves’ respondents convey a strong sense of enjoying their bodies and feeling physically powerful and free through sporting pursuits that offer a ‘release from the taboo of disability’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 198). By steering our thinking towards the body as a site for the generation of affects (i.e., pleasure, freedom, disgust, alienation), Hargreaves advocates for alternative conceptualizations of sports participation in terms of points of affinity between able-bodied and disabled women as a means of enacting solidarities between diverse groups of women who are

differently affected by social circumstance and vectors of difference. As she puts it ‘in this perspective, competitive individualism is replaced by a shared culture of caring and ethical lifestyle’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 4).

In *Heroines of Sport* (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 5) her commitment to understanding women’s experiences of sport relative to particular historical circumstances, social structures and cultural contexts is brought to bear on questions of difference among sporting women across the globe in terms of ‘class, culture, disability, ethnicity, “race”, religion and sexual orientation’. It is here that Hargreaves’ impact on studies of diversity in feminist sport scholarship can be seen through her engagement with wider feminist contestations over the category of “woman”, and related “identity politics” and “politics of difference” debates concerning the intersections of gender and cultural difference, the politics of knowledge production, local–global dynamics, and the enactment of feminist solidarity. There are parallels to be drawn here between Hargreaves’ approach to theorizing diversity and difference in sport settings and the insights of transnational and postcolonial feminist thinkers (Toffoletti & Palmer, 2015). Both draw attention to how difference is constructed and conceptualized institutionally and at the level of the subject, how ‘the construction of some women as outsiders which stems originally from structures of domination and subordination can result in very personal and poignant experiences’ (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 6). Hargreaves brings these insights into the remit of sport scholarship and feminist sport praxis, unsettling reductionist tendencies toward universalizing women’s experiences of physical activity while at the same time recognizing how ‘marginal’ sporting identities are contingent on cultural discourses that frame them relationally as ‘Other’ (Hargreaves, 2000). Her scholarship on gender and diversity in sport is highly resistant to casting women as “victims”, in keeping with her commitment to cultural studies paradigms that focus instead on how women actively negotiate their experiences of discrimination and marginalization (Hargreaves, 2000).

In the case of Muslim sportswomen, for instance, Hargreaves tackles the representational dimensions of how diverse female bodies are commonly constructed through Western eyes. In the case of female Muslim athletes a binary logic either positions them as ‘objects of oppression’ by forces of patriarchy, religion and the state, or celebrates them as ‘active subjects’ for whom sport provides a vehicle to challenge gender subordination (Hargreaves, 2000). Such ‘false oppositions’, Hargreaves argues, paint Muslim sportswomen as a homogeneous group, obscuring not only the different circumstances informing Muslim women’s relationship to sport, but the dynamic and unstable state of Muslim women’s bodies as ‘in process’—‘tied as they are to political struggle—not just at the level of the personal, but linked to state and religious

ideologies which depend for their credibility on discourse about women and their bodies' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 75). Her insights have promoted generative debate within scholarship on Muslim women's practices of sport and physical activity, facilitating critical developments in the study of Muslim women's sport, particularly from the voices of Muslim women themselves (Benn, Pfister, & Jawad, 2011; Toffoletti & Palmer, 2015).

Hargreaves' critical accounts of female sporting bodies are animated by subjectivities, socio-historical and cultural relations of power that allow her to unpack the moments of contestation for women in sport in particular contexts and at particular moments in history, and transform these analyses in such a way as to facilitate change. This is done using a variety of data sources such as government policy, interviews, observation and readings of popular culture, allowing her to link theory to praxis and evaluate the impacts of gendered embodiment on the extent to which women can participate/are visible as physical subjects. By way of closure, we locate Hargreaves' legacies relative to our own work on athletic females' embodied experiences and the operations of power that link individual bodily actions to wider social arrangements in what has been characterized as a postfeminist era. Hargreaves' focus on the subjective and socio-cultural is important in this work because women are increasingly, and precariously, positioned as the vanguard of new, individualized subjectivities that require new ways of thinking, new ways of theorizing and new ways of intervening.

Sports Feminism in an Era of Postfeminism

In a chapter titled 'Querying Sport Feminism: Personal or Political?' Hargreaves (2004) urges caution regarding claims for female agency that are not situated '*within* a social and cultural framework' (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 196, emphasis in original). Such insights have been fundamental to our own research practices as we attempt to make sense of profound changes in the social and cultural landscape of sporting, embodied gender relations. The social and cultural framework informing our research is one within which the feminist push to break down barriers keeping women out of sport, education and employment 'has coincided with a broader socioeconomic need for young women to take up places in the new economy ... and the expansion of consumer capitalism' (Harris, 2004, p. 7). This presents us with new conceptual challenges and requires 'sustainable forms of sport feminism which can tackle the needs of *our times*' (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 202, emphasis in original). In *our times*, women's bodies are more visible within sports, and beyond, and they are being celebrated

or chastised for their determination, their drive to succeed and their ability to seize life chances—women are no longer presented as objects of patriarchy but are seen as active in the pursuit of their own individualized ‘Do It Yourself’ subjectivities (Heywood, 2007). Hargreaves (2004), of course, warned against the consolidation of this non-politicized postfeminist discourse. Yet across academia, policy and popular culture we continue to see the links between theoretical (personal) and activist (political) feminism being disentangled such that we have lost the vocabulary—we have become dispossessed, in Hargreaves’ parlance—to discuss issues of difference, inequality and social justice. According to Gill (2007), contemporary postfeminist discourses operate as a form of gendered governmentality: a ‘blending of a kind of individualised feminism with neoliberalism’ (Harris, 2004, p. 185). Within this framework the individual is made responsible for their own choices, they bear the responsibility for successfully crafting their life biography, and they embody a distinctively neo-liberal subjectivity that strives for self-fulfilment and demonstrates conduct of the self through self-monitoring, surveillance and investment (Toffoletti, 2016). This, Hargreaves (2004, p. 199) asserts, does not prioritize praxis and is instead focused, problematically, on postmodern notions of individualized desire and pleasure. Hargreaves (2004) cautions that postfeminist projects are at risk of being apolitical and disconnected from the feminist movement, and this cautioning is understandable, because postfeminism is used variously to signal a period after feminism, a form of popular cultural address, and/or a new “wave” of feminist thought.

However, drawing from Heywood and Drake (1997), Hargreaves (2004, p. 201) argues that sports feminists should attempt to ‘turn the division between political feminists and postfeminists into a productive liaison’, thus locating positive imagery of women in sports, education and employment alongside wider struggles for social justice. We have drawn on these lessons in our own work as we explore the utility of postfeminism as a *critical sensibility* that can help us understand women’s embodied experiences of sport and physical culture. Using Hargreaves’ critique of postfeminist discourses as our starting point we offer an alternative way of understanding postfeminism that treats it as a critical object of enquiry rather than an analytic perspective. Thus our research moves beyond definitional accounts of postfeminism (Gill, 2007, 2016) as we attempt to critique the practices and conditions associated with postfeminism in order to open up new spaces for feminist intervention and activism in sport.

In wanting to understand better the ways in which we can theorize women’s sports and physical cultures and intervene to create sustainable and more equitable futures, we turn to existing feminist research beyond sport as Hargreaves (2004, p. 196) has encouraged us to do: ‘[f]or sport feminism to

progress, links and collaborations need to be forged with mainstream feminism'. Most notably, we engage with feminist research in the fields of cultural studies, media studies, education and political sociology to clarify what a *critical* postfeminist approach to sport and physical culture entails (Toffoletti, 2016) and how it can contribute to sport feminist research. We demonstrate that a focus on postfeminism can draw critical attention to the changing cultural conditions that shape how women and feminism are represented in sport (Toffoletti, 2016; Toffoletti & Thorpe, 2017), the modes of address that inform how sporting femininities are invoked and regulated, and the way that women embody these subjectivities through the practices and spaces of sport and physical activity (Toffoletti, 2017). Our postfeminist sensibility sheds light on how postfeminist discourses of female success are experienced in ways that are wrought with struggles and contradictions for those that are able to invest (materially and symbolically) in the self (Francombe, 2014; Francombe-Webb & Silk, 2015) as well as those "Others" whose experiences are shaped by 'broader struggles for social justice' (Heywood & Drake, 1997, p. 165). In this regard a critical emphasis on the conditions of postfeminism demonstrates how the multiple iterations of postfeminist discourses offer up an individualized and narrow reading of Westernized femininity that fails to acknowledge the disparate opportunities available for women and girls in sport, leisure and PE. This moves us beyond the notion of a 'postfeminist body' (Cole & Hribar, 1995) and ensures that attention remains focused on the way that 'so many women lack the resources to play sport, take part in exercise regimes, or take up lifestyle activities' (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 202).

Hargreaves' research tussled with the tensions of sport as a way to oppose oppressive power relations as well as enmeshing women in 'normalizing discourses that limit their vision of who and what they can be' (Chapman, 1997, p. 221). Similarly, our *critical postfeminist* research details how young women enjoy sports and physical activities and derive pleasure from "body work" as part of their leisure time, but we subject this to critique on the basis of the power relations that shape the conditions of possibility for women. Taking Hargreaves' lead, our research interrogates the social realities of these postfeminist subjectivities in relation to entrenched patterns of class, race, religious, able-bodied, heteronormative and age-related hierarchies. Far from abstract and timeless impressions, Hargreaves has taught us that these modes of address are embodied and historical and there is still much work to do in order to understand the way that gender is governed and how women's everyday encounters with sport are reconstituted through these postfeminist rationalities. By deploying a critical postfeminist sensibility we continue to expose the way that gender remains not simply a variable but fundamentally tied to relations of power. By viewing gender as an organizing principle linked to the

power to generate knowledge about what bodies, activities and actions are valued within any society we are indebted to Hargreaves' scholarship that advanced understandings of gender and sport beyond systems of male domination and female oppression and looked at which female bodies are made visible, whose voices are heard and whose are being suppressed.

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Patricia Vertinsky on Becoming and Being a Feminist Sport Historian: A Dialogue with Beccy Watson

Beccy Watson and Patricia Vertinsky

By Way of an Introduction

This dialogue was recorded in the autumn of 2016 and followed an earlier informal meeting in 2015 and some exchange of ideas over email. I am very grateful to Patricia for sharing her opinions and for her generosity and openness in outlining her own career development as well as highlighting various pertinent and persistent issues for feminist scholarship across physical education and sport, and significantly how history informs our feminist analysis of these areas. It is a real privilege to have had the opportunity to chat about and discuss Patricia's academic career, which spans more than 40 years (for selected relevant material please see publications by Patricia Vertinsky listed in references from 1990 through to 2017). Of course, I have used my prerogative as "editor", and what is selected from an audio recording does not capture *all* the nuances that a conversational interview brings (there are also some things that are best, by mutual agreement, left out of the transcript). I knew I wanted to talk to Patricia about ideas and issues relevant to this first theme of the handbook and I was keen for her to detail the development of her research interests and how she regards herself as being a feminist sport historian. Much of the dialogue alludes to the fact that there is no simple description of feminist sport history or feminist sport

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historians. I found the discussion facilitated and published by Thorpe and Olive (2012) on feminist sport history useful in framing my questions, in addition to a number of Patricia's publications. A selected bibliography is presented at the end of the chapter, including any texts mentioned in the dialogue.

PV: ...well I've never liked to call myself specifically a sport historian because I've always thought that was such a narrow concept and I'm trained more broadly ... I was trained as a revisionist historian and my dissertation, way back, was about the late nineteenth-century Social Purity movement, which was all about health and physicality but wasn't focused upon the profession of physical education or the development of sport and exercise studies or kinesiology.

BW: How did you come to it then? Because talking about "on being a feminist historian", I thought it would be quite nice actually to capture a little bit for the readership on "becoming". So for you, what's a revisionist historian?

PV: Well a revisionist historian was that moment in the mid-to-late '70s when formal history was being turned on its head and I was trained by a group (of North American male historians) who were thinking about history in a completely different way, so I was trained to think outside the box and to think differently. However, following that I was hired into a Faculty of Education where I was very much needed for being a physical educator.

BW: Right, so did you have a related interest or involvement with physical education?

PV: I was one of the early students at Birmingham University (UK), the Physical Education Department which was the only place you could take a physical education degree at that time. It was a really important moment and I knew they were desperately struggling to make sure that this was seen as an academic degree in physical education—so physical activity and sports had very little to do with our studies. It was science, physics and a year in the medical school. So I received a combined degree in history and physical education with a compulsory language component. And then I completed a Diploma of Education to become a teacher and became a teacher in a grammar school for a couple of years.

BW: And were you teaching PE or PE and history?

PV: Well I was teaching history and physical education. I was the Head of Department in Physical Education because I came from a university. It was actually quite embarrassing to the team; there were three other male and female physical educators who were all from training colleges, but I had a degree so I was automatically launched, you know, "above" far more

accomplished teachers than I was. It was fun, however, working at a North of England grammar school. I enjoyed it, but left when I received a scholarship to go to UCLA in California to do a Master's degree. It was an MSc, though again largely focused on history and physical education with a speciality in sociology. From there, I visited South America where almost by accident I was offered a job at the Universidad del Valle in Cali, Colombia. So my first academic job was in South America and what they wanted me to do was to go into the countryside and develop health and physical education programmes for rural populations, which was where I became particularly interested in the politics of health.

BW: So that's a far cry from being a teacher in a grammar school, so falling into a job like that...

PV: It was really interesting, but I can remember also that it was like a light switch in terms of finding myself in a situation where I began to develop a whole new set of political understandings and promoting health and physical activity to underserved populations.

BW: Did you see yourself as an activist?

PV: Well I think I learned the importance of being an activist even though I probably wasn't at the time ... though I remember that I did quarrel with the Peace Corps and their standardized approaches to fitness, which seemed quite inappropriate for these populations ... I was involved in one or two radical health promotion projects which were then closed down by the local government because any kind of successful health venture tended to raise expectations among the population which were often not met...

BW: Okay. And was there a feminist sense to that do you think? Was it about the women's health or...

PV: Only in as much as the fact that Columbia was a strictly Catholic country ruled by the Pope, with a very poor rural population, such that women were demonstrably disadvantaged in a number of ways and strongly affected by fatalist views.

BW: And so from there...

PV: From there ... well I came to understand during that time that there were considerable shifts in thinking about research around poverty issues and research in health education. I saw how visiting US researchers had been conducting experiments in nutrition, for example, where food could be withheld from control groups. This was a moment when many of these kinds of studies were being rethought from an ethical perspective, just as historians were revisioning their approaches to their own work. Second-wave feminism was burgeoning as well. It was all very exciting ... from having being schooled in the North of England

during the conservative post-war years to the radical political changes occurring in the late 1960s and 1970s.

BW: So to see all these questions and changes ...

PV: It was enormous. I met and moved with my husband to Chicago and then to British Columbia (Canada) in the early 1970s and that's where I did my doctoral work.

BW: Right. And your thesis?

PV: Yes, as I mentioned I studied the Social Purity movement in the late nineteenth century—a movement that sought to abolish prostitution and other sexual activities that were considered immoral and inappropriate.

BW: Including morality?

PV: Yes. I think my first published article was on sexual morality and physical education and that led me to an interest in the work of Catharine Beecher, an early physical educator of women. In fact in trying to reflect back on my work over time, I notice that I keep finding really interesting women to study, particularly women more broadly involved in physical culture and dance, and trying to understand what it was that impelled them into their interest or curiosity or drive about physical activity. This led me to write my first book on *The Eternally Wounded Woman* (Vertinsky, 1994) related to women and exercise in the late nineteenth century which seems to have stood the test of time and is still quite useful.

BW: Maybe this is a good point to, when you say “referring back to something”, I was thinking we tend to teach in a particular way about second-wave, third-wave (feminism) and I guess in your area, and we'll get onto her later, but like Joan W. Scott as a feminist historian, people become the “canon” and that becomes the thing that takes it forward. Yet surely from a feminist position, and I guess I'm thinking there of my own interest about everything being intersectional we tend to theoretically and conceptually “move on” because we're all trying to prove that there's something new and better but there's really fundamental arguments in the things that are embedded.

PV: I think that we use what you might call the “waves” notion as an organizing device when we are teaching. I'm sometimes astonished when teaching third and fourth year students at their limited historical and geographical background. Any conception of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a wave of wars and gender shifts, for example, is often missing. Maybe now with Brexit and Donald Trump, and this wave of dissatisfied white men who feel like they've been left behind, students will come to view these events more broadly from a historical perspective.

BW: I think that's intriguing to know whether this will be a distinct phase currently and what comes out of it.

- PV: And I think we feminists have got to start and better understand this anger as not just economic...
- BW: Or a passing backlash.
- PV: It's very much about social positioning and having a lot to do with the power of women who are doing so much better, in a number of ways; in graduate school for example our students comprise 70% women. It's women who are getting the doctorates, it's the women who are getting scholarships, it's the women who are getting into medicine which is now of course seen as less important because it's becoming female dominated. We can see how every time a profession or an arena becomes female dominated it somehow loses its status.
- BW: Just going back to *Eternally Wounded Women*, what are some of its legacies?
- PV: Well when I wrote that book, I was a young theorist and I used Foucault's work substantially when not many people were interested in his theories. It seemed new and a bit daring at the time because many of my colleagues thought this kind of theorizing was a waste of time. And I remember there were critiques about the book as being polemical and certainly over-theorized. And then, in comes the '90s and all of a sudden Foucault was everywhere. Everybody was using Foucault and the call began to go out to 'forget Foucault, we've had enough of it and we're sick of it'. And then his theories rolled back in again and young sociologists, are using his work in a wide variety of arenas.
- BW: That's back to I guess that point of who does become canonized in terms of theory?
- PV: So I learned that fashions go around, that sometimes you're praised for being a theorist and other times criticized when the theory goes out of fashion. I learnt to be more adaptable I think.
- BW: So when you were involved in writing *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, had you been influenced by Joan W. Scott (see Scott, 1986) by then or was that slightly later?
- PV: That was later; at the time I didn't think about categorizing my dissertation as a feminist document. It was just a solid revisionist, historical narrative that would have been done from a feminist perspective.
- BW: And then what happened about the thesis, where did that lead you?
- PV: Well this again led to my having to adapt to the shifting waves or the shifting traditions in academia because when I was first hired I was required to do a lot of teaching and had little time for research.
- BW: And what would you have been teaching mostly?
- PV: I was teaching physical education really and health promotion.

BW: And so teaching teachers?

PV: Yeah, and graduate students. I was hired into a physical education, teacher education department that was filled with a number of people who'd been trained in England as physical educators.

BW: And did you enjoy it? Did you like teaching?

PV: Yes, I did like teaching potential teachers and working with schools.

BW: And do you like teaching physical education?

PV: I quite liked teaching physical education, although I've never been particularly passionate about studying organized sport. I rode ponies when I was a kid and swam and I was always an individualist more than a team player, but no, I enjoyed it. But I also loved research work and of course I was one of the few at the time who had a doctorate and the possibility of a research career. Many of my colleagues were physical education instructors who were on lower-track levels and did no research, and yet it was becoming clear in those transition years that if I was going to get tenure one had to do research. So I remember having to struggle to do research almost "secretly" because my female head thought it was just a waste of time, that I should, you know, spend more time with my students.

BW: Is that one of the tensions you think that, again, that we need, that we can see it in the bigger picture of feminism?

PV: Absolutely, and it was a really gendered issue. Here I was writing articles extolling co-education and equal female sporting opportunities yet when you went into the high schools you could see that the men had all the best facilities and equipment—all the advantages—I "itched" against that.

BW: What was going on in your research?

PV: My earliest research was focused upon what I understood was needed to develop my academic career and it wasn't historical research that was going to gain me tenure. Empirical research in *Research Quarterly* was expected with statistical analysis along with observational studies in schools and colleges. I always tried to focus on gender where possible but...

BW: Did you feel that the history wasn't central to that?

PV: No it wasn't in that world. I'll give you a useful example. Let me back up a little bit. I was in the Faculty of Education for only a few years while the School of Physical Education and Recreation led by Bob Morford who had been trained by Franklin Henry in Berkeley was caught up in the transformation of the '80s from being a profession into being a discipline. This was the moment when the coaches were

losing their jobs, and scientists were being hired. Bob came to me and said 'We want you with us', so I joined the School. ... I was young, married with two young kids trying to find a work/life balance and develop a research focus, but there were few support facilities. So I became involved with a group of feminist academics who pushed to build day-care facilities, staff them and clean them. There was no maternity leave at the time, there were none of today's benefits whatsoever. So I was in this vanguard in the late '70s and '80s pushing for these privileges for women academics at the same time that I was trying to show that I could be a serious researcher...

BW: To be taken seriously, yeah, yeah.

PV: It was an interesting time, for I've always been interested in the relationship and struggles between the profession of physical education and the discipline/s of sport and exercise science, and indeed as time went on I found a wonderful mentor in Roberta Park who herself had navigated that role very successfully as a Head of Department in University of California, Berkeley.

BW: So was she involved at the time you entered the School of Physical Education and Recreation?

PV: No, that came later. I didn't have a mentor in my early faculty years, there had been no mentors for me until then.

BW: I think I knew the answer to that question. So on the one hand you're having to create the places in which you can continue to do your own work and to establish an academic career as well as fulfil the traditional gendered role of being the person who's responsible for the children and everything else. Was there any awareness of that or were you just being "allowed" to do that? So you could put in all that extra effort and build a nursery and run it, well fine, if you can still come to work. As PE developed as a discipline was there any support or recognition?

PV: Not really in those early days. In fact, when I was in the Faculty of Education some of the female faculty were quite cruel and quite open about the fact that they thought a woman who had children should be at home.

BW: And in terms of the men?

PV: They were paid more and got more choices in selecting their teaching and research activities. When one looks back now, I find it quite astonishing how things have changed, because now when we hire bright young men who are parents they quite expect to have flexibility of time, parental support and reduced workloads.

BW: Women have never been able to take that privilege and that goes on, I think that's still a massive, recurring issue.

PV: We did hide these problems and were apologetic about having to make time for late afternoon meetings, which could be desperately problematic. I remember this clearly and I'm so pleased that there's a change and that women can demand the kinds of support we didn't have.

BW: Yes.

PV: So to move back to my research, when I moved to the School where we had less teaching and more research requirements, our research was annually "valued" on a points system. The scoring provided eight points for a refereed article and six points for a book ... so certain kinds of articles or a book that could have taken five years to write would get less points in this system. It was clear that one had to work in the scientific paradigm to get on, and I did for some time in my early career. It was only when I was tenured that I was really able to turn back to do the kind of historical work that I really wanted to do—it was then that I think really I began to do serious sport history work in...

BW: When you wrote *Eternally Wounded Woman*?

PV: Right, right.

BW: And you took a risk because that wasn't really science based?

PV: I did take a risk but that of course allowed me to do more history ... but it also focused me towards the need to generate research funds, to write successful research grants, work with graduate students and to also get involved very specifically in organizations and networking which supported sport historians.

BW: Would you say that funding is, not to over simplify it, harder to come by so if you say 'Oh this is a feminist sport history piece of research' or do you have to construct it quite differently in order to get it?

PV: Well there are now many different forms of funding but in the '80s mostly you went to the main national research councils, for you it's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) is it?

BW: Well, Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) more usually (as an ideal).

PV: For us it's the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and that's where I have been fortunate to be continuously funded in my research.

BW: So they were supportive in funding the kind of research that you wanted to do?

PV: I've always had to learn to use my professional background in the best way in disciplinary research.

BW: So what did *Eternally Wounded Woman* establish for you?

- PV: I think that once I got involved in the North American Sport History organization and the British Sport History organization and other arenas, I began to meet people who were doing the same things as me and I think it was my early days in these sport history organizations that provided such good support for my own research activities.
- BW: Do you think you've got a sense of when you were recognized or embodied this idea of a feminist historian as opposed to a sport historian or...?
- PV: Yes, absolutely, I mean it was clear that my work was increasingly feminist orientated and it was clear that I was part of the group of feminists in these organizations—who some of the men often complained about.
- BW: I can remember you talking about that when we had the celebratory event for Jenny Hargreaves held at Leeds Beckett University September 2014, to mark 20 years since *Sporting Females* first published (see Hargreaves, 1994). In terms of you saying that male historians sometimes just didn't get it—and I mean in a sense we know that, so I wasn't going to prolong any particular questions about that but there you are, then, back in your earlier research having to, you know, probably everywhere you go in sport history remind people: 'Hang on a minute, it's got another dimension'.
- PV: Many times it just seemed to be fashionable to put down feminist history.
- BW: I find it fascinating because I don't know what the figures in terms of human resourcing in Canada are like but in the UK the female professoriate is (still) not representative at all in terms of gender balance, the senior positions that women hold in universities are still management orientated and people-management orientated.
- PV: Our professoriate at the moment in kinesiology is still mostly male, our tenure hires are a little bit of a different story. This is tempered by the shifts in the world of sport and exercise science or what we call kinesiology because essentially the whole "exercise is medicine" paradigm has taken over in North America. So my School, for example, is now chaired by a physiologist and all of our Research Chairs are science oriented and do little teaching. They have little interest or knowledge in physical education ... So I actually like to bring up issues around pedagogy when possible because I think we have to remember that our eleven hundred kinesiology students are not all going to be physiotherapists or sport med doctors, and that many of them may find it very useful to learn some pedagogical skills, whether they become physical educators or not.
- BW: Yeah, my mind was flitting all over the place there because the parallels are just the same, I mean in the UK, although there's an embracing of

supposedly wider notions of physical activity, wellbeing, it's through a public health lens and that public health lens has not really embraced a critical social science perspective, it's a medicalized programme evaluation, it's 'get me an evidence base that proves...'

PV: Yeah, I'm very concerned about it and actually have been writing about it because our scientists completely accept the "exercise is medicine" model and promote it, partly because that's where the research money is. I read an article recently from someone who just won a million dollar grant to look at why doctors don't promote exercise and I thought that's really interesting, here's an article I wrote about this in 1972 that examined the same phenomenon with the same results. Students and young scientists don't always look back at similar work that has been done years before.

BW: And how was that received?

PV: Well I think that in many respects it is our responsibility to speak back to our young scientists and provide historical and sociological insight into a number of myths around race and gender; about Kenyan runners, for example, or the female triad, or the instruments they use in comparing bone density by race or gender.

BW: So you are encouraging them to bust those myths.

PV: I regard it as an education; surely their studies would be so much more valid if they didn't try to demonstrate that females breathe differently than males (see Braun, 2014) or that Chinese children have lighter bones.

BW: It throws up so many things.

PV: Yes and that's why feminist sport history can be quite helpful.

BW: So are women being represented on these research boards now where medical discourse is dominating; are there female medics within that and are they just reproducing the dominant discourse of that medical science?

PV: Yes I think so in some respects. National Institutes of Health (NIH) likes to have an interdisciplinary perspective on their peer reviews. Of course we're dangerously now talking about men and women as if they were two different species and of course we've got thoughtful male scientists at the same time as young female scientists who think exactly the same as the men, and are not using a feminist lens.

BW: That's a question I was coming to, has feminism made any sort of dent on that?

PV: Not as much as we would wish perhaps. Our young female faculty do tend sometimes to follow the male lead and expect support to be in place for them ... And they don't seem to mind that often it's the older feminists who carry the loads and sit on the committees, because the

system doesn't find (and pay for) replacements when they take maternity leaves and so on.

BW: So whether we like it or not, it's about being accommodated into the 'system' as it exists already? I don't know how much things have changed. It's given lots of women many opportunities but I don't know if that's feminist. And the basis of your work? Is that a legacy then of some of your revisionist history? The detail, the questions you ask, how you would go about asking those questions? And what do you think that kind of relationship has with say a feminist standpoint? Is there a feminist canon that you're a part of?

PV: It's a driving force. I think that's just the way I've been trained and the way my career has worked out and I've been so fortunate, you know, in making my voice heard—I find that I often get a healthy respect from our scientists when discussing a feminist standpoint ... 'we'll listen to her ideas but she's not much help in the lab!'

BW: In terms of what history contributes, isn't it fascinating the way in which the body is central to your work though some suggest a focus on the body is "new". Surely there's a sense in which people could get even "better" history now because we've got so much access to information, because we've got so much access to archives so is that being taken on or is it still a niche?

PV: You/we mentioned Jenny Hargreaves and, she and I have focused on the body for decades and have continued to ask critical questions. I have actually been very pleased that there seems to be an effervescence and emergence of calls for sport historians and a variety of new jobs opening in the US, the UK and especially in Europe. It's true I think that a lot of the current focus is on competitive sport because it's so important financially and otherwise, but it is also history departments now that are hiring sport historians as well as in political science and anthropology, law and even medical schools who see the history of health and medicine and physical activity as important to their training of interns.

BW: I think there are links with how sport has been seen, it's like when there's work in cultural studies or women's studies where they go 'Oh wouldn't it be interesting to look at sport' and you're thinking 'We've been trying to tell you that, that this is an important...'

PV: Well when David Andrews "invented" physical cultural studies and invited me in to talk about it, I said 'You know, I've been doing this all my life' ... along with many of my colleagues focused on the female body. I didn't know it was invented in 2008! (see Andrews, 2008). I mean anthropologists have been writing about physical culture for as long as we remember, so maybe some sociologists are a bit late to that table.

- BW: I did history before going to university and now we do have access to more information and more accessible and archived information. I mean in terms of what you can actually tap into.
- PV: Yeah, it's amazing what is now available in the archives.
- BW: One of the things I'd noted down is to ask what happened to the idea of male sports sociologists being pro-feminist.
- PV: Well there are some well-known male sociologists who have done a wonderful job on behalf of feminism, but it's also partly the compartmentalization of issues, like race. Some people, you know, feel they dare not write about race unless they're the "right" colour.
- BW: But that's not what feminism ever wanted to achieve.
- PV: I know, but it has happened, further compartmentalization.
- BW: Yeah, but the same could be said about sexuality, in some ways, I mean I've spent some time in the work that I've been doing around boys and girls, looking at masculinity and dance and it's no wonder that looking at masculinity entails looking at gender because it's the main lens to go to. But then the debates so quickly become about sexuality and gender and masculinity but they're not always intersectional, they don't capture all the other factors.
- PV: That's quite true.
- BW: So back to Joan W. Scott, for you, what's her legacy?
- PV: Well she was an important turning point when in the late '70s and early '80s feminist historians were beginning to get an occasional open door. Bonnie Smith has a wonderful book on gender and history (Smith, 1998), which reflects the Joan Scott premise. She said the profession's unacknowledged libidinal work—the social ideology that draws us to value male plenitude, power and self—is but rarely glimpsed in the mirror of history. Male historians had tended to simply ignore feminist histories—as if they weren't doing "real history". Scott was prepared to speak up and underscore how gender offered a good way to think about history and she was eloquent enough to push open doors for those of us who were working on gender issues. In sociology of sport it was a bit different, they were mostly Marxists who didn't want to pay much attention to gender, and lots of our male sociologists are still Marxists.
- BW: I came to critical history through Marxism, it was just that I was lucky enough not to have to stop there and get to feminism as well so in a sense politically it was very useful.
- PV: Well that's in the Jenny Hargreaves mode, right?
- BW: Um, yeah, yeah I guess so. And I was lucky (and privileged) to be taught by Sheila Scraton and she was my key PhD supervisor (along

with Margaret Talbot and Sue Clegg). I can remember Scott (Scott, 1986) being influential when I was doing my dissertation for my PhD, that was the end of the '90s, the early 2000s.

PV: What did you do your PhD on?

BW: Young mothers' leisure lifestyles. I had had my first child before going to college at the end of the 1980s. And then my thesis was about difference (in the mid-1990s), theorizing difference. It was an interesting time and I lived in a big, fairly multicultural city and half of my research participants identified with a South Asian diaspora in the UK and the leisure and sport PE literature was still very much 'South Asian girls can't do PE and South Asian women don't do sport because of "tradition" and "culture"' and blah, blah, the same generalizations...

PV: That's really interesting. But of course you still get that view.

BW: In some ways, for me it links to your stuff about challenging the kinesiologists, by taking something and showing them they can't ignore these things.

PV: But they still ignore it far too often I think.

BW: Well I know but I like to think it does at least make something of a difference, to challenge and disrupt. I was interviewing second-generation women who saw themselves between what they perceived as being their cultural heritage, if and where they perceived that as significant, and how they viewed e.g. bringing up their children, what they wanted for them, what they wanted for themselves (across "work" and leisure and in some cases, education).

PV: It's interesting because we've got now this sizeable Chinese population in British Columbia and Vancouver, in some areas up to 70% Chinese and I've written quite a bit now about different health paradigms and their relation to cultural practices. Meanwhile we have scientists making claims about the lightness of Chinese children's bones and their need for special physical activities. And I want to ask, what does this kind of crude racial classification mean for policy and practical physical education? Do we not have to be far more careful about the implications of these kinds of studies?

BW: It is difficult not to be quite depressed about it because feminists were pointing these things out. Challenging homogenization and generalization.

PV: I am depressed about the extent of these kinds of studies in health and medicine and also the ways in which a lot of the knowledge of past female physical educators—who certainly would not necessarily have claimed to be feminists but did wonderful work—has been neglected.

The replacement of so many female college gymnasiums in the last few decades by science labs and buildings is one example of that.

BW: I don't think we fully explore debates about what those women-only spaces represent. Spatiality is key to a lot of my research interests.

PV: Yeah, well space is fascinating and its relation to architecture tells us a lot about the construction of knowledge around physical education. In my book about the War Memorial Gymnasium (Vertinsky & McKay, 2004), which is the home of my Department, I traced the development of the discipline of kinesiology between 1950 and 2010 through its changing spaces. First the bowling alley goes, then the computer labs move in. As more male scientists were hired they took more and more of the space for laboratories. The end result was a completely different spatial world that had little to do with active moving bodies ... the gym is now on deferred maintenance and will probably be soon deemed non-functional for a kinesiology department and closed.

BW: One of the things in my notes is, regarding your contribution, not just the kind of history you do but the questions that emerge for you and the detail of what's going on, it brings to life what the research is.

PV: Well maybe there's a whole gender story in itself. Feminist historians challenge, are challenging, but the scientists don't always like it when women press gender issues upon them. You know there is wonderful work in the history of medicine, for example, by men but when women do it, it sometimes brings with it a different view, you know, maybe I'm wrong but...

BW: Sadly I think you're right...

BW: Let's try and end on a more positive note.

PV: Well there's a whole other world in the academy as well, I mean there are lots of disrupters and we do have some fantastic young female and male faculty who are doing really interesting work around gender and sport and are deserving of a great deal of help and support by older feminist sport historians.

BW: Are they bringing new ways of thinking about history?

PV: Yes they are, and they're bringing new talents, for example, lots of clever new uses of technology. It's exhausting trying to keep up with all the new developments. Some of our young faculty are very technology-savvy and they use those channels to sort of go off in a number of new directions, asking innovative questions and seeking out new solutions. On the other hand, even when the academy is seemingly being transformed, change remains very slow in a number of respects ... I mean right now the government keeps funding new Research Chairs and claiming they should be given to female researchers but then as soon as it gets to the selection committees well you know the whole story.

- BW: Yeah, the panels, the selection is still absolutely...
- PV: Gendered.
- BW: Here and now and looking forward, what are you working on right now?
- PV: Too many things as always!
- BW: Yes, it sounds like a lot.
- PV: But it's a lot of fun. I'm just finishing working on what I call Requiem for the female college gymnasium in North America; I am exploring American modern dancer Ted Shawn's development of a famous troupe of men dancers composed of male athletes in the 1930s (Vertinsky, 2017); I've been examining global flows of knowledge around yoga and the role of the YMCA physical educators in colonial India; and completing a review for the National Academy of Kinesiology on the history of kinesiology.
- BW: I had never heard you speak until you came to the event for *Sporting Females* in 2014. It's the way in which you tell a bigger story from the individuals that you're interested in.
- PV: That's so perceptive because that's what I try to do, I become attracted to the lives of particular people at historical moments and then try to understand the personal and institutional and local and national reasons for their fascination and interest in physical culture and how it was related to knowledge and understandings of the active body at the time...
- BW: You're doing that in such an informed and politically infused way. Your level of detail and understanding what, not just that person's experience is about, it's the 'so what?' part. It's a really important contribution to feminism in our area.
- PV: Perhaps I'm just lucky that at this stage of my career I still have the opportunities to do it. I keep thinking I would like to write another monograph related to gender and physical culture and have a number of ideas to explore, but time will tell.
- BW: Well let's hope you do. I'll stop the tape there.
- PV: That was such fun.
- BW: Thank you so much.

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On the Development of Sport and Masculinities Research: Feminism as a Discourse of Inspiration and Theoretical Legitimation

Richard Pringle

In the past five decades considerable transformation, specifically in Western post-industrial contexts, has occurred in relation to men's and women's lives and associated understandings of gender and sexuality. On the positive side there are signs of a decline in homophobia, particularly amongst young educated adults, indications of greater gender equality associated with a growth in diverse opportunities for females, and a concomitant growth in a variety of campaigns such as 'Men against rape' and 'Men against violence towards women'. Although entrenched inequalities and injustices remain—hence the need for various campaigns—these positive signs of change owe a prime debt of gratitude to the actions of feminist activists and researchers.

In this chapter I trace the historical and contemporary influence of feminist scholarship with respect to understanding how it has broadly shaped the understandings and study of males, masculinities and gender in the context of sport. I do this by illustrating how feminist theorizing provided impetus for recognizing males as gendered beings; for understanding masculinity as a relational concept and as tied to the workings of power, and for highlighting the intimate connections between gender, bodies, sexualities and associated gender performances.

Through sketching the links between feminist scholarship and its influence on research concerned with sporting masculinities I illustrate, in part, the diverse array of factors that have shaped developments in this research field. Although feminist scholarship has clearly been influential, the historical

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examination also reveals how the diffuse workings of power and even chance factors have been of influence. The power struggles within a field, according to Pierre Bourdieu (1975), are primarily underpinned by the desire of individual researchers to maximize academic profit or capital and shape legitimate ways of knowing. An examination of the history of sporting masculinities, therefore, allows us to question current practices and potentially challenge what we know.

Academic histories, particularly in the natural sciences, are usually represented in a linear or modernist manner with details of how new insights developed and superseded older ideas to illustrate the “progress” of the field. Karla Henderson’s integrative review articles concerning the history of gender scholarship in leisure studies, as an example, presented a narrative of apparent academic progress (e.g. Henderson, 1990, 1994; Henderson, Hodges, & Kivel, 2002). Drawing from Mary Tetreault’s (1985) ‘feminist phase theory’, Henderson revealed how the phases in leisure studies have paralleled women’s studies more broadly. These phases appear to advance in a somewhat linear fashion: beginning with research focused on male leisure and the invisibility of females, followed by compensatory scholarship or “add women and stir”, then dichotomous sex/gender differences, feminist scholarship and finally, critical gender studies. A critical gender-studies approach, as concerned with relations of power within and between females and males, is presented as the pinnacle form within gender-studies scholarship.

Although such representations of academic history can be helpful, Henderson (1994) also revealed that the reality of the research landscape was more complex. Indeed, all “phases” of feminist research are still being undertaken and the pinnacle form, critical gender studies, was discussed by Tetreault in the mid-1980s but was referred to as ‘new scholarship’ (Henderson, 1994). This recognition suggests that gender research within leisure studies did not follow a smooth linear pathway. In contrast, and given that the multiple research branches overlapped and intersected and continue to branch in different ways, the development of gender research appears to resonate more closely with Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s understanding of rhizomatic connections. A rhizomatic understanding of the historical development of a research field recognizes that a field does not have a disconnected or discrete beginning and that it is always in a process of becoming. In writing this history of sport and masculinities research I correspondingly draw philosophical insights from Deleuze and Guattari as I did not aim to present the history in a linear fashion or to identify the precise origins of the history or to suggest that there is a pinnacle research form. In contrast, I simply aimed to reveal some of the complex intersections that have shaped the development of the field.

The chapter is structured into two broad sections. I begin by detailing the complex influence of feminism in shaping the initial study and development of sporting masculinities. I then provide an overview of how particular theoretical lenses have been drawn upon by sport and masculinity scholars and how feminist theorizing has worked to legitimate the use of these theoretical ideas. I conclude by suggesting that feminist ideals articulate with a sense of “moral justice” and that this connection has legitimated the prominence of feminism in shaping the development of sport and masculinity scholarship.

The Significance of Feminism

In this section I present a particular version of the past in order to emphasize the importance of feminism in the development of sport and masculinities studies. I argue that the growth of sport and masculinities research from the mid-1980s onwards was connected to discourses of feminism that have long circulated but had particular social influence in the 1970s and 1980s.

The influence of feminism has been of such significance that Michael Messner and Don Sabo (1990) claimed the study of sporting masculinities would not likely exist, or at least certainly not in its current form, if it were not for the formative feminist scholars of the 1970s and 1980s. In other words, if it was not for feminism, the idea of studying masculinities may not have eventuated. Although men had been the overwhelming protagonists in diverse research fields (e.g., economic, politics, histories, sociology), male researchers had typically not examined the socio-cultural factors that shaped how males performed masculinities.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949) earlier argued that men would never get the notion to write ‘a book on the peculiar situation of the human male’ (pp. 12–13), as, given their position of social dominance, they had not been challenged to reflect on how they had been gendered or even to think of themselves as ‘an individual of a certain sex’ (p. 13). Women, she claimed, had however been forced to think about gender, power relations and their inferior social position, as they had long been defined as “Other” in relation to men. In this respect de Beauvoir felt compelled to ask a fundamental question: ‘what is a woman?’ (p. 11). Her erudite answer rejected an essentialist account through the assertion that ‘one is not born a woman, but rather becomes a woman’. This ongoing social constructionist process, she argued, was ‘defined and differentiated with reference to man’ in a manner that positioned a woman as ‘the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential’ whereas ‘he is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other’ (de Beauvoir, 1949,

p. 13). Thus, through privilege and social dominance, de Beauvoir argued that men did not have to question ‘what is a man?’ with respect to the social construction of gender.¹

Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell (1995) similarly contended that men became “gendered” in relation to the circulation of feminist discourses, as it was feminist scholars who revealed gender as a social construction. Yet Judith Allen (2002) noted that the feminist scholars of the 1970s tended to link the term “gender” primarily to females. So at this time men were purportedly still un-gendered or ‘unmarked, transparent, unscrutinized’ (Allen, 2002, p. 192). This unexamined position allowed men to appear as if they were “naturally masculine” and, accordingly, could not help but act in masculine ways. Such beliefs were used in various contexts—including courts of law—to excuse male acts of aggression, homophobia and sexism, via the disingenuous and essentialist discourse that purported “boys will be boys”.

This blind spot indirectly bolstered the troublesome belief that sport was also a natural domain for males (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Such a belief had long been used to quell concerns about the inequities and discrimination that females faced within sporting contexts, while it also prevented recognition that the sporting world typically celebrated masculine ideals and acted as a masculinizing institution for the broad benefit of males (e.g. see Hargreaves, 1982; Theberge, 1981; Willis, 1982).

By the early 1980s this oversight was slowly rectified with a growing number of feminist researchers acknowledging that men were gendered beings, that males should not be considered as paradigmatically human, and that pronouns such as “man” and “he” should not be used in reference to humans. These feminist insights also encouraged greater examination of the relationships between sport and masculinities, and this research eventually challenged the blithe and uncritical celebration of sport as an innate and quintessential “male” realm (e.g. Bryson, 1987; Connell, 1987; Messner, 1988; Whitson, 1990). Modern sport was conceptualized by Nancy Theberge (1981), for example, ‘as a fundamentally sexist institution’ that was ‘male dominated and masculine in orientation’ (p. 342). Others revealed that sport not only broadly privileged males over females, but also differentiated and privileged a dominant form of masculinity over marginalized and subjugated forms (e.g. Kidd, 1990; Messner & Sabo, 1990).

Ken Sheard and Eric Dunning’s (1973) earlier work had revealed how sporting cultures could act as breeding grounds for sexism, as they provided a “preserve” in which male dominance and female subordination could be reproduced. Their arguments had drawn from even earlier research (e.g. Polksy’s, 1967, analysis of poolrooms as a male sanctuary) and from public speeches from the

nineteenth century, which indicated that the idea that sport was masculinizing, and of broad benefit for males over females, had circulated for decades. Indeed, numerous historical researchers have drawn on nineteenth-century documents to illustrate that it has been widely believed that male participation in sport benefitted the male players by inculcating a sense of manly character (e.g. Chandler, 1996; Dunning & Sheard, 1979; Morford & McIntosh, 1993). Yet this interpretation of historical evidence still required a feminist framework in order for the researchers to draw such critical conclusions.

My primary aim in this section was not to find the origins of sport and masculinity research or to pretend that there has been a linear progressive development within the field of sport and masculinity studies. In contrast, I have aimed to highlight how the increased public circulation of discourses of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s articulated with increased sociological research on sport, masculinity and gender in the 1980s. Feminist activism and theorizing was, accordingly, influential in shaping the growth of sport and masculinity research: it provided a framework for understanding and a language to articulate concerns about sport and gendered relations of power.

In the following section, I selectively examine different theoretical approaches that have examined sport, genders and masculinities. I do so to illustrate that feminist discourses were not only influential in shaping an interest in studying sport and masculinity but they have also been used to evaluate the quality and legitimacy of this research.

Theorizing Sport and Masculinities: Feminism as a Discourse of Theoretical Legitimation

Numerous theories have been drawn upon to understand the connections between sport, masculinities and gender relations. Some of these theoretical lenses have now fallen from broad favour within masculinity studies within the sociology of sport (e.g. psychoanalysis, men's liberation, sex-role theorizing, Marxist feminism), others remain popular (e.g. hegemonic masculinity, poststructural/Foucauldian feminism) and alternative theories are being adopted (e.g. Deleuzian, affect theorizing, inclusive masculinities). In this section I develop the argument that feminist ideals have acted as prime litmus tests with respect to determining the legitimacy and longevity of different theoretical approaches for examining masculinities and sport. What follows is a selective overview of different theoretical approaches and a discussion of their influence in the study of sport and masculinities.

Psychoanalysis

Raewyn Connell (1995) reported that the first sustained attempt to scientifically understand men's emotions and behaviours was made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by Sigmund Freud and his co-workers through the use of psychoanalysis. Freud argued that sexuality and gender were not determined by nature but were constructed, in a precarious manner, through a complex and conflict-ridden process in association with formative experiences of social relations. Freud's work has been of considerable influence throughout twentieth-century thinking on issues of gender, sexuality and feminism. Simone de Beauvoir (1949), for example, was critical of Freud's ideas but nevertheless took his ideas seriously as she devoted a complete chapter in *The Second Sex* to a critique of Freud. Other more recent feminist scholars, such as Raewyn Connell, Judith Butler, Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva, have been more favourably influenced by psychoanalysis. Connell's (1995) masterwork, *Masculinities*, for example, gained deep insight from life-history case studies as informed by psychoanalysis and associated readings from the Frankfurt School (Wedgwood, 2009). Judith Butler's (1990) key notion that gender is performative was also devised in close relation to Freud's explanation of melancholia and mourning and his account of the Oedipus story. Yet psychoanalysis has remained somewhat marginal within sport and masculinities research. It is all the more surprising given that two influential scholars (Michael Messner and Phillip White) drew from psychoanalysis in their formative work.

Michael Messner's (1990) early research into how young males become committed to athletic careers was tied closely to "object relations theory" (a branch of psychoanalysis). Messner argued that an important aspect of the development of masculine identity is related to male ambivalence towards intimacy but that 'the rule-bound competitive, hierarchical world of sport offers boys an attractive means of establishing an emotionally distant (and thus "safe") connection with others' (p. 439). He concluded that psychoanalysis proved a 'powerful interpretive framework' (p. 438) for understanding the attraction that young males have to sport and how sport subsequently shapes their masculine identities. Phillip White and Anne Vagi (1990) also drew from object relations theory to speculate on the development of men's rugby and some of its peculiar cultural forms, particularly rugby players' problematic attitudes towards women and gay men.

Although psychoanalysis has useful ideas for understanding issues of gender and sexuality, it has never gained prominence within sport and masculinities studies. I suggest that this was because the burgeoning study of sporting masculinities in the 1980s was influenced by feminist critiques of Freud, which stemmed from the fact that Freud had brashly argued that femininity was a

failed form of masculinity. De Beauvoir (1949), for example, critiqued Freud for his unsubstantiated and provocative suggestion ‘that a woman feels like a mutilated man’ (p. 53). In other words, critique was directed towards Freud’s oppositional and dualistic view of gender that positioned masculinity as superior to femininity.

The prime feminist critiques of the 1970s and 1980s suggested that psychoanalysis ignored the greater social context of gender relations, particularly the reality that men dominate in many social institutions and that sexist ideologies help prop up gender inequalities (Segal, 1990). Lynne Segal (1990) also noted that many feminists were perplexed that masculinity was pictured as fragile, insecure and primarily as a defensive reaction to femininity, yet there was no explanation as to how this seemingly timid notion of masculinity was linked with male success, power and dominance. By ignoring the bigger picture of gender relations, concern was raised that object relational theories appear to lay the blame for sexism and men’s insecurities on the female caregivers who typically raise children. Which incidentally implied that the simplistic solution to the problems of sexism was to be found in the sharing of child-raising responsibilities by males and females. I suggest that these stinging feminist critiques resulted in psychoanalytic theorizing being rejected by emerging sport and masculinity scholars so that the field branched in different directions.

Men’s Liberation and Sex-Role Theorizing

Concerns that psychoanalysis ignored social and historical processes led many researchers and social commentators in the 1970s to focus on social theories that attempted to study the materiality of gendered experiences. Research attention was correspondingly directed to examining how people were socialized into society and considerable early interest focused on “sex-role theory” (Segal, 1990).

A key figure in the development of sex-role theory was Talcot Parsons. In the 1940–1950s he used a structural functionalist perspective to argue that male and female sex roles developed because societies allegedly need two types of social leadership: instrumental and expressive (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985). Parsons drew from psychoanalysis to offer an explanation of how sex roles became internalized and, similar to Freud, he viewed masculinity and femininity as oppositional categories. Yet by the early 1960s, when psychology and sociology were attempting to be recognized as legitimate forms of science, social researchers were increasingly critical of Parsons’ use of psychoanalysis, as such ideas could not be validated via the tenets of positivism (for example, the

Oedipus complex could never be objectively proven through unbiased observation) (Edley & Wetherell, 1995).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, role-theory researchers turned away from psychoanalysis and towards social learning and cognitive developmental theories to offer explanations for the internalization of sex roles. More specifically, researchers drew from social-learning theory, as espoused by Bandura (1977), to argue that the internalization of sex roles occurred primarily because individuals were rewarded for performing appropriate sex-associated behaviours. Under this theoretical framework sex roles could be overtly examined and measured (e.g. Bem's, 1974, sex-role inventory) and within the burgeoning field of the sociology of sport researchers began examining how males and females were socialized into and via sport, and the associated impact on gendering processes (see Greendorfer, 1978).

Sex-role theorizing, in the 1970s, contributed to an upsurge in publications of mainstream books pertaining to men and masculinities. A major theme from this genre of books, such as *The Liberated Man* (Farrell, 1974), or *Men and Masculinity* (Pleck & Swayer, 1974), revolved around the contention that the male sex role was perilous for men, as it conditioned men to be competitive, aggressive and unemotional (Carrigan et al., 1985). These texts primarily argued that the rigid sex role for men (once internalized) was responsible for men's poor mortality and morbidity rates (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). The male sex-role literature therefore asserted that men, just like women, need to be liberated from their oppressive roles. This contention allowed male liberationists to 'approve of feminism as a worthy parallel endeavour, rather than an assault on *them* (men)' (Carrigan et al., 1985, p. 155; italics in original). Hence, the sex-role literature led many to believe that the common enemy of men and women was not biology or gender relations, but the sex roles themselves.

Connell (1987) reported that a strength of the small, but much discussed, male-liberation movement was that it called for a 'politics of reform' to change sex-role expectations. Pleck (1981), for example, claimed that men's problems were due not to some form of insecurity about masculinity, but to the inconsistent, unrealistic and constraining implications of the expectations associated with the male sex role. This type of reasoning encouraged political actions which, in conjunction with the more influential voices of liberal feminism, influenced the development of concern for gender-neutral language, non-sexist school practices, equal-opportunity policies and "role sharing" in child-raising practices (Connell, 1987). It was in this context that Title IX was introduced in the United States, via an education amendment act in 1972, as an attempt to remove "sex" bias in association with federal funding of educational programmes.

Despite some noted benefits associated with sex-role theorizing, from the mid-1980s onwards this theoretical approach for understanding masculinities

came under sustained critique (e.g. Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell, 1995; Hall, 1996; Segal, 1990). Brod (1987) reported that the simplistic notion of sex roles assumed that there was a universal and definable set of sex norms into which men and women should respectively fit. This premise ignored the historical, cross-cultural and contemporary diversity in the way that men and women lived. Sex-role theory had mistakenly focused on the “standard normative case”, that is, the white, heterosexual, middle-class male or female (Connell, 1995). This flawed premise encouraged sex-role theorists to view behaviour variations from the prescribed norms as deviant or as socialization faults (Carrigan et al., 1985).

Sex-role theory was also critiqued for masking the workings of power in gender relations. Carrigan et al. (1985) argued, as an example, that we do not speak of race or class roles: ‘because the exercise of power in these areas of social relations is more immediately evident to sociologists’ (p. 167). Indeed, feminist and gay-rights activists and scholars were acutely aware of the fight to initiate social change, thus, to ignore the workings of power was to ignore a key facet of social reality. In a blunt conclusion, Carrigan et al. simply concluded that ‘the male sex role does not exist’ (p. 168). Despite such pertinent critiques, some sport psychologists still draw on sex-role theorizing and the notion that these roles get internalized to examine gender differences in sport (e.g. Chalabaev, Sarrazin, Fontayne, Boiché, & Clément-Guillotin, 2013; Harrison & Lynch, 2005). Notwithstanding the good intentions of these researchers, their uncritical research still ignores the workings of power with respect to examining gender.

Hegemonic Masculinities

The demise of sex-role theory in the mid-1980s paved the way for the concept of hegemonic masculinity to become the dominant theoretical framework for examining the complex relationships between sport and masculinities. By the early 1980s the Gramscian concept of hegemony was gaining popularity as a useful framework for examining, in a critical manner, the social influence of sport (e.g. Hargreaves, 1982; Theberge, 1981; Willis, 1982). Gruneau (1983), as an example, argued that sport was an important site for the construction and maintenance of dominant ideologies that acted to serve the interests of powerful groups. Feminist sport writers, such as Jennifer Hargreaves (1982) and Nancy Theberge (1981), were also using the concept of hegemony to explore the ideological impact of sport on gender relations. However, it was primarily Raewyn Connell who popularized and consolidated the concept of hegemonic masculinity for studies of sport and masculinities. She defined hegemonic masculinity, as the ‘most honoured or desired in a particular

context' (Connell, 2002, p. 28) and argued that this form of masculinity acts to guarantee 'the dominant position of men and the subordination of women' (Connell, 1995, p. 77). Hegemonic masculinity, as a state or condition of ideology, frames understandings of how particular ways of performing maleness seem natural and normal, yet at the same time act to sustain problematic relations of dominance within and between males and females.

I suggest that Connell's theorizing gained legitimacy within the sociology of sport, in part because its theoretical platform resonated with sport feminists' concerns about power relations between males and females, critical scholars' concerns about class and wealth distribution, and queer theorists' concerns about heteronormativity. Indeed, Carrigan et al.'s (1985) theoretical framework for the analysis of gender mapped closely to these three areas of critical sociological concern, as they proposed that the gender order was underpinned by the workings of, and the dialectical relationship between (1) power relations, (2) production relations and (3) cathexis (i.e., social dynamics of sexuality). The central concern of "power relations" related to the 'overall subordination of women and dominance of men—the structure Women's Liberation named "patriarchy"' (Connell, 1995, p. 74). The prime focus of "production relations" related to the divisions in labour with particular respect to how different forms of work become gendered and are subject to inequitable salaries and associated wealth gaps, whereas "cathexis" (a Freudian term) was concerned with the social practices that shaped sexual desire and emotional attachment. Carrigan et al. drew on the history of homosexuality to highlight how dominant beliefs and associated sexual practices contributed to the construction of various masculinities and a dynamic social structure.

The formative scholars of masculinity and sport in the late 1980s could accordingly draw on the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the belief that the theoretical lens was critically robust and was widely accepted by leading critical scholars, particularly those who identified as pro-feminist, within the sociology of sport field. Not surprisingly, numerous researchers drew on this concept to examine issues associated with sport, masculinity and gender. David Rowe (1998) provided a succinct summary of the broad conclusions drawn from these studies, in which he suggested that under this theoretical lens sport is considered as:

...a crucial site for the reproduction of patriarchal structures and values, a male dominated secular religion that has celebrated the physically aggressive and often violent deeds of men. Sport has been an integral element of self sustaining forms of exclusivist male culture, lubricating a closed system of male bonding and female denigration. (p. 246)

The researchers who drew on the concept of hegemonic masculinity correspondingly tended to frame sport as a breeding ground for sexism and a dominant but problematic form of masculinity.

Bourdieuan Theorizing

In contrast to the wide acceptance of the concept of hegemonic masculinity, Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical contributions were not initially welcomed by sociology of sport scholars. This was despite the fact that Bourdieu was more broadly recognized as one of the leading social theorists of contemporary times, had a scholarly interest in sport and had even published in the *Sociology of Sport Journal*. I suggest that Bourdieu was not initially welcomed into the field, as influential sport scholars believed his theoretical ideas were unsuitable for the critical interrogation of multiple axes of power within sport settings. Or more specifically, that Bourdieuan ideas were assumed to be limited for the critical exploration of issues of sport and gender.

John Goodger (1982), for example, concluded that Bourdieu's work promoted 'a rather unidimensional view of the social composition of sport' (p. 101), was under-theorized and needed further refinement. Jennifer Hargreaves (1982) similarly critiqued Bourdieu by arguing that his 'theory overall entails a form of cultural determinism within which the agents of cultural practices, social classes, and power relations are properties of the system' (p. 14). In this manner, Hargreaves did not believe that Bourdieuan theorizing offered scholars the tools for critically examining gender relations.

It was not until the 1990s that Bourdieuan tools began to gain a greater sense of critical legitimacy within the sociology of sport field. Suzanne Laberge (1995) contributed to this increased interest by noting that there appears 'to be theoretical and epistemological affinities between Bourdieu's sociology and certain feminist perspectives' (p. 144). Her somewhat tentative recommendation was that 'it seems desirable to explore these and other potential links' (p. 144). Gender scholars have subsequently drawn on Bourdieu to explore issues associated with sport, physical education and gender (e.g. Brown, 2005; Gorely, Holroyd, & Kirk, 2003; Hunter, 2004; Kay & Laberge, 2004; Light & Kirk, 2000). The key message in relation to the slow acceptance of Bourdieuan theorizing was that his ideas were not widely accepted by critical scholars within the sociology of sport until it was demonstrated that his theoretical tools could be used to critically examine issues associated with sport and gender (see Pringle, 2014).

Foucault and Feminist Poststructuralism

The growth of Foucauldian scholarship within the sociology of sport was also initially slow. Gruneau (1991), for example, observed that he was ‘long ... struck by the comparative absence of Foucauldian analyses in English language writing on sport’ (p. 180). Indeed, Francophone scholars, such as Jean Harvey (1983) and Jean-Marie Brohm (1981), had earlier drawn from Foucauldian ideas. Yet interest in Foucault grew swiftly from the early 1990s. In fact, his impact has become so significant that Toby Miller, during his keynote address at the 2010 North American Society for the Sociology of Sport annual conference rhetorically asked: ‘Is anyone here who is not a paid-up member of the Foucault fan club?’

The initial interest in Foucault stemmed from his theorizing about the workings of power and the control of bodies. This focus on body/power relations aligned with critical sport scholars’ interests. John Hargreaves (1986), for example, highlighted the interplay between Foucauldian theorizing, sport and the body by stating that:

...power is literally incorporated or invested in the body, most obviously perhaps through such practices as gymnastics exercises, muscle-building, ... keep-fit enthusiasts and sport participants. Such work reproduces the social body: it exemplifies the materiality of power and culture in the sense that social relations are the outcome of material operations on the bodies of individuals carried out with the aid of a vast economy and technology of control. The body is not the object of consensus—it is the site of social struggles. (Hargreaves, 1986, p. 13)

Poststructural feminists also recognized the utility of Foucault’s ideas for exploring issues surrounding gender, the body and power relations (see Diamond & Quinby, 1988). As such, the sport scholars who first appropriated Foucault—and who have led in promoting his ideas—have been feminists (Andrews, 1993). Their initiatives, according to David Andrews (2000) have ‘generated some of the most vibrant and incisive work related to the cultural politics of gender and sex’ (p. 125). Masculinity scholars, accordingly, adopted Foucault but only after sport feminists had illustrated the utility of his ideas for studying gender (e.g. Cole, 1993; Duncan, 1994; Markula, 1995; Theberge, 1991). In a similar manner, queer theorists such as Eve Sedgwick (1990) and Judith Butler (1985), paved the way for critical sport scholars to draw from Foucault to critically examine issues associated with homosexuality, sport and exercise practices (e.g., see Pronger, 1990).

Yet such was the dominance of hegemonic masculinity theory that the adoption of Foucault for examining sport and masculinities, did not gain real traction until pertinent critiques of Connell's theory began circulating. These critiques can be divided into concerns about the ontological underpinnings of the theory and how the theory had been used. With respect to ontological critiques, concerns were raised that the concept was disadvantaged by a neo-Marxist perspective that viewed power as stemming from the ruling class and acting in a somewhat repressive manner on the ruled (Star, 1999). Concerns were also raised that this class-based focus reflected an underpinning structuralist view of society, which was deemed problematic as it encouraged researchers to frame their examinations and conclusions in light of this assumption, resulting in scripts of 'inevitable defeat' (Rowe, 1998, p. 248). With similar concern, Flood (2002) argued that it was *deterministic* to assume that the hegemonic form of masculinity always worked in such a way as to guarantee male dominance over females.

Concerns about how researchers were employing the concept of hegemonic masculinity included the issue that the concept was 'as slippery and difficult as the idea of masculinity itself' (Donaldson, 1993, p. 644). For example, issues were raised about which men could be regarded as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity. Concerns were also raised that some scholars tended to focus research attention primarily on men and/or multiple forms of masculinities and correspondingly underemphasized power relations between males and females. Others were worried that representations of male sporting cultures tended to emphasize negative aspects so that these cultures were represented as almost inherently problematic.

These broad critiques of hegemonic masculinity in conjunction with promotion of Foucault via sport feminists encouraged some critical sport scholars to examine masculinities via a Foucauldian lens (e.g. Bridel & Rail, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2004; Miller, 1998; Pringle, 2005; Rowe, 1998). The turn to Foucault encouraged an anti-essentialist focus on the workings of discourse and power relations to understand how gendered bodies/subjectivities were produced. Foucault's critical desire, as Sawicki (1991) stated, was 'to liberate us from the oppressive effects of prevailing modes of self-understanding inherited through the humanist tradition' (pp. 26–27). Foucault's broad research aim, accordingly, was to allow for possibilities of social change through challenging entrenched assumptions about humans, in part via a critique of how subjectivities have been defined, ordered, categorized and differentially valued. Such a perspective resonated with the view of feminists who had long critiqued essentialism.

Inclusive Masculinity

In more recent years, Eric Anderson's (2009, 2014) work on masculinities, homosexuality and sport, under the guise of what he calls 'inclusive masculinity theory' has gained research attention. The prime premise of this theory rests on the assumption that homophobia is the dominant policing agent with respect to the construction of masculinities. In homophobic cultures, Anderson claimed that males routinely had to prove that they were heterosexual and they primarily did so by rejecting expressions of femininity and by performing hypermasculine acts (e.g., appearing tough, aggressive, uncaring, unemotional, competitive and homophobic). In recent years, however, Anderson has drawn on various forms of evidence to assert that "homohysteria" has markedly declined in sporting cultures to the extent that orthodox masculinities are no longer dominant. Without homophobia, he asserted, 'there is nothing to enforce a hegemonic form of masculinity so that multiple and varied masculinities can flourish without hierarchy' (Hargreaves & Anderson, 2014, p. 13). In this bold manner, Anderson argued that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is no longer an appropriate tool for analyzing contemporary masculinities, as a dominant form of masculinity has ceased to exist. Anderson has further speculated that as the negative impact of homophobia continues to decline, men will be able to 'engage in more forms of physical and emotional intimacy with each other' (p. 224) and he crudely suspected that eventually 'men will even be able to get fucked by other men while maintaining their public persona of heterosexuality' (p. 223).

Anderson's research focus is overtly on men and their relationships with other men. In this respect, he acknowledged that he has not specifically studied relations of power between males and females and he has 'not investigated enough' whether 'athletes remain highly sexist or not' (Anderson, 2014, p. 221). Thus he has tended to ignore Jim McKay, Michael Messner and Don Sabo's (2000) warning that 'it is increasingly apparent that even when we are studying single-gender ... contexts, the analysis needs to take into account the larger contexts of unequal relations of power that exist between and among women and men' (p. 5). Moreover, he appears somewhat critical of gender scholars who focus their work on the understanding that masculinities and femininities are constructed primarily in relation to each other, as this approach, according to Anderson (2014) 'fails to see gender as fluctuating in response to homohysteria' (p. 221).

The prime strength of Anderson's work is its documentation of changing attitudes towards homosexuality and the impact that this has on how men interact with each other. This research is of importance and deserves ongoing attention. Yet as a theory of masculinities I suggest its prime shortcoming is

that it simplistically overestimates the significance of homosexuality—while neglecting other factors of importance that shape men's lives. The second wave of feminism, as a prime example, has had major impact with respect to challenging men to think about their positions and performances within families, the workforce, and in sport and leisure contexts. More broadly, understandings of masculinities are shaped in association with relationships not just between men but also between males and females. Indeed, boys are still told to “man up”, “be tough”, “act manly” or “don't be a sissy”. These invocations are primarily telling boys to not “act like girls”, in other words masculinities are still primarily defined in relation to femininities. Although, as Anderson noted, there is much overlap between male and female performances, it is often seemingly small differences that are magnified in the construction of masculinities and femininities.

Given that feminist ideals have been influential in determining the legitimacy of different theoretical approaches to examining masculinities within the sociology of sport, I contend that inclusive masculinity theory will need further refinement before it is likely to gain greater acceptance amongst sport sociologists.

Some Last Words

In this chapter I have argued that feminist theorizing has been influential in the formative development of sport and masculinities studies and subsequently in determining the legitimacy of various masculinity theories. Although I link feminist scholarship from the 1970s and 1980s with the growth of sport and masculinity studies in the 1980s, I did not suggest that this scholarship could be regarded as the discrete point of origin of sport and masculinity studies. In contrast, I indicated that de Beauvoir and Freud had long been interested in issues of gender and sexuality, that public discourses circulated in the nineteenth century suggesting that sport was valued for its alleged masculinizing properties and that some “scientists” from the 1920s and 1930s, such as William Ogburn (1937), were even concerned about gender scholars who appeared to be extreme social constructionists. In this respect, I caution readers against thinking that the development of sport and masculinity studies has followed a smooth linear pathway and/or will ever reach a pinnacle form.

I have nevertheless deliberately structured this chapter in such a way as to emphasize the broader importance of discourses of feminism within the “chaotic” research development of sporting masculinities. I suggested, as examples, that psychoanalytic approaches to examining sporting masculinities gained

poor reception due, in part, to feminist critiques of Freudian ideas. Moreover, I suggested that this (ongoing) poor reception is somewhat ironic given that Connell (1995), Butler (1990) and Messner (1990) have found some of Freud's ideas useful to think with. I further suggested that the growth of sex-role theorizing was linked to an attempt to recognize sociology as a mature science, hence the rejection of Parson's linking to psychoanalytic theorizing and the adoption of social-learning theory—a theory that had more scientific or positivist rigour. Yet the downfall of this theory was also linked to feminist critiques concerning its lack of focus on power relations, which was also a prime reason why Bourdieu's theorizing was mainly ignored until the 1990s. On the other hand, apparent synergies between feminist theorizing and Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity and Foucauldian ideas have encouraged degrees of support for these theoretical ways of thinking.

Although my broad argument can be critiqued—given I have grouped diverse and, at times, competing strands of feminist theorizing as if they were a single body of ideas—I have maintained this facade as I believe that the broader force of the various discourses of feminism link to the simple but powerful message that it is unfair to discriminate against people on the basis of a body's sexual organs. In other words, I am suggesting that the power of feminism is that its prime tenets are difficult to argue against without appearing unfair or immoral or ignorant. Hence, I conclude that feminist ideals articulate with a sense of “moral justice” and it is this powerful articulation that has justified the prominence of feminism in shaping the development of sport and masculinity scholarship. I support this articulation, as critical research should be about social justice.

Note

1. Early bio-psychological studies had, however, examined factors such as the correlations between masculine temperament and secondary sex characteristics (e.g. Gilkinson, 1937). And some male sociologists in the 1930s were discussing how culture shaped masculinity and femininity. William Ogburn (1937), as an example, noted that ‘traits which are considered masculine in our culture are found to be feminine in other cultures and vice versa’ (p. 168). Ogburn even had concern that some ‘cultural enthusiasts are forgetting the biological limits to cultural influence’ (p. 168) thus suggesting that there were some ‘extreme social constructionists’ prior to 1937. Sigmund Freud was one of these extreme social constructionist. Through his use of psychoanalysis he argued against the importance of evolution and biology for understanding male subjectivities but encouraged a focus on early experiences of social relationships.

Freud therefore argued that sexuality and gender were not determined by nature but were constructed, in a precarious manner, through a complex and conflict-ridden process. These were particularly radical ideas at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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Gender and the Body in Leisure and Tourism

Stephen Wearing, Jennie Small, and Carmel Foley

Introduction

The history of leisure and gendered relations is as long as the history of humankind itself. However, it was not until the 1970s that increasing political and academic interest in leisure and gender relations emerged in Western discourse with the intersection of the advent of leisure as a field of academic study and a second wave of feminism. This trend is also reflected in tourism studies (see Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Swain & Momsen, 2002). However, tourism's later emergence as a field of academic study and its industry focus on business profitability as opposed to a social interest in the people of tourism meant that it was not until the 1990s that a feminist interest in gender relations was distinctly apparent. There was now growing recognition that 'tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption, ... the form of this gendering is configured in different and diverse ways which are both temporally and spatially specific' (Kinnaird, Kothari, & Hall, 1994, p. 2) and that processes which are socially constructed 'inevitably embody power, inequality and control' (Kinnaird et al., 1994, p. 8).

In this chapter we provide an overview of feminist research and theory in the broad field of leisure in which we position tourism. We begin with early feminist theoretical reactions to the predominantly male leisure theorists of the 1970s and the ways in which critical theorists of the 1980s advanced our

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understanding of class and gender divisions in leisure. From this largely macro approach we move to a micro-social approach with a discussion of interactionist and poststructural theory, an approach that examines the subjective experiences of individual women, recognizes agency and acknowledges the possibility of resistance. We examine ways in which our understanding of gender relations in leisure and tourism has been enriched by contextualizing these relations in the spaces in which they occur and by considering the gendered body in that space. We also pay tribute to postcolonial theory that assigns subjectivity and a valid view of colonization to the “Other”, a view which has the potential to destabilize and transform dominant knowledges.

A Developing Feminist Critique of Leisure

With the development of feminist leisure theory from the 1970s onwards there was a recognition that if society is gendered, so too are the lifestyles that we lead which include leisure and tourism experiences. With this acknowledgement came the rejection of the assumption of the universality of male leisure experience and a critique of functionalist approaches to leisure studies that emphasize harmony and stability, reinforce the status quo, and obscure gender power differentials, conflicts of interest and inequalities in access to leisure resources. A feminist approach inspired the examination of mechanisms to move beyond masculine accepted norms. Similar critiques were made of tourism literature which remained stranded in a functionalist perspective for about a decade longer than leisure. In an examination of tourism literature, Norris and Wall (1994, p. 58) concluded:

...where differences in participation between women and men are identified, they tend to be noted rather than explained. Such research is seldom undertaken from a feminist perspective and indirectly may promote the status quo in that it usually ignores the different constraints and opportunities to which women and men are exposed.

Most commonly, tourism scholars had treated gender (or sex) as a demographic variable, an independent variable at the end of a questionnaire, ‘ordinal and timeless categories’ (Richter, 1995, p. 71), as opposed to gender as a cultural construct. Johnston (2000) concluded that tourism scholarship had been ‘built on Western hierarchical dualisms and tends to produce hegemonic, disembodied and masculinist knowledge’ (p. 181).

Since the 1970s, reactions to hegemonic masculinist knowledge of leisure have traversed a spectrum. The structurally based gender and class inequalities in access to leisure have been the focus of critical (including Marxist and socialist) feminists (see, for example, Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1990; McRobbie, 1978; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). They brought to light the structures of power in patriarchal capitalism that impose inequalities and constraints upon women's experiences of leisure and tourism as producers and consumers, and exposed the ideologies and cultural hegemony that safeguard the broad acceptance of these gender disparities. A more micro-social approach to gender relations examining the subjective experiences of individual women has been taken by feminist interactionists who, rather than viewing power as top down and necessarily oppressive, have called for an approach which accounts for agency and the possibility of resistance and which recognizes the opportunities offered by the use of leisure to break out of oppressive relationships of power. The possibility of resistance and feminist redefinitions of female subjectivity (Wearing, 1998) is a key concern of poststructural leisure feminists who have drawn on the work of Foucault (1980, 1983) in their study of gender relations. The productive as well as the repressive aspects of power relations have been examined (see Foley, Holzman, & Wearing, 2007; McRobbie & Nava, 1984), whereby leisure and tourism are regarded as sites where gendered relations can be both reinforced and resisted.

Within the context of leisure and tourism, feminists have gone on to explore poststructuralist ideas of multiple, gendered subjectivities and access to alternative gender discourses which allow for the re-writing of masculine and feminine scripts (Wearing, 1998; see also Berdychevsky, Gibson, & Poria, 2014; Bryce & Rutter, 2005; Gibson & Jordan, 1998; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2013; Wilson & Little, 2005). These studies continue to recognize the structural constraints on women's leisure identified by Marxist-based and other critical-theory feminists, but also recognize women's agency, autonomy and ability to enact purposeful choices, to challenge the power structures inherent in hegemonic masculinity. They document the transgression of boundaries where the culturally gendered enclaves of leisure and tourism have offered sites for struggle and resistance to hegemonic masculinity (see Berdychevsky, Gibson, & Bell, 2013; Foley, 2005a, 2005b; Noad & James, 2003; Shaw, 2001). While earlier understandings of gender have been somewhat "disembodied", in more recent times feminist scholars have acknowledged that the body is ever present in leisure and tourism; all leisure and tourism experiences are distinctly embodied.

Gender, Body and Space

Our understanding of gender relations in leisure and tourism has been enriched by contextualizing these relations in the spaces in which they occur and by considering the gendered body in that space. As Haldrup (2004) says, space is not ‘ontologically given’, not something ‘out there’ but ‘produced through discursive and embodied practices of corporeal movement’ (p. 435). Spaces are animated and co-produced through the practice of mobility (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011). Leisure participants are not passive beings gazing on space; rather they are ‘embodied, differentiated, socially contextualized and performative’ (Germann Molz, 2010, p. 332). Gender relations cannot be understood without recognition of the body (and bodies) participating in the leisure and tourism space. In turn, space cannot be understood without an appreciation of gender relations. As Löw (2006, p. 119) says, ‘gender may be seen as inscribed, via body practices, in the production of spaces’.

Wearing and Wearing’s (1996) writing on the nineteenth-century *flâneur* has contributed here to our understanding of the male tourist space and gaze, and confirmed that the position of the *flâneur* is not readily available to women. Gibson and Jordan (1998) found: ‘solo women travellers find it very difficult to wander around unobserved. Their very singleness, as well as their gender, serves to draw attention to them rather than rendering them free to roam unnoticed’ (p. 17). Critiquing the male bias in the conceptualization of the tourist as *flâneur* and the tourist destination as “image” for the tourist gaze, Wearing and Wearing (1996) proposed the destination as “chora” or interactive space and the tourist as “choraster”. Through the tourist’s interactions with the touristic space, ‘the space becomes imbued with meanings constructed by the actor which become part of the self’ (Wearing & Wearing, 1996, p. 230).

Researchers examining the gendered representation, production and consumption of tourism landscapes have highlighted the social construction and thus cultural and historical specificity of space (Aitchison, MacLeod, & Shaw, 2000; Craik, 1997). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) explained the privileging of the male gaze in terms of tourism destination promotion. That landscapes are gendered as masculine adventure, corresponding to the powerful north and west, and as feminine seduction, associated with the less privileged, powerless and vulnerable south and east, highlighted that the tourism discourse remains not only gendered but also colonial and racial (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Bodies appearing in representations of leisure and tourism spaces are gendered focusing on the singular image of the ideal body. Analyses of leisure and tourism media, for example, in-flight magazines (Small, Harris, & Wilson, 2008) and holiday brochures (Jordan, 1998; Pritchard, 2001), reveal

that tourism promotional material reinforces this message with a significant amount of advertising centred on representations of attractive, young, white women and their objectification as sexual beings. Studies of the social messages of women's lifestyle magazines directed at tourists' bodily preparation for a holiday (Jordan, 2007; Small, 2017) found there was a uniform beach-holiday body to which women should aspire: slim, toned, tanned and well-groomed. The message of the magazines is that one should work to achieve this body and 'that without such a body women should not be happy to be unclothed in the public spaces of tourism' (Jordan, 2007, p. 16). The image of the young, tanned, beautiful body, rather than inviting a woman to imagine herself as such, can, through undermining a woman's confidence, deter her from participation (Jordan, 1998). In other words, media representations reinforce normative "ideals" of the gendered body.

Leisure spaces such as attractions have also been subject to a gendered reading (Aitchison, 1996; Edensor & Kothari, 1994; Richter, 1991, 1994). Aitchison et al. (2000) have observed that museums, galleries, statues and other attractions reflect 'masculinist myth-making' (p. 134) rather than women's history or current activities. As Richter (1994) notes, 'the impact of tourism continues to socialise generations to the importance of what men have done while women are ignored or immortalized on postcards, nutcrackers and T-shirts' (p. 154). The masculine tourist gaze is stimulated while women are constructed as "Other" (Aitchison, 1996).

Bodies are social constructions but they also are physical corporeal entities. While representations are relevant to an understanding of embodied gender relations, so too are 'non-representational' approaches with an interest 'in the subject and in what people themselves make of their lives' (Crouch, 2000, p. 63). Obrador Pons (2003) refers to the centrality of the body in our engagement with the world. Women and men "perform" and "do" leisure and tourism. Shilling (2003) notes that the body is 'a corporeal phenomenon which is not only affected by social systems, but which forms a basis for and shapes social relations' (p. 88). So while the body is 'a text of culture', it is also 'a practical, direct locus of social control' (Bordo, 1989, p. 13).

Leisure is of course experienced psychologically as well as physically and neither experience is privileged over the other. Rather, both are experienced as an integrative whole, fluid and temporal, 'constantly in the making' (Weiss, cited in Swain, 2004, p. 104). According to Foucault (1980), while social systems or 'dominant discourses' render our bodies 'docile' and 'normalized' through bodily discipline and social and self-surveillance whereby each individual exercises surveillance 'over, and against himself' (Foucault, 1980, p. 155), we are also capable of resisting these discourses (Foucault, 1980).

Felski (2006) identifies this as a shift in rhetoric from one of victimization to one of empowerment. Coffey (2013) argues that this ‘new, more positive approach to bodies as intensities exerting force, rather than femininity, for example, being seen as effect of patriarchal culture, moves beyond the binary, static opposition of feminine/masculine identities’ (p. 13).

Löv (2006, p. 120) suggests, ‘spaces are, first, an expression of the possibility of pluralities; second, they point to the possibility of overlapping and reciprocal relations; and third, and for this very reason, they are always open and indefinite with respect to future formations’.

Leisure, the Body, Resistance and Complexity

Leisure and tourism contexts are often conceived as *heterotopia* (Foucault, 1984), sites of empowerment where one can transgress gendered prescriptions (see Wearing, 1998). Specific types of leisure may also provide opportunities for women to learn about their bodies and gain an expanded sense of their body’s potential (Yarnal, Hutchinson, & Chow, 2006). In all-female “girlfriend getaways”, for example, Berdychevsky et al. (2013) found a way for women of all ages to create a space for existential authenticity, an opportunity to be one-self, ‘not having to pay attention to their make-up and clothing as they were free from the male gaze’ (p. 619). Wilson and Little (2005) and Gibson and Jordan (op.cit.) have examined the leisure constraints and negotiations of solo women travellers as they resist the male gaze. In other studies, leisure space, such as girls’ bedrooms, has allowed girls to resist the male gaze through the control of personal/private space (James, 2001). Foley et al. (2007) explored ways in which adolescent women used mobile phones in public spaces to impart a sense of self-confidence, sexuality and autonomy which defied the male gaze and allowed them to reject traditional images of femininity at a formative stage in the life course. On the other hand, leisure researchers have found that body image and feelings about appearance can constrain leisure activities through reduced participation or reduced enjoyment in the activity (Frederick & Shaw, 1995; James, 2000; Liechty, Freeman, & Zabriskie, 2006). While on the one hand, Berdychevsky et al. (2014) found the tourist space to be an arena for self-exploration, resistance and self-transformation in terms of the counter discourse to social stereotypes associated with women’s sexual behaviour, it would be misleading to see these spaces as fully open to resistance. While a holiday was a site for resistance to the dominant discourse of women’s sexual passiveness and subordination through inversion of sexual roles, the dominant discourse on appearance persisted: ‘women’s confidence to transgress

sexual roles in tourism was reliant on their perceptions of their bodies as abiding by the beauty/femininity standards dictated by these same roles' (2014, p. 11). In other words, 'sexual confidence was contingent upon their self-perception as sexy/feminine/attractive, while their bodies had to be in the best shape for holidays' (Berdychevsky et al., 2014, p. 11).

In a study of young women's experience of their physical appearance on holiday, Small (2016) found that there were some spaces in which the normative body ideal could be resisted. Trekking and camping holidays, for example, provided a space in which the rules about the normative body ideal are less rigid. In some cases the resistance was supported by the company of family or close friends (Small, 2016). Nonetheless, there were many leisure spaces in which gendered norms were reinforced. Spaces such as the beach or public swimming pool were found to be sexualized and gendered (see also Jordan & Aitchison, 2008), making resistance particularly difficult. As noted by Richards, 'The surveillant gaze may become even more crucial on holiday, as bare flesh is exposed to the view of strangers on the beach' (2002, p. 4). Certainly, James (2000) found that some girls at public swimming pools could resist the perceived male gaze while others could not. Löw (2006), in her study of the genderization of spaces, reports that while women might choose to go topless at the beach, thus potentially resisting the societal prescription, the moral code is that their breasts do not wobble. 'The price paid for the naked bosom in our cultural context is the body's immobility' (Löw, 2006, p. 130). Foucault's 'normalized' and 'docile', 'disciplined bodies' are evident in many women's accounts.

Leisure and Poststructural Feminism

Since it is at the point of visitation through our embodied experiences, that we construct and consume spaces (Rakić & Chambers, 2012, it is possible to see the body as becoming; a process rather than a project (Coffey, 2013). This is a hopeful outcome for leisure and tourism. At the same time the idea that leisure and tourism are discretionary activities means participants have choices, and in the case of tourism, one might say that its temporary condition allows for risks to be taken.

Poststructural leisure feminists have extended the project of leisure feminist theory, opening our eyes to the possibilities of resistance. However, as evident above, it is important to note that there remain many leisure spaces in which gendered norms are reinforced and in which it is still difficult for women to resist or rewrite these norms. It is also important to note that there is a gap in the poststructuralist literature in respect of the subjective experiences of

women who do not occupy central positions in Western societies. We need to look to postcolonial feminist theory to understand the lived experiences of women—other bodies—the “Other” (Bhabha, 1983) who cannot be fitted into Eurocentric, Western middle-class white theorization, as formulated by male theorists and their feminist counterparts.

The concept of “otherness” enables postcolonial theorists to attribute subjectivity and a valid view of colonization to the “Other”, a view which has the potential to destabilize and transform dominant knowledges concerning ‘degenerate types on the basis of racial origin’ (Bhabha, 1983, p. 23). For example, McDonald, Abbott and Jenkins (2012) explored perspectives on physical activity as a lifestyle choice through the voices of women and girls living in remote indigenous communities in Australia and brought to light deeply embedded ways of thinking about the body, familial obligations, and the provision of and access to being active that destabilize the relevance of Western health policies predicated upon individuals shouldering responsibility for taking exercise. Studies of Muslim women in Australia have revealed the systematic constraints that have to be negotiated by these women in the context of their participation in community sport (Maxwell, Foley, Taylor, & Burton, 2013; Taylor & Toohey, 2001). In a similar vein, the voices of women are being used in studies of leisure and disability to disrupt ableism (Apelmo, 2012; Irving & Giles, 2011; Jessup, Bundy, & Cornell, 2013). Van Amsterdam, Knoppers, and Jongman (2015) employed a feminist postcolonial perspective to give voice to the alternative discourses of young women with disabilities who are resisting the implicit assumptions of ableism: that the world should be tailored to those without disabilities.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have provided an overview of research and theory in the area of gender relations in the context of leisure and tourism. The chapter has reviewed a number of the key authors who have contributed to the discussion and ideas in the development of this area with a particular focus on those using a feminist analysis. We acknowledge that there are many more who have contributed in this field which space has prevented us from mentioning.

Significant contributions to research and theory have been made in both leisure and tourism. Marxist, socialist and other critical feminists of the 1970s and 1980s brought to light the structures of power in patriarchal capitalism that impose inequalities and constraints upon women’s experiences of leisure and tourism as producers and consumers, and exposed the ideologies and

cultural hegemony that safeguard the broad acceptance of these gender disparities. Drawing on the work of Foucault, the interactionist and post-cultural feminists have focused on the lived experiences of women and men, accounted for agency and the possibilities for resistance, and recognized the relative freedoms of leisure and tourism spaces that provide opportunities for people to break out of oppressive relationships of power. Our understanding of gender relations in leisure and tourism has been enriched by contextualizing these relations in the spaces in which they occur and by considering the gendered body in that space. The body is shaped by and shapes social relations, and is in the process of becoming, affected and affecting (Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014). Seeing bodies not as a static but rather as “becoming” with the focus on ‘what a body can do’ (Coffey, 2013, p. 6) provides possibilities for change. As Coffey says, if one moves beyond the body ideal to affirm bodily differences and positive styles of life, the greater the body’s force, ‘the more it can do’ (2013, p. 14).

However, the project for feminist research and theory in the context of leisure and tourism is far from complete. A recent analysis of 20 years of tourism scholarship (Figueroa-Domecq, Pritchard, Segovia-Pérez, Morgan, & Villacé-Molinero, 2015, p. 87) concluded that ‘tourism gender research remains marginal to tourism enquiry, disarticulated from wider feminist and gender-aware initiatives and lacks the critical mass of research leaders, publications, citations and multi-institutional networks, which characterise other tourism sub-fields’. Small, Harris & Wilson (2017) confirmed these findings with a bibliometric analysis of articles from 2005 to 2014 from five prestigious tourism and hospitality journals. They found that less than 4% of the articles were gender related and only 1% featured gender from a critical tourism perspective. Further, reviews of feminist leisure literature have found a decline in the volume of peer-reviewed articles devoted to this topic area, perhaps in response to a perceived crisis in the socio-political project initiated by the Marxist leisure feminists. Some believe the project has been undermined by the move to post-structuralism and the inclination to repudiate male control of the structures of society in favour of a postmodernism obsession with specificity of context (Aitchison, 2000).

In our view structural constraints on women’s leisure should not be ignored; they are placed in tension with women’s leisure and tourism opportunities. However, women should not be portrayed as passive victims of structured inequalities which favour males. Rather they should be acknowledged as active thinking beings who can and do transgress boundaries and challenge aspects of male domination through leisure. The challenge for the future is to maintain a balance between recognizing the power of structures such as class, gender, race and ethnicity and institutions such as the media to constrain

individual leisure experience, and the power of the individual and the group to see, resist and move beyond these constraints through leisure.

Figueroa-Domecq et al. (2015) propose two scenarios for gender-aware tourism research: stagnation or ignition. Ignition would require the opening up of new research questions, theories and methods, the expansion of gender research leaders and networks, the growth in the number of papers and citations as a proportion of the tourism field, expansion of citations outside the tourism field, recognition of gender as a research leadership issue, the mainstreaming of gender-aware approaches in all tourism enquiry, the expansion of gender research capacity and leadership in less economically developed countries and the expansion of collaborations across institutions, disciplines and countries.

Twenty years on, Wearing's (1996) advice is still pertinent: the project for feminist leisure theory needs to draw upon a broad range of theories that allow the development of perspectives that honour difference and 'open up spaces for women and men to move beyond rigid gender, class, race, age and ethnic definitions of the self which are limiting and oppressive, and to envisage spaces which extend people's horizons and provide the potential for personal and political growth' (p. 188).

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'And Still Serena Rises': Celebrating the Cross-Generational Continuities of Black Feminisms and Black Female Excellence in Sport

Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe

Introduction: Reframing the "Changing Same" Dynamics of Racism, Sexism and Resistance in Sport

From the turn of last century until today and against multiple odds, black athletes have fought for and gained recognition within the American sporting arena:

In the 1930s, Paul Robeson, Joe Louis, and Jesse Owens led the fight for *Black legitimacy* as athletes. In the late 1940s and into the 1950s, Jackie Robinson, Althea Gibson, Larry Doby, Roy Campanella, and others struggled to secure *Black access* to the mainstream of American sports. From the late 1950s through the 1960s and into the 1970s, Jim Brown, Bill Russell, Curt Flood, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, Muhammad Ali and Arthur Ashe fought to secure *dignity and respect* for Blacks in sports. They were not knights in shining armor, but *pony express* riders carrying the burden of the Black struggle in sports over their particular stretches of historical terrain. And both the record books and the history books bear testament to the magnitude of the success of these great forerunners. (Edwards, 1988, p. 140, cited in Harrison, 2000, pp. 37–38, emphasis in original text)

It is noteworthy that Althea Gibson is the only black woman whose name appears among this distinguished list of trailblazing athletes (Breuning, 2005).

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Born in Silver, South Carolina in 1927, she was the child of sharecroppers who migrated north to Harlem, New York. The Gibson family was part of the Great Migration comprising blacks who fled the virulent racism in the Southern United States and sought greater economic opportunities in what they perceived to be more socially tolerant Northern urban centres (Wilkerson, 2010). As the first black American ever to win the Grand Slam title, Gibson had to overcome 'the multiple jeopardy' of race, gender and class (King, 1988). Yet, she still managed to excel in the rarified lily-white country-club establishment game of tennis and in the midst of the brutal American apartheid system known as Jim Crow (D. Davis, 2009; Abney, 1999). She continued to dominate the sport, winning 11 Grand Slam titles and six doubles titles by the end of her tennis career (Gibson, 1958; Gray & Lamb, 2004). Thus, the first 'Queen of Tennis' (Miller, 2015) 'provided a perfect example of America's schizophrenia over its attitude to people of color in the 1950s and 1960s' (Evans, 2016). This "schizophrenia" manifested itself when she became only the second African American to be honoured with a ticker-tape parade in New York City, but yet was denied entry to a restaurant on Championship Day at the US Open (Gibson, 1958; Miller, 2015).

A true renaissance woman, Gibson's talents extended beyond the tennis court. In her lifetime, she became a professional golfer, was an actress, (co-starred in a film with John Wayne), was an accomplished singer/musician/recording artist, played a mean game of chess, and also completed a college degree (Miller, 2015). Having suffered bouts of depression when on the brink of poverty, she even contemplated suicide (Schoenfeld, 2004). Althea Gibson died in 2003 before she could belatedly receive the recognition and the accolades she deserved (Miller, 2015). Embraced by the global black community as 'a celebrity of African resistance culture' (D. Davis, 2009, p. 127), it is on Althea Gibson's shoulders that other great tennis players including Arthur Ashe and Serena and Venus Williams proudly stand (Djata, 2006; Harris & Kyle-DeBose, 2007).

Two recent documentaries, 'American Masters: Althea' (Miller, 2015) and 'Serena: The Other Side of Greatness' (White, 2016) capture similarities in both the humble beginnings and the racialized representations and conflicting social receptions of the two black female tennis greats:

...Gibson was ploughing a lonely furrow in the States as the only black player in the game. Doors were shut in her face at every turn, and being a strong personality with a clear idea of her own worth, she did not take it lying down. She held her head high and talked back-an unforgivable sin for a black person in some circles in the 1950s. (Evans, 2016)

Serena's grace comes because she won't be forced into stillness; she won't accept those racist projections onto her body without speaking back; she won't go gently into the white light of victory. Her excellence doesn't mask the struggle it takes to achieve each win. For black people, there is an unspoken spirit that demands the humble absorption of racist assaults, no matter the scale, because whites need to believe that it's not a big deal. But Serena refuses to keep that script. Somehow, along the way, she made a decision to be excellent while still being Serena. (Rankine, 2015)

As part of a very long tradition of African-American resistance that dates back to the Middle Passage when Africans were forcibly removed from the continent and held captive on slave ships (Smallwood, 2008), both tennis stars refused to be relegated to the second-class-citizen status expected of blacks in general and black women in particular (Miller, 2015; White, 2016).

The main difference between the plight of black professional athletes during Gibson's time and black celebrity athletes now is that a career in tennis is economically sustainable both in terms of prize money as well as the lucrative role of corporate patronage and endorsements (Ifekwunigwe, 2009; Morgan, 2006; Smith, 2000). That said, of the seven tennis players listed on the 2015 *Forbes* list of highest-paid athletes, Serena Williams is ranked last in endorsement dollars (thirteen million dollars) and ten million dollars less than the white, blonde, "model thin" Maria Sharapova (twenty three million dollars) who is ranked below her as a tennis player and has won fewer titles and thus less actual prize money: 'this gap has no logical explanation except for long-held prejudices about female sports stars and how people feel they should look' (Bain, 2015). In spite of the historical gulf that separates Althea Gibson's and Serena Williams' lived experiences as well as the clear progress towards racial justice and gender equality that the civil rights and women's liberation movement ushered in, in the United States, then and now, we are still suffering from that same "schizophrenia", which Hattery, McGettigan and Smith characterize as 'a virulent but curable social disease':

...race is a social disease that thrives on a special form of ignorance that has been thoroughly debunked by science: race is not a biological fact, it is a sociological delusion. (2014, p. 94)

Intersecting structures of racism, sexism and class discrimination permeate every institution of American society, including professional sports, which make their lived impact impossible to ignore (Adjepong & Carrington, 2014; McDonald, 2014; Rankine, 2014). Douglas argues that the media hyper-visibility of the Williams sisters in general and Serena in particular, is an elaborate ruse

put in place to distract us from the full appreciation and recognition of the significance of both their longevity as well as their dominance in tennis:

...the preoccupation with Venus and Serena Williams' 'on-court' play and 'off-court' activities functions as a form of racialized gender marking that constitutes a form of surveillance that is used by Whites to observe, identify, and ultimately, control the range of available representations of the sisters ... this kind of media attention and surveillance is an important form of 'race talk' that *unofficially* penalizes Venus and Serena while simultaneously affirming Whites and normalizing Whiteness. (Douglas, 2012, p. 130, emphasis in the original text)

As feminists, we are frequently distracted by the problematic representations and criticisms circulating in the media of Serena Williams' physical body and her comportment on and off the court and feel compelled to critically respond (Ifekwunigwe, 2015; McKay & Helen, 2008; Schultz, 2005; Spencer, 2004). As a result, we deprive ourselves and our readers of textual opportunities to fully engage with and celebrate Serena's greatness and to situate her phenomenal accomplishments along a very long continuum of black excellence and black resistance in and beyond the sporting arena (Carrington, 2010, Williams, 2014). In this chapter, I consider the year 2015–2016 in which Serena Williams attempted to accomplish both a "Serena Slam" (winning four consecutive Grand Slams) as well as a "Calendar Grand Slam" (winning all four major international tennis tournaments in one calendar year) and when she tied with Steffi Graf for the record of 22 singles Grand Slams. In my analysis, I seek to reframe critical black feminist discourses on sport by both addressing certain silences and erasures as well as by situating these analyses along both the cross-generational and historical continuum of black female excellence in sport and black feminisms. In doing so, I hope to simultaneously celebrate and affirm the resilience and the resistance of black women in general and black female athletes in particular as well as demonstrate how black women and black girls occupy varied and layered positions based on the simultaneous, intersectional and embodied experiences of differences.

Towards Cross-Generational Textual Dialogue on Intersectional Black Feminisms: From Third-Wave to 'Carefree Black Girl' Feminisms

The political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of color, working class women, poor women, disabled women, lesbians, old women as well as White economically privileged heterosexual women. (B. Smith, 1990, p. 25)

...a post-feminist gender regime gains its power from its ability to obscure its control over women's lives; women give consent by unconsciously accepting discourses of 'choice' and by perceiving themselves as individuals with agency who are no longer victims of patriarchal oppression. (Chatman, 2015, p. 929)

There have arguably been three waves of the feminist movement which are neither distinct nor discrete (Dicker, 2016). They are distinguishable by whom they both include and exclude. The first wave of the feminist movement began with Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and reached its peak with the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949). First-wave feminism advocated for women's political equality, i.e., the right to vote. Black women were excluded from the early stages of this movement. In Akron, Ohio, in 1851, Sojourner Truth, a black American activist, responded to a white man's remark about [white] women being unfit, i.e., too weak, for manual labour:

Dat man ober dar say dat women needs to be helped into carriages and lifted ober ditches and to have de best places ... and ain't I a woman? Look at my arm ... I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns and no man could head me ... and ain't I a woman? (Truth, 1851)

In 1893, activist Anna Julia Cooper addressed the World Congress of Representative Women and described the "double oppression" of black women:

...all through the darkest period of the colored women's oppression in this country her yet unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds, that often ended in a horrible death; to maintain and protect that which woman holds dearer than life. The painful, patient and silent toil of mothers to gain a free, simple title to the bodies of their daughters, the despairing fight, as of an entrapped tigress, to keep hallowed their own persons would furnish material for epics ... The white woman could at least plead for her own emancipation; the black women doubly enslaved, could but suffer and be silent. (Cooper, 1893)

In 1970, the phrase "the personal is political", coined by Carol Hanisch, became the war cry for the second wave of the feminist movement, which emerged around that time and challenged the sexism of biological determinism (Hanisch, 1970). Second-wave feminism addressed both the reproduction of daily life in the home in the forms of "women's work" as well as the socially negotiated processes of biological reproduction and sexuality. However, in the United States both working-class white women as well as black women and

women of colour felt that their needs and their experiences were not included in the agenda of primarily white middle-class feminists. Working-class women had always worked a double shift engaging in low-wage labour outside the home as well as performing domestic labour in their homes for their families. In 1974, the Combahee River Collective was co-founded by Barbara Smith to draft “alternative” charters which acknowledged the simultaneity of class-based, gender, ethnic and racial oppressions and the dynamics of differences and in doing so, paved the way for the emergence of third-wave feminism beginning in the mid-1980s (Combahee River Collective, 1986).

Our geopolitical location determines how and what we write and I must honour my muse. After living and working in London/the UK for a decade, I have been living in Durham, North Carolina/USA for 12 years. I am writing this piece during one of the most racially turbulent and socially divisive moments in contemporary American history (2016). Needless to say, Hilary Clinton’s presence on the Democrat ticket and President Obama’s two terms demonstrate that we have come a very long way, yet we still have a long way to travel before we reach true gender, economic and racial equality for all. From the flames of Obama’s historic victory in 2008, new post-feminist and post-racial discourses emerged that were troubling to those of us who were old enough to remember and/or appreciate the hard-won political struggles of our civil rights foremothers and forefathers (ayo, 2010; Ifekwunigwe, 2009). More recently, black feminist criticisms have evolved that lament the mainstream feminist appropriation of intersectionality and challenge the viability of post-racial and post-feminist standpoints (Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Chatman, 2015; Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2014; Joseph, 2009).

Smith (1990) and Chatman (2015) succinctly encapsulate key generational differences between a third-wave feminist politics of difference and a new post-racial and post-feminist standpoint. Joseph corroborates:

The message remains that race and gender are floating identities untouched by structure and therefore strategically deployed by individuals for gain. While the post-discourses of race and gender might be popularly understood, from legislation to television, as personal, individual, and mutable traits, they also remain solidly structural, institutional, and historic forces. (2009, p. 251)

After almost 30 years of teaching on both sides of the Atlantic, I have yet to encounter a more powerful working definition of feminism as an inclusive praxis than Barbara Smith’s, which addresses intersectionality, the simultaneity of oppression and privilege, and social hierarchies within the category of women (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989). Yet, here in the Southern United States, as I work with young black female undergraduates who are the beneficiaries of the

hard-won civil rights struggles of their forebears, I am astounded by the number of them who first encountered the word “feminist” in the contradictory 2013 song ‘Flawless’ by global pop star Beyoncé within which the artist had herself appropriated and sampled the definition from a published 2012 TED Talk by the acclaimed Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie:

...a man or a woman who says, ‘Yes, there’s a problem with gender as it is today and we must fix it, we must do better’. *All of us, women and men, must do better.* (2014, p. 48, emphasis in original text)

The major flaw with this retro/second-wave definition is the misrecognition of existing social hierarchies between and within different categories of women (Alexander, 2005; Cho et al., 2014; Falcón & Nash, 2015). When the generational rift seems too wide and deep to bridge, I wish that I could teleport these young black women back to my own black feminist awakening when the sacred third-wave texts of bell hooks (1989), Audre Lorde (1984), Patricia Hill Collins (1990), Toni Morrison (1992), Alice Walker (1981), Maya Angelou (1969), Barbara Christian (2007), Angela Davis (1983) and Michele Wallace (1978) among so many feminist writers of colour in general (Anzaldúa, 1990; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983) nurtured my soul and helped build my own emergent and embodied black feminist consciousness (Hembrough, 2016; Lindsay, 2015).

However, that was then and this is the digital age of now when “Queen Bey”, as Beyoncé is called by her fans, and social media reign supreme. The most notable recent example of this generational black feminist schism is the contradictory reviews of Beyoncé’s, 2016 visual album *Lemonade*, in which Serena Williams made a much talked-about cameo appearance. Affirming the multi-generational black female legacy of strength, in an interview for the *Guardian* newspaper, Williams discusses her involvement with the project:

She [Beyoncé] says she loves when I dance cos I dance like no one’s watching ... that’s kind of what I was trying to do. It worked out good ... It was really powerful putting African-American women together in her story, because she’s obviously a super strong African-American woman ... It was just getting together with strong women. (Cocozza, 2016)

Critics also heralded *Lemonade*, describing it as ‘a revelation of spirit’ (Battan, 2016) and ‘a revolutionary work of black feminism’ (Bale, 2016). On the other hand, bell hooks, the renowned black feminist critic and author, created a virtual firestorm when she posted her own review, which dared us not to be seduced by the aestheticization of black womanhood and to recognize that ‘conventional sexist reproductions of black female identity’ persist:

Her vision of feminism does not call for an end to patriarchal domination. It's all about insisting on equal rights for men and women. In the world of fantasy feminism, there are no class, sex, and race hierarchies that breakdown simplified categories of women and men, no call to challenge systems of domination, no emphasis on intersectionality. In such a simplified world view, women gaining the freedom to be like men can be seen as powerful. (2016)

On the online newsletter *Feministing*, television commentator and black feminist academic Melissa Harris-Perry (2016) facilitated her own virtual cross-generational black feminist roundtable to address hooks' claims. Among the most vocal was Jamilah Lemieux, who is a self-proclaimed "millennial feminist" and was the former senior editor of *Ebony* 'the magazine of record for African Americans since 1945'. Lemieux longed for bell hooks 'to find her way to us':

...I'm bothered by when and where bell's engagement of *the right now of Black feminism* shows up via criticism of Beyoncé ... I want her voice loving on young Black women and appreciating those of us who put our tiny feet in the large footprints she's left ... I wish she'd consider the sex positivity that is at the heart of the feminism that us younger folks have come to embrace, that she'd consider the joy many of us find in our bodies, in sex and yes, even in the male gaze that she seems to find inherently tied to the evils of patriarchy-as if we are violating a code by wanting to be wanted. (2016, emphasis in original text)

hooks is pilloried for reminding us that in spite of our proclaimed *individual* sexual and gender emancipation, across all social structures and institutions, our actual *collective* freedom as black women remains elusive:

In 2010, the homicide rate among Black girls and women ages 10–24 was higher than for any other group of females and higher than white and Asian men as well. Black girls' suspension and expulsion rates were higher than any other group of girls and higher than white and Hispanic boys. As of 2007, Black women earned only 64 cents per dollar earned by a white man, compared to 78 cents on the dollar earned by white women ... the closing of the gender wage gap has been slowing since the 1990s and had even increased between 2011–2012 ... white women were benefitting more from the [Title IX] legislation than any other women. Black women are incarcerated at nearly 3 times the rate of white women. (African American Policy Forum, 2010)

In celebrating Beyoncé, we must be mindful of the protective cushions of wealth and celebrity that shield her from the everyday onslaught of these social injustices.

As of 2016, Beyoncé Knowles' current net worth is US\$419 million based on album sales, endorsements and media estimates (Gerenger, 2016). In a nuanced comparison of First Lady Michelle Obama and Beyoncé Knowles, Griffin (2011) argues that although much of Knowles' success is as a result of hard work, talent and determination, Beyoncé's artful reproduction and commodification of time-worn racial and sexual stereotypes have also facilitated [and in 2016, continue to facilitate] her advancement:

...the marketing of that talent vis a vis a visual vocabulary that references commercial sexual culture has helped ensure her success ... that blackness is relegated to the superficial or the sexual suggests a continued devaluation of black people their history and their experiences. (2011, p. 141)

Collins would situate Beyoncé's sustained appeal squarely within the capitalist domain of what she refers to as a 'new black global politics':

New forms of commodification within the constant pressure to expand consumer markets catalyze a new black body politics where social class relations rest not solely on exploiting labor power and/or mystifying exploitation through images, but also on the appropriation of bodies themselves. (2006, p. 303)

As indicated, generational differences limit the extent to which, as consumers and knowledge producers, we are able or willing to challenge the commodification and global circulation of denigrating forms of blackness and advocate for their replacement with more empowering and emancipatory symbols. We are cognizant of the fact that when hegemonic and embodied blackness travels globally it lands and is consumed differently in local milieus (Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008). I argue here therefore that gendered, embodied and intersectional blackness are also interpreted differently *across generations within the same national spaces*.

As generational disputes over the emancipatory potential of *Lemonade* illustrate, at this very moment, black feminisms are at a crossroads:

...consideration of black women's relationship to post-feminism is needed ... What is at stake is women's awareness: awareness of continued sexist attacks on women's bodies, which comes in the form of attempts to roll-back legislation meant to protect them from harm (eg. sexual and domestic violence) and that provides women with control over reproduction. (Chatman, 2015, p. 937)

We will inhabit intellectually fertile terrain if we are able and willing to re-engage with the political objectives of third-wave black feminism while simultaneously acknowledging and incorporating the divergent viewpoints of this millennial brand of black feminism, whether it is labelled 'post-racial'

and ‘post-feminist’ (Chatman, 2015), ‘bootylicious feminism’ (Stewart, 2011), ‘#Black Girl Magic’ (Wilson, 2016) or ‘Carefree Black Girl’ feminism (Sharp, 2014).

For analytical and discursive purposes, I latch on to ‘Carefree Black Girl’ feminism (CFBGF) here. Although a full-fledged critique has not yet made it into the annals of the feminist academy, as I interpret it, the CFBG archetype, which was first coined on Twitter by writer Zeba Blay (Sharp, 2014) and then was rapidly embraced and became “a movement”, is the millennial generation of young black women’s attempt to insert themselves within a post-feminist discourse that ‘denies class, avoids race, ignores (older) age, and “straight”-jackets sexuality’ (Holmlund, 2005, p. 117). In her blog post, Jamala Johns defines the politics and aesthetics of ‘The Carefree Black Girl’, whose ‘image-centric’ proponents connect via social media outlets such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat and Tumblr:

...a defining aspect of Carefree Black Girl content is that it’s enthusiastically generated by black girls themselves ... By putting the word ‘carefree’ front and center, it’s making a statement that we don’t want to be solely defined by hardships and stereotypes so we can enjoy our lives as we please. Carefree should not be mistaken with careless ... There is a clear reverence for the difficulties they might face but an equal focus on embracing the qualities that make them unique and beautiful. The idea also embodies not letting an outside gaze rule the way you express yourself. (2014)

With its neo-liberal emphasis on the aesthetics of individuality and conspicuous consumption at the expense of collective political action (Ibrahim, 2016), CFBGF falls into the same tautological trap as post-feminism writ large, which ‘conceals the underlying power relations that reproduce hegemonic ideas about race, gender, sexuality and class’ (Butler, 2013, p. 50). That said, how might we constructively draw third-wave black feminism and CFBGF into the same discursive space, particularly when specific denigrating tropes of black womanhood in general and black female sexuality in particular have persisted and co-exist with CFBGF interventions?

Serena Williams, the After-Lives of “Black Venus”, “Sapphire” and “Jezebel” and the Global Game of Tennis

...as we examine the past two centuries of the American experience, there is no way in which the mark of the dual oppression of racism and sexism can be ignored ... it is only through the eradication of these “isms” that we can move

toward a more humanistic and yet realistic social science, which will itself help to transform society. I challenge you to assist me in debunking Sapphire! (Scott, 1982, p. 91)

One of the most pervasive of the many contemporary tropes of black womanhood that exist would have to be the “Sapphire” caricature of ‘the strong and angry black woman’ (Collins, 1990). “Sapphire” has a much older provenance and is tied to the American politics of respectability during and after slavery, wherein true femininity was ascribed exclusively to white women and denied black women (Parks, 2010). In the United States, Sapphire lives on in academic, popular and media representations of black womanhood. We have yet to find more complex alternatives to Sapphire. An equally pervasive stereotype is “Jezebel”, which is a characterization of the black woman as hypersexual and thus always sexually available (Craig, 2002). During enslavement, the Jezebel stereotype functioned as a rationale for the sexual violence perpetrated by white slave masters on black enslaved women (McGuire, 2010). In this contemporary moment, the critical difference between third-wave black feminists and CFBG feminists is whether or not black women who dance, dress or perform in sexually provocative ways perceive themselves or are perceived by others as either reifying, reproducing and embodying the Jezebel archetype, or celebrating their post-feminist and post-racist sexual agency (Craig, 2002). Whether third-wave feminists or CFBG, those of us who are embodied as black and female remain trapped in the crevices between gender bias, which still focuses on white women’s struggles, and race bias, which privileges black men’s lived experiences (Parks, 2010). The double bind of race and gender has rendered us socially invisible in multiple spheres. In their empirical study of black women and invisibility, social psychologists Amanda Sesko and Monica Biernat discovered:

...we suggest that invisibility is a unique form of discrimination. It does not assume either advantage or disadvantage of dual subordinate category membership, but rather suggests that Black women may experience a *qualitatively different form of discrimination* in which their non-prototypicality contributes to their not being recognized or correctly credited for their contributions. (2010, p. 360, emphasis in original text)

While third-wave feminists collectively seek to actualize ‘a political theory and practice that struggles to free all women’ (Smith, 1990, p. 25), CFBGF covets individual autonomy and sexual agency predicated on false perceptions of meritocracy and equality (Genz, 2010; Gill, 2016). In other words, third-wave black feminism would argue that none of us is truly visible unless we are all visible.

Meanwhile, CFBGF would argue that I am now visible because I have rendered myself visible, in spite of the fact that the white patriarchal system that has created such constraining definitions for black womanhood has not been dismantled (Campbell, 2004; Emerson, 2002; Reid-Brinkley, 2008).

Over her long and illustrious career, Serena Williams has overcome many personal and professional obstacles (Williams, 2009). Most recently, at Wimbledon in July 2016, the now 36-year-old Serena Williams secured her place in tennis history as only the second female player to win 22 Singles Grand Slam tournaments (Badenhausen, 2016). In a hotly contested and ‘riveting’ advertisement, Nike named her ‘the greatest athlete ever’ (Thompson, 2016). Yet, in spite of all of her shining accolades, Serena Williams has been the object of both Sapphire and Jezebel characterizations. As a result, the tennis legend and black popular culture icon Serena Williams walks that fine line between hyper-visibility and invisibility (Douglas, 2012; Rankine, 2014). To appropriate the colloquial language of hip-hop, why are there so many “Serena-haters”?! The contradictions between Serena’s demonstration of black excellence, as exemplified by her sustained domination of women’s tennis, and concomitant media and public vilifications of her beauty, body and multiple talents beyond tennis beautifully illustrate the dialectical play of third-wave black feminism and CFBGF practices and politics in which black women can be both invisible *and* hyper-visible in particular sporting and popular cultural spaces. Moya Bailey brands this particular form of black female denigration ‘misogynoir’: ‘the unique ways in which black women are pathologized in popular culture’ (2014). That is, the prevailing racialized and gendered reinscriptions of Serena Williams’ body are located within specific acts of representation and are embedded in historical webs of intellectual, economic and social relations (Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Ifekwunigwe, 2016). In other words, we cannot demystify the denigration and objectification of Serena’s body at the expense of the celebration of her brilliant mastery of the mental game of tennis (otherwise known as the brain/brawn dichotomy) unless we situate her (mis)representation within the global and historical context of the Black Venus master narrative:

Black women, embodying the dynamics of racial/sexual alterity, historically invoking primal fears and desire in European men, represent ultimate difference (the sexualized savage) and inspire repulsion, attraction, and anxiety, which gave rise to the collective male imaginations of Black Venus (primitive narratives). (Sharpley-Whiting, 1999, p. 6)

Similarly, writing about the ways in which the sexual iconography of the Hottentot Venus in particular and black women in general represented

unbridled sexuality, Gilman suggests: 'the primitive is the black, and the qualities of blackness, or at least of the black female, are those of the prostitute' (1985, p. 99).

Sports journalism plays an important role in both the manufacture and propagation of a misogynoir sporting aesthetic. For example, for the *New York Times*, Ben Rothenberg (2015) wrote a controversial and much criticized article on female body image among top women tennis players. Rather than shining the spotlight on body anxiety in women's tennis, the tone and the emphasis made it yet another piece contributing to the prevalent and problematic "body-shaming" critique of Serena Williams' athletic physique:

Williams ... has large biceps and a mold-breaking muscular frame, which packs the power and athleticism that have dominated women's tennis for years. Her rivals could try to emulate her physique, but most of them choose not to. (Rothenberg, 2015)

Different gendered, racialized, ethnic, class-based and cultural conceptions of sporting female bodies are the discursive products of specific knowledge systems and particular historical circumstances, such as plantation slavery or mercantile imperialism (Carrington, 2010). With her ever-changing hairstyles and dress codes, Serena Williams actively challenges these same prevailing representations of the black embodied sporting female aesthetic while also defying the conventional etiquette of the predominantly white elite tennis world (Douglas, 2012). In doing so, Serena Williams strategically subverts her contradictory positioning as a hyper-sexual Black Venus and a hyper-masculine female athlete (Ifekwunigwe, 2009).

"And Still We Rise": Towards the Dialogics of Third-Wave Black and CFBG Feminist Politics and Practices

You may write me down in history
With your bitter, twisted lies.
You may trod me in the very dirt
But still, like dust, I'll rise.

Does my sassiness upset you?
Why are you beset with gloom?
'Cause I walk like I've got oil wells
Pumping in my living room.

Just like moons and like suns,
With the certainty of tides,
Just like hopes springing high,
Still I'll rise.

(Angelou, 1978, p. 7)

In 2015, Serena Williams was awarded the long overdue honour of Sportsperson of the Year by *Sports Illustrated* magazine. During her acceptance speech, she recited the powerful lines from the late great cultural icon Maya Angelou's poem 'Still I Rise', which is itself a lyrical celebration of black female resilience and resistance. A powerful example of the strength of Williams' convictions in the face of tremendous opposition was her 2015 return to the Indian Wells, CA tournament after boycotting it since 2001, when she and her sister Venus had been the recipients of the most crude forms of white racism (S. Williams, 2009; Spencer, 2004). Serena attributes her decision to revisit the scene of one of her darkest hours in professional tennis to having met the now deceased Nelson Mandela, who, with his own acts of reconciliation and forgiveness, provided the moral rationale for Williams' own political transformation and redemption (White, 2016).

When I first began writing about the Williams sisters (Ifekwunigwe, 2009), I emphasized their black super-star sporting celebrity status and the ways in which their athletic achievements signalled both the triumph of talent over adversity and how lucrative sponsorship deals highlight the seductive double bind of multinational corporate patronage (Ifekwunigwe, 2009; Morgan, 2006). Since then, it has been exciting to see how Serena Williams has both matured politically and embraced the social responsibilities associated with being a trailblazer and a role model for aspiring younger female tennis players of all hues and backgrounds:

...I feel it's for all women everywhere. I have so many different people, races and colours who can relate to my story, whether they're poor or rich or middle class, it doesn't matter. My goal is to inspire every woman out there. My new saying for the past few years has been: 'The success of one woman should be the inspiration for the next.' And by the way, it's great for your health and keeps young women and girls out of trouble. (Cocozza, 2016)

At the Rio Olympics/Paralympics in 2016, other exceptional black American women also showcased their athletic excellence. Simone Biles and Gabby Douglas (gymnastics), Simone Manuel (swimming) and Ibtihaj Muhammad (fencing) provided additional inspiration as role models for black girls dreaming about sporting careers in other predominantly white sports

(Reid, 2016). Yet, they too were on the receiving end of misogynoir criticisms. For example, Gabby Douglas' hairstyle was picked apart (Buckner, 2016) and her patriotism was questioned (Lewis, 2016). In addition, Simone Biles was accused of using performance-enhancing drugs (Cutler, 2016). Invoking Douglas (2012) again, the pettiness of this form of media surveillance distracts us from the magnitude of these young black women's accomplishments in the white-dominated world of gymnastics.

Throughout my analysis, I have reframed critical black feminist discourses on sport both by addressing certain silences and erasures and by situating these analyses along both the cross-generational and historical continuum of black female excellence in sport and black feminisms. In doing so, my intention was to simultaneously celebrate and affirm the resilience and the resistance of black women in general and black female athletes in particular as well demonstrate how black women and black girls occupy varied and layered positions based on the simultaneous, intersectional and embodied experiences of differences. It is for both our aspiring young black girls as well as our older CFBG "sisters" that we elder black feminists need to formulate a more complex, relational black feminist praxis, which must begin with engaged cross-generational dialogue. As we witness similar patterns of epistemic, structural and physical violence involving black women and girls within the United States in particular and throughout the global African diaspora and on continental Africa in general, the contemporary urgency of unity demands this (Abdul-Jabbar, 2016; African American Policy Forum, 2010; Goldman, 2006). Finally, situating black female excellence in sport in its appropriate social, historical and political contexts enables us to recognize and celebrate the astounding contributions of great athletes, such as Althea Gibson in the 1950s and Serena Williams in the twenty-first century. At the same time, a cross-generational exploration of black feminist politics and practices, such as the differential standpoints of third-wave black feminism and 'Carefree Black Girl' (CFBG) feminism, is a valuable dialectical perspective for sport feminism. This dialogical approach to sport feminism highlights both the changing same dynamics of racism, sexism and class oppression and the monumental shifts from forms of collective (third-wave) versus individual (CFBG) agency, resistance and resilience.

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Gender, Sport and Media Between the Mid-1980s and Early 2000s: Developments, Trajectories and Transformations

Cheryl Cooky

Introduction

In the summer of 2016, at ESPN's annual ESPY (Excellence in Sport Performance Yearly) awards ceremony, former University of Connecticut (UConn) women's basketball centre and 4-time National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) champion Breanna Stewart received the Best Female Athlete award. During her acceptance speech, after thanking her parents, coaches, teammates and fans, Stewart also thanked ESPN and the sports news media. She observed that while at UConn she 'received an enormous amount of media attention'; however now that she playing in the Women's National Basketball Association (she was the number one draft pick in 2016 for the Seattle Storm) she is struck by how professional female athletes do not receive anywhere near the 'amount of fame'. She stated, 'This has to change!' to generous audience applause, and concluded with the following declaration: 'Equality for all, takes each of us.' The acceptance speech was a not-so-veiled critique of the lack of media coverage of female athletes, including the lack of coverage on ESPN. Stewart's call for equality in media coverage of female athletes is one that has been articulated and advocated by feminist sociologists of sport over the past three decades. Indeed, one of the perennial findings in the scholarship on gender, sport and media is the overall lack of coverage of women's sports in mainstream sports media relative to men's, particularly in the United States (Bruce, 2016). This research trend continues

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despite increased opportunities to participate at all levels of sport, including collegiate and professional sports, and the cultural acceptance of female athletes in American society. Moreover, when female athletes are covered by the media, the quality of coverage of women's sports lags behind that of men's sports. The ways in which female athletes are represented in the media often rely upon outdated stereotypes and conventional gender norms and expectations (Cooky, Messner, & Musto, 2015; Kane and Maxwell, 2011). Thousands of studies have been published over the past several decades, both within and outside the United States, providing empirical evidence of gender inequality in a variety of media outlets including televised media, print media, online media and social media. Often these findings are explained through the theoretical lenses of hegemonic masculinity and sport as the last male preserve. Yet, what is curious to me is the resistance of mainstream media, and in particular mainstream sports media, to the broader shifts in the culture that have occurred over the past three to four decades as a result of social movements within and outside the world of sports.

In this chapter, I will address several thematic developments in the sociology of sport on gender, sport and media, focusing on scholarship from the 1980s through the early 2000s to chart the development and contributions of US feminist scholars to the knowledge on gender, media and sport. This chapter also offers insight into the ongoing legacy of some of the key studies from this era. The chapter concludes with future directions, including an evaluation of the relevance of this work to contemporary understandings of gender, sport and the media.

Before discussing the thematic developments and their influence on my thinking and scholarship, I am compelled to offer a caveat. This chapter provides a particular perspective informed by my own academic biography and the theoretical, methodological and disciplinary standpoints my work is situated. Thus, it is not intended as a comprehensive or exhaustive examination of the literature written by American feminist sport sociologists on gender, media and sport. Admittedly, as author I possess a privileged position and agency in identifying particular scholars and publications and articulating important trajectories in American feminist work on gender and media within the sociology of sport. As such, I wish to acknowledge the potential for certain scholars and texts to be positioned as "canonical" by their inclusion, while conversely others, given their absence through no fault other than my academic training and theoretical and methodological leanings, may be marginalized as a result. So I wish to acknowledge the role my academic background and lineage thus plays in determining the inclusion of certain voices, knowledges and scholarly perspectives and to apologize in advance for those whose work has been inadvertently excluded as a product of my academic training and theoretical

and methodological proclivities and preferences. Thus, absences of particular scholars or publications should be read through this lens and apologies extended to those scholars or texts that have been unjustly omitted.

Thematic Developments and Contributions

One of the significant developments and contributions of American feminist thought in sociology of sport (although it was not unique or specific to American feminism) resides in the conceptualization of sports as a social institution and cultural practice that both constitutes and is constituted by gender. Sports were understood as important sites for the reproduction of and challenge to gendered ideologies, discourses and representations. Moreover, the ways in which sport itself was organized and its cultural meanings could not be understood outside an analysis of gender relations and gendered power dynamics. Critical theories such as feminism allowed for sport to be 'examined as a site through which questions related to social and political power, domination, ideology and agency, and transformative possibilities could be considered' (Cole, 1994, p. 5). Media was a central object of study, given the 'role of the media in circulating and legitimating dominant narratives that construct who we are and how we understand the world around us' (Birrell & Cole, 1994, p. 246). Thus, the media, and sports media in particular, shape cultural meanings and understandings of sport, of social relations and of ourselves (*ibid.*).

Similar to the contemporary moment of feminist sports studies scholarship, American feminist sociologists of sport writing during the 1980s–1990s came from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, were trained and situated differently relative to various disciplinary or multi/inter-disciplinary knowledges. As a result, the approaches, theories and methodologies among these scholars varied, yet what they held in common was a feminist analysis and critique of the institution of sport, and the gendered inequalities that were, and continue to be reproduced, reaffirmed and legitimized within it. Yet, this analysis and critique was also accompanied by a re-envisioning or re-imagining of the potential for sports to be resistive to hegemonic dominance, to be empowering for those who had been historically marginalized; in other words, for sport's potential to be a vehicle for feminist empowerment, practice and change in spite of, or perhaps as the result of, its historical origins as a social institution and cultural practice designed to socialize boys and young men into hegemonic masculinity (Messner, 1988).

Key writings focused on the representations and discourses of women's sports and female athletes in sports media and/or offered theoretical and

conceptual frameworks by which to explain and analyze these representations and discourses. The major contributions of this scholarship were twofold and, it should be noted, are not mutually exclusive or independent of one another. First, American feminist scholars drew upon methodologies in communication and media studies (e.g., textual analysis, content analysis, discursive analysis, framing analysis among others) bringing forward empirical evidence regarding the ‘symbolic annihilation’ (Gerbner, 1978; Tuchmann, 1978) of women in sport media. This research examined the lack of coverage of women’s sports and female athletes in televised news and sports highlight shows (Duncan, Messner, Williams, Jensen, & Wilson, 1994; Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003), in *Sports Illustrated* (Kane, 1988), in Olympic media coverage (Duncan, 1990), and in televised broadcasts of sports events and competitions (Duncan & Hasbrook, 1988). Second, scholars drew upon cultural studies and feminist studies to offer important insights regarding sport media, which did not simply provide a transparent or objective representation of sport events, athletes or controversies. Instead, these scholars asserted, the sport media ‘re-present and re-construct sport in certain frames and through routinized codes and conventions to produce images that benefit particular privileged groups’ (Birrell & Cole, 1994, p. 246), while simultaneously marginalizing others. Sport media and the representation of women’s sports shapes and impacts cultural understandings of female athleticism and critically informed analyses offered insight into broader gendered dynamics and social arrangements. I discuss each major contribution below.

The “Symbolic Annihilation” of Female Athletes

One of the unfortunate, yet enduring trends in sport media coverage, both inside and outside the United States, is the silencing, marginalization and trivialization of women’s sports, what some have referred to as the “symbolic annihilation” of women in the media. Symbolic annihilation, a term coined by Gaye Tuchmann, an American sociologist in the late 1970s, describes the mainstream media’s (i.e., newspapers, magazines, television and its advertisements) practice of either ignoring women, portraying women in stereotypical gendered domestic roles of either homemaker or mother, or, when women are depicted in the public sphere, those representations often focus on women working in “pink-collar” occupations. This was particularly of interest for media scholars given the significant social change that occurred in the 1960s throughout the 1970s, in part driven by the social movements of the 1960s, such as the women’s movements, civil rights movements, and lesbian and gay rights movements, which challenged the gender status quo and offered a critique to the binary roles and

expectations for men and for women. Gerbner (1978), in a collection on mass media edited by Gaye Tuchmann and others wrote,

Instead of mediating even the actual social change that is taking place, the media appear to be cultivating resistance and preparing for a last-ditch defense. And the gap between actual social reality and what is portrayed in the media is widening. (p. 50)

American feminists in the sociology of sport studying the media in the 1980s and 1990s were interested in examining the media coverage of women's sports in part because of Title IX, federal legislation that was passed in 1972 prohibiting educational institutions that receive federal funding from discrimination on the basis of sex. This legislation ushered in a mass movement of girls and women into athletics and sports. Scholars were interested in how the increased participation and the development of competitive sports leagues for girls and women translated into change in the sport media landscape. In a content analysis of the 'most powerful and influential creator of sport images' (Kane, 1988, p. 89), *Sports Illustrated*, a weekly magazine featuring stories on what's happening in the world of sports, Mary Jo Kane, an American feminist sports studies scholar whose devoted her career to research and advocacy for girls and women in sports, asked if the coverage of women's sports had improved since the passage of Title IX. In this article, Kane offers a different approach by moving beyond a comparative lens examining men's to women's sports coverage to analyze how the coverage of women's sports has changed over time and what impact, if any, Title IX had on improving the coverage of women's sports. Moreover, Kane examined what type of coverage female athletes received: were they portrayed in athletic or non-athletic roles and what types of sports are featured? Here Kane was interested in whether female athletes were featured in stereotypically "sex-appropriate sports", such as gymnastics, tennis and golf or "sex-inappropriate sports", such as basketball, weightlifting or wrestling. Kane found that there were no statistically significant differences in the amount of coverage female athletes received prior to or after Title IX. However, women were more likely to be featured in athletic roles than in non-athletic roles in the time period after Title IX. Yet, despite this improvement in coverage, over the course of years sampled, female athletes were statistically more likely to be featured in sex-appropriate sports. Kane concluded that, '15 years after Title IX, female participation in athletics remains heavily influenced by traditional beliefs about what is considered appropriate, ladylike behavior' (p. 97). *Sports Illustrated*, for Kane, is sending clear messages to viewers about which sports are appropriate, accepted and valued for female athletes. She rhetorically asks,

When the vast majority of coverage still focuses on primarily 'feminine' and therefore non-threatening sport behavior, how much progress has actually occurred in challenging traditional stereotypes of what it means to be female and an athlete? (p. 96)

While subsequent studies on media coverage of women's sports did not necessarily investigate differences in coverage before and after Title IX, what most studies did, and continue to do through the 2000s, is to frame and contextualize studies on media coverage of women's sports through the lens of Title IX and its impact on girls' and women's sports participation. With increased participation and growth in women's sports along with increased cultural acceptance of female athletes, we should expect that the sports media would reflect the changes that had occurred in the sports landscape. Yet, the major findings from numerous studies in the 1980s and 1990s on the coverage of women's sports all pointed to the sentiment expressed in Gerbner's quote referenced above. In fact, longitudinal studies illustrated the reality that for certain sports media, televised news and highlight programmes, the 'social reality and what is portrayed in the media' had indeed widened over the course of the 1980s and 1990s (see Duncan et al., 1994; Messner et al., 2003).

Michael A. Messner, a feminist sociologist, and Margaret Carlisle Duncan, a feminist sports studies scholar, public intellectuals who leveraged empirical findings for women's sports advocacy, published a series of studies for the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles that longitudinally examined the quantity and quality of coverage of men's and women's sports on televised news and highlight shows. What is significant for feminist scholars regarding the study of sports news media is the role the mainstream news plays in setting the agenda for what is considered the top or important stories of the day. Thus, studying the news media's coverage of sport sheds light on what value journalists and broadcasters place on women's sports and thus, what messages viewers and audiences may be sent regarding the role and status of women's sports in the broader society. Examining the evening newscasts on the local affiliates in Los Angeles of the three major television networks (ESPN, the largest and most popular cable sports network in the USA would be included in subsequent iterations of the study), Messner and Duncan (see Duncan et al., 1994; Messner et al., 2003) tracked the coverage of men's and women's sport and the types of sports that are featured. They also tracked production values, such as the use of music, graphics, statistics, game footage and interviews as well as a qualitative analysis of the commentary, specifically the ways in which male and female athletes are represented by sports broadcasters. What they found in the early iterations of the study, findings which would

continue in subsequent studies, was an overall lack of coverage of women's sports in the broadcasts. In 1989, the first year of data collection, the coverage of women's sports was 5% (Duncan et al., 1994). Coverage "spiked" in 1999, nearing 9% (Messner et al., 2003) and subsequently declined to near lows of 2–3% in the latest iterations of the study (see Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013; Cooky et al., 2015). Moreover, when examining the quality of coverage—the production values—segments on men's sports were more likely to be accompanied by music, game footage, pre- or post-game interviews with coaches, players or team owners, and graphics. Conversely, in the earlier iterations of the study, women were commonly featured in non-serious gag features (e.g., the "kissing bandit"), pseudo-sports (e.g., naked bungee jumping), and as the objects of sexualized humour. Through the sheer amount of coverage and the high quality of coverage of men's sports alongside the lack of coverage and the trivialization of women's sports and female athletes, assert Messner, Duncan and colleagues, as well as Kane (1988) and others, sport media, rather than reflecting reality or giving viewers and audiences what they want, build and sustain audiences for men's sports and send powerful messages regarding the value and status of women's sports in American culture.

Feminist Cultural Studies of Sport

In 1994, C.L. Cole and Susan Birrell, both feminist cultural studies scholars, published what has now become a "classic" collection of essays in the edited volume, *Women, Sport, and Culture* (see: Birrell & Cole, 1994). In this book are influential articles including the publication of Messner and Duncan's study on gender in televised sports and highlight shows discussed above, as well as chapters outlining key developments in the study of gender and sport broadly, including chapters on sport as the last 'male preserve', (Dunning, 1994) and sport as the maintenance of masculine hegemony (Bryson, 1994) both of which continue to have relevance and resonance for contemporary understandings and analyses of gender and sport. Also in this collection is Messner's article on the female athlete as contested ideological terrain, which will be discussed below, and Cole's chapter titled 'Resisting the canon: Feminist cultural studies, sport, and technologies of the body' (Cole, 1994).

In 'Resisting the canon', Cole (1994) articulates the potential for critical theories (post-Marxism, cultural studies and feminisms) as useful frameworks for the study of sport, gender and the body, given that sport is a site 'through which questions related to social and political power, domination, ideology and agency, and transformative possibilities must be considered' (p. 5). Cole

draws from key elements in socialist feminism and British cultural studies in the development of feminist cultural studies of sport. For Cole, socialist feminism is useful in the feminist cultural studies of sport project in its critique of the sex/gender binary as 'dehistoricized nature and biological difference' and argues instead that the 'gendered body marks, contains and reproduces difference in a sex/gender system' (p. 9). British cultural studies, and in particular Althusser's conceptualization of ideology, offers an understanding of the interdependency of structure, ideology, and subjectivity and asserts ideology as the 'lived relation between individuals and material conditions' (p. 11). For Cole, feminist cultural studies of sport thus,

recognizes sport as a discursive construct that organizes multiple practices (science, medicine, technology, governing, institutions, and the media) that intersect and produce multiple bodies (raced, sexed, classed, heterosexualized, reproductive, prosthetic, cyborg) embedded in normalizing technologies (classification, hierarchization, identity production) and consumer culture. (p. 6)

Later in the chapter she writes,

The logic of the sport/body combination, the seemingly free display of bodies in motion contributes to an illusion that sport, and its bodies, are transparent, set apart from politics, culture, and the economy. (p. 15)

While seemingly not centred on media coverage or representations, Cole's discussion of feminist cultural studies has been useful to contemporary examinations of sport media as it provides scholars with a framework from which to understand how sporting bodies are constituted in and through the media, and the ideological effects of such articulations. Surprisingly, "the body" as a central analytical and theoretical category is often rendered invisible in studies on gender, sport and media, although what is media other than a representation of sporting bodies? Yet, if, as Cole notes, 'sport is most usefully understood as a technology in the Foucauldian sense: an ensemble of knowledges and practices that disciplines, conditions, reshapes, and inscribes the body through the terms and needs of a patriarchal and racist capitalism' (p. 15), examining sport media is central to this feminist cultural studies project. Cole concluded,

...we need to engage with and depart from understandings that limit 'sport' and what counts as sport to its institutional forms. Such a supposedly fixed conceptualization constrains the possibility of understanding how the sport apparatus works in relation to and at the intersection of multiple technologies and in ways that exceed institutional boundaries.

Messner published an article in 1988, re-printed in the *Women, Sport, and Culture* edited collection and elsewhere (see Messner, 2007), that in part discussed the ideological meanings conveyed through the media coverage of the female athlete for the broader politics of gender relations. Messner argued the female athlete was a ‘contested ideological terrain’, and could not be understood outside the complexity and contradictions inherently embedded in women’s participation, given the historical and ideological meaning of modern organized sports in the United States. This was an important development as it provided scholars studying gender, sport and media with a theoretical and conceptual framework for analyzing media coverage and representation.

Tracing the historical trajectory of sports in the USA, Messner notes the rise of organized sports in the twentieth century corresponded with two crises of masculinity, the first occurring during the turn of the twentieth century and the second during the post-World War II era. During the first crisis, sport developed as a ‘male-created homosocial cultural sphere that provided men with psychological separation from the perceived feminization of society while also providing dramatic symbolic proof of the “natural superiority” of men over women’ (Messner, 1988, 2007, p. 35). During the second crisis, Messner notes, the rise of mass spectator sports corresponded with the economic shift from entrepreneurial capitalism to corporate capitalism which produced the docile consumer. There was also a decline in the centrality of physical prowess in the labour market and the military: a decline that was not accompanied by a similar decline in the psychological need for ideological gender difference. As such, spectator sports, which symbolically illustrated the strength, virility, dominance and power of the male body, rose in prominence to culturally reassert and reaffirm “natural” gender differences and men’s dominance over women (Messner, 1988). As such, ‘women’s movement into sport represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies and self-definitions, and as such it represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination. Yet, it will also be demonstrated that this quest for equality is not without tension...’ (Messner, 1988; Messner, 2007, p. 32). For Messner, the social meaning of the muscle/performance gap and the framing of female athletes by the sports media threaten to subvert any counterhegemonic potential posed by female athletes. Thus, the female athlete as “contested ideological terrain”.

Messner outlined the media’s role as more than just a conduit for gender ideologies; the media provide frameworks of meaning that offer interpretations of sports events, athletes and sports controversies. Given that historically sport has served as a site for the ideological legitimation of male superiority and dominance, Messner argued it was imperative to examine the media frameworks for female athletes. In the context of American organized sports, those

frameworks, as noted above, are the marginalization of women's sports by not covering women's sports events or female athletes, the trivialization of women by sexualizing female athletes or framing female athletes in gendered domestic roles of wives or mothers. Messner argued that this type of framing of female athletes as sexual objects or sexual/gender deviants, thus explaining the prevalence of representations of female athletes as wives and mothers, was unsustainable if the sport media were to retain their legitimacy. Indeed, Messner (1988) suggested women's sports were increasingly being covered by "objective" reporting that did not engage in trivialization and sexualization. Instead, the sport media were treating female athletes as "equal" to male athletes in their coverage while neglecting the reality of the historical and ideological development of sports wherein sports were organized to display and celebrate the extreme abilities and capabilities of the male body. Thus, the media's treatment of female athletes "equal" to their male counterpart, in other words the same, and "objectively" reporting on the statistics regarding and outcomes of sports performances (such as finish times in a marathon, the distance of a tee shot in golf, the speed at which a tennis player serves the ball, the length by which a long jumper can travel or the distance a high jumper can jump, how much weight a weightlifter can lift, and so on), the sport media 'provides support for the ideology of meritocracy while at the same time offers incontrovertible evidence of the 'natural differences' between males and females' (ibid. p. 42). Stated simply, gender ideologies are quite often simultaneously reaffirmed and challenged in sport media coverage of female athletes and women's sports.

Gender, Sport and Media in the Twenty-First Century

At the turn of the twenty-first century, we witnessed new developments and trajectories in the feminist analysis of gender, sport and media. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, many feminist scholars increasingly incorporated what's been termed "third-wave feminism" to their approach to the study of gender, sport and media, which includes a sensitivity to intersectionality and an understanding of sexualization in sports and representations of hetero-sexual femininity as not solely oppressive, as many feminists had argued in the 1980s and throughout the 1990s, but as empowering for female athletes themselves and for female audiences, viewers and consumers.

Mary G. McDonald and Susan Birrell, both feminist cultural studies scholars, published an influential article in the *Sociology of Sport Journal* setting out a methodology for "reading sports" (McDonald & Birrell, 1999) that became

the introductory chapter to their edited collection titled *Reading sport*. This article was significant for the study of gender, sport and media in two main ways. First, at the beginning of this article McDonald & Birrell position intersectionality at the centre of analyses of sport. This is not to say that studies utilizing theories of intersectionality did not exist before, rather McDonald & Birrell were giving a voice and visibility to such approaches and further advocating for the inclusion of this theoretical and methodological perspective. Intersectionality is not simply an examination of the intersections of race, class, gender and other social locations. It is a theoretical explanation and understanding of the processes of domination and subordination, privilege and oppression, and the ways in which individuals and institutions are situated at the intersections of relations of individual and institutional power and agency (Collins, 1990/2009; Crenshaw, 1991). In her various publications, McDonald examined race (and class, sexuality, and so on) within the context of women's sport and did so in a way that was aligned with the tenets of intersectionality. McDonald was at the forefront of scholarship utilizing critical whiteness studies to analyze gender and sports. Here, race is not simply about studying the other, but about studying up, about interrogating white privilege. Despite these efforts, we have yet to dismantle the linkage of race with minority status. In other words, too often race is conflated with racial minority. Yet, this should not detract from the impact of McDonald's scholarship.

Second, the "reading sports" article articulated a theoretical and methodological framework, which drew upon intersectionality, among other approaches, for the study of sports as cultural texts. This impacted the study of gender, sport and media in that the object of analysis was not confined or limited to that content which is produced by media (televised broadcasts, newspapers, magazines) but could encompass a broader range of cultural artefacts and practices to examine the cultural meanings of sports celebrity, for example. Yet, what this approach had in common, and perhaps why scholars studying media found it useful to employ, was the approach, informed by literary theories, to analyzing texts.

Although not explicit in its application of "reading sports" as a theoretical and methodological framework, but certainly illustrating key aspects is the influential book written by Leslie Heywood, a feminist cultural studies scholar, and Shari Dworkin, a feminist sociologist, titled, *Built to Win: The Female Athlete as Cultural Icon*. In this book, Heywood and Dworkin offer a third-wave feminist analysis of the female athlete, offering a dialogue between the critical approaches of academic feminist analyses of sport, which tend to focus on the "darker side" (2003, p. 5) of girls' and women's sports participation (such as eating disorders, playing through pain, overtraining, etc.) and the

“let’s go” rhetoric of mass-media advocacy. They make a sustained argument for both individual development and collective action, for the cultivation of traditionally masculine characteristics as well as traditionally feminine ones, for women’s and men’s participation in the “male sport” model and the more participatory “female” version, for engagement with and critique of the media as well as recognition of its more affirmative potentialities. Combining personal narratives, social science research and “close readings” of cultural texts such as advertisements, Heywood and Dworkin develop a third-wave analysis of gender and sport that posits sports as a form of “stealth feminism” which allows girls and women to advocate for equality in opportunity and condition without having to use the “f-word” They note,

the newly iconic image of the female athlete is one of the few sites of resistance against this trend [essentialist notions of sex/gender difference]. The image is one of the few spaces where, unlike elsewhere in the media, female masculinity is validated rather than ignored or repressed with a too-easy-insistence on essential sexual difference. (p. 45)

Heywood and Dworkin also suggest cultural images and texts of female athletes be read through the lens of third-wave feminism which allows for the contradictions inherent in discursive and representational frameworks of female athletes without the need to resolve these contradictions or tensions. This framework has been particularly useful for moving away from the “objectification thesis” to acknowledge and explain the nuance and complexity in images of female athletes that may draw upon sexualized imagery yet are not necessarily indicative of a lack of agency on the part of female athletes themselves or the viewers/audiences that consume these images.

Future Directions

Feminist scholars who study sport, gender and media are producing scholarship that is both informed by and deviates from some of these foundational studies. Certainly, feminist cultural studies of sport, intersectionality and the female athlete as a contested terrain remain useful and important theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches. Moreover, feminist scholars continue to publish studies that utilize conventional communication/media studies methodologies, such as content and textual analysis, to study the media coverage of women’s sports and the media’s representation of female athletes. While those foundations continue to remain impactful and to shape

the field, what has changed as we move further into the twenty-first century is the social, political, cultural and societal dynamics, developments, transitions and transformations which shape sport, media and gender, necessarily impacting how it is we design, employ and engage our investigations into sport media. Very obvious transformations have to do with the media itself. While mainstream media outlets such as newspapers, television and magazines continue to dominate, it has been suggested that their power and influence may be mitigated by the emergence of “new media”: online media outlets, blogs and social media have shifted the power dynamics to some extent and have allowed for diversity in voices, perspectives and representations. Spectators and fans can speak to and against mainstream media coverage, as was evidenced in the objections raised, primarily on social media, to some of the antiquated and sexist representations and coverage of female athletes during the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. Of course, social media and online platforms are subject to the same capitalist imperatives as traditional media and are not removed from the broader socio-political context and as such do not offer utopian possibilities for new ways of representing sports. Yet, the emergence of new media compels scholars to re-envision the relationships between producer, consumer and text; to re-think the question of author/authorship of texts, to re-examine media hegemony in agenda setting and framing.

Certainly, the historical moment in which media coverage, representations and texts are produced shifts and our frameworks must shift correspondingly. While Title IX remains an important historical context through which to understand gender, sport and media in the United States, we are now approaching the 45th anniversary of Title IX. The cultural impact of the legislation has created a context for girls’ and women’s sport participation in such a way that scholars have noted we are in a “post-Title IX”, postfeminist moment. The primary struggle for American girls and women as a collective is not simply advocating for the right to play, rather, while not entirely different or distinct, it is certainly nuanced and complex. Moreover, if Title IX was passed 45 years ago, what does it mean that the mainstream sport media continue to silence, marginalize and trivialize women’s sports—patterns that were identified in media coverage over 40 years ago? Theoretical and methodological approaches are needed to better understand the resistance of mainstream sport media to capture the realities of contemporary sports in the United States. Indeed, this generation of feminist scholars are engaged with postfeminist theories and frameworks to explore the seeming contradictions and nuances in sport media.

I began this chapter with Breanna Stewart’s call for change regarding the lack of coverage of women’s sports in the mainstream sport media. While certainly there have been both subtle and dramatic changes in the ways in

which female athletes and women's sports are discursively articulated and how they are represented in the media, I find myself surprised at the persistence of sexism, racism and homophobia as well as how much of what scholars were writing in the 1980s and 1990s pertains to the landscape of women's sports today. Unfortunately, given the ways in which notions of progress shape knowledge production, often scholarship that has not been published in the last few years is viewed as "out-of-date", no longer relevant or lacking in theoretical or methodological sophistication compared to the contemporary concepts or frameworks that are in vogue. I would argue that unless feminist scholars immerse ourselves in this foundational scholarship, particularly given the resistance to progressive change when it comes to media and sport, our analyses of contemporary sport media will be limited as a result. I hope that this chapter has provided the reader with an entry point into key developments and trajectories that serve as the foundation for future feminist analyses of sport and media.

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Women and Sports Coaching

Nicole M. LaVoi and Anna Baeth

Introduction

Over the last 40 years, a growing body of literature pertaining to women in sports coaching has amassed with a predominance of scholarly work originating in the United States, followed by Canada, Western Europe and Australia (albeit not necessarily in that order). The majority of this chapter will focus on data and trends in the USA and a handful of Western nations, assess theoretical approaches for examining women in sport coaching and introduce an ecological model that helps to place existing literature in context as well as guide future research. Indeed, a large gap remains in the literature referring to women in sports coaching around the globe, with the exception of recent work by Sheila Robertson (2016). While development and implementation of policy pertaining directly to women in positions of power in sport does not currently exist, two major undertakings by the US government in 1972—the Equal Rights Amendment and Title IX—along with the second wave of the feminist movement indirectly influenced the career trajectory of women in sports coaching. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was a proposed amendment to the United States Constitution designed to guarantee equal rights for women and provide legal remedy against sex discrimination (Francis, 2015). In the USA, the passage of Title IX in 1972—a landmark federal civil rights law that prohibits gender-based discrimination in federally funded educational settings—dramatically changed the landscape of sports and

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physical activity participation for girls and women, including coaches. Title IX was the catalyst for a record numbers of girls and women to have the same access, resources and opportunities to play sports that their male peers had historically been afforded. To illustrate the influence of laws in effectively creating social change, in 1972, 1 in 27 girls played sports. Today in the USA, that number is around 1 in 2.5 (The Women's Sports Foundation, 2011). When females, like their male counterparts, are provided with an opportunity for physical activity, health, developmental, psychosocial, academic and economic benefits are more likely to accrue (Wiese-Bjornstal & LaVoi, 2007).

Recently, new data indicate that playing sports makes achievement and attainment of prestigious, high-paying "C-Suite" positions (e.g., CEO, CIO, CFO) in large corporations (historically dominated by males) more likely. In fact, 94% of 400 C-Suite women surveyed in four countries reported having played sports as girls and young women (Ernst & Young, 2015). The percentage of women in most sectors of the workplace has risen since the early 1970s. Yet despite a record number of female sport participants, many of whom have vast athletic capital and sport knowledge, the percentage of females coaching females at the intercollegiate level declined sharply in the USA from over 90% in 1972 to a current rate of less than 40% (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Similar declines and the scarcity of women coaches exists at the interscholastic and youth levels as well (LaVoi, 2009; Messner, 2009). This "decline" of women coaches in the United States has been the dominant narrative of the last 40 years. However, LaVoi (2016a) recently argued, based on data, that perhaps a "levelling off" or stagnation of women coaches in the last decade is a more accurate narrative. No matter the slope of the line, women coaches are in the minority; therefore, what some call an "unintended consequence" of Title IX has resulted in the fact that males currently have access to a legitimate dual-career pathway into coaching (i.e., have opportunity to coach both males and females), while women coach less than half of all females and rarely, if ever, coach males. What this means practically is that many females grow up never having had a female coach and same-sex role model, while 100% of males enjoy the benefits of having a male coach.

Diversity and gender balance in the workplace, let alone in sport, one of the most visible, important and powerful social institutions in the world, matters for a variety of reasons. Same-sex role models, such as coaches, inspire and help girls and women value their own abilities and raise self-perceptions (Lockwood, 2006). In her evidence-based book, *Women in Sports Coaching*, LaVoi (2016b) summarizes the myriad ways women coaches matter: women coaches offer support and guidance for other women in how to navigate the workplace as a minority; females coached by women are more likely to go into

coaching and perceive coaching as a possible career choice; women in positions of power help to challenge gender and leadership stereotypes; women bring different perspectives into the workplace and decision making; women advocate for equality; and discrimination, abuse and harassment are less likely when a gender-balanced workforce is a reality. Women in coaching positions are visible and powerful reminders that help sensitize and expose boys and men to the idea that women can be and are successful leaders worthy of respect and admiration. In short, from a feminist perspective, change needs to occur on multiple levels—women should have more access and involvement in sport coaching, simultaneously work to change the organizational structure of sport that privileges males and strive to shift gender stereotypes and bias that impede career trajectories.

Despite the many potential benefits and a record number of female sport participants, the fact that women are not given equal access and opportunity to coach and become coaches remains a paradox. This phenomena persists in the United States, despite a social and cultural environment that appears to be an equitable breeding ground for employment. Globally, women coaches are rare and when they do enter coaching they face a plethora of barriers that make entering, sustaining and thriving in the coaching profession nearly impossible (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012; Robertson, 2016). Despite different economic, social, political, geographic and cultural milieus, what is consistent are the complex, numerous and interconnected barriers that women coaches face around the globe. In the next section, the progression of feminist literature on women coaches and the barriers they commonly face will be summarized. For those unfamiliar with gender and sports coaching literature and its progression over time, it is important to provide an overview of this body of knowledge to identify how current scholars have “stood on the shoulders” of feminist sport scholars and their seminal scholarship.

Scholarly Inquiry Trends by Decade for Women in Sports Coaching

To provide context and to document trends in coaching research and its intersection with gender over the last 40-plus years, for the purpose of this chapter we wanted to systematically examine the literature over time. Our approach included a methodical search of the literature delimited by English language, found in peer-reviewed journal articles using the SportDiscus database and using the following terms in combination: coaching & women; coaching

Table 1 Scholarly inquiry trends by decade for women in sports coaching

Decade	Search terms			
	Coaching & women	Coaching & gender	Coaching & feminist	Coaching & science
	<i># articles with combined search terms</i>			
1970–1979	6	1	0	17
1980–1989	56	14	0	50
1990–1999	90	40	2	74
2000–2009	90	169	3	710
2010–2016*	211	125	6	1376

Note: *Decade incomplete at time of publication

& gender; coaching & feminist; coaching & science. The primary goal was to illuminate trends around the interest in, and prevalence of, scholarly literature pertaining to women in sports coaching. A second goal was to show how coaching science as a scholarly domain has grown and evolved in the last two decades, while the number of authors who use a marked and named feminist framework has not (reflected in search terms located in Table 1). It is important to point out, despite search term results, that feminist scholarship pertaining to women in sports coaching spans decades and has a rich history. Kane (2016) wrote,

As numerous scholars have forcefully argued over the last three decades, we cannot truly understand the reasons behind the continued absence of women in key leadership positions without examining the issue of *power* and its deeply embedded connections to gender. (p. 36)

While the growth of articles published that include search terms for feminist and coaching has not dramatically increased, this number does not reflect the number of scholars who have used power, critical/cultural theory and a feminist lens to study women in sport coaching. However as Messner illuminates,

sport as an arena of ideological battles over gender relations has been given short shrift throughout the sociology of sport literature. This is due in part to the marginalization of feminist theory within sociology as a discipline (Stacey & Thorne, 1985) and within sport sociology in particular (Birrell, 1984; Hall, 1984). (Messner, 1988, p. 199)

The following sections summarize trends and themes in the study of women in coaching.

1970s and 1980s: Documentation of the Decline

In the 1970s, a majority of the small number of scholarly inquiries ($n = 17$) focused on documenting women's entry into coaching, possible role conflict for women coaches, and preferred and compatible leadership characteristics in coaches. It was the start of uncovering inherent gender bias in the term "coach" and the process of "coaching" that ultimately privileges males and sustains male power. In the 1980s, scholarship around women in coaching grew threefold and many scholars (mostly women) expanded the documentation of the decline of women coaches at the intercollegiate level (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985; Holmen & Parkhouse, 1981) and interscholastic level (Hart, Hasbrook, & Mathes, 1986). Knoppers (1987, 1989) and Hasbrook (1986, 1988, 1989) used feminist theoretical frameworks (although not labelled as such in search terms as zero articles came up for this era) and gendered power dynamics to help explain the decline. Sport sociologist Annelies Knoppers, to our knowledge, was the first to employ Kanter's (1977) occupational sex-segregation theory which highlighted organizational/structural barriers, the skewed proportion of women (less than 15% in a workforce are tokens and face increased scrutiny, pressure to perform above and beyond male colleagues, discrimination, stress and isolation) in addition to a lack of opportunity and institutional power as salient barriers to women in the coaching profession. Interest in highlighting preferred and compatible leadership characteristics in coaches continued, where athletes, both male and female, nearly *always* preferred male coaches because males are perceived to be more competent. Thus, two new lines of inquiry around coaching and women emerged in the 1980s including "how to coach female athletes" and "differences" in coaching practices between men and women coaches.

Arguably, both emergent themes were influenced by developmental psychologist Carol Gilligan's (1982) book *In a Different Voice*, where she argued from a feminist perspective that psychological development for females was different from males. Critics of Gilligan argued that while the differences she delineated were no longer biologically based, claiming psychological differences between men and women was nevertheless essentialist and similarly marginalized females. Difference discourses around how males versus females coach, much like the difference themes found in books on coaching girls (LaVoi, Becker, & Maxwell, 2007) reifies gender stereotypes and gender bias, normalizes male coaches, sustains male power, excludes, oppresses and "others" female coaches, *and* uncritically purports gender difference rather than similarity, which is counter to meta-analysis evidence (Hyde, 2005). It is arguably impossible to discuss or study "how women coach" without essentializing gender differences in a way that marginalizes and problematizes women coaches.

In 1988, sociologist Michael Messner wrote a seminal article which outlined how ‘women’s movement into sport represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies, and self-definition, and as such it represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination’ (p. 198). Messner argued that sport and women in sport, and for the purposes of this chapter women coaches, are sites of contested terrain where men will continue to attempt to retain power and privilege over women. Although Messner did not explicitly write about women coaches, his critical feminist framework shaped how some researchers framed their thinking in years to come. One component missing from the literature written by and about women coaches in the 1980s (a reflection of the general critique of second-wave feminism) is an acknowledgement of gender with its intersectional aspects of identity including race, class, (dis)ability, sexual orientation and motherhood.

1990s: Theory Advances

As evident in Table 1, interest in writing about women in sports coaching and gender in the 1990s nearly quadrupled from the previous decade. Most notably there emerged a broader and deeper scope of theoretical constructs employed to study women coaches. The 1990s marked the first peer-reviewed article on black women coaches (Abney & Richey, 1991). Documentation and concern for the decline remained, but the complexity of power and multilevel barriers started becoming more apparent. For example, Knoppers (1992) outlined three approaches—individual, structural and social—to examining gender bias, marginalization, tokenism and gendered power relations in the coaching profession. Canadian sport sociologist Nancy Theberge (1990, 1993), laid out the social construction of gender and power in coaching as a site for the production of masculinity and male dominance, whereby having control, power and authority over others was the dominant ideology and one that privileged male coaches. Additionally, she voiced the belief of women coaches she interviewed that stereotypes and discrimination could be overcome by superior demonstration of competence, winning and a rejection of the ideology that sport (re)produces male power. Theberge argued for a feminist reconceptualization of power—one which does not focus on force and domination, but as a resource that is enabling. However she also argued that when gender segregation, gender difference and men’s superiority in natural difference from and over women are highlighted, the reassertion of male hegemony is inevitable (1993).

Mary Jo Kane and Jane Stangl (1991) used homologous reproduction as a structural variable to study interscholastic women coaches and found that

women coaches were represented at a higher rate when a woman was the athletic director (63.4%) than when a man was athletic director (56.2%). They argued, building on Knoppers' assertion, that tokenism and marginalization (i.e., women are in less desirable positions in terms of status and power) serve a structural mechanism of control that reproduces and sustains male power and limits women's advancement. They also asserted that the presence of tokens (i.e., women as head coaches) maintains male power but gives the illusion that the system is open, when in fact it is not. Similar to Kane and Stangl, a handful of researchers focused on interpersonal factors such as the "good ol' boys' club" or organizational factors such as salary/compensation discrimination to frame the experiences of women coaches. Concomitantly, many other researchers based analysis of the decline and retention of women coaches exclusively on the individual level by examining such factors as coaching education (i.e., "coach up" or "fix" the women), role conflict of female coaches in masculine-type sports, motivation, competence, anxiety, self-perceptions, confidence and burnout. A dominant focus on individual-level factors may be a precursor to what will later become "blame-the-women" narratives, resembling a female deficit model for women coaches (LaVoi, 2016c). Scholars who continue to push against the notion of "fixing" or "blaming" women simultaneously call attention to the structural constraints and societal constraints that must be revealed, challenged and changed if individual women are to reach and retain leadership positions in sport (LaVoi, 2016c; Shaw & Frisby, 2006), including coaching.

2000–2009: Coaching Science Explodes

The first decade of the twenty-first century is marked by an influx of coaching science and thus, coaching as a "scientific" practice, which was undoubtedly influenced by the confluence of neo-liberalism in the academe. LaVoi (2016c) argues that neo-liberalism is likely related—at least in part—to the decline and devaluation of women coaches. Certainly the neo-liberal discourse of autonomy and choice squarely places the blame of a lack of women coaches on women themselves, rather than on structural and cultural factors. Neo-liberal ideology includes, but is not limited to, data-based effectiveness and efficiency which leads to improved performance, winning, privatization, individual self-interest and inequality.

Neoliberalism is closely associated with the emergence and support of elite, organized, competitive, commercial form of sports and is driven primarily by the social, political, and economic power of those people whose interests it serves. (Coakley, 2001, p. 73)

Neo-liberalism within sports and by proxy, coaching science, is organized around elite, organized, competitive, commercialized sports that emphasize exclusive recruitment, systematic training, certified coaches and preparation solely for competition or championships (Schimmel, 2006). When neo-liberal ideals and discourse collide with the inherent gender bias in coaching that privileges males (where males are perceived to more qualified, innately competitive, athletically competent, physically powerful and more likely to lead a team to victory), women coaches are further marginalized, devalued and blamed for their own demise. While some feminist scholars have interrogated the relationship between postfeminism and neo-liberalism (Gill, 2008; Kaupennin, 2013), this relationship warrants further examination as it relates to women in sports coaching.

Longitudinal documentation of the percentage of women intercollegiate coaches by Acosta and Carpenter continued in the early 2000s. In 2001, The Institute for Diversity & Ethics in Sport (TIDES) began issuing an annual Complete Race & Gender Report Card (Lapchick, 2014) that included data about women coaches, indicating “the decline” post Title IX began to level off around 2005 (LaVoi, 2016a). Data analysis of the percentage of women coaches was also broadened to the youth level (LaVoi, 2009; Messner, 2009). Many researchers have heeded the call of sport sociologists and feminist scholars McDonald and Birrell (1999) to read sport more critically, and have begun to include and examine dual aspects of power in terms of how gender intersects with race, motherhood and lesbian identity to influence the lives of women coaches. A number of researchers examine female athletes’ perceptions of coaching or female assistant coaches’ intention to become head coaches, to determine why the coaching pipeline was and remains leaky. Both groups of young women, athletes and assistants alike, perceive a number of barriers experienced by their female head coaches, thus entering the profession, staying or ascending in it was not a desired career pathway. Lacking in this line of inquiry, focused on women’s perceptions, is a recognition of male power, hegemony and male dominance within the coaching profession, which tempers and influences the young women’s perceptions.

2010–Present: A More Dynamic and Action-Oriented Approach

What becomes most clear with over 40 years of research on women in sports coaching is that ‘the continued underrepresentation of women in leadership roles is not the result of innate differences between women and men. It is the

result of ideological and structural barriers created—and vigilantly maintained—by gender-role stereotypes’ (Kane, 2016, p. 36), and other socio-cultural factors such as gender bias, homophobia, sexism, misogyny, racism and the intersection of multiple axes of discrimination for many women. Despite decades of research, the percentage of women coaches in the USA (and elsewhere) has failed to dramatically and noticeably increase, the levelling off and stagnation over the last decade is remarkably stable, and women coaches around the globe continue to remain under-valued, marginalized and discriminated against. To help advance understanding in the hope of creating social change, researchers have turned to more complex and integrative theoretical frameworks, as a focus on one or two axes of power was insufficient and intellectually suspect (McDonald & Birrell, 1999). A handful of scholars have begun to employ multisystem (Burton, 2015; Burton & LaVoi, 2016) or ecological models (LaVoi & Dutove, 2012) to study the complex, interwoven and dynamic barriers and supports for women coaches. Recently, LaVoi (2016c) has expanded the ecological model first proposed in 2012, characterized by four social-ecological levels (individual, interpersonal, organizational/structural and socio-cultural) that influence human experience and behaviour, to include intersectionality (i.e., race, class, gender, sexual identity, ability, age, motherhood nation state) and power. The Ecological-Intersectional Model (E-IM) potentially forwards and deepens understanding of the complexities of ecological layers and intersectional identities which are influenced by axes of power over a developmental life-course trajectory, and helps place existing literature about women in coaching into an organized, integrated, coherent framework (LaVoi, 2016c).

While the E-IM is not definitively labelled a feminist model, given that intersectionality and understandings of power are primary and central, the label certainly fits and is consistent with third-wave feminist ideals of inclusion of a diverse group of women with a varying set of identities. Clearly, women sport coaches are not a monolithic group and researchers should strive to include this concept into study design and methodologies. In *Women in Sports Coaching*, leading scholars in the field provide current, relevant and detailed scholarly inquiry on women coaches which includes explication of the E-IM model, lesbian coaches, mother-coaches, assistant coaches, women coaches of colour, media portrayals of women coaches, athletes’ gendered notion of leadership, socio-cultural approaches, perspectives of international coaches and trends in research methodologies for studying women coaches (LaVoi, 2016b). The E-IM model can help individual women locate and name various forces of oppression rather than continue to blame themselves, inform decision makers at what level policies should be implemented to

recruit, hire and retain women coaches, identify gaps in the literature about what is not known, guide future inquiry, provide a framework to track change over time, and stimulate awareness and dialogue on the realities of coaching for women.

An additional or complementary approach to social change may lie with scholars who critique a modernist, neo-liberal approach to coaching and assert that women must challenge and reject traditional notions of what it means “to coach” that are inextricably and uncritically linked to male power exemplified by disciplinary practices, power over, docility, obedience, control and ultimately performance of a machine-like body (Denison, Mills, & Jones, 2013; Stangl, 2013). Stangl suggests that women incorporate their objective knowledge formed from their various subjectivities and use their voices to think and live beyond the neo-liberalism that pervades sport to ‘inform those who wield dominant power practices over us as subjects, that we will no longer stand for it’ (p. 408).

Conclusion

Scholarly interest in women in sport coaching over the last 40 years has not only increased, it has broadened and deepened both theoretically and methodologically. Yet much remains to be explored. Areas of inquiry that remain under-examined include: the influence of neo-liberalism on women coaches and perceptions of women coaches; the realities of women coaches outside Western countries; the media portrayals of and subsequent discourses about women coaches; the experiences of women coaches of colour and female assistant coaches; intersectional identities such as age of women coaches; the experiences of female para-coaches and female coaches of para-athletes; and finally, male-to-female trans-coaches, literature on which is non-existent.

Feminist scholarship on women coaches spans four decades, but real social change has yet to be realized in terms of: increasing the percentage of women coaches at all levels of competition; improving workplace environments to be inclusive, accepting, sensitive to the needs of mother-coaches and family friendly; access to dual-career pathways; changing gender stereotypes about women and leadership; eliminating homophobia; increasing recruitment of women coaches of colour; decreasing gender bias in recruitment, hiring, evaluation and retention processes; plugging the leaky pipeline; and reducing incidence of harassment and discrimination for minorities in the workforce. With much work to do to make sport coaching a positive, accepting, supportive work environment for women, a notable few strategic allies are working in

this space. Groups such as the Women's Sport Foundation, the Alliance of Women Coaches, Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS), Champion Women, the LGBT SportSafe Inclusion Program, and the Tucker Center for Research on Women in Sport, to name a few, are educational and/or advocacy entities in the United States, working—together in many instances—to create change for women sport coaches at different levels of the E-IM model from the individual (e.g., coach the coaches) to the interpersonal (e.g., developing a strong “good ol’ girls” network/club), to the organizational (e.g., implementing LGBT-inclusive and family-friendly policies), to the socio-cultural level (e.g., researching and uncovering harmful ideologies and systemic and unconscious gender bias).

As girls and women sport participants in the USA reach record numbers and female athletes continue to gain social capital and cultural relevance (Cooky & LaVoi, 2012), it is a paradox that women in the coaching profession face so many barriers and challenges in the USA and every country around the globe (Robertson, 2016). The words of Mary Jo Kane (2016) may be an appropriate ending to this chapter, provide insight in creating change, and best explain the reason behind this current paradox:

Any power dynamic surrounding contested terrain—in our particular case, the coaching profession—involves an essential and often intractable conundrum: The very people who are best positioned to bring about significant and lasting change are also those who benefit most from protecting and maintaining the status quo. (p. 44)

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Reflecting on the Use of Feminist Theories in Sport Management Research

Annelies Knoppers and Fiona McLachlan

Feminist theory has many versions but its objectives overlap. In general any feminist theory is one that attempts to identify oppressive forces, explain social inequalities and suggest ways of eradicating them (Martin, 2003). Such theories focus, for example, on the way dichotomies such as women/men and masculinity/femininity are constantly reified and challenged, how gendered interests are embedded in language and in so-called neutral practices and the ways in which these dynamics sustain and challenge social inequalities (Acker, 1990; Martin, 2003). Van den Brink (2015) argues that since most individuals are unaware of the ways daily practices, images, organizational structures, processes and ideologies are gendered and how they may have internalized this gendering as common sense, a primary purpose of scholarship in the area of gender has been to reveal gendered practices and enable critical reflexivity in order to work towards change.

Theories about and analyses of management and organizations, however, generally tend to ignore gender (Benschop & Verloo, 2016). In edited collections (books), inclusion of gender is usually confined to a chapter on its own and/or to a section on diversity. Conversely if/when feminist theories are applied explicitly, their use is usually confined to chapters about gender, diversity and intersectionality. This also holds true for scholarship in the area

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of sport management. For example, Shaw and Frisby (2006) and Aitchison (2005) overview feminist approaches taken to change the underrepresentation of women working in sport and in leisure management. They describe and evaluate how various feminist approaches could be used to change the gender ratio in sport organizations. We refer to these two studies throughout this chapter. Our focus is different to theirs in that we look at published research rather than organizational practice per se, we differentiate between implicit and explicit use of feminist theories, and we extend the discussion beyond a focus on people in organizations and management.

Subject matter in sport that does not have an explicit focus on people within organizations is rarely seen through the lens of feminist frameworks. Feminist theory tends not to be used to look at and/or understand and change sport organizations and management practices. Even when the focus is on aspects of diversity in sport organizations such as gender, race and sexuality, the use of feminism and feminist theories has not become an integral part of theorizing. In other words, the explicit use of feminist theories in sport management is limited or invisible/obscured. This is partially reflected in the results of several content analyses of sport management research in such publications as *Journal of Sport Management* and the *European Sport Management Quarterly* (Pitts, Danylchuk, & Quarterman, 2014; Pitts & Pedersen, 2005; Shaw & Hoerber, 2003; Veri, Fullwood, & Howard, 2009). These scholars not only looked at the content of these journals in general but they also looked at attention paid to gender. They consistently found that the majority of the papers published or presented ignored gender as a category, as a process and/or as a verb. Our own search of *Sport Management Review* using the keyword gender found similar results. We recognize that research on sport management is also published elsewhere but confine our analysis to what Shaw and Hoerber (2003) have called the “big three” sport management journals, that is, *Journal of Sport Management*, *Sport Management Review* and the *European Sport Management Quarterly*.

There has been little examination of how and which feminist theories have been used to explore gender or to study social inequalities within sport organizations. A cursory Google Scholar search reveals that in the past five years the use of the phrase “feminist perspective” (or even the word feminist) in the above-mentioned journals is minimal. When these words are used they tend to be confined to research that focuses on diversity and/or gender (and occasionally race) in sport organizations. In empirical articles that focus on gender, scholars do not always explicitly draw on feminist theories to explain phenomena/processes or name what they do as such. For example, Sartore and Cunningham (2007), in a summary of approaches used to investigate the underrepresentation of women in leadership in sport, described examples of

theoretical perspectives that were employed using words such as “homologous reproduction”, “hegemonic masculinity”, and “feminist theories”. A quick reading of the studies they described as feminist suggests that such undertakings may have been described as feminist only because the authors themselves labelled their approach as such. We contend that research that looks at how men reproduce themselves in positions of leadership and ways in which they “do” masculinity are potentially feminist, regardless of authors’ explicit framing.

In the remainder of this chapter we look at which strands of feminism may have been implicitly and explicitly drawn upon in sport management research and which strands have been ignored, and we consider several consequences of this neglect. Subsequently we give examples of how such perspectives could be used and close the chapter by discussing possible reasons why scholars may not identify themselves as feminists or avoid labelling their approach as feminist.

Strands of Feminist Theorizing

Benschop and Verloo (2016) identify four major strands of feminist thought that ‘have been influential in contemporary management and organization theory’ (p. 100). The four major strands they identify are: (neo-)liberal feminism, socialist feminism, social-construction feminism and poststructural/queer feminism. Benschop & Verloo recognize that other feminist perspectives exist, such as postcolonial and third-wave feminisms, but argue that although these perspectives may yield new or other insights, thus far the use of these perspectives in management and organizational research has been minimal. We follow their example and discuss each of the four major strands they have identified; further, we give examples of how, if at all, its premise has been implicitly or explicitly used in the sport management journals mentioned above.

Liberal Feminism

Key notions of liberalism involve the idea of choice, equality, opportunity and individual freedom. The use of a liberal feminist perspective means the focus of research on management and organizations is based upon discovering to what extent women and men have “equal” opportunities to develop themselves and are able to ‘engage in free competition for social rewards’ (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 101). Liberal feminist research may therefore look at instrumental factors, often structural in nature, that directly impact individuals, such as discrimination, pay or promotions. This framework is probably the most

commonly used when scholars study diversity and apply it to daily practice. Martin (2003) argues that liberal feminists often use the possibility of improved productivity and financial performance as an argument for striving for greater gender diversity at managerial levels.

Liberal feminist assumptions have been the basis for studies that focus on the issue of the numerical underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in sport, and the related role of stereotypes and status expectations that contribute to the (contested) notions of a glass ceiling. Lovett and Lowry (1995) were among the first researchers to explicitly name liberal feminism as an object of study in sport management and to explore how it had been used to increase the number of women holding high-ranking positions in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and university athletic departments in the USA. They found little significant change between 1987 and 1993 and concluded that liberal feminism that assumes significant change can emerge through rules and regulations had not in fact worked. Shaw & Frisby (2005) came to a similar conclusion about the use of a liberal feminist approach to increase the number of women in sport management as Lovett and Lowry had ten years earlier.

The liberal feminist approach has also frequently been used implicitly in sport management research. For example, Knoppers, Meyers, Ewing, and Forest (1989, 1990, 1991, 1993) and Greenhill, Auld, Cuskelly, and Hooper (2009) implicitly used a liberal feminist approach based on Kanter's (1977) structural determinants to show how organizational/structural factors have limited women's access to coaching in the USA and in Australia. These researchers situated their approach within the assumption that the workplace was meritocratic and value neutral and that once these anomalies had been corrected/balanced, the number of women coaches would increase. Similarly, Whisenant, Miller, and Pedersen (2005) found that women had limited access to jobs in athletic administration; the authors attributed this finding to the homologous reproduction of men by men and the restricted access of women to "old boys' networks".

Liberal feminist scholars have also looked at gender and leadership styles and work-life balance in management and organizations (Benschop & Verloo, 2016). Research on leadership styles in sport that is based on liberal feminist perspectives often focuses on exploring styles associated with men and women, and assumes these styles may differ. For example, Koca and Öztürk (2015) used role incongruity theory to explore gendered perceptions about women managers in Turkish sport organizations. They found employees preferred a managerial style they associated with men. The authors concluded that this preference played a significant role in the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership, especially if they did not use this "male" style.

Work–life balance studies are often based on the assumption that sources of imbalance need to be identified so they can be changed and that women will apply for and stay longer in positions in organizations where “better” work–life balance exists. Dixon et al. (2008) have done extensive research in the area of work–life balance, finding that athletic departments tend to have climates that generally support such a balance more in theory than in practice. The authors suggest therefore that sport organizations and athletic departments need to create structures that enable work–life balance in order to attract and keep more women in high-ranking positions. Most of these studies have been explicitly based on the liberal feminist assumption that structural change in sport organizations, especially that dealing with opportunity, status, work–life balance and leadership styles, will lead to a change in the gender ratio. This begs the question whether or not more men would also apply for and stay in positions with better work–life balance, a greater range of leadership styles, more opportunities and higher status.

Neo-Liberalism

Benschop and Verloo (2016) argue that many liberal feminist approaches to social inequalities focus too much on the individual, making it seem as if advancement and survival in management are personal/individual issues. They attribute this reduction of social inequalities as personal problems to the influence of neo-liberal feminism. Most of the available sport management literature published in these sport journals, however, seems to avoid an emphasis on the individual who carries within her the capacity for survival and advancement. Instead, and as shown above, the implicit assumption in these three sport management journals appears to be that advancement and survival of women in sport management is dependent on structural change. Specifically, these studies encourage changes that result in explicit policies that flatten organizations to reduce hierarchies, and seek to enable parental leave, to provide childcare support schedules and to encourage mentoring to develop leaders. Although these are all noteworthy changes and may support individual women, these studies are primarily focused on changing the gender ratio in high-ranking positions in sport organizations. Organizations seem to assume that if such changes are made, gender inequalities will no longer be an issue. Obstacles or issues a woman employee subsequently encounters may be attributed to her as an individual and not to gender (see Connell, 2006 for an example of this dynamic). In addition, (neo-)liberal approaches do not critically examine assumptions, beliefs and ideas about gender that may circulate within sport organizations (see also Aitchison, 2005; Shaw & Frisby, 2006).

Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminists focus on power, privilege and marginalization produced through interrelationships between class and gender, and race and ethnicity, and how these manifest throughout an organization, not just at managerial levels (Benschop & Verloo, 2016). This perspective assumes patriarchal capitalism shapes gender in all layers of the organization and that capitalism often results in the exploitation of women, black and sexual-minority employees who tend to be paid the least and to be found in the lowest levels of the organization and in part-time work. We were unable to find research articles in the three sport management journals named above that used this perspective to examine the conditions under which women and men work in sport organizations. Although this topic has received attention elsewhere, especially with respect to work on sport policies (see for example, Ryan & Martin, 2013; Spaaij, Farquharson, & Marjoribanks, 2015) little attention has been paid in these “big three” sport management journals to the ways sport organizations may be creating, reproducing and challenging material social inequalities.

Possibly this paucity in the use of feminist socialist perspectives may be due to the overall lack of use of neo-Marxist perspectives in research in these journals. Or perhaps the editorial boards of these journals prioritize research that makes use of neo-liberal perspectives that emphasize the individual and ignore wider meso/macro structures and inequalities. Bowers, Greene, and Siegfried (2014) have argued that sport management research currently tends to favour the marketing of sport and related commercial interests. They contend that a prevailing theme in sport management is “let the marketplace be the judge”. The focus of research seems to follow that argument. Kim, Chelladurai, and Kim (2015) found that articles in the *Journal of Sport Management* increasingly focus on market-related issues such as consumer behaviour in sport, compared to the focus at its inception in 1997. Newman (2014) has noted that research in sport management has taken a turn ‘toward privileging deductive, nomothetic and marketable forms of sporting inquiry’ (p. 603). Regardless of this shift in emphasis towards “the marketplace” it is surprising that these journals do not contain research that questions these interests. Possibly the lack of a critical tradition in these journals and/or in the field plays a role in this neglect of socialist feminist perspectives (Amis & Silk, 2005; Frisby, 2005).

Social-Construction Feminism

This feminist approach assumes that gender is not a natural categorization, nor a division based on natural or static sexual differences but is constructed through interactions. Scholarship using social-construction feminist perspectives focuses on interpretations given to daily practices. It assumes masculinity and femininity are constructions and that gender-neutral organizations and gender-neutral definitions of skills and experiences do not exist. This strand of feminist research tends to draw heavily on the work of Connell and/or Acker. Connell (2005) has presented masculinity and femininity as practices that are used to distinguish between women and men. Some practices are more desirable than others in a specific context and the most desirable and valued masculine practices in a setting fall under the rubric “hegemonic masculinity”. Some sport management research has implicitly employed a feminist social-construction approach. For example, Anderson (2009) examined how those working in sport organizations embrace practices that emphasize hegemonic masculinity and in so doing, reproduce exclusion of women. Those who use this approach have also focused on the conflation of men and positions of power with hegemonic masculinity. Whisenant and colleagues (2008) for example, found that hegemonic masculinity restricted women’s access to promotion possibilities for the positions of athletic director at the high school and college level. Similarly, Burton (2015) concluded in her review of literature that focuses on the underrepresentation of women in sport organizations that “hegemonic masculinity serves as an operating principle within sport organizations that restricts women’s access to leadership positions within sport” (p. 157). Interestingly, this focus on hegemonic masculinity in the three journals studied is confined to the *Journal of Sport Management* and *Sport Management Review*. A Google search of the phrase “hegemonic masculinity” in *European Sport Management Quarterly* produced no hits. Possibly hegemonic masculinity is a notion that is more commonly used in the Anglo-Saxon research world than elsewhere or scholars who publish in this area may publish in journals where hegemonic masculinity seems to be an accepted construct. We also note that hegemonic masculinity appears to be a concept that pertains primarily to white coaches since the topic of masculinity is not explicitly addressed when it comes to non-white coaches (see for example, Cunningham, 2010). This is another example of the lack of integration of gender conceptualizations into sport management research that goes beyond the binary women/men.

Other scholars who engage a social-construction analysis have drawn on work by Acker. In her theory of gendered organizations Acker (1990) argues that the image of an ideal employee or leader is not value/gender free but

shaped by contextual practices of femininity and masculinity and as such, produces social inequalities. This social-construction approach has been used frequently in sport management research, especially that which focuses on the underrepresentation of women in high-ranking positions in management and governance of sport organizations. For example, Claringbould and Knoppers (2013) used Acker's approach for a literature review in which they attempt to explain how a complexity of organizational processes such as identity work, interactions, structural divisions of labour and symbolic dimensions or images contribute to the relative lack of women in sport managerial positions. They found that it was not a single process, such as a gendered division of labour, that informed how gender was enacted in sport organizations to make it difficult for women to be appointed to high-ranking positions. Instead these processes interact in various dynamic ways. The (stereotypical) images that women and men held of each other informed how they interacted, how they represented themselves and how they contributed to and legitimated a gendered division of labour that supported the selection of men to managerial and director positions. Such appointments strengthened the image of men as managers that in turn shaped the gendered division of labour for positions of leadership.

Social-construction feminism includes a focus on daily interactions. Martin (2003, 2006) has called for more attention to be paid to social interactions among women and men that lead to constructions of gender within the workplace. Shaw's (2006) study on social processes in sport organizations is an example of how this feminist perspective has been applied to the study of gender in this context. She found for example, that dress codes and the use of humour played an important role in the ways gender was constructed and in challenging those constructions. When in the office, women in one sport organization tended to wear tracksuits while men wore smarter clothes and jackets. This, not surprisingly, created noticeable gender differentiation. In another sport organization discussions about gender equity were frequently trivialized through the use of humour, often at the expense of women (Shaw, 2006).

This work drawing explicitly or implicitly on social-construction feminist perspectives has given insight into processes that serve to exclude and/or marginalize, and reveals more of the complexity of gender in sport organizations. It moves the discussion away from an emphasis on structures and women to focus on cumulative interacting processes. Benschop and Verloo (2016) argue that such analyses tend to focus more on existing conditions, however, rather than exploring and generating ideas that may bring about change.

Poststructural Feminism

Poststructural feminism also assumes reality is socially constructed but that it is constituted by discourses (rather than determining interactions). This emphasis on discourses addresses the political power of knowledge including the “truths” produced in research such as that presented in the management and organization literature. In contrast to social-construction feminism, poststructural feminism challenges the idea of a static gender order by revealing the inherent contradictions of binaries. Poststructural feminism accepts that masculinity and femininity are discursive practices, that is, they are ideas or discourses that have material effects. Poststructural feminism emphasizes, moreover, that the meanings that are attributed to, and (re)produced through gendered practices are always contextual. This approach has been used in the critical (sport) organization and management literature, although the label “feminist” has often been omitted. An exception is work by Palmer and Masters (2010). They use the label “feminist” to point to a crucial aspect of their analysis. They drew on Māori Feminism to investigate the experiences of Māori women sport leaders. Palmer and Masters explored similarities and differences in the ways various constructed gendered and indigenous identities of the respondents intersected. In other words, they did not assume the existence of a universal Māori woman sport leader. Rather, they recognized complex, intersecting experiences that were diverse, fluid and hybrid. Their study is one of the few in these journals that is based on explicit feminist theorizing using poststructural feminism in sport organizations.

Various other examples of an implicit use of poststructural feminism occur in the sport literature. Shaw and Allen (2009), for example, used this approach implicitly when they explored the work experiences of elite women coaches. They found that the experiences of these coaches and their managers were primarily informed by discourses that reflected organizational values. Similarly, Hoerber (2007) deconstructed gender equality as an organizational value in sport organizations and showed how its value was more evident in language and theory than in practice. Hoerber found that although stakeholders in basketball, ice hockey, rugby and swimming placed high value on a discourse of gender equality, when it came to prioritizing its implementation it was subordinated to discourses of performance excellence and revenue generation. Specifically, the stakeholders drew on what might be identified as neo-liberal market-related discourses to defend a lack of implementation of gender-equitable practices.

Feminist Queer Theory

Queer theory is a poststructural approach that focuses on ‘the narratives, identities, relationships, images, discourses and texts’ that are at odds with or marginalized in [sport] organizations ‘by cultural and social regimes of normativity ... [It] problematizes humanist ontologies that essentialise sexuality and gender within binaries such as heterosexual/homosexual, male/female and masculine/feminine’ (Rumens, 2016, p. 4). Queer theory calls for a reconfiguration of what is assumed to be stable and fixed (Benschop & Verloo, 2016). While poststructural theories concentrate more on how individuals negotiate structures they inhabit, queer theory focuses more on the (transgressive) performance of individuals. Whereas poststructural feminism is about transformation of the structure from within, feminist queer theory emphasizes transgressions of power relations. Queer theory tends to focus more on challenging and interrupting normative regimes than describing or explaining them. Queer theorists search for moments or sites where normality, the idea of normal behaviour, and/or categorizations have been inadequate or broken down and have been transgressed. Rudy (2000), in her argument about the need for queer theory, contends that ‘Being queer is not a matter of being gay, then, but rather of being committed to challenging that which is perceived as normal’ (p. 197).

Feminist queer theories assume gender and sexuality are not binaries but are fluid, intersecting and are produced simultaneously (Benschop & Verloo, 2016; Rudy, 2000). Queer theory has been applied in critical management literature (see, for example, Bendl, Fleischmann, & Walenta, 2008 on management; Rumens, 2016 on human resources; Harding, Lee, Ford, & Learmonth, 2011 on leadership) and in critical sport literature (see, for example, Caudwell, 2006; King, 2008; Sykes, 2014). It has however been largely ignored in the three sport management journals that are highlighted in this chapter. Researchers who have addressed lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) issues and published their research in these sport management journals have primarily defined LGBT identities in terms of binaries and as stable categories (e.g. Cunningham, 2011; Melton & Cunningham, 2014). In part, an exploration of a destabilization of identities as suggested by queer theory may be especially difficult in sport organizations, since sport is formally organized on the basis of gender. Inability to engage in such theorizing might also be due to the construction of performance excellence as the core value of sport. This core value is not gender neutral although it may be presented as such. “Playing like a girl” continues to be a pejorative while playing like a boy/man is considered to be a compliment and means someone is performing well (DiCarlo, 2015; Fink, LaVoi, & Newhall, 2015).

This suggests the use of queer theory cannot always be considered to be distinctly feminist since at times it has resulted in the (re-)valorization of masculinity such as aggression and toughness and a devaluation of feminine “traits” such as caring and emotionality, and a lack of conformity to performance norms that are inherently seen as gender neutral (Rudy, 2000). The use of feminist queer theory could point to the need to valorize playing like a girl and explore where such transgressions occur. Use of feminist queer theory in sport management therefore requires a questioning of the normality of prominent discourses in sport such as that of performance excellence and marketplace thinking and how the normality of these discourses is simultaneously gendered and sexualized. There is a great deal of work to be done in this area if feminist theorizing’s goal of heightening critical awareness of ‘possible complicity in gendered power relations’ (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 107) is to be realized. For examples of research outside sport management journals that has attempted to do this, see Birrell and Richter (1987) and Travers (2006). Fink (2016) pointed out how little change there has been in gender diversity in leadership positions in sport organizations and management over the years, despite all the research that has been conducted (see also Newman, 2014; Shaw, Wolfe, & Frisby, 2011). The use of feminist queer theory has the potential to disrupt normalized ways of organizing and managing sport and the dominant discourses in sport organizations.

Discussion

As indicated, the use of feminist theory in sport management research has been relatively minimal. Ahmed (2010) contends that this avoidance of, or resistance to, feminist theory may be due to its inherent critical stance and problematization of the “normal” (and normative) way of managing and organizing. Various calls for increased use of critical scholarship in sport management journals (see for example, Adams & Stevens, 2007; Amis & Silk, 2005; Frisby, 2005; Knoppers, 2016; Newman, 2014) as well as the analysis presented here suggest that the use of critical theories has not been the norm in research in sport management, both now and in its development across previous decades.

Although the use of the word “feminist” and feminist theory seems to be minimal in the top three sport management journals, we have tried to show how such theorizing has been used implicitly. We wonder why authors of articles in these journals have rarely identified their work as feminist. Have we done so to make our work more acceptable to readers or reviewers/editors? What has research on sport organizations lost and gained by doing so?

Do those who write about gender or diversity in sport organizations situate their work explicitly in feminist theories elsewhere but not in sport management journals? This lack of explicit feminist scholarship may have prevented scholars in sport management from creating a solid body of feminist scholarship that can be used to challenge and disrupt normative gendered ways of managing and organizing sport. Perhaps it is time for all scholars who use feminist theorizing implicitly, to name their work as feminist if they want to make clear why they investigate the topics that they do on the basis of feminist principles. We include ourselves as scholars in this appeal.

We do not mean to suggest that a single theory, feminist or otherwise, can completely reflect how those who work in sport organizations experience and/or “do” their work. However, a great deal more work can be done through the use of explicit feminist perspectives (see, for example, Naegler & Salman, 2016; Sang & Glasgow, 2016). Such perspectives could be used to explore, for example, how the production of policies by sport organizations is gendered and to assess the impact of that gendering (see, for example, Bacchi, 2016). A feminist lens should also focus on sport management education and research (see, for example, Pullen, 2016). How does sport management education challenge and reproduce social inequalities? How are “truths” or theories about the management of sport organizations, sport programmes and sport events gendered? The use of other feminist strands such as postcolonial and non-Western scholarship could help destabilize assumptions of the universality of knowledge often made by those who produce scholarship (see, for example, Darnell & Hayhurst, 2013).

Why the need to use feminist theories explicitly? Pullen (2016) in her reflection on the need for feminism to be an integral part of critical management education and to look beyond categorical gender, notes:

Sexism has become more mobile, subtle and revitalized. Feminism enables this sexism to be spoken, challenged and resisted through a critical vocabulary and political movements as well as an interdisciplinary spirit.feminism asks questions that challenge knowledge and theory building that seem to be gender neutral while it excludes. (p. 440)

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Tensions and Future Directions for the Women and Sport Movement

Jordan J.K. Matthews

It is difficult to pinpoint when activism for women and sport first developed. Sport has assumed different characteristics over time and women have negotiated their involvement accordingly (Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield, & Bradley, 2002). For example, the early twentieth century saw the direct challenge by the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale to the patriarchy of competitive, organized sporting contests hosted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Association of Athletics Federation (see Carpentier & Lefèvre, 2006). During the same period in the United States, a growing women's physical education collective argued competition and sport were unladylike and enhanced the skills of an elite few, whereas physical education was deemed feminine appropriate and allowed for mass participation (Park, 2005).

The study of women in sport history is growing, particularly in the UK (see Osborne & Skillen, 2011; Williams, 2014), informed by earlier feminist responses to sport history (Hargreaves, 1994; Vertinsky, 1994). There is greater appreciation of different forms of women's involvement across sport and how sport has been influenced and shaped by women. However, there continues to be a significant lack of critique of how contemporary concerns for women in sport have come to be located as central to sport policy and sport rhetoric. Moreover, there is limited understanding of the role of women activists in these processes. This chapter outlines the origins, developments and outcomes of a

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social movement for women and sport. Particular attention is paid to apparent tensions between actors with different outlooks on how progress for women and sport should and can be achieved. The chapter concludes by identifying some key future directions for the movement.

Social Movements and Postcolonial Feminism

Social movements are important to examine because they constantly shape society and 'are, in themselves, manifestations of social change' (Crossley, 2002, p. 8). However, the conceptualization of a social movement is plagued with complexities. Social movements are diverse in scope and size and are located within and across multiple contexts (Freeman & Johnson, 1999). For some scholars, the focus on what a movement looks like has been of central concern. The result has been the recognition of common elements for social movement development, including: the organization of previously disparate individuals into coordinated forms of activism; the mobilization of resources; interactions with cultural practices and political systems; and acceptance that it is extremely difficult to isolate start- and end-points for movements. Nonetheless, there is widespread scholarly acknowledgement that the 'ultimate end of movements is to bring about change' (Giugni, 1998, p. 373).

Some scholars have focused upon the relationships between networks *within* movements because they consist of people and as such are constantly shifting and renegotiating their own space and identity (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). One example is advances made to scholarship from studies of the women's movement. The majority of social movement research has been male oriented though its patriarchal assumptions have begun to be challenged. For example, generational change within movements has been studied (Taylor, 1989) and women working within institutional structures have challenged structural power in some cases (Krook & Mackay, 2011). It should be noted that commonly, a women's movement is composed of the mobilization and organization of women, whereas a feminist movement aims to challenge women's subordination. This chapter focuses upon examples of feminist-inspired activism to challenge women's subordination in sport. It considers some key moments in the development of a Women and Sport Movement and, significantly, outlines the role and influence of some key individual feminists involved in this work.

In sport, there is an emerging literature focused upon social movements (Harvey, Horne, Safai, Darnell, & Courchesne-O'Neill, 2014), whilst the work of Jennifer Hargreaves (2000) and Ann Hall (1995) continues to be referenced when documenting key organizations and actors involved in activism

for women and sport. Hall (1995) outlined the origins and early developments of four national women-and-sport advocacy organizations in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. Hargreaves (2000) conducted a similar undertaking with international women-and-sport advocacy organizations and considered whether the leaders of the movement—whom she recognized as white, Western and middle-class—were representing women from marginalized and peripheral groups.

Hall's and Hargreaves' work has prompted further analysis and more recently, Matthews (2014) has critically analyzed the origins, development and outcomes of a social movement for women and sport. He conducted an interpretive thematic analysis of documents hosted in the Anita White Foundation International Women and Sport Movement Archive based at the University of Chichester, UK (AWF, 2016). The documents included official publications, minutes of meetings and private correspondence between the predominant national, continental and international women-and-sport organizations of the 1980s and 1990s. These data were combined with semi-structured interviews with 24 personnel who have been central to the development of the movement, and their commentary informs the rest of this chapter.

Social movement literature and postcolonial feminism informed Matthews' (2014) analysis of first, the origins and development of the Women and Sport Movement and, second, his critique of Hargreaves' claims about the dominant demographic of women active in the movement in its formative stages. Non-Western women are frequently homogenized and their voice subsumed within, or even replaced by, a predominant white Western feminist discourse. To counter this, there are calls to listen to and learn from marginal and peripheral groups (Ashcroft, 2001; Connell, 2007; Spivak, 1999). To avoid homogenization of "women" as a group, it is crucial to understand the complexities of the identities involved, and the contexts in which women live. Recently, for example, the participation of four Saudi Arabian women in the Rio 2016 Olympic Games in Brazil (having been involved four years earlier at London 2012) generated significant global media attention. However, 'as of July 2016, women were not allowed to attend or participate in national tournaments or state-organized sports leagues' within Saudi Arabia (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Conflicted messages of enabling and constraining women's involvement demonstrate that difference needs to be encapsulated within an understanding of women's experiences in sport (Hargreaves, 2000).

Postcolonial feminism is arguably central to informing an understanding of difference, and there are challenges when seeking to acknowledge how difference is located and negotiated over time in complex contexts. An ongoing challenge are how stereotypes and assumptions are predicated on homogenizing

dichotomies that run across geography, industry, economics, culture and religion and that do not reflect the fluid nature of context in societies. Connell (2007) concedes, however, that dichotomies do at least inform readers of long-lasting colonial inequalities in power—a rationale for their use in this chapter in highlighting persistent legacies. Dichotomies can demonstrate ‘shifting grounds on which periphery and centre confront each other, with a new level of complexity which defies dualistic or oppositional thinking’ (Braidotti, 2003, p. 208). Some social movement scholars arguing for comparative research to contextualize different societies at different points in time are cognisant of these complexities (Giugni, 1998; Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002).

Social movement literature provides tools and concepts to understand how political environments, resources and organizations interact within societies. For example, this can include how favourable a society may be toward women’s rights and the activism and changes that might occur as a result. When making sense of data on the Women and Sport Movement, postcolonial feminism can be combined with social movement literature to explain the interaction of organizations, institutions, and the politics of activism and difference. For the Women and Sport Movement, this enables an understanding of *why* activism has been white, Western and middle-class dominated because women (and some men) belonging to this demographic were the first to interact with political structures that had become gradually more favourable to their agendas.

Likewise, postcolonial feminism benefits social movement literature by making the reader aware of how key concepts such as resources, political structures and social movement organizations themselves reflect certain discourses and ways of thinking. This helps to explain why activism *continued to be dominated* by the white, Western, middle-class demographic when Hargreaves was writing her critique of the movement in 2000. Only activists in certain areas of the world had the ability to directly (and successfully) challenge dominant social structures in order to address the issues women encounter in and through sport. The relationship between social movement literature and postcolonial feminism helps to contextualize power relations between women-and-sport activists and social structures globally. Using both enables understanding that even though leading movement personnel wanted to achieve greater representation, they did not have the power—whether it be resources such as money or networks, or institutional standing such as dedicated full-time positions—to alleviate criticisms such as those made by Hargreaves (2000) and others. This multi-layered understanding facilitated by the reciprocal relationship between social movement literature and postcolonial feminism helps to demonstrate how white, Western, middle-class discourse did come to dominate the movement, and how

attempts to embrace difference were shackled by broader political environments and resources.

Matthews (2014) critiques the nuances overlooked by Hargreaves (2000) in her argument that the dominant Women and Sport Movement organizations have mobilized, sought resources and developed within the West whilst attempting to speak for the “global”. This critique underpins much of the argument contained within the remainder of this chapter. It also prompts further questions about resources and privilege that are embedded in complex colonial and postcolonial relations but those are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

A Social Movement for Women and Sport

Matthews (2014, p. 103) identifies how the Women and Sport Movement developed from ‘ideologically connected but structurally disparate collectives of people working rationally in order to mobilize resources to affect change for women in sport’. Dorothy Ainsworth held the symbolically powerful position of Director of Physical Education at Smith College, USA and was influential in forming the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) in 1949. She did so with the aid of personal resources and contacts from a myriad of American physical education organizations in existence from the 1890s until the 1940s. Ainsworth strongly believed physical education was functional in its orientations for girls, for it made them ‘a useful, happy and well-balanced person who will accept gracefully the responsibilities and pleasures of her home circle and family life’ (Petersen, 1975, p. 317). However, this attitude toward female involvement in physical activity was soon challenged by a younger generation of women engaging with sport, predominantly in North America during the 1950s–1970s. IAPESGW’s focus on dance and physical education came to be regarded as too conservative by dissatisfied politically oriented women in response to their subordinate experiences within patriarchal structures of sport. These women were based in north-western Europe, North America and Australia and, between the 1970s and the early 1990s, they mobilized to stage major national conferences fuelled by requirements of broader gender equality and sex discrimination acts facilitated by United Nations decree.

For instance, national conferences were highly significant and often led to the formation of national women-and-sport groups. Hall (1995) and Matthews (2014) both provide accounts of how the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS), the Women’s Sport Foundation in the United Kingdom (WSFUK) the Women’s Sports Foundation in the

United States (WSFUS), and WomenSport Australia were formed. The founding and growth of these organizations were all strongly influenced by the ideologies of the people who formed them but also the resources available, how these were utilized, and the different contexts of each country toward women, sport, and women in sport. For example, Billie-Jean King—a multiple grand-slam tennis champion—was critical of the lack of recognition for elite sports-women and in response, helped to form the charity WSFUS in 1975. WSFUS has since become a multi-million dollar organization with strong commercial and corporate influences and has championed the impact of Title IX—federal legislation which ‘prohibits discrimination based on sex in education programs that receive federal money’ (Acosta & Carpenter, 2013, p. iii)—on sport.

By contrast, in 1984 an informal network of women-and-sport researchers in UK higher education institutions met and, after a few meetings, the first WSFUK annual meeting was organized a year later. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, WSFUK engaged in continual power struggles with the challenging political landscape by which sport in the UK was then being governed (Grace, 1995). The organization was indicative of how women-and-sport organizations at a national level may undertake political manoeuvrings and become more institutionalized within the structure of sport with a view to enable change, albeit at the expense of criticisms for depoliticizing their original objectives. For example, broad participation agendas for women and girls that suited government aims were gradually favoured over an original intention to challenge the homophobia that lesbians experienced in sport (Hall, 1995). This was especially true when in 1988, the UK Conservative government introduced Clause 28 which banned any group from advocating homosexuality. Differences between the origins and developments of, for example, American and British social movement organizations can be seen as characteristic of the intricacies involved with mapping a social movement and the dangers of homogenizing women’s experiences.

Throughout the 1980s, governments and organizations were lobbied by activists and groups in recognition that aspects of sport continued to discriminate against women, and thus in turn, against wider social gender equity and sex discrimination laws. The major stimulus for European women and sport advocacy was a Council of Europe seminar at Bisham Abbey, UK, in 1989. Margaret Talbot (1986, 1988) had published research on patriarchal barriers to female involvement in sport and leisure, had been part of the informal network that helped to form WSFUK, and was to become a senior figure in the European women-and-sport network. Reflecting on the Bisham Abbey seminar, Talbot commented that ‘women for the first time realized they were not alone’ (interview with Talbot, 2012). Networks of previously disparate

north-western European women had connected and soon a working group on women and sport was formed within the European Sports Conference. After four years of working within the consultative body, the working group lobbied for its continued existence and was established as a steering group titled European Women and Sport (Matthews, 2014).

During the same period, non-governmental international women-and-sport organizations were being formed. The Women's International Sports Coalition emerged in 1992 in response to the continued conservatism of IAPESGW and as an acknowledgement of the growing politicization of national women-and-sport groups. The coalition brought together 'the different intellectual and political approaches of the national and international organisations in existence at the time in order to create a more active, interventionist stance for women in sport' (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 220). The group suffered from limited resources and soon transformed into WomenSport International, which was officially launched in 1994. The challenges encountered by WomenSport International in attempting to include global expertise and difference will be returned to in the following section.

Like Talbot, Celia Brackenridge had published academic critiques of patriarchy and sport and was another significant figure in the development of WSFUK. Brackenridge articulated a more radical manifesto for change, as her central involvement in the coalition shows. Yet she recognized that 'a number of women from different countries have expressed the view that a network or coalition can only ever achieve an *exchange* of information and views and is too weak to achieve *change*, improvement and transformation' (Brackenridge, 1994a, emphasis in original). She joined four other women in forming WomenSport International which was committed to using research as evidence for addressing issues such as sexual harassment and abuse, the female athlete triad and homophobia in sport. As noted above, this was after a period when national women-and-sport organizations were becoming increasingly institutionalized within sport structures so were less willing to campaign over issues such as those identified by WomenSport International.

The first World Conference on Women and Sport took place in Brighton, UK, in May 1994. The Brighton Conference was titled 'Women, Sport, and the Challenge of Change' and among the 280 attendees from over 80 countries were policy and decision makers, and representatives of major sport organizations and governments from around the globe. The conference resulted in several crucial self-produced resources located within an International Strategy for Women and Sport. This included the Brighton Declaration (IWG, 2016) which, although it had been drafted beforehand, was revised during the conference to become a document of ten guiding principles that has been

universally adopted by governments and sporting organizations to inform positive policy change for women and sport. The principles range from developing participation and enhancing the access to and quality of facilities, to developing programmes and policies for increasing the number of women leaders in sport and working to ensure equity and equality in society and sport. For some countries (especially those in Scandinavia) and activists (interview with Brackenridge, 2011; interview with Hall, 2013), the principles were challenged because they were regarded as too liberal. In other countries, some of the principles were regarded as radical because they confronted assumptions about the role of women (e.g., in leadership). Nevertheless, the Declaration as a whole was supported because it was a key resource that activists could use to lobby those who controlled sport. Although written and produced in the West, at the first Asian conference on women and sport in the Philippines in March 1996, the Brighton Declaration was amended to suit cultural contexts and became the Manila Declaration (although the impact of this Declaration is as yet unknown). The International Strategy would be coordinated and monitored by a working group which had become the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG) later in 1994 (Fasting, Sand, Pike, & Matthews, 2014).

IWG World Conferences on Women and Sport have occurred every four years since Brighton. The secretariat for the IWG has moved in conjunction with the conferences in Windhoek, Namibia (1998), Montreal, Canada (2002), Kumamoto, Japan (2006), Sydney, Australia (2010) and Helsinki, Finland (2014) (Fasting et al., 2014). In 2018, Gaborone, Botswana will host the seventh IWG World Conference. As the conferences have been hosted around the world—with the exception of South America—the growth of continental and regional women-and-sport networks can be seen (Matthews, 2014). For example, the African Women in Sport Association was officially launched at the Windhoek Conference in 1998 from an embryonic meeting of individuals in Brighton four years earlier. Moreover, Japanese attendees at the Windhoek Conference returned home inspired to form Japanese Women and Sport (interview with Ogasawara, 2013). The unintended consequence of these women attending a conference hosted in Africa was the eventual hosting of the 2006 IWG World Conference and the establishment of an Asian network for women and sport.

Throughout the mid-1990s, the IWG and WSI lobbied major sporting and non-sporting organizations to the extent that their activism can be directly traced to three significant resources that influenced engagement with women and sport issues globally, and particularly a liberal emphasis on increased opportunities: the Brighton Declaration; statements within the United Nations Beijing Platform Action; and the Resolutions of the first IOC World

Conference on Women and Sport in 1996 (Matthews, 2014). The political environment for women in sport had significantly shifted. Indeed, the IOC itself had committed to quotas in October 1995, stating that at least a tenth of all leadership roles would be held by women and had also formed a women-and-sport working group in December 1995.

Tracing the causality of the impact of these documents and events is extremely challenging. The endeavour becomes more complex when the plethora of major resolutions and international conference legacies to have been produced since the mid-1990s are taken into account. However, the formation of a number of national and regional women-and-sport organizations to have been recorded since the mid-1990s provides at least some insight into their influence (Matthews, 2012). Much more understanding of these groups, and how their contexts have advanced or constrained activism for women and sport, is required. The following section identifies some of the complexities encountered by those belonging to the dominant demographic in the movement.

Tensions Within the Movement

The development of the movement outlined in the previous section has not been straightforward. There have been tensions and conflicts between individuals and organizations within and outside the Women and Sport Movement, with different ideologies and outlooks on women and sport, and different ideas as to how resources should be utilized. It is pertinent, therefore, to consider the interrelation of politics, feminist ideology and identity experienced by Western women-and-sport organizations and how this came to influence global activism.

Different ideological approaches to initiating change can be seen among those in the movement, which has sometimes resulted in tension and conflict. National women-and-sport organizations founded in the 1980s, such as CAAWS and WSFUK, were based upon radical feminist principles aiming to change the balance of power in sport in favour of women. Ann Hall reflected upon the importance of feminism during the origins of CAAWS:

I remember us having an incredible debate about whether or not it should be called the 'Canadian Association for women *and* sport' or the 'Canadian Association for women *in* sport'. We decided on the 'and sport' and back to our original feminist perspectives that somehow in our naivety we would be able to change sport at the same time we were going to change women in sport, which made it necessary that we call this 'women and sport'. (interview with Hall, 2013)

By having these debates, women were claiming a space in a male-dominated world and acknowledging how feminism and feminists could help make sense of issues in sport (Theberge, 1983). However, social movement scholars have argued that to be successful in achieving change, social movement organizations have to interact with societal institutions such as governments or corporate business because they are central to constantly negotiating political environments (Giugni, 1998; Kriesi, 2004). Indeed, CAAWS' significant progress through the 1980s was facilitated by government sponsorship, and over time, 'women often joked about the "federal udder" on which CAAWS seemed overly dependent' (Lenskyj, 1992, p. 132). This dependency was seen explicitly when a weak economy and the election of a cost-cutting government in Canada meant sport was 'forced down the policy agenda and federal funding was reduced' (Green & Houlihan, 2005, p. 46). CAAWS had to downsize and realign itself within Sport Canada and 'remove all references to feminism from its mission statements and goals' (Hall, 2002, p. 204), despite the fact it had always tried to make 'a serious effort to be both anti-homophobic and lesbian-positive' (Hall, 1995, p. 232).

Interviewees have acknowledged that during the 1980s and 1990s, the word "lesbian" was often regarded as toxic not only for homosexuals but heterosexuals afraid of the label (see Griffin, 1998; Pike & Matthews, 2014). Unlike CAAWS, the WSFUS did not need to directly engage with government because of how sport is controlled and financed in the United States. In 1983, WSFUS organized the New Agenda Conference in Washington, DC which was attended by five hundred leaders in sport. The conference was distinctly focused on change for women in sport in the country and a document titled 'A Blueprint for Change' was produced in response to presentations and discussions. However, the conference has been criticized for silencing the issue of sexuality (Cahn, 1994; Hall, 1995). Carole Oglesby is, at the time of writing, the co-chair of IWG and has been a long-standing American women-and-sport activist and scholar. She had the role of organizing the New Agenda Conference and reflected on the challenges that addressing sexuality caused:

To my knowledge, never had the word 'lesbian' and anything about sexual orientation and sport been dared to be addressed openly in the organisational framework of sport. I spent a year in manoeuvring the programme planning ... I had a chance to make a keynote so we had made an agreement that we would talk about 'homophobia' but not talk about 'lesbians' ... In my keynote I used the word once and I felt like it was sort of claiming the space for this topic area and I felt it was very daring and it actually almost got us into a lot of trouble. (Interview with Oglesby, 2012)

Oglesby (2012) had to sensitively balance relationships between supporters of the conference, who included corporate and United States Olympic Committee personnel who were uneasy about such a topic, researchers pushing for greater acknowledgement of the issue, and WSFUS members on both sides of the argument. Marjorie Snyder has long been involved with the development of WSFUS, including being an interim CEO twice. She believed people 'were afraid as this was a time when women's sport was just coming into its own and that if they were to decide on an issue that was so polarising, it would be to the detriment of the entire movement'. Moreover, Billie-Jean King had recently revealed her homosexuality, 'yet no one was talking about that, it was like it didn't happen' (interview with Snyder, 2013).

Thus, women-and-sport organizations have often had to temper their original objectives to work with more conservative governmental and corporate forms of power. This crucial contextual understanding is benefitted by social movement literature. The institutionalism of formally radical feminist organizations has been critiqued (Hall, 1995, 1996) and counter-critiqued (Matthews, 2014) as necessary in order to instigate change in society. By gradually working with those in control of sport, sport can be changed in favour of women's experiences. This is a gradual, generational process laced with a radical agenda (Matthews, 2014; Pike & Matthews, 2014).

The response to the politicization of women-and-sport activism *within* the movement itself, especially the degree to which it has been achieved, has also resulted in tension. The previous section explained how WomenSport International was launched before the Brighton Conference in 1994. Directly after Brighton, a series of meetings related to the International Strategy resulted in the formation of the IWG. During these meetings, WomenSport International was positioned as the organization that would address radical issues such as abuse and harassment of women in sport. In doing so, a "pincer movement" was drafted. The IWG consisted of predominantly Western government-backed officials. WomenSport International was the emerging international women-and-sport non-governmental organization and consisted of four hardworking white Western women with extensive scholarly backgrounds. These were women who could capitalize on their positions of relative power and they made genuine attempts to connect with scholars around the world, but quite often due to resources, language and/or failure in communication to certain areas of the world, such partnerships could not be formed. The pincer movement was about applying pressure from different angles on international sporting organizations about advancing women and sport issues.

Brackenridge (1994b) acknowledged the advantages of the different compositions of social movement organizations for leveraging change, remarking

that she was “convinced” that the diversity of the idea was useful and the liberal and radical activity within the pincer movement ‘can bring benefits for women in sport’. Privately however, Elizabeth Darlison (1994), the Co-president of WomenSport Australia and executive vice-president of WomenSport International, bemoaned the overtly government-driven, top-heavy approach throughout the meetings as ‘unrepresentative of women generally’. Instead, she argued that WomenSport International’s idea of a structure of task forces built around an advisory board, but with the power of an executive board, was ‘a very effective mechanism for real representation and involvement’. The task forces were to be populated by experts from countries ‘where that particular problem is located—far better than a “let us show you how to fix it approach”—after all what is best practice in one country is not necessarily so in another’. It is clear Darlison (1994) is aware of the assumptions that result when women are falsely homogenized (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995; Spivak, 1999). She sought to ensure that WomenSport International could work with many different and influential women from various countries. She continued: ‘I would hate to think that we were once again placing ourselves in the situation where a small group of middle-class feminists, albeit some of them black, decide what was best for the rest of the women and girls in the world’ (Darlison, 1994).

All of the social movement organizations identified in this chapter were dominated by white, Western women, but during the 1990s, these were women with the resources and power to interact with dominant sport and governmental structures which themselves were reacting to a shifting context favourable to “women” and “women in sport”. Moreover, some of these groups also had the resources and political opportunities to be able to establish communication with more global contacts for women and sport than ever before. WomenSport International was an example of an organization whose personnel wanted to achieve greater representation, especially after realizing the diversity of women in attendance at the Brighton Conference. But they did not have the power or resources to be able to *sustain* such links. Hargreaves (2000) acknowledges such attempts but fails to recognize the efforts involved in creating such connections.

The will to acknowledge different experiences was suppressed by the characteristics of the social movement organization. WomenSport International had depleted resources and, despite translation assistance, struggled to communicate with contacts developing activism in their own countries. In contrast, the IWG was growing in prominence as its representatives had governmental support to visit Africa, the Middle East and South America. Moreover, because the Brighton Declaration was tied to the IWG, it worked to enforce legitimacy for the group.

Somewhat ironically, the identities of the women in these groups have been homogenized by academic critique of their form of activism, when in fact there was a great variety of expertise. This has included an awareness of the political systems within which they were working, often whilst negotiating varying calls for further feminist influence with a greater acknowledgement of identity issues for women in sport.

Future Directions

Scholars continue to identify future trends for women and sport generally (Hall & Oglesby, 2016; Pfister, 2010) and this final section considers the future for women-and-sport activism. Three points are outlined: future activists, the diversification of activism, and research and awareness.

Future Activists

The majority of the generation of women who advanced women-and-sport debates throughout the 1980s and 1990s are reducing their activism for various reasons, including age and personal circumstances. Nevertheless, some senior activists continue to have a great influence on the movement. The IWG 2010 and 2014 World Conferences included an acknowledgement that a younger generation is required to replace and carry on the work previously undertaken. However, the cohesive nature of those so central to the movement has been because they have lived its development; they formed the organizations that exist today. In keeping with poststructural analyses, the fragmentation and multiplicity of such networks is somewhat inevitable, so as newer activists enter the space, they may find it harder to forge as strong connections within the movement as their foremothers.

However, networks continue to emerge and develop around the world and, somewhat in opposition to the previous paragraph, new connections may be formed in response to issues from within the movement. In late 2016, an African Women and Sport Conference was hosted in Botswana as a precursor to the 2018 IWG World Conference. The 2016 conference was significant because, upon personal reflection, it was fascinating to experience the vocal criticisms aimed at the African Women in Sport Association. Formed in 1998 at the IWG World Conference in Windhoek, the Association has been controlled by a small Namibian executive ever since. The 2016 conference attendees made it very clear that they thought the Association had stagnated, failed

to embrace technological communication advances, and was self-serving rather than being representative of all African women. A new generation of activists look to be guiding the Association henceforth.

Other mechanisms such as leadership programmes are also working to create global networks of women who work in sport (as other chapters in this volume indicate). This chapter has identified critique of the white, Western base of the movement. Yet as opportunities for women around the world are enhanced and sports organizations continue to (albeit gradually) recognize the importance and value of women's experiences, there will be growth of women-and-sport organizations and networks which will embrace the advance and lobby for further change. The Women and Sport Movement was formed in the West but its future is much more global as the intention to avoid 'grand erasure' of non-Western knowledge and to counter the homogenization of women continues (Connell, 2007, p. 45). The political environments favouring women and sport are gradually expanding thanks to activists working together and sharing expertise emanating from diverse forms of activism.

The Diversification of Activism

As women advance in sport at different levels around the world, activism is diversifying. This chapter has predominantly focused on organizational activism. There are a plethora of protests, programmes, interest groups, government committees, events, research teams/centres, charities, social media fora, magazines and individuals undertaking a myriad of activism related to sport and non-sport angles (health, education, equality and development, for example) around the world. Although this can be celebrated as a strength, such disparate action may also be a hindrance to the movement.

For example, as of 2016 in the UK there exist Women In Sport (formerly WSFUK), the Women's Sport Trust and the Muslim Women's Sport Foundation. In addition to these organizations there is a dedicated All-Party Parliamentary Group on Women and Sport, separate Women and Sport Conferences predominantly based on increasing participation and involvement, preliminary discussions around the formation of an academic network focused on women-and-sport issues, and a plethora of social media websites and online magazines and forums born predominantly in response to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. All of these agents focus on a particular feature of women's involvement in sport, which is fuel for the movement's overall goal of change for women in sport. However, it is clear that this work enjoys little of the coordination required for maximum effectiveness, such as cataloguing and collating

expertise and good practice. There are inevitable elements of crossover and competition for the finite resources available by groups premised on different feminist approaches. And from personal experience, the inclusion of and attempts to engage men remain lacklustre.

Research and Awareness

Research and evidence-based guidance for policy have been key resources utilized by those within the Women and Sport Movement. There continues to be regular research published on the range of issues that women and girls encounter in sport and physical activity. However, activists and researchers themselves should look ahead to the unintended consequences of greater female involvement. For example, as more women participate in professional sport, greater attention should be paid to the support offered to retiring elite-level female athletes and the pressures involved in being a role model (Fasting et al., 2014). The benefits and consequences of the United Nations (2015, p. 11) recognizing 'the growing contribution of sport ... and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people' within the Sustainable Development Goals, and how women and girls will continue to form a central component to sport for development programmes, also needs to be fully understood.

There is also need for a greater understanding and awareness of women and sport globally. Postcolonial feminism and social movement literature can be used to unpack the multiple contexts, complexities and identities that have impacted upon activism in non-Western countries over time (see Benn, Pfister, & Jawad, 2011). This endeavour will help the movement to move away from its Western base and application of good practice examples *onto* the non-West toward, instead, learning *from* the non-West in order to advance the activism of the movement more generally. This would inform part of the agenda for change that Hargreaves (2000) alluded to in her earlier critique but that must also be informed by a greater understanding of the Women and Sport Movement that is detailed here and elsewhere (Matthews, 2014; Pike & Matthews, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the origins and developments of the major organizations that form part of a social movement for women and sport. Examples of feminist-informed activism illustrate how individuals and organizations

have worked to enable change for women and sport. Social movement literature helps contextualize how change has occurred in different forms, and postcolonial feminism helps to make sense of why change has been predominantly white, Western middle-class oriented. However, both postcolonial feminism and social movement literature allow an understanding of how structures, contexts and activism have attempted, albeit not always successfully, to counteract the homogenization of women. The interrelations of politics, identity and feminist ideology have fuelled the advance of the movement but have also constrained its development. The majority of work undertaken on the movement has focused on its Western origins and development into the marginalized areas of the world. Going forward, the movement needs to learn from previous interactions with feminism and also engage with the growth of women's relationship with sport and physical activity globally. A consequence for the movement will be grappling with the diversification of activism and making sure that finite resources available are not competed for but are targeted cooperatively, echoing a consistency with the reciprocal tenets of feminism. Feminism needs to take on postcolonial critique if it is truly going to be able to represent and advocate for different women around the globe.

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Theme 2

**Feminist Epistemologies,
Methodologies and Method**

Feminist Epistemologies, Methodologies and Method

Belinda Wheaton, Beccy Watson,
Louise Mansfield, and Jayne Caudwell

There has been a long-standing debate about what makes research feminist. While methods themselves are not inherently gendered, feminists agree on the need for feminist questions to infuse all parts of the research process. One fundamental tenet in early debate about feminist research and epistemological standpoints was that feminist research constitutes research done ‘*by* women, *for* women’ (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 30) and, ‘where possible, with women’ (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006, p. 40). However, while the idea that there is a ‘distinctly feminist mode of enquiry’ (Maynard, 1994, p. 10) seems to be widely agreed on, what this might involve is less clear. For example, whereas for many there is a commitment to praxis or to creating social change, others are more concerned with critiquing dominant forms of knowing (see, e.g., Kelly, Burton, & Regan, 1994). Underpinning and complicating this question of a specifically feminist approach is an understanding or awareness of the relationship between methodology (the theory and analysis of how research is approached

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and proceeds), method (the techniques we use) and epistemology (ways of knowing and what counts as knowledge). And so, for example, early feminist research criticized quantitative methods as contrary to feminism's epistemological basis (Maynard, 1994; Westmarland, 2001). However, increasingly a range of feminist epistemological stances have been advocated and adopted which provide the basis of feminist "truth" claims (Abbott & Wallane, 1997; Harding, 1991; Maynard, 1994) and alternative knowledges (see Barbour and Beal chapters). It is beyond our scope here to give a detailed explanation of these ongoing debates about the characteristics of feminist research; rather our intention is to alert the reader to this complex picture and the issues that underpin it.

The eight chapters in this section of the book address through a feminist lens these various parts of the messy process we call research methodology, from the questions we ask, to the approaches we take, the ways in which we use our research, and to the wider epistemological, ontological, theoretical and ethical questions that underpin the process. Questions about what makes research feminist are taken up by most of the chapters in this section, but are considered most extensively in Karen Barbour's opening chapter, in which she offers an extensive discussion of feminist epistemologies and ways of knowing. Barbour discusses how her own attempts to understand and develop alternative embodied ways of knowing, and of producing knowledges, was informed by phenomenology and her (autoethnographically documented) experiences as a dancer.

While all the authors have a commitment to qualitative research, the chapters cover a range of methods and procedures. Authors discuss methods including: ethnography (Beal, Olive); autoethnography (Throsby, Barbour); media analysis (Bruce and Antunovic); autobiographies (Stewart); and participatory techniques and blogging (Bundon). It is not a "how to do" guide to qualitative methods; however, many of the chapters do reveal the practical and methodological difficulties of using these methods, along with an assessment of their benefits. The contexts for research discussed in this section are broad-ranging, including recreational leisure and sports settings (e.g., dance, swimming, surfing), competitive sporting pursuits (e.g., cycling), to digital/online media environments. Some chapters focus on one case study (e.g., Stewart) others use a range of research projects and contexts (e.g., Barbour, Beal, Watson).

Several chapters provide case studies of a particular method and how a feminist sensibility can inform the methodology to ensure women's knowledges and experiences are centred. For instance, Becky Beal explores how feminist ethnographers often intend to destabilize relations of power as a means to

create more choice and opportunities for women and girls. She focuses on the theoretical and ontological underpinnings that shape different feminist ethnographies, comparing two strands that have been dominant in the sport/leisure/PE fields, namely critical theories and post-structuralist theories. Beal reveals how different theoretical assumptions impact the nature of questions asked, how information is assessed and used to make knowledge claims, and strategies for social and political change.

Karen Throsby suggests that autoethnography has been particularly useful for female athlete-researchers seeking to make visible the often overlooked experiences of pleasure and physicality that are conventionally treated as antithetical to femininity. Throsby explores the ways in which autoethnography aligns with wider feminist concerns. Her chapter documents some of the valuable and creative ways feminist researchers have used autoethnographies to think and speak differently about women's embodied experiences (see also Barbour) in a domain so normatively defined by masculinity.

Intersectionality has been at the heart of feminist debates about difference, particularly emerging from black feminist critiques of feminist theory and practice. Yet as Beccy Watson's chapter explores, empirical research that engages with intersectionality and difference in lived contexts is challenging. She explores what "thinking intersectionally" means for developing methodological practice in feminist leisure and sport scholarship. While highlighting the potential in this approach, her chapter also discusses the challenges, particularly when conducting interviews or using observational methods in lived contexts.

Rebecca Olive also exposes how feminist politics and ethics infuse and drive methodologies (in her case ethnographic), as well as the output of research. She explores the ways her feminist cultural studies research approach offered her opportunities to engage in "un/intentional pedagogies" in the fields of her research, (recreational female surfers) and to contribute to changes in attitudes about, and opportunities for these women.

Authors also consider feminist approaches in newly evolving research contexts such as new media environments (Bruce and Antunovic) and blogging (Bundon), highlighting the potential for using online spaces and tools to do research that is more collaborative and also inclusive of diverse communities. Toni Bruce and Dunja Antunovic highlight some of the implications of the shift to online media environments for feminist media methodologies and activism. Andrea Bundon locates blogging within the broader context of participatory action research (PAR), which involves making a commitment to doing research that exposes the way power operates in and through the process, and research practice that seeks to redistribute power more equitably by providing participants with meaningful roles in the research process. Bundon sug-

gests that blogs can provide a way to include individuals who have been excluded from other forms of political engagement. Lastly, while autobiographies of sportswomen are relatively rare, Carly Stewart advocates their value, demonstrating that sports autobiographies are a neglected but valuable resource for the purposes of feminist scholarship in sport, allowing for a nuanced analysis of contemporary feminist theories and praxis.

Long-standing and core pillars of feminist research emerge across these chapters, including: making the research process visible; debates about researcher reflexivity; positionality and standpoint of the researchers (e.g., Beal, Throsby, Watson); the ethical relationships between research and participants (e.g., Olive); a rejection of 'the authorial invisibility of conventional realist academic writing'; trying to connect with the reader in alternative ways (e.g., Throsby, Olive); and highlighting the power relations and silences exposed through the process. Throsby also emphasizes some of the gendered dimensions of the academic publishing process. She highlights how using methodologies like auto-ethnography, which have been criticized as 'solipsistic, self-indulgent and emotional' (Throsby, this volume) entails particular risks that can easily attach to them in profoundly gendered ways.

Inevitably there are many gaps and absences. As the other themes of this handbook exemplify, the methods that have been, and are currently being fruitfully implemented by feminists in sport, leisure and physical education are much wider-ranging than discussed in this section. Of particular note are life histories and narrative approaches, such as Frank's (2010) socio-narratology approach to storytelling, digital ethnographies and sensory methodologies. While early feminist research criticized quantitative methods as contrary to feminism's epistemological basis (Westmarland, 2001), in contemporary research contexts (e.g., public health) quantitative methods are being included if they can produce knowledges that are of value for women's lives and support social change. As feminist researchers we must be attentive to methodological developments, both "new" methodologies and "old" methodologies in *new* contexts. We must ask in what ways our research practices are complicit in re-establishing gendered (and other) boundaries and hierarchies; or conversely how they may foster new ways to challenge and disrupt existing "truths" of gendered embodiment and power.

Feminist have certainly become increasingly aware of the need to engage with difference—in their methodologies (Hill Collins, 1986) as well as theories and epistemologies (see Watson chapter). Yet this is an area where in this collection, reflecting the fields of sport, leisure and physical education more widely, we remain lacking. In her insightful book *Decolonizing Methodologies*,

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) discusses how, from an indigenous perspective, the very term “research” is inextricably linked to ‘European imperialism and colonialism’ (1). She reminds us that research is never ‘an innocent or distinct academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions’ (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 5). There are particular ethical, cultural, personal and political issues that present difficulties for (differently positioned) indigenous researchers. But most significant for this collection is the need to deconstruct our Western scholarship, and to reveal feminist indigenous perspectives, protocols and methodologies (see, for example, Vicky Paraschak’s research, e.g., Paraschak and Thompson, 2014). In this vein Kaupapa Māori research in New Zealand is well developed in areas such as education, health and well-being (Smith, 2000), but still limited in physical activity and sport (Raima Hippolite & Bruce, 2013).

When indigenous people become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms. (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 196)

Thus as Olesen (2011) argues, knowledge remains *the* dominant theme in feminist research, opening up questions such as: whose knowledges do we consider; where are our knowledges obtained; from whom; and how will they be used? These remain fundamental questions for feminist methodologies in sport, leisure and physical education.

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Embodied Ways of Knowing: Revisiting Feminist Epistemology

Karen Barbour

Introduction

Feminist scholarship developed a focus on articulating women's ways of knowing and validating women's different experiences. Reading key scholars Liz Stanley and Sue Wise's (1990) substantial work on feminist praxis, I took seriously the argument that epistemology should be understood broadly as addressing the questions 'who can be a "knower", what can be known, what constitutes and validates "knowledge", and what the relationship is or should be between knowing and being' (Stanley & Wise, 1990, p. 26). The focus of my feminist interest in epistemology thus began with my attempt to understand my role as knower, and to contribute to the development of multiple and alternative "knowledges". Occupying the margins as a dancer in academia, and also the margins of feminist research in sport, leisure and physical activity, I have nevertheless found a role in articulating embodied ways of knowing.

My intention in this chapter is to review key critiques of Western epistemology and dualistic ontology, and to discuss feminist epistemologies. These (now historical) key critiques informed the development of more recent scholarship and contributed to new feminist and phenomenological understandings of embodiment and embodied ways of knowing.¹ Ultimately, my intention is to advocate for and provide an example of feminist theorizing through embodiment as a dancer that may offer insights to other embodied practitioners in sport, leisure and physical activity.

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Western Epistemology

The term epistemology has been broadly used to refer to the theory of knowledge, the nature of knowing and understanding (Code, 1991; Jagger & Bordo, 1989; Stanley & Wise, 1990). In traditional Western philosophy, epistemology has been a transcendent, neutral pursuit, establishing the truth of knowledge claims about the objective world (Code, 1991; Jagger & Bordo, 1989). Much of the basis of Western epistemology originated in the Enlightenment period, developed into the Cartesian tradition and took the task of epistemology to be ‘to identify a method by which individual investigators may best use their faculties to gain knowledge of the objective structure of reality’ (Jagger & Bordo, 1989, p. 3).

Within Western contexts, “knowledge” was defined as this information gained through reason, which was the method of knowing (Code, 1991). Western reason required that a statement or knowledge claim be evaluated against objective standards and criteria to determine its truth. Statements that could be proved true could be accepted as fact, and as objective, universal knowledge. “Knowing” utilized both inductive and deductive reasoning as the reliable and valid methods to draw conclusions about truth claims. “Knowers” were neutral, rational and independent subjects—discoverers of truth in a world accessible through reason (Code, 1991; Flax, 1993). The pursuit of objective knowledge required a neutral subject, and therefore the differences between individual knowers were to be overcome (Jagger & Bordo, 1989).

Alongside these epistemological assumptions, and aim for objective and universal truth, sat a dualistic ontology that constituted the basis of Western knowledge (Stanley & Wise, 1990; Warren, 1996). This dualistic ontology can be traced back to the work of ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle,² and is evident in the work of philosophers Descartes and Kant³ (Stanley, 1990). These underlying dualisms included knowledge/experience, mind/body, object/subject, culture/nature, reason/emotion, thought/sensation, public/private, and universal/particular⁴ (Beauvoir, 1972; Grosz, 1994; Weiss, 1999). This dualistic ontology was accepted within Western knowledge and not considered problematic until feminist critique in the twentieth century (Beauvoir, 1972, 2010; Jagger & Bordo, 1989). Feminists argued that ‘these dualisms are overlaid by gender; only the first of each pair is associated with the male’ (Hartsok, 1983, p. 297). Consequently, Western knowledge was revealed as based on a dualistic ontology that privileged men and associated qualities, and utilized a logic of domination which resulted in the assumption that men were superior to women, and that knowledge and mind were superior to experience and body (Code, 1991; Warren, 1996).

Feminist Challenges to Western Knowledge

Feminism is the name for the multitude of perspectives of women who have been concerned to critique what counts as knowledge, what knowledge counts, and who can know (Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; Reinharz, 1992). Central to many feminist perspectives has been an argument that the epistemological project to articulate neutral, objective and transcendent knowledge has privileged the understandings of dominant Western white men (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule 1986; Gatens, 1995; Grosz, 1994). Thus, the claim that Western “knowledge” is not gender neutral is central to feminisms (Beauvoir 1972, 2010; Jagger & Bordo, 1989). However, a simple resolution to the dominance of dualistic ontology, the overwhelming bias of knowledge, and the exclusion of body and experience, has not been easily realizable.

Feminists saw that what was required was not simply the addition of women’s understandings into “knowledge”, but also a reconstruction and acceptance of multiple “knowledges” (Davion, 1994). Articulation of women’s lived experiences was especially important as women sought to reconstruct knowledge, power and authority in relation to their different experiences. The feminist slogan “the personal is the political” indicated recognition that the individual experiences of women could be understood as socio-culturally and politically contextual (Mills, 1997). Sara Mills commented that ‘those problems which many women once considered to be their fault ... have come to be seen ... as problems which are structural and therefore political’ (1997, p. 79). The particular experiences of an individual woman thus determine her priorities for feminist action and her interests in specific feminist theories.

Feminist Epistemology

While there has been debate between feminists about whether there can be feminist epistemology (Code, 1991; Harding & Hintikka, 1983; Jagger & Bordo, 1989), it certainly seemed important that epistemology be more broadly understood than merely as rational thinking and cognition. For me, epistemology is about thinking differently about how I know, and about understanding knowledge in my specific context, evaluating it on its own terms and in relation to myself as a knower (Goldberger, Tarule, Clinchy, & Belenky, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1990).

Feminist critiques revealed masculine bias and the constructed nature of knowledge. Because the beliefs, practices and experiences of individual

women and people other than white Western men had been left out of dominant “knowledge”, some feminists described “knowledge” as alienated from its context (Stanley, 1990). Such ‘epistemologies that cannot account for women’s experiences, and/or that denigrate their experiential knowledge have to be displaced’ (Code, 1991, p. 251)— reconceived entirely by revealing and reshaping underlying assumptions (Keller & Grontkowski, 1983). Feminists have thus argued that gender and individual identity are significant in the process of becoming a subject and a knower (Flax, 1993). Being a subject or knower entails multiplicity and diversity, and recognition of the ways in which socio-cultural, political, historical and embodied differences structure the knower (Hawkesworth, 1989). While the individual woman is contextualized, ‘she none the less exists as a thinking, feeling subject and social agent, capable of resistance and innovations produced out of the clash between contradictory subject positions and practices’ (Weedon, 1987, p. 125). Subjectivity thus can be redefined as constructed and socially produced rather than totally biologically determined. Conceived this way, subjectivity is incomplete, heterogeneous (Flax, 1993) and constantly shifting. The “subject” is thus an unstable, fragmented and fluid notion, rather than a single and unified identity constant over time.

Rather than only occurring through reasoning of a neutral subject, knowing can occur through experiencing. In this sense, knowing is a practice rather than simply a method of deductive and inductive reasoning. Feminists understood knowledges as conventional rather than transcendent, and as based on the ‘judgements of a community of fallible inquirers’ (Harding & Hintikka, 1983; Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 549). As Code defined it ‘knowledge is an intersubjective product constructed within communal practices of acknowledgment, correction and critique’ (1991, p. 224). Recognition of different knowledges, alternative ways of knowing and the relevance of the particular knower, is crucial from a feminist perspective. In recognizing difference, knowledge may be grounded in lived experiences and built out of the experiences of many different people.

Thus, the feminist challenge to Western epistemology has been to reveal the constructed nature and male bias of “knowledge”, to recreate “knowledges” to include multiple perspectives, and to validate women as knowers. Feminist researchers, including Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger and Jill Tarule (1986), undertook research specifically on women’s ways of knowing.

Women's Ways of Knowing

Beginning from the premise that much of the work on ways of knowing has focused on the experiences of white Western men, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) undertook extensive interviewing with many different American women to listen to their experiences and to understand their epistemological assumptions. The authors were able to articulate five epistemological positions or strategies that characterized the women in their study (Goldberger et al., 1996). They were careful to point out that the positions they outlined were not universal, fixed or exhaustive, and not necessarily exclusive to women (Belenky et al., 1986). They also acknowledged that these positions 'cannot adequately capture the complexities and uniqueness of an individual woman's thought and life' (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 15). They offered five epistemological strategies, summarized as follows:

1. Silence—woman experiences herself as mindless and voiceless, dependent on external authority.
2. Received knowledge—woman conceives of herself as capable of receiving and possibly reproducing knowledge from authority, but not of creating her own.
3. Subjective knowledge—woman conceives of truth and knowledge as personal, private and subjectively known or intuitive.
4. Procedural knowledge—woman is learning and applying outside procedures for accessing and communicating knowledge.
5. Constructed knowledge—woman views all knowledge as contextual and experiences herself as creator of knowledge, valuing both her own and objective strategies for knowing. (Belenky et al., 1986)

Belenky et al. (1986, p. 133) commented that the 'quest for self and voice' was a central motivation in the transformation women experienced in developing their ways of knowing. As a result, many feminists (Goldberger, 1996) have understood the epistemological positions as a developmental scheme,⁵ although later research framed them more clearly as epistemological strategies from which women might select.

The articulation of constructed knowing (the fifth epistemological position) resonated for me with feminist creative and emancipatory agendas, in the sense that women who attempted to integrate their own and other voices 'had learned the profound lesson that even the most ordinary human being is engaged in the construction of knowledge' (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 133).

The authors suggested that women came to constructed knowledge ‘as an effort to reclaim the self by attempting to integrate knowledge they felt intuitively was important with knowledge they had learned from others’ (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 143). Such women were characterized by self-reflectiveness and self-awareness, a high tolerance of ambiguity, awareness of the inevitability of conflict, attempts to deal with the rich complexity of life as a whole and the desire to share their knowledge in their own way. Belenky et al. suggested that

Once knowers assume the general relativity of knowledge, that their frame of reference matters and that they can construct and reconstruct frames of reference, they feel responsible for examining, questioning, and developing the systems that they will use for constructing knowledge. (1986, pp. 138–139)

Such knowers asked questions about the nature of knowledge, assessing ‘the appropriateness and utility of a particular way of knowing given the moment, situation, cultural and political imperatives, and relational and ethical ramifications’ (Goldberger, 1996, p. 356). They became ‘passionate’ knowers, ‘weaving their passions and intellectual life’ together (Belenky et al., 1986, p. 141; Goldberger, 1996).

There were valuable critiques by feminists of these women’s ways of knowing, such as the need to avoid essentializing women’s knowing, the potential misrepresentation of the multiplicity of women’s knowing by white educated feminists, the potential slide into subjective relativism, and the value of women’s ways of knowing as a developmental scheme (Code, 1991; Goldberger et al., 1996). However, as Goldberger commented, ‘When context is factored into the study of knowing, one begins to see the advantages of thinking of five categories as strategies for knowing (rather than person types)’ (1996, p. 362). Individuals might then choose and use different strategies depending on their personal contextual requirements.

Belenky et al. (1986) have also been criticized for assuming that the women they studied were fixed, unitary subjects who were capable of giving authentic reports about their knowing (Code, 1991). However, by commenting on the knower’s many alternative strategies for knowing, Belenky et al. (1986) reveal that she is open to shifts and radical changes in how she knows and what she knows. She has no “authentic” voice, or alternatively, her voice is “authentic” in as much as any voice ever could be. The subject cannot be a fixed and unitary one, as Belenky et al. (1986) described the women in their study, if they are also open to constant epistemological shifts and changes.

Continuing this research, Nancy Goldberger (1996) and Elizabeth Debold, Deborah Tolman, and Lyn Brown (1996), began investigation into bodily

ways of knowing and knowledge. They were interested in knowledge that was grounded in bodily experiences, sensations and cues. Such knowledge was seen as rich, complex and non-propositional, and potentially avoided reinscribing the knowledge/experience and mind/body dualisms (Goldberger, 1996). Bodily knowing has been explored by others seeking to share women's sensory lived experiences in movement, as I will discuss below. However, before I offer any discussion of bodily and embodied knowing, I review some understandings of experience developed in phenomenology.

Phenomenological and Feminist Understandings of Movement Experience

Within the many theoretical perspectives of Western thinking, phenomenology was one approach that recognized experience as a way that individuals come to know: a "touchstone" of knowledge (Grosz, 1994; Nettleton & Watson, 1998). Phenomenology offered an "attitude" or orientation of paying attention to the world as lived and experienced, and this attitude offered the basis for an epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, method or a combination of these (Allen-Collinson, 2011). Within phenomenological writing, the work of Simone de Beauvoir (1972, 2010) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964a, 1964b) were particularly relevant in offering gendered and situated understandings of lived experience. While phenomenology has remained a marginalized perspective, likely due to its focus on lived body and lived experience, it offers

an epistemology and a descriptive method that resonate with many central feminist theoretical concerns: it eschews rationalism and objectifying mind-body dualism, and instead invites a focus on embodied, situated, immediate and often more affective forms of experience. (Kruks, 2014, p. 76)

Phenomenologist Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (1999) contributed a great deal to understanding the experience of movement and bodily knowing. She developed Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1964a) phenomenological work significantly, arguing for the primacy of movement over the primacy of perception. She commented that perception results from movement, and thus movement was 'the originating ground of our sense-makings' (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999, p. 161). Sheets-Johnstone (1999) argued that humans learn about themselves and others initially through moving—by attending to bodily sensations of movement, rather than by looking and seeing what is moving. Movement is experienced through the kinesthetic sense, providing the individual with information about

space, time, movement and objects, and their relationship to these things, as it changes in the moment (Stinson, 1995). The kinesthetic sense is fundamental to knowledge of what we are, to our basic understanding of the world, and our ability to move knowledgeably in the world (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999). In this sense, movement experience is of profound epistemological significance (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999). Sheets-Johnstone writes

A dynamically attuned body that knows the world and makes its way within it kinetically is thoughtfully attuned to the variable qualia of both its own movement and the movement of things in its surrounding world—to forceful, swift, slow, straight, swerving, flaccid, tense, sudden, up, down and much more. Caught up in an adult world, we easily lose sight of movement and of our fundamental capacity to thinking in movement. Any time we care to turn our attention to it, however, there it is. (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999, pp. 516–517)

Sheets-Johnstone offered particularly influential description and theorizing of dance improvisation as thinking in movement in which there is no separation between thinking and doing, and between sensing and moving (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999; first published in 1966). Sheets-Johnstone (1999) stimulated further phenomenological and feminist scholarship, particularly in dance (including Albright, 1997; Barbour, 2002, 2011a; Fraleigh, 1987; Stinson, 1995).

A significant phenomenologist in women's movement, Iris Marion Young (1980) drew on Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964a) and feminist Simone de Beauvoir (1972) to develop an understanding of women's lived bodily experience. Young wished to articulate the specifics of women's lived movement experience and embodiment, something feminists had noted that Merleau-Ponty did not do (Grosz, 1994). Young focused on movement experiences aimed at achieving specific tasks, such as 'throwing like a girl', and outlined basic modalities of feminine body comportment (Young, 1980). She argued that a common experience of many Western women involved being both a subject for herself and an object. This kind of experience meant that women often tended to mediate their actions by imagining how they appeared as objects to others, at the same time that they also experienced their actions as intentional subjects (Weiss, 1999; Young, 1980). Such experiences resulted in a kind of discontinuity between a woman's intention as a subject undertaking a task and her action as an object that she saw from an external perspective.

According to Young (1980), feminine bodily experience was: intentionally inhibited (by perception of her own inability to achieve the task undertaken); ambiguously transcendent (by concentrating on her action in one part of the

body while the rest remained uninvolved); and had a discontinuous unity (by breaking her connection between intention and action, between possibility and actual bodily achievement). Women thus did not utilize their full spatial and lateral movement potential (Young, 1980). Young concluded her comments by stating that 'An essential part of the situation of being a woman is that of living with the ever-present possibility that one will be gazed upon as a mere body, as shape and flesh that presents itself as the potential object of another subject's intentions and manipulations, rather than as a living manifestation of action and intention' (1998a, p. 270). Young's work set the precedent for feminist study of women's movement experiences separately from those of men (1980, 1998b) and offered a basis from which to research women's sport, dance, leisure and physical activity. For example, Young's work (1980, 1998b) was extended in research on women's dance (Albright, 1997; Barbour, 2002, 2011a) and climbing (Chisholm, 2008).

In researching women's contemporary dance, Ann Cooper Albright (1997) had applied Young's work to analyzing particular artists, arguing that some dancers were able to expand the norms of feminine movement by demonstrating clear directed energy, clarity of weight, spatial intention and movement flow. According to Albright (1997), such dancing was responsive, enduring, able to accommodate change and could offer a more profound experience for an audience. While based on other women's lived experiences, this analysis provided inspiration for my phenomenological research into my own and other women's lived experiences as solo dancers. A further inspiration was Young's (1998b) criticism of her own work in which she suggested beginning with acknowledging that often multiple things happen at once for many women; beginning with multiplicity rather than singularity. My improvisational practices and choreographic strategies in solo dance had allowed me to develop movement that had multiple intentions; to develop kinesthetic empathy with my experiences through the use of everyday, pedestrian and gestural movement; to subvert and resist expectations of the dancer; to challenge or change stereotypical feminine movement and movement qualities; and ultimately, to be an embodied expression of my lived experience (Barbour, 2002, 2011a). Thus, multiplicity was a feature of my movement.

I also valued the way in which dance-making processes and performances allowed me to be both receptive and responsive to my lived experiences. I aimed to receive and integrate information from multiple sources, including moment-to-moment changes and understandings developed during performing, audience responses, events in my life, and choreographed movement (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999). I then aimed to respond to these multiple sources in whatever manner I felt appropriate in the given moment. I had the opportunity

to improvise, adapt and respond, both thinking *in* and *about* movement as I danced (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999). Instead of experiencing inhibited, partially expressive movement and feeling disconnection between my intention and action as described in Young's modalities of feminine movement, and instead of only creating a fixed singular plan, finding control and developing singular intention (1980, 1998a), I experienced multiplicity in intention, and receptivity and responsiveness in dancing. As I was thinking in movement, I experienced alternative modalities of feminine movement to those proposed in Young's analysis (Barbour, 2002, 2011b). My feminist narratives of experience intersected with phenomenological descriptions and auto-ethnographic representations of movement.

In a different movement context, Dianne Chisholm's (2008) analysis of 'climbing like a girl' offered a descriptive and insightful example of phenomenological and feminist theorizing. Chisholm critiqued Young's early work (Young, 1980), arguing that her 'focus on feminine motility and spatiality precludes analysis of how girls and women can and do embody free movement despite masculine domination' in contemporary life (2008, p. 11). She draws attention to the evolving social-cultural contexts in which women now move, arguing that Young's analysis of feminine bodily movement as intentionally inhibited, ambiguously transcendent and discontinuous is no longer typical (2008). Drawing on interviews with and the autobiography of free climber Lynn Hills (2002), Chisholm argues that women may develop alternative modalities of feminine movement involving reach, coordination, flow, freedom and synesthesia, both as an "ascent" within climbing and as a feminist way of moving in the world (Chisholm, 2008). Hill's writing offers a rich example of a woman who 'habituates her body to dancing on rock with a full-body reach and a flowing choreography of moves that extend her direction of her intention over thousands of vertical feet', illustrating how 'women can, by cultivating the body's full and free movement, surmount the gender limits of their situation' (Chisholm, 2008, p. 35). Chisholm's (2008) analysis of Hill's (2002) lived experiences as a feminist and phenomenologist supports understandings of women's movement in climbing. Albright's (1997), Chisholm's (2008) and my own analyses (Barbour, 2002, 2011a) draw richly descriptive accounts of movement experiences together with feminist and phenomenological theorizing by Beauvoir (1972), Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964a) and Young (1980), to contribute new understandings of women's lived movement experiences.

Other feminist and phenomenological research in lived movement experience has emerged more recently and is exemplified in the work of Jacquelyn Allen-Collinson on long-distance running (2008, 2011) and Jayne Caudwell on rowing (2014). Both are interested in "mundane" and repetitive movement

within their own everyday lived experiences in their specific contexts. Acknowledging women's vulnerability to harassment in public spaces as part of her socio-cultural and political context, Allen-Collinson writes: 'My running in public space is thus lived and felt at the individual, subjective level, but is also deeply structurally-shaped by my difficulty, as a woman, in securing "an undisputed right" to occupy that space' (2011, p. 308). Allen-Collinson's descriptions illustrate her auto-phenomenographic approach to her lived experiences of everyday distance running (2011). Caudwell (2014) describes the pleasures of rowing, weaving rich phenomenological descriptions with theory in auto-ethnography that evokes her experience on the page as she seeks to understand the role of repetitive movement in women's mental health:

sustained rows on a rowing machine are not dull and unsensual, they are polydimensional affairs and my pleasures are embodied, sensate and visceral. The flows of bodily movement require, despite their habitual and repetitive nature, open possibilities for the aesthetic, incandescent, reflexive and rhythmic. My curvilinear mundane motion becomes ambivalent, fluid and labile. The ordinariness of this repetitive physical activity is punctuated by flows of enjoyment and satisfaction. (2014, pp. 6–7)

Both Allen-Collinson (2008, 2011) and Caudwell (2014) offer phenomenological descriptions of women's lived experiences that attest to the different ways in which women move through the world, and engage with expanding theory and representational methods in feminist research. In this sense, these authors build upon the project begun by Beauvoir (1972, 2010) in deliberately contextualizing feminist theorizing in women's lived experiences.

Feminist and phenomenological research has validated investigating women's lived movement experiences as a method of gaining knowledge, and to which understandings of the lived body and embodiment are intimately tied.

Feminist Understandings of Mind/Body and Embodiment

Feminist critiques of mind/body dualism aimed to refigure the body at the centre of understandings of subjectivity and knowing. Like Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964a), Elizabeth Grosz worked with the phenomenological notion of a lived body, as opposed to a corpse. She argued that 'philosophy has established itself on a profound somatophobia' (1994, p. 5) and aimed instead to develop an alternative understanding of bodily subjectivity. Development of

alternative understandings of bodies engaged a number of key feminists (Bigwood, 1991; Braidotti, 1994; Grosz, 1994; Irigaray, 1985; Young, 1980, 1998a), as well as more recent scholars.⁶

Elizabeth Grosz argued that bodies not only had ‘all the explanatory power of minds’, but they also immediately drew attention to the question of gender, and other markings of race and age (1994, p. vii). Grosz continued: ‘There are always only specific types of body, concrete in their determinations, with a particular sex, race, and physiognomy’ (1994, p. 19). Thus, the specifics of difference are central to understanding individuals. Difference has to do both with the corporeal aspects of an individual, and with the ‘manner in which culture marks bodies and creates specific conditions in which they live and recreate themselves’ (Gatens, 1995, p. 71). The body is continually both in the process of being shaped by social practices, and at the same time, the means by which we are able to express our resistance to socio-cultural and bodily norms (Bigwood, 1991; Braidotti, 1994; Gatens, 1995). Such lived bodies strain at the seams of socio-cultural and biological fabric, being unstable and open to change; always in a process of becoming, rather than existing as a fixed entity (Albright, 1997; Diprose 1994/1995; Grosz, 1994; Weiss, 1999). Detailed feminist understandings of lived bodies in their specific instances revealed the effects both of cultural construction and of corporeality.

Feminist attention to the specificity of different individuals and to particular lived bodies (Braidotti, 1994; Flax, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Nettleton & Watson, 1998; Weiss, 1999) aligned with phenomenological understandings that every person is uniquely embodied and that embodiment is the existential condition of being a person (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Embodiment neither refers exclusively to, nor privileges natural/corporeal or cultural/social understandings. This is an experientially grounded view of an embodied person, as ‘from this viewpoint, meaning inheres in our bodily behaviours and its gestural significance rather than being the product of some prior disembodied “Cogito”’ (Williams & Bendelow, 1998, p. 8). This view requires recognition that to be a person, you are necessarily only able to exist and to know anything, as a result of being embodied.

From my perspective, embodiment incorporates many things as one: a person’s biological (somatic), intellectual, emotional, bodily, artistic and spiritual experience, within their cultural and geographical location. Embodiment is not completely arbitrary—it includes recognition of individual difference in terms of race, gender, sexuality, ability, history and culture. “Embodiment” thus indicates the holistic experiencing, living subject and avoids the tendency to reinscribe the biological/cultural distinction.

Embodied Ways of Knowing

These feminist critiques of dominant Western knowledge provided the basis for new foci on alternative feminist “knowledges”, and by prioritizing lived experience and embodiment, feminists began to fulfil the potential of the “personal as the political”. In drawing these feminist endeavours together, I use the phrase “embodied ways of knowing” to indicate my alternative understandings of “knowledge” and “body”. Just as embodiment acknowledges individual differences as a result of socio-cultural and corporeal aspects and location, embodied ways of knowing incorporates individual differences in knowing also. Individual embodied differences are not denied in the pursuit of knowledge or the quest for self, but are brought to the forefront, and gender differences are central.

Developing the work of Belenky et al. (1986), I offered this possible sixth epistemological strategy:

6. Embodied knowledge—woman views all knowledge as contextual and embodied. She experiences herself as creator of, and as embodying knowledge, valuing her own experiential ways of knowing and reconciling these with other strategies for knowing, as she lives her life.

An individual woman using an embodied way of knowing attempts to understand knowledges as constructed (Belenky et al., 1986), and further, as something that she embodies; that she experiences and lives. She attempts to integrate the knowledges that she feels intuitively are important with what she has learned from others, and with a conscious awareness of how she embodies these knowledges. She aims to weave knowledges together with her passions, experiences and individuality. For an individual woman using an embodied knowledge strategy, living with alternative understandings to dominant knowledge will likely create challenges and tensions that she will have to resolve throughout her life. Resolutions will not come only through rationalization or intuition, but through embodying and living out the possibilities. In living out the possibilities, she will necessarily come to discard knowledge that is not liveable.

Using an embodied knowing strategy, I theorized that a feminist might resist and deconstruct dominant and oppressive stereotypes of femininity, recreating herself differently as she lives out the possibilities. I used the word “recreating” to indicate the process by which a woman might use embodied ways of knowing to creatively adapt personal beliefs and behaviours in order to resolve the

tensions inherent in being a woman in a patriarchal context (Barbour, 2002, 2004, 2011a, 2011b). This may well be a lifelong feminist process. Interrogation of her own daily behaviour and movement, her moral and political commitments, her spiritual beliefs, her artistic practice, her employment choices, her relationships with other individuals, with dominant Western culture and her geographical environment, will involve a high degree of sensitivity and scepticism. In her recreations of herself as a woman, she will experience intellectual, spiritual, artistic, physical and emotional tensions arising from her alternative perspectives and practices of femininity. She will need to be articulate and compassionate in her embodied expression of her recreated self. And she will need extraordinary passion and commitment to live out her solutions. This, I suggest, is an embodied way of knowing herself as a woman.

In the context of my own research in embodied ways of knowing in dance, I have considered feminist choreographic practices in dance making. This immersion in the lived experience of dancing has led to recreations of practice for both live performance and for digital dance making, and also within improvisational dance practices. Immersion in the somatic, sensory-embodied experiences of dance have also offered opportunities to reconsider how I teach movement.

It seemed to me that a creative and artistic sensibility would be invaluable in embodied ways of knowing. In particular, a greater level of sensitivity to personal experience, and relationships with others and the world would be crucial. Particular artistic and movement practices and life choices might allow an individual to enhance her sensitivity and cultivate more sustainable relationships with others and with local environments. For these reasons, I think individual women may have unique alternative possibilities for recreations of femininity in their lives, and a broader range of embodied expressive strategies than are offered in traditional Western epistemology.

The research literature on women's movement not only draws on the sharing of rich phenomenological and feminist first-person descriptions of lived experience, but also engages creatively with narratives, poetry, auto-phenomenography, auto-ethnography and performance. To paraphrase Simone de Beauvoir (1972), creative representations (in literature, performance and/or research) offer the opportunity to reflect on personal experiences, share empathetically in the experiences of another and to experience another's truth as one's own—an epistemological enactment of "the personal as the political".

Summary

With reference to a range of feminist writers who have critiqued and deconstructed Western “knowledge” and dualisms, I have explored some historical critiques and key understandings of women’s ways of knowing and embodiment. My exploration led me to articulate the possibilities for understanding ways of “knowing” more broadly than simply as “reasoning”, reflecting the research of Belenky et al. (1986) and Goldberger et al. (1996), and phenomenologists Young (1980, 1998a) and Sheets-Johnstone (1999). Exploring feminist understandings of embodiment, my interests turned to articulating embodied ways of knowing. Investigating women’s lived movement experiences, I have argued that feminist, phenomenological and embodied perspectives and methodologies are appropriate. I suggested that embodied ways of knowing are invaluable to feminists throughout their lifetimes. How such embodied ways of knowing play out in our everyday lives as active women may thus be a focus for future creative research within the fields of dance, sport, leisure and physical activity.

Notes

1. Portions of this chapter are based upon my doctoral research (Barbour, 2002) and published works (Barbour, 2004, 2011a, 2011b) re-used with permission.
2. Plato lived 428–348 BC and Aristotle lived 384–322 BC (Allen, 1966).
3. Rene Descartes lived 1596–1650 (Descartes, 1968) and Immanuel Kant lived 1724–1804 (Scruton, 1982).
4. These dualisms are debated at length in feminist literature.
5. For discussion about women’s ways of knowing as a developmental scheme, see Code (1991).
6. The feminists here represent a range of feminist perspectives and each offered a slightly different understanding of body. I adapted understandings as relevant.

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Feminist Ethnographies in Sport and Leisure

Becky Beal

This chapter intends to provide the reader with an orientation to feminist ethnographies in sport and leisure by highlighting key similarities and some significant differences in the more contemporary theoretical strands. Although ethnographies share similar techniques for gathering information such as interviews, observations and document analysis, this is not a “how to do” methods chapter that discusses these type of practices. Instead, the focus is on the theoretical underpinnings that shape different feminist ethnographies. Researchers who claim a feminist perspective not only focus on gender relations, but also intend to challenge power dynamics to expand women’s choices and enhance their well-being. Thus, this chapter focuses on the different ontological assumptions these theories espouse about power, the self and social change. These different theoretical assumptions impact the nature of questions asked, how information is assessed and used to make knowledge claims, and strategies for social change.

A brief review of feminism and ethnography will initially be given to address the common ground shared by most research. This discussion will be followed by a description of how critical theories and poststructural theories influence feminist ethnographies. Although feminist ethnographers have incorporated other theoretical frameworks, these two specific theoretical strands have had a strong presence in the sport and leisure literature as they raise crucial concerns about how inequitable gender relations are (re)produced and the concomitant strategies of change. The chapter will conclude by addressing the centrality of

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reflexive practices for addressing the role of power as an integral part of the research process and subsequent claims of knowledge. Further discussion also pertains to the different types of reflexivity practised which highlight various social dynamics between researchers and participants.

Feminism

Feminist inquiry is a response to a long history of women being devalued as both the object of research and as capable researchers (Birrell, 2002; Harding, 1991; Lather, 2007). In this respect, females' voices, either as the subject or as the producer of knowledge, were silenced or marginalized. The goal of feminism is to centre the lives and knowledges of females as important and valid (hooks, 1984). It challenges the assumption that maleness is the norm, and that a male perspective is a neutral and objective point of view. Therefore, working directly with women to uncover their worldviews is essential, as one primary goal of feminist research is to validate women's perspectives and ways of knowing. Often feminist researchers intentionally examine these new meanings as ways in which social justice strategies can be pursued. As Hesse-Biber (2012, p. 3, italics in original) notes, 'Feminist research *disrupts* traditional ways of knowing to create rich new meanings'. MacDonald et al. (2002, p. 145) conclude, 'feminists are united in their attempt to unpack the taken-for-granted assumptions about gender and empower women by improving their social standing or circumstance'.

Feminism(s) in sport and leisure have a much longer history than I can cover here (see Hall, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Visweswaran, 1997). Yet, I do want to acknowledge some key strands and tensions that have evolved since the "second wave" of feminism (mid-twentieth century).¹ One of the key shifts was a move away from a universal notion of womanhood to conceptualizing the diversity of women's identities. This shift elicited a focus on how individuals embody multiple positions (e.g., race, class, gender identities) and how those are always contextually bound. This shift coincides with the reconceptualization of two related issues: (1) the ontological definitions of social reality; and (2) the operation of power. This shift was largely provoked through feminists' engagement with ethnic-minority feminist, post-structural and post-colonial theories. Examples to illustrate these shifts will be given below. Notwithstanding the variations in feminisms, however, Pillow and Mayo (2012, p. 188) affirm the ongoing significance of feminist work:

at present feminism and feminist theory remains the only lens that specifically names and is reflexive about the politics and problematics of gender and that offers a means of analysis of the complicated ways gender, race, sexuality, class and embodiment are distinct yet intertwined in dominant structures of power.

This chapter draws on the notion that strands within feminist inquiry have a productive tension that challenge and inform each other to remain relevant to examining gender identities and relations.

Ethnographies and Ontological Positions

The goal of ethnography is to examine the social relations and cultural meanings of a particular group of people. The common methods involve becoming immersed with the group of people under study by doing extended observations, or becoming more actively engaged with a group as a “participant-observer”, and taking into account symbol systems and how meanings are circulated, taken up or challenged, such as how various forms of media are created, distributed and read (Atkinson, 1990; Beal, 2002; Hammersley, 1992; Sands, 2002). Thus, ethnographers spend a lot of time in the field—or in spaces where they can observe the processes by which meanings, “truths” and relationships are developed.

Some ethnographers have come from a positivist or more scientific assumption about what constitutes reality and how we come to know that. The assumption is that social reality is objective, context independent and separate from one’s perception of it. In these cases, the researchers take measures to ensure that they are not letting their bias interfere and often use validation standards similar to sciences such as reliability and generalizability. But this approach has been significantly challenged as upholding a “modernist” ideology and even colonial relations, where dominant relations are reproduced, where the researcher not only has the power to represent “truth” but in such a way that objectifies the participants (Joseph, 2013).

Currently, it is more common that ethnographers use philosophical underpinnings based in social constructionism (that social truths and relations are constructed by people, meanings generated through research are co-created by researcher and participants) which challenges the scientific assumption that there is only one legitimate or “objective” version of cultural life that scientific methods can uncover. Gannon and Davies (2012, p. 72) describe many ethnographers’ scepticism ‘of realist social scientific approaches that claim to describe real worlds, which are taken to exist independently of researcher’s observations and their subjects’. Thus for most feminist ethnographers, the assumption is

that how we know and create meaning is a subjective process that shifts depending on context. While some feminist ethnography is primarily about documenting how women interpret and construct meanings in their lives, others work more explicitly to understand power dynamics.

Feminism that has been influenced by critical or poststructural theories directly engages in an analysis of power. The remainder of the chapter will discuss the different ontological assumptions about power, the self and social change from these two different theoretical camps. These different assumptions impact the type of questions asked, the means of social change and the ways of representing research.

Critical Theories and Feminist Ethnography²

Critical theories, including such influences as the Frankfurt school, Gramsci's concept of hegemony and feminist standpoint, focus on how dominant groups maintain their dominance, especially with regard to the production of knowledge. In particular, critical theory sees power as a form of manipulation. Dominant groups are positioned in the socio-economic landscape to have more access to resources which, in turn, enables their knowledge claims to gain currency and "justify" inequities. For example, if scientists explain that men are more naturally inclined toward athletic activities then it becomes understandable that women do not participate at the same rates—and perhaps policy aimed at equity is scientifically unfeasible. Similarly, if physical education teachers consistently use "heterosexy" females to model appropriate skills for their classes, then certain gendered bodies become privileged over others, creating practices of exclusion.

Importantly, critical theorists aim to promote social change. They believe that people have some degree of individual agency, some power to counteract the dominant groups' knowledges and positions. One social change strategy is to demystify the "objective" or "neutral" position of the dominant group. This is frequently done by empowering marginal groups to find and trust in their own "voices". These ways of seeing and knowing have the potential to destabilize current power structures and shift social relations toward equity and inclusion (see Gannon & Davies, 2012, MacDonald et al., 2002). Therefore, critical theorists aim to help people see through the façade and take action to be full citizens with equal rights. This is similar to what leisure studies researcher Diana Parry (2014, p. 352) envisions for a "feminist social justice" research in that it 'seeks to build confidence in women and other marginalized people so that they can speak up, be heard, and create change'.

In this way, power is seen primarily as structural, a social position that gives different groups of people varying degrees of access to resources. Structural relations of in/ex-clusion are seen as a “real” or “objective” power dynamic that exists independently of any one individual. Some groups of people, including women, are even described as being outside the power structure, as being excluded (Collins & Kay, 2003). Critical theorists examine mechanisms or barriers of exclusion. The intention here is that once ideologies or practices are identified as barriers, then people can “logically” create policy to eradicate these barriers. Examples of this type of research are given below. This latter notion of social change is based on an assumption that humans can change their worlds by using critical and rational thought. Thus, agency or empowerment is grounded in the modernist notion of humans as having stable “selves”, ones that are independent and rational.

Within sport and leisure research, critical feminists often investigate barriers to girls’ or women’s involvement as participants or administrators. For example, Cooky (2009) was interested in examining why discrepancies in participation rates persist even though laws in the United States have created more opportunities for girls to take part. She drew on Giddens’s concept of structuration, where agency and structure are mutually constitutive, to describe the social processes constructing both interest and opportunities in sport. She spent four months in the field, interviewing participants and staff, observing practices and games, and even helping out when staff was shorthanded to examine the social dynamics at two Los Angeles recreation centres. She found stark differences in the actions of the staff at each centre. She concluded that the recreational centre workers’ attitudes and relations, such as consistent outreach, scheduling and staffing, impacted the type and degree of commitment the staff had for girls to participate which, in turn, influenced the girls’ commitment to and enjoyment of sport. The implication is that adults who are in charge of recreational opportunities have an impact not just in creating access to programmes but in developing girls’ interest in participating in sport.

Also situated in critical feminist perspective is feminist standpoint theory, which was initially heavily influenced by critical theories and emerged in the 1970s (Harding, 2004). Fundamentally, this theory links power with knowledge: that is, one’s political location impacts one’s knowledge. Feminist standpoint theorists argue that women hold a marginalized power position that affects the ways in which they navigate and make sense of the world. As such, those who do not share their standpoint (in particular, men) are less likely to share the same political vantage point. Feminist standpoint theorists see it as central to uncover subjugated knowledge in order to understand how oppression operates. From this, awareness grows about how knowledge is politicized;

this view implies that subjugated knowledge will be a source of liberation. Within this tradition, there have been variations, including the notion that ethnic-minority women will have different standpoints from white women (e.g., Patricia Hill Collins, 1999; bell hooks). Under this shift from “universal” woman to differently politically positioned women, feminist standpoint theory acknowledges that there are multiplicities of standpoints yet see power as connected to structural relations.

Several sport and leisure researchers have used standpoint theory in conjunction with participatory action research to directly include the participants in developing strategies for change. Wendy Frisby and her colleagues have been involved in feminist participatory action research for over a decade to enhance recreational opportunities for low-income women in Canada (e.g., Frisby, 2011; Ponc & Frisby, 2010; Reid, Frisby, & Ponc 2002). Their work is an example of the feminist commitment to including the voices and subjugated knowledges of women in order to create social change. ‘Our research project explored what physical inactivity and social isolation meant to a diverse group of low-income women including single mothers, older women, recent immigrant women, and women with disabilities’ (Frisby, Reid & Ponc, 2007, p. 122). In the first years of their project they created a group called WOAW (Women Organizing Activities for Women) that consisted of the participants, the researchers and other community stakeholders. This group met regularly to discuss barriers to participation and to develop more inclusive policies. In various iterations, they continue to bring the insights of WOAW to formal sport policy makers (Frisby, 2011).

Victoria Paraschak is a critical feminist ethnographer who has focused her work on Aboriginal Canadians’ sport and recreation for over three decades. Some of this work has also engaged women in participatory action research. Similar to Frisby, she believes it is integral to bring in the knowledge of women in order to address power and create strategies for change. She describes the focus of that research as being ‘to discuss the place and importance of sport in their lives, and to identify and analyze the mechanisms and conditions that enable and constrain their ability to contribute to sport development’ (Paraschak & Forsyth, 2010, p. 157).

When critical feminists represent their research, they acknowledge that information generated from the research is socially constructed and contextually bound. In this way, they do not adhere to the “realist” assumptions that an objective description and analysis of particular women’s lives can be generated. Instead they identify the structural power differences within the research field and identify their positionality within the research process. Additionally, they account for what they choose to highlight in their research, which usually

informs an agenda of challenging patriarchy and other structural forms of oppression. Paraschak (2013, p. 84) clearly articulates her positionality and explains how she attends to the types of knowledge claims she makes:

I would add that the process of ethnographic analysis—the contextual accounting of the cultural practices of a group of individuals—is inherently relational, and has unequal relations embedded within it. Only those whose lives are being described can accurately provide insider knowledge about their lived realities. They, as well, are the individuals impacted by those realities on a daily basis. Meanwhile, researchers who write and speak about these lived realities have a different type of power—the power of interpretation, the power to socially construct through their telling those aspects of the lived realities they deem to be worthy of the tale. As the researcher, I acknowledge responsibility for being the filter who decides ‘what counts.’ And what I think ‘counts’ is the empowerment of those I work with, so that they may more fully shape their own lives and understandings.

Poststructuralism and Feminist Ethnography

Poststructural theories, including Foucauldian, post-colonial and queer theories, have different ontological assumptions about power, the self and social change from critical theories. These different assumptions impact the type of questions asked, the means of social change and the ways of representing research. Before giving examples of some poststructural ethnography, a brief overview of those assumptions will be given.

Traditional critical feminist theories view power as opportunity structures where women are on the outside and struggle to attain positions of power. Post-structuralism assumes that power is embodied in everyone, thus one cannot be separate from or outside power. In this manner, everyone is implicated in creating relationships of power. Foucault’s notion of discourse is particularly important in this regard. According to MacDonald et al. (2002, p. 143) discourse refers to ‘systems of beliefs and values that produce particular social practices and social relations’. Importantly, discourses are not “objects” but processes by which identities and power relations are formed. Because discourses are processes that everyone is involved in, power is seen as more diffuse, fluid and contextually bound (see Markula & Silk, 2011).

The concept of discourse also informs post-structuralist assumptions of the self. Again, one’s self does not exist outside discourses, and thus there is no “objective” or “fixed” self, but one that is developed by drawing upon different available discourses. One only comes to know oneself in context and through

use of discourses. Thus, like power, one's self is fluid and contextually bound. Gannon and Davies (2012, p. 74) describe the dynamic of power and self as such: 'subjects are always constituted in power relations: they are neither prior to nor apart from them, nor can they be delivered from them'. For post-structuralist feminists, notably Foucauldians, the research focus is to examine the processes of subjectification, or to examine what discourses are used, and in what ways, to create different gendered selves.

With respect to social change, the goal is to promote a critical reflection on the types of discourses that are currently structuring one's subjectivity. Although humans are never outside these discourses, post-structuralism affords humans some agency to understand that reality is fluid, contextualized and socially constructed. 'Agency, in such a definition, comes from the freedom to recognize multiple readings such that no discursive practice, or positioning within it by powerful others, can capture and control one's identity. Agency is never autonomy in the sense of being an individual standing outside social structure and process' (Pavlidis & Olive, 2014, p. 223). Markula (2004, p. 308) further notes: 'Through this interrogation of the limits of one's subjectivity, the possibility of transgression emerges and thus, the potential for creating new types of subjective experiences'. One prominent social change strategy is to critique dominant discourses that rely on binary categories such as male/female, straight/gay, white/black, as a way to challenge mutually exclusive and "fixed" power relations. To deconstruct those categories affords the opportunity to reconfigure discourses. As Pavlidis and Olive (2014, p. 227) suggest, 'the importance of recognizing multiple readings lies in the opportunities inherent for creating alternative femininities that are not inferiorized to masculinities'. Jayne Caudwell, a feminist ethnographer who has employed poststructural and queer theory for two decades, makes a convincing argument about the need for post-structural work in sport:

In fact, most sport is premised on dimorphic sex and the notion that sex difference is 'natural,' stable, and fixed. It is this acceptance of sex as pre-given and pre-discursive that continues to uphold the notion of the sex/gender distinction. I problematize the idea that sex is 'natural' and pre-discursive. I argue that, like gender and sexuality, it is regulated and formulated in order to propel a system that operates to make legitimate, and exclude, particular sporting bodies. (2003, p. 384)

Several feminist ethnographers have used post-structuralism to identify dominant discourses and their influences of gendered subjectivities and their concomitant power relations. Additionally, they have sought to identify the moments when alternative discourses were used to create different and, perhaps,

more enabling discourses. For example, Pirrko Markula has been applying poststructural analysis to fitness and, in particular, women's subjectivities within the fitness field, for over two decades (see Markula & Pringle, 2006). She has looked at the Foucauldian notion of how discourses "discipline" the body in ways that constitute women as 'firm but shapely, fit but sexy, strong but thin' (Markula, 1995). She found that women were not completely duped into achieving these feminine bodily ideals but, instead, employed some agency while still negotiating with these dominant discourses to do personally meaningful exercise. More recently (2004), she has used Foucault's concept of "technologies of the self" to examine when and how women initiate challenges to dominant gendered discourses. She concludes: 'Any fitness form through which the participants can problematize the dominant discursive construction of gender and actively reconstruct their selves can transgress the limitations of the "natural" (feminine) identity' (Markula, 2004, p. 319).

Caroline Fusco (2012, p. 155) has been using queer theory and cultural geography to examine sport and leisure spaces for two decades. In particular she asks 'questions about how such a space serves to (re)produce (hetero)normativity through discursive and material practices'. When researching a locker-room space Fusco used both traditional ethnography methods such as interviews, observations and participation as well as documenting space through photographs. Her goal was to identify how normative gender and sexual subjectivities are constructed through the discourses that were circulating in the locker room. In particular, she wanted to problematize how those discourses were developed at the expense of non-normative practices (Fusco, 2012, p. 160). Many who use post-structuralism challenge the assumption that there is only one legitimate gender discourse in order to create space for social change; Fusco, too, aimed to break down dominant discourses that create gender/sex binaries 'in order to subvert their privileged positions' (Fusco, 2012, p. 157).

Social change from a poststructural position is then seen as one in which different discourses are created, allowing for different ways of being where, perhaps, a multitude of gendered subjectivities are legitimated. This is different from critical feminism, which sees social change as fundamentally about structural issues of access to resources and decision-making positions, rather than radical re-conception of the gendered selves.

Crucially, when poststructural feminists represent the findings of their research, they acknowledge that they are limited by their own localized subjective position within specific discursive networks. Because of this, it is difficult to claim any universal or objective knowledge. Instead, Gannon and Davies (2012, p. 66, *italics original*) suggest that

objectivity must be carefully rethought. An account from these perspectives is always situated. It is an account from somewhere, and some time, and some one, written for some purpose and with a particular audience in mind. It is always therefore a partial and particular account, an account that has its own power to produce new ways of seeing and that should always be open to contestation.

For Fusco (2012, pp. 160–161) this means that, ‘A researcher, then, has to be comfortable despite the use of multiple methods with a sense of incompleteness, the subsequent need for continual deconstruction, and the complicity of their critique’.

Reflexivity and Feminist Ethnographies

As revealed above, both critical feminism and poststructural feminism place power as central to their work. Because of this, reflexivity, or the critical awareness of how power impacts the whole research process and representation of information is central to feminist ethnography. It is important to acknowledge how the researcher is in a position of power to claim that they “know the truth” and can accurately represent the people and cultural dynamics of those whom they research. Practising reflexivity helps the researcher to examine how their own position might privilege certain types of explanations while leaving out others. Belinda Wheaton (2002, p. 247) discusses reflexivity, in part, as understanding how knowledge is produced in context which requires ‘seeing validity as a process shaped by culture, ideology, gender and language’. Significantly, reflexivity requires the researcher to examine their own subjectivities from which they can claim to represent or know those whom they are researching. Simultaneously, the researcher is to be acutely aware of how their subjectivities influence their relationships with the research participants and, thus, the research process. Therefore, an ongoing reflection and negotiation of relationships is central to the reflexive process. As Pillow and Mayo (2012, p. 190) note, ‘feminist ethnography begins from a different place from traditional ethnography, a place that questions the power, authority, and subjectivity of the researcher as it questions the purpose of the research’. Although reflexive practices are now more common in ethnography, feminist ethnographers continue to push the boundaries of how researchers practice reflexivity and how that impacts the construction of knowledge.

Several feminist ethnographers have discussed how their own subjective positions change throughout the research process. In their reflections, they acknowledge that the traditional notion of being an “insider” or “outsider” to the research field is limiting. For one reason, it tends to create a binary that

privileges “insider” knowledge as more legitimate. Wheaton (2002) notes how this binary is consistent with a positivist assumption that being “too close” to the participants would impact the researcher’s objectivity. Instead, she contends that researchers take on many roles (not simply either/or) during the course of the research. Kath Woodward (2008) follows Wheaton’s argument in that the binary misrepresents the multiplicity of positioning people have. For example, she discusses her own positioning as an older female researcher in the male-dominated field of boxing and that she has various subjectivities such as “maternal figure” or “neutral outsider”. Pavlidis and Olive (2014, p. 228) also agree that the researcher’s position changes, which impacts the research process; they reinforce the importance of taking those shifting positions into account: ‘important because it acknowledges that subject positions change over time, are not static, can take different forms and vantage points, and that understanding and experiences are relational—that is, our perspectives are often partial, subjective and contradictory’.

Olive and Thorpe (2011) discuss some reflexive strategies to help navigate uncomfortable encounters with themselves or their research participants. Both Olive and Thorpe do feminist ethnography within male-dominated action-sport settings. They discuss how their multiple subjectivities as participant, researcher and feminist are sometimes conflicted and thus impact their interactions with their participants and how this affected the research process. In particular, they examined some of their “awkward” or “failed” interactions and how those encouraged them to rethink their reflexive strategies. For example, Thorpe recounts interviewing a female snowboarder who responded negatively to one of her questions by asserting ‘you aren’t one of those feminists’. Thorpe was caught off guard and instead of addressing the comment, she moved to another topic. These types of “failed” moments ‘prompted us to ask new questions about our epistemological and ontological assumptions, and particularly our own personal and professional politics, ethics and responsibilities as feminists, critical researchers, and active physical cultural participants’ (Olive & Thorpe, 2011, p. 428). They intentionally use Bourdieu’s concept of “regulated liberties”: the limited agency we all have within particular power structures. Feminists have played with this notion to think about challenging power in non-binary ways, and about strategies of resistance that don’t polarize issues or people, but instead engage participants in a political project. For Olive and Thorpe (2011, p. 430), that insight helped them to navigate the politics of their fieldwork and, importantly, to practise feminism: ‘to subtly draw attention to inequalities and injustices without evoking knee-jerk reactions that we fear may compromise our projects, damage our relationships with participants, or inadvertently put ourselves or others in danger’.

More recently, Joseph (2013, p. 10) argues that ethnographers need to extend their reflexive practices to include their “erotic subjectivities” because awareness of how erotic subjectivities play out in the research sheds light on who may be avoided and what issues may be sidestepped: ‘our erotic subjectivity transforms what we are able to/choose to share with specific informants, limits our access to certain information, and thus, influences our insider and outsider statuses—even in contexts that are not explicitly sexual’. Joseph described her research with a male cricket team and how she negotiated her self-presentation in dress, decorum and level of intimacy with these older men. Initially she was trying to keep some distance from her participants and she notes how this stance reflects scientific assumptions that researchers need to be detached, neutral and objective. This prompted her to take into account sensual awareness: ‘ethnographers must acknowledge the blurry lines between platonic, romantic, or intimate friendships. In order to prioritize the researcher as positioned, partially knowing person, we must open up access to a potential potent data source: our own sensual awareness’ (Joseph, 2013, p. 20).³

As the above examples demonstrate, feminist ethnographers are continually reflecting on their research practices, especially their own subjectivities or positions and how those impact the ways in which they engage with their participants. This reflexive practice helps to articulate how the researchers came to make the claims about the participants, and provides the audience with the context and process by which knowledge was generated.

Conclusion

The critique of power and concern for aiding women and other marginalized groups has been at the centre of feminist ethnographies in sport and leisure for the past 20 years. Both theoretical strands of feminist ethnography, critical theories and post-structuralism, recognized that knowledge is socially constructed. Therefore, feminist ethnographers commonly practice reflexivity in order to contextualize any claims that they make.

Nonetheless, critical theories and post-structuralism see power and social change in distinct ways. As noted above, critical feminist ethnographers will enter various fields to observe patterns of exclusion and to identify the related mechanisms. Part of their assumption is that knowledge produced to create change comes from the participants; from the girls and women who directly experience this exclusion. By drawing on these subjugated knowledges, new strategies can be created to ensure that girls and women are included in and benefit from sport and leisure activities. In contrast, post-structuralist feminist ethnographers will enter the field to observe how discourses are constructed,

circulated and received, producing particular gendered subjectivities. In order to empower girls and women, these discourses will be deconstructed or disrupted, allowing fissures to occur in the façade of objective and fixed notions of gender. This challenging of dominant discourses facilitates women and girls to modify or create alternative discourses, ones which provide more freedom to be engaged and enjoy sport and leisure activities.

Feminist ethnographers interact with and theorize about the lived experiences of gender minorities, often intending to destabilize relations of power as a means to create more choice and opportunities. Feminists acknowledge the fluidity of gendered identities, the various ways in which power operates and the limitations one can set on knowledge claims. Nonetheless, we still must grapple with how our micro-level analyses and methodologies remain relevant and insightful given the increasing complexity of technology, globalization and market interests within the sport and leisure spheres. How do we continue to work within these settings yet push for different and more liberating discourses and practices? Accordingly, we must continue to reflect on how and in what ways our methodologies, analyses, and accounts foster new ways to disrupt and challenge “truths” of gender. And we must reflect on the ways in which our research practices are complicit in re-establishing gendered boundaries and hierarchies. Given the commitment by scholars to address these questions and push the boundaries of ethnography,⁴ I contend that the practice of doing feminist ethnography will continue to be contested, will change and bring about new (although partial) insights of how gender operates within sport and leisure contexts.

Notes

1. As noted by Caudwell (2011) the tensions and shifts within and among feminisms are not mutually exclusive nor linear even though they are often categorized as if so by the labels “first”, “second” and “third” waves.
2. In The United States it is common to use the label “critical theory” for a variety of theories that focus on inequitable power relations. In addition, these theories are generally grounded in modernist assumptions of ontology and epistemology. The contrast with poststructural assumptions will be described later in the chapter.
3. See Georgina Roy (2013) for another description of how one’s bodily sensations impact research.
4. I refer to two prominent associations that continue to push the boundaries of ethnography as examples of this. One is the cultural studies ↔ critical methodologies conference and journal, the and the other association is Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines (CEAD).

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Autoethnography, Women and Sport

Karen Throsby

Introduction

Autoethnography is an innovative, but controversial, approach to research which bridges the space between the realist conventions of “scientific” writing and the evocative styles and narratives of literary fiction, generating ‘highly personalized, revealing texts in which authors tell stories about their own lived experiences, relating the personal to the cultural’ (Richardson, 2000, p. 11). Using a range of literary techniques and devices, writers of autoethnography shy away from straightforward accounts of what happened in place of writing which aims to show the meanings of those experiences (Markula, 2005b, p. 13). Rather than instructing the reader and offering up a “truth”, autoethnography’s goal is to connect with the reader at an emotional level via carefully crafted, reflexive narratives that refuse the authorial invisibility of conventionally realist academic writing (Fleming & Fullagar, 2007).

Autoethnography has found purchase in the field of sport (see for example, Denison & Markula, 2003a; Markula, 2005a). This reflects, in part, the nature of sport itself, which as an embodied practice incorporates multiple layers of sensation and affect that are not easily accessible through methods such as participant observation or interviews. Particularly in relation to the embodied everydayness of sporting practice, autoethnography has proved a useful device for interrogating the ways in which the sporting body perceives

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and navigates its environments, and how sporting lives, identities and bodies are made and sustained through mundane sporting practices (Allen-Collinson, 2011; Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2011; Allen-Collinson & Owton, 2015; Downey, 2005; Hockey, 2005a; Larsen, 2014; Throsby, 2013, 2015; Wacquant, 2004). At the same time, it also offers a novel insight into the social and cultural norms within which those experiences come to make sense, as well as their complex social relations. This can illuminate not only constraining or exclusive relations of power, but also potential counter-discourses and possibilities for change (Carless, 2012; Douglas, 2009, 2014; Fleming & Fullagar, 2007; Purdy, Potrac, & Jones, 2008).

The possibilities of autoethnography have been particularly fruitful for female athlete-researchers. The female sporting body occupies an ambiguous position in relation to the conventionally masculinized norms of “good” sporting embodiment. As Young notes: ‘It follows that if there is a particular female person participating in sport, either she is not “really” a woman, or the sport she engages in is not “really” a sport’ (2010, p. 14). Consequently, autoethnography offers an opportunity to make visible the overlooked experiences of pleasure and physicality that are conventionally treated as antithetical to femininity (Throsby, 2013, 2015), and to explore the gendered social relations that characterize and constrain women’s embodied lives in sport, both as athletes and researchers (Douglas, 2009; Fleming & Fullagar, 2007; Markula, 2005a; Thorpe, Barbour, & Bruce, 2011). However, autoethnography is also a contested method, and accusations of solipsism, self-indulgence and emotionality attach easily to it—and particularly to women, whose precarious relationship with rationality is always already under suspicion.

This chapter explores these tensions, arguing that autoethnography speaks to established feminist concerns about the importance of reflexivity in research; the role of the lived body in understanding social phenomena; and the desire to open up creative and inclusive modes of expression within academic writing. However, in spite of these appealing possibilities, it is also a complex and challenging method to bring to social research. It raises important questions about the ethics of representation, demands skills usually not taught within the social sciences and carries the professional risks of conducting research using a contested approach. The chapter begins with a discussion of three key ways in which autoethnography aligns with wider feminist concerns: (1) authorial reflexivity; (2) a focus on the lived body; and (3) autoethnographic commitments to opening up new modes of expression and representation in academic research. The second half of the chapter addresses some of the many critiques of autoethnography and responses to those challenges.

Reflexivity in Research

Autoethnography sits firmly within what has been termed the postmodern paradigm, refusing claims for research as discovering “truths” and resisting an authorial position of invisibility and neutrality. Much contemporary ethnography shares this commitment, recognizing writing as a site of power (Denison & Markula, 2003b), disallowing the researcher as the “knower” of exoticized others and rendering the self a (co-)producer of knowledge rather than its discoverer or innocent reporter. Our choices of research topics, sites and participants, as well as our questions, theoretical frameworks and analyses, all reflect our personal histories and embodied identities, producing research indelibly marked by the ‘autobiographical I’ (Stanley, 1996).

The situatedness of knowledge (Haraway, 1996) and the need for reflexivity in research is a long-standing pillar of feminist research, underpinning a fundamental challenge to the gendered power relations of knowledge production. Autoethnography makes this commitment explicit by taking the self as the focus of inquiry, making an asset of reflexivity not simply in ethical terms, but also intellectually. This is demonstrated in Allen-Collinson’s autoethnographic work on her experiences of running and of injury (Allen-Collinson, 2011; Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2011), or Tsang’s account of the difficulties of negotiating gender norms of bodily presentation even at the highest levels of sporting accomplishment (Tsang, 2000). These ‘narratives of the self’ (Sparkes, 2000) move between feelings of danger and self-possession (Allen-Collinson, 2011), and between resistance and conformity in relation to gender norms (Tsang, 2000; see also Dashper, 2013). This renders a zero-sum account of sport as a site of gendered empowerment or oppression impossible, as well as highlighting the intractability of gender norms that cannot be overcome simply by politicized awareness. This serves as a useful reminder of the impossibility of “stepping outside” gender (and other axes of social identity), and the ways in which the autoethnographic “I” is always embedded in its wider social context. As Dashper notes as she reflects on her struggle to come to terms with an injury to her mouth and teeth, ‘even when I have consciously been aware of these issues [of normative femininity], and tried not to care about them, I have struggled’ (2013, p. 333). And as Markula observes of her own efforts to resist the body ideal, ‘I am faced with my inability to disrupt my own disciplinary gaze’ (2001, p. 28). There is too much ‘clutter and confusion’ (Tsang, 2000, p. 55) for untroubled resistance, but it is this same multiplicity, reflexively accomplished, that is able to evoke an emotional response from the reader—a primary goal of autoethnography.

The Lived Body

The centrality of the lived body to experience is another central tenet of feminist scholarship, in recognition of the ways in which women are conventionally relegated to leaky, unpredictable bodies over which they are unable to exercise control (Shildrick, 1997). This stands in contrast to that of the rational Man, whose body is governable and knowable. Women's bodies have traditionally been understood as frail, weak and liable to failure relative to masculine strength and reliability. These are assumptions that translate into the social world of sport, which is easily rendered a masculine domain in which women are either 'athletic intruders' (Bolin & Granskog, 2003) or the pale shadows of their male counterparts. Autoethnography offers female athlete-researchers the opportunity to explore the lived experience of sporting embodiment outside these constraining frames but always in relation to them. This can be seen, for example, in my own work on marathon swimming and the experience of cold, or of sensory pleasure (Throsby, 2013). Other examples include Allen-Collinson and Owton's narratives of "heat" (2015), Zanker and Gard's collaborative autoethnographic account of 'Lindsey' and her experiences of exercise and injury as a fat woman (2008) or the combined experiences of waka ama, snowboarding and basketball powerfully articulated by Thorpe, Barbour and Bruce (2011).

These narratives never aim simply to describe embodied experiences, but also to theorize them in order to connect them to the wider social and cultural context within which they become meaningful. In her account of urban skating, Khan describes this as the dialectical relationship 'between the actions of the body and the world that physically houses it' (2009, p. 1099). This, Khan argues, enables her to 'bring a moment of knowledge (writ small) back to one of the many places it lives, the sticky reality of streets, minutes and flesh' (2009, p. 1085). This allows her to challenge constraining gender norms of appearance, physicality and movement through her own embodied experiences of both the visceral pleasures of skating around the urban environment and the liminality of the spaces which she occupies in the process. These narratives aim to articulate not only how the lived body *feels*, but also to *emplace* (to use Howes' (2005) term) the sporting body in the environments through which it moves. These autoethnographic narratives, therefore, offer up a living, moving, environmentally and socially located body that is more rich and diverse than conventional gendered assumptions can allow for (although also never able to step outside those norms).

Khan's account here is notable for its intersectional frame, exploring her own identity as 'a 5' 2", Anglo Pakistani woman in [her] forties' as a means of

critiquing the 'sexist, racist, ageist promise of a *better* future' displayed in the rollerblade ads she encounters (2009, pp. 1086–1087, original emphasis). However, the well-documented white, privileged middle-classness of many sporting communities (e.g., Atkinson, 2008; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998) means that there is nothing inevitable about autoethnography's incorporation of intersectional approaches. Indeed, the monolithic social profile of many sports easily renders the dynamics of race and class invisible, even in the face of a political and epistemological commitment to the contrary. This is something that I have struggled with in my own autoethnographic writing, necessitating prompting from reviewers to address explicitly some of marathon swimming's exclusions (Throsby, 2016).

New Ways of Writing

One of the hallmarks of autoethnographic writing is its allegiance to new writing practices and the possibilities offered by stepping outside the realist writing conventions in which most social scientists are trained. Richardson challenges the 'dinosaurian beliefs that "creative" and "analytical" are contradictory and incompatible modes', arguing that they are 'doomed for extinction' in the face of the proliferation of new modes of ethnographic and autoethnographic research that have emerged in the recent past (Richardson, 2000, p. 10). She argues that the literary conventions of the social sciences—including those focusing on the study of sport—follow a linear narrative that limits 'what can be known and what can be told' (2000, p. 7). Alternative modes of writing, she argues, change our relationship with our material: 'we know it differently' (2000, p. 11). In the same vein, Anderson and Austin argue that autoethnography presents the possibility of 'rich, vibrant, often playful and engaging writing', drawing on personal experience in which ways facilitate 'highly nuanced and evocative accounts of thought and action' (2012, pp. 139–140). McParland, for example, uses a blend of poetry and narrative to 'do history through [her] own material situatedness' (2013, p. 26), and Popovic weaves polyphonic narratives comprised of poetry (borrowed and her own), commentaries, questions and evocative stories of ice-hockey, searching for a 'new way to do, or more so *to be*, history within our academic ice rink' (2010, p. 237, original emphasis).

These commitments to 'evocative representations' (Richardson, 2000) through non-conventional modes of writing align with long-standing feminist challenges to the inaccessibility and exclusivity of much academic writing, and particularly the alienating vocabularies of postmodern theorizing. The declared death of the authorial subject, argues Stanley, is a very 'convenient

death' that occurred 'at the very point when—due to the activities of anti-colonialism, the black movement, the women's movement, the gay movement—"the author", the authoritative source of all that excludes, is named and has an accusatory finger pointed at him' (1992, p. 17). Within feminism, too, black feminists have railed against the inaccessibility of feminist theorizing, its dislocation from the everyday experience of women of colour and the absence of black women's voices from the literature (see, for example, Lorde, 1984). By mobilizing alternative modes of representation and articulation, alongside its insistence on a (reflexive) authorial presence, autoethnography has the potential both to extend the audience of academic work and to know its material differently, bringing 'a popular and approachable narrative style to scholarly endeavours' (Anderson & Austin, 2012, p. 140). This constitutes one means of mobilizing the feminist commitment to the treatment of the personal as political, although it is also important not to succumb to an over-optimistic reading, since the whiteness of many sporting communities alongside the privileged whiteness of the academy also risk the intensification of that privilege rather than its dilution.

Contesting Autoethnography

In the previous sections, I have outlined briefly some of the alignments between feminist scholarship and the study of sport. Particularly in the context of sport, where women are not easily incorporated in the dominant narratives and practices of a traditionally masculine domain, these possibilities constitute a chance to explore and evoke the dimensions of sporting experience that can otherwise easily get lost. However, this rather optimistic account is also a partial one, and autoethnography also poses a series of challenges for the study of women and sport.

Delamont makes the case against autoethnography with emphatic gusto; it is, she argues, 'almost entirely pernicious', and 'essentially lazy, literally lazy and also intellectually lazy' (2007, p. 1). She raises six core objections: it cannot fight familiarity; it is almost impossible to write and publish ethically because of the inevitable incorporation of other actors; it is lacking in analytic outcomes; it focuses on the powerful rather than the powerless; it 'abrogates our duty to go out and collect data' (2007, p. 5); and finally, 'we are not interesting enough to write about in journals, to teach about, to expect attention from others' (*ibid.*). Miller applies a similarly staunch critique, particularly in the context of the study of sport, resisting the 'utility of personal achievement as a lever of authenticity' (2008, p. 541). He argues against the 'valuation of

the personal as a sign of knowledge and legitimacy', and suggests that it 'buys into an affect-laden system of legitimacy that underpins sporting practice' (2008, p. 542). In making this case, then, he argues not only that autoethnography is deeply problematic as a source of social scientific knowledge, but that in the particular context of sport, it mobilizes assumptions that should themselves be the target of critical social scientific engagement.

Evocative autoethnography sits most directly in the firing line of these critiques. This is exemplified by what Ellis calls 'heartful autoethnography', standing 'closer to art than science', and focusing on meanings of experience rather than its facts (1999, p. 674; see also Ellis, 2004). The aim of these relentlessly personal narratives is to evoke an emotional response in the reader by 'moving in and moving out' of the experience in order to not only 'access lived emotions' as the author recalls them, but also to 'see it as it might appear to others'. This process enables autoethnographers to analyze 'their thoughts and feelings as socially constructed processes' (1999, p. 675). As Ellis argues in a reconstructed account of exchanges with a student whom she is trying to persuade to use autoethnography in her doctoral research, 'if you let yourself be vulnerable, then your readers are more likely to respond vulnerably, and that's what you want, vulnerable readers' (1999, p. 675).

A core point of dispute in the debates between evocative autoethnographers and their detractors is the value of the singular, self-narrative. The stalwart, if subjective, measures of reliability, validity and generalizability are of no use in this context, but it is also important to return here to the primary aims of autoethnography—to *show* rather than to *tell*, and to evoke emotional responses for the reader. For Ellis, verisimilitude is a better measure than validity, and reliability is achieved through a series of checks—for example, where other people are involved. Generalizability 'is constantly being tested by readers as they ask if it speaks to them about their experience or about the lives of other they know' (1999, p. 674). Allen-Collinson and Hockey appeal to similarly open-ended criteria, such as authenticity, fidelity, believability, congruence, resonance and aesthetic appeal (2005, p. 195). What is gained in exchange, they argue, is the opportunity to capture those experiences of sport and embodied movement that are difficult to capture using participant observation or interviews and are consequently underexplored. This has the potential to balance out a prevailing emphasis on the theoretical or physiological in writing on sport (2005, p. 198). These defences can never fully countermand the accusations of solipsism and self-indulgence that attach so easily to evocative ethnographic writing, but these debates also echo many of the ongoing contestations surrounding ethnography more broadly and its long-standing move away from a detached authorial observer to an embedded, reflexive participant (Atkinson, 2006). In this way,

the novelty and epistemological distinction of autoethnography may be overdrawn, and constitutes more a blurring of approaches rather than two distinct methodologies (Atkinson, 2006; Coffey, 1999).

But in spite of an insistence on autoethnography as not constituting a dramatic departure from its ethnographic roots, Atkinson remains cautious about evocative autoethnography, arguing that 'the goals of analysis and theorising are too often lost to sight in contemporary fashions for subjective and evocative ethnographic work' (2006, p. 400). Instead, he endorses *analytic* autoethnography, which Anderson (2006, p. 375) describes as 'ethnographic work in which the researcher is (1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in the researcher's published texts, and (3) committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena'. Anderson's defining focus on membership here is problematic, given that the privileges of full group membership are not equally available to all. For example, particularly in the context of sport, full belonging may presume masculinity in ways that delimit the legitimate sporting selfhood for women.

Nevertheless, drawing on this framework, for Anderson, analytic autoethnography constitutes one response to the autoethnographic risk of sacrificing sociological promise for self-absorption (2006, p. 385). As Behar observes, 'The exposure of the self who is also a spectator has to take us somewhere we couldn't otherwise get to. It has to be essential to the argument, not a decorative flourish, not exposure for its own sake' (1996, p. 14). For Anderson, the "analytic" prefix signals 'a broad set of data-transcending practices that are directed toward theoretical development, refinement and extension' (2006, p. 387). This stands in opposition to evocative autoethnography's attempts to capture and express 'struggle, passion, embodied life and the collaborative creation of sense-making in situations in which people have to cope with dire circumstances and loss of meaning' (Ellis & Bochner, 2006, p. 433). In a fictionalized dialogue, which Ellis and Bochner describe as an 'autopsy' of Anderson's analytic autoethnography, Bochner describes Anderson as wanting 'to take autoethnography, which, as a mode of inquiry, was designed to be unruly, dangerous, vulnerable, rebellious and creative, and bring it under the control of reason, logic and analysis' (2006, p. 433). He argues that Anderson wants to stop the movement of culture and society that evocative autoethnography puts into motion, suggesting that he wants to 'freeze the frame, change the context' (2006, p. 433). It is, Bochner argues, an 'aloof autoethnography' (2006, p. 433).

Within studies of sport, analytical autoethnography has found significant purchase, weaving together autoethnographic narratives with multiple other data sources in order to offer a multi-layered account of embodied sporting experience. This work resists the charge of self-absorption and deflect critiques

such as those from Delamont (2007) or Miller (2008) which argue that researchers are not interesting enough to be the subjects of their own inquiry. My own work on marathon swimming reflects this attempt to walk the line between the exciting promise of autoethnography and its pitfalls (Throsby, 2013, 2016), blending autoethnographic excerpts with interview and observational data to provide an account and analysis which can transcend the specifics of the data (see also Larsen, 2014). The autoethnographic sections of the work aim to provide access to those aspects of the experience of sport, in this case marathon swimming, that are otherwise elusive (Hockey, 2005b; Sparkes, 2000; Spinney, 2006; Wacquant, 2004). Nevertheless, like many researchers taking a similar approach, I also aimed to capture and mobilize some of the strengths of evocative autoethnography through the presentation of set-piece autoethnographic narratives, which aim to articulate and evoke what marathon swimming *feels* like outside a strictly analytical frame. Others, such as Purdy et al.'s (2008) study of competitive rowing or Scott's (2009) writing on the social order of the swimming pool move between autoethnographic narratives and analytical discussion to similar effect.

However, even where authors are convinced of the possibilities of autoethnography, the concerted antipathy in some quarters towards it, and especially its evocative manifestations, creates particular challenges for those working within the field of sport. In an academic context where employment, tenure or promotion are increasingly contingent on a record of publication in internationally recognized and peer-reviewed journals, the submission of autoethnographic work may constitute a risk that some cannot afford to take. Writing about the field of Leisure Studies, including sport, Anderson and Austin observe that autoethnography still has a limited presence, and journal editors and reviewers 'frequently lack a coherent frame of reference for evaluating auto-ethnography manuscripts' (Anderson & Austin, 2012, p. 141; see also Markula, 2003; Sparkes, 2000). Consequently, those at the start of their careers or with insecure employment status, may be forced to 'shy away from such work for fear of being perceived as self-absorbed and methodologically deficient' (Anderson & Austin, 2012, p. 142). In a social and cultural context where women are poorly represented in the upper (and therefore, safer) echelons of the academic profession, there is a distinctly gendered dimension to the risks of autoethnographic publication. Furthermore, the field of study itself may also compound these risks, since research into leisure is already presumed by many to be leisurely. In my own research on marathon swimming, for example, I was frequently on the receiving end of barbed comments from colleagues and swimmers alike about my "tough" working life, which was hard for many to conceptualize as legitimate academic "work" (Throsby, 2016).

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the ways in which autoethnography has been taken up by female scholars of sport. I have argued that autoethnography aligns with a number of core feminist concerns and commitments, highlighting the importance of reflexivity, embodied experience and creative modes of writing that encourage us to think differently about what *counts* as research. However, I have also highlighted the contested nature of autoethnography, which some argue is too solipsistic and lacking methodological rigour to constitute legitimate academic research. Analytic autoethnography has emerged as one response to these concerns, although the lines between evocative and analytic modes of autoethnography are blurred, with both sharing ‘a methodological and representational commitment to reflexively engaging the researcher’s self as integral to the ethnographical enterprise’ (Anderson & Austin, 2012, pp. 132–133).

The promise of autoethnography has particular valence for the study of women and sport, particularly in relation to embodied experience in a profoundly gendered context. However, in spite of the rich promise of autoethnography, I have argued that its contested status carries professional risks, and especially for women, to whom the accusation of emotionality and irrationality attaches more easily. Women are also much less likely to occupy senior (and therefore safer) positions in the academic hierarchies, leaving them further exposed. Nevertheless, I share the optimism of Anderson and Austin (2012, p. 132) that autoethnography constitutes a ‘considerable untapped opportunity’ in the study of leisure, including, and perhaps especially, for women, whose belonging in the social world of sport is always precarious and demands creative exploration, celebration and resistance.

My marathon swimming research has marked my first venture into autoethnography. To write so publicly about my swimming body has been a constant work of compromise as I negotiated the slippery boundaries of critical thinking and solipsism, and between the public and the private, in my efforts to most effectively understand and communicate the social world and embodied experience of marathon swimming. It has been a challenging and productive pleasure, but with the recent conclusion of the project, I am also relieved to have marathon swimming back as a private pleasure, and as the thing that I do when I am *not* working. Nevertheless, autoethnography remains a valuable intellectual and creative resource for the study of women and sport, enabling us to think and speak differently about women’s embodied experiences in a domain so normatively defined by masculinity.

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Gender, Media and New Media Methods

Toni Bruce and Dunja Antunovic

Introduction

The field of research on representations of sportswomen is a vigorous and bustling space, with an increasing diversity of methodologies and feminist theoretical frameworks in play. Unsurprisingly, this vibrancy is a response to feminist frustration with the overwhelming media marginalization of sportswomen, which persists across countries, time and media formats (Bruce, Hovden, & Markula, 2010; Horky & Nieland, 2013; Kane, 2011; Markula, 2009; Von der Lippe, 2002). Although the application of the myriad of theoretical and methodological approaches has allowed researchers to identify the default settings of mainstream mediasport, this research has had very little impact on shifting these settings or the discourses that inform them. However, a recent distillation of the research into fifteen “rules” of representation identified three rules (all visible in online contexts) that offered more productive alternatives to the historical situation marked by marginalization, trivialization, sexualization and feminization of sportswomen (Bruce, 2016). As a result, in the early twenty-first century, frustration sits alongside cautious optimism about the possibilities of new media for shifting public and media understandings of the place of females in sport and physical leisure contexts.

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In this chapter, we consider the methodological implications for feminist research on gender and media in a world increasingly dominated by online interaction and representation. We first briefly map the trajectory of methodological approaches for investigating representations of physically active women, identifying important knowledge gained over the past half-century, as well as limitations and gaps in the research corpus. Next we consider how conventional methods are being used to investigate both online mainstream media and new online sites that enable athletes and sports to bypass historical media gatekeeping functions. Finally, we discuss methodological issues and emerging methodologies that are not only enabled but also theoretically necessary in a digitally mediated world, and their implications for feminist activism.

Old Platforms, Old Voices

Many methods have been used to study media and gender over the past half-century. Although production, content and audience studies are all represented in a research corpus that comprises many thousands of publications, the field is dominated by analyses of mainstream news media content that draw on two main methods that are often used in combination: quantitative content analysis, often explicitly or implicitly underpinned by a liberal feminist focus on equality with men (Bruce et al., 2010); and qualitative textual, discourse or thematic analysis, underpinned by a variety of feminist perspectives including liberal, poststructural and cultural studies feminisms, race and intersectional theories and, more recently, third-wave, neo-liberal and postfeminisms. In everyday coverage, content analyses have consistently revealed the symbolic annihilation (Duncan, 2006; Tuchman, 1978) of sportswomen, who average approximately 10% in newspapers internationally and 5% on USA television sports news, except during the four-yearly Olympic or Commonwealth Games cycle and some world championships (Bruce, 2013; Bruce et al., 2010; Cooky, Messner, & Musto, 2015). Qualitative textual or discursive analyses of media texts (primarily newspapers, television and radio coverage, but also including lifestyle sport magazines and films) have identified a wide range of discursive strategies through which sportswomen are actively constituted as *female* athletes (Bernstein, 2002; Thorpe, 2011; Wheaton, 2003; Wheaton & Beal, 2003).

The limited production research has primarily involved ethnographic fieldwork or observations of newsrooms and sports broadcasts and/or in-depth interviews with sports media workers, both male and female (Bruce, 2002; Davis, 1997; Gee & Leberman, 2011; Hardin & Shain, 2005a; Hardin & Shain, 2005b; Hardin & Whiteside, 2009; Kian, 2007; Lowes, 1999; MacNeill,

1996; Scott-Chapman, 2012; Silk, 2001; Silk & Amis, 2000; Theberge & Cronk, 1986). These too have revealed the potency of the articulation between sport and masculinity, which most often functions to constitute women's sport as "other" to the widely understood norm that is men. The result is coverage that reflects the 'gender-based and gender-biased' views of sports media workers (Scott-Chapman, 2012, p. 345).

Interview, focus group and ethnographic studies, along with textual and content analyses focused on female fans of sport, and fans of women's sport, paints a similar picture in which female fandom is either invisible or devalued (Bruce, 1998; Brummett & Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Brummett, 1993). Until recently (see Pope, 2013; Pope & Kirk, 2014; Toffoletti & Mewett, 2012), there has been little in-depth research on the experiences and perspectives of female sports fans. Indeed, Mewett and Toffoletti (2012, p. 2) point out that 'the visibility of female fans in academic research at best remains occluded by the relative scarcity of empirical research ... and by the limited appreciation of the insights into wider gender relations that can be gleaned from deeper understandings of the part women occupy' in watching or consuming sport.

In this first phase of feminist sports media research, the difficulty of easily accessing production and audience voices resulted in an overwhelming focus on media products—texts and images—and an assumption that it was sufficient to analyse texts and deduce dominant meanings from them. However, the rise of Web 2.0 interactive technologies in the twenty-first century has catapulted researchers into a new era.

New Platforms, New Voices, Old Methods

There seems little doubt that since the early 2000s, many parts of the world have become caught up in an emerging 'participatory culture' in which the opportunities for content creation, collaboration and interaction created by social media have blurred the lines between audiences and media producers (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Weigel, & Robison, 2007, p. 16; Alvermann & Hagood, 2000; Burnett & Merchant, 2011). The disruptive changes in global circulation, formats and production of texts since the early 2000s raise significant methodological issues. Initially, however, scholars were driven by the question of whether new media platforms replicated the underrepresentation of sports-women in mainstream (traditional) media. To answer that question, "old methods" of analysis were utilized, typically quantitative content analysis (e.g., Hambrick & Mahoney, 2011; Jones, 2006, 2013; Lebel & Danylchuk, 2012, 2014; Pegoraro, 2010), qualitative textual or discourse analysis (e.g., Heinecken,

2015; Wolter, 2015a) or, rarely, a mixed-methods approach (Khomutova & Channon, 2015) in investigations of blogs and interactive media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook.

Much of this scholarship concluded that online discourses replicated existing gender dynamics. The marginalization of sportswomen generally persists in the online offerings of mainstream media sites (c.f., Jones, 2013; Kian & Clavio, 2011). Likewise, other content, including user-generated comments, fortified rather than challenged entrenched discourses of gender, race, sexuality and their intersections (Bruce & Hardin, 2014; Leonard, 2013). Analyses of text confirmed that the most popular sports platforms continued to be written by men, typically about men (Clavio & Eagleman, 2011).

One exception is the rise, most often in online sites produced by men, of the 'pretty *and* powerful' female athlete, who is embraced for both her physical skills and (hetero)sexual attractiveness (Bruce, 2016, p. 361). Although this shift in discourse 'from female athletes who were quickly stigmatised by the "mannish lesbian" stereotype to the glorified "women we love who kick ass"' (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003, p. xxi) is primarily available to, and coalesces around, sportswomen whose body types and looks fall within dominant Western ideals of white heterosexual femininity, it does point to the inherent instabilities in representation that create spaces for sportswomen to be represented and culturally understood in different ways.

Many analyses of online texts in sport explore new platforms, but use old methods (e.g., Filo, Lock, & Karg, 2015 on sports management; and chapters on women's sport in recent books on digital and new media in sport in Billings & Hardin, 2014 and Hutchins & Rowe, 2013). These studies have revealed gender differences in a range of areas, including in reasons for following a female athlete on Twitter (Clavio & Kian, 2010) or in how sportswomen and sportsmen represent themselves on social media (Pegoraro, 2010).

In segregated pockets of these new platforms, new voices have created a space for dialogue among women around sports. Women's leagues that do not receive mainstream media attention, female athletes, fans of women's sports and feminist scholars have created blogs and social media accounts, often with the intention of promoting and advocating for sportswomen. These sites allow women to express their gender identities, engage in self-presentation and make meanings about sport. Women who write these blogs, although not always explicitly feminist, question the exclusion of sportswomen from mainstream coverage and attempt to remedy it by providing content on women's sports. On these new media platforms, less visible sporting communities and individuals provide alternative representations of their sports, identities or cultures, such as skateboarding and roller derby (e.g., MacKay & Dallaire,

2012; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2012). Further, some individual female athletes use social media sites to insert alternative discourses about intersectional identities. One prominent example is black, lesbian basketball player Brittney Griner (Chawansky, 2016), although a textual analysis of public responses to Griner on YouTube clearly demonstrates the enduring power of discourses of race, gender and sexuality (Leonard, 2013). The presence of these new voices on new platforms offers the possibility of alternative meanings around gender and sport, but their impact on existing discursive understandings of sports-women remains unclear.

In analyzing these increasingly interactive, fleeting and non-static mediations, feminist researchers have continued to use historically popular methods including critical discourse analysis, textual analysis, quantitative content analysis and, at times, mixed methods, as they attempt to answer the overarching question of 'How Do *Women Talk Sports?*' (Hardin & Whiteside, 2012, p. 152). Driven by this question, feminist scholars place women at the epistemic centre of inquiry and investigate general sport content by women and about women (e.g., *Sportette*, *BlogHer* and *Women Talk Sports*, which are networks of athletes, fans, advocates and journalists). Textual analyses revealed that these blogs not only challenge masculinist representation discourses, but also advocate for 'empowering connections' among women through sport participation and fandom (Antunovic & Hardin, 2015, p. 662). Different approaches to analyzing texts also offer insight into the ways in which female athletes construct their identities for public consumption. Often drawing upon Erving Goffman's theory of self-presentation, this body of research considers athletes' social media accounts. For example, using both quantitative content and qualitative textual analyses, Reichart Smith and Sanderson's (2015, p. 345) mixed-methods study found that sportswomen 'take more control over their self-presentation and express aspects of their identity that they perceive to be most salient'. Based on a thematic analysis of a soccer community's textual and visual new media materials, Heinecken (2015) found that although these accounts certainly bring new voices into the conversation, sportswomen's self-presentations can be rooted in postfeminist ideologies, which promote empowerment through sexualized and traditional gender performances (see also Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017). Based on discourse analysis, MacKay and Dallaire (2012, p. 189) acknowledge that content produced by sportswomen is 'unlikely to support a significant change in the current discursive regime that dominates (re)presentations of sportswomen', but also argue that these spaces provide a 'deeper understanding of the new ways in which women are acting out their gender identities to new media texts'.

Old methods of analyzing text, however, do not allow for an assessment of whether and how women affiliated with these networks connect with *each*

other—an ostensible limitation in light of the platforms' possibilities. Therefore, some researchers have employed methods such as in-depth interviews to investigate the online presence and relationships enabled through alternative online blogging communities such as *Skirtboarders*, which allowed the women to 'constitute themselves individually and collectively as engaged sports-women' and 'conceive of themselves as leaders supportive of the greater female skateboarding community' (MacKay & Dallaire, 2013, p. 192). Olive (2013, p. 71) explored the possibilities of blogging as a research method for understanding and developing connections in women's surfing. She argues that creating the *Making friends with the neighbours* blog enabled her 'to address feminist concerns that research remains relevant to the understandings and experiences of the women participating' in surfing.

These observations spurred a productive dialogue on the relationship between athleticism and femininity, and urged scholars to reconsider deeply embedded assumptions about what constitutes empowering coverage (Bruce, 2016). However, these shifts in control of representation towards women have not yet been widely researched and, when they have, old methods have been the primary tools, including interviews with content producers (*Women Talk Sports* or *Skirtboarders*), or content or textual analyses of the textual products.

It may be overreaching to believe that the emergence of digital technology and social media alone will disrupt dominant discourses around sport. Twitter, Facebook and other platforms cannot, in and of themselves, challenge ideologies. Instead, they may allow the volume to be amplified with uncritical voices (Bruce & Hardin, 2014). Even women who blog about sports and see themselves as advocates may 'unconsciously comply with the dominant discourse', suggesting that uninterrogated cultural ideologies often overpower attempts to provide new perspectives (Hardin, 2011, p. 57). Indeed, analyses of elite sportswomen who do not conform to traditional, idealized expectations for female athletes indicate that the ideologies and norms that drive mainstream media decision making certainly influence the dominant discourses in the blogosphere and other social media (e.g., Leonard, 2013). A survey of US fans who blogged daily about their favourite teams, leagues and sports found that their attitudes, values and beliefs about the appeal of women's sports did not differ from those of traditional journalists (Hardin, Zhong, & Corrigan, 2012). Approximately two-thirds asserted that women's sports would never be as culturally valued or entertaining as men's sports. This view is reflected in the results of numerous studies and on sites that track the popularity of athletes on social media, such as the vast disparity in online followers for the WNBA and NBA. For example, on Twitter, the WNBA's ~17,000 followers pale in comparison to the NBA's almost 17 million followers (sportsfangraph,

2016). Perhaps it is no surprise that bloggers who believed that women's sports were less interesting were also more likely to be critical of efforts to equalize athletic participation opportunities for women and less supportive of increased coverage of women's sports (Hardin et al., 2012).

Research on new voices can carry significant theoretical implications for the relationship between gender, sport and media, but it also requires methodological innovation. In our review, we observed that much of the work that examines new voices on new platforms relies on old methodologies. Even when researchers consider multiple platforms or engage in longitudinal research (which is rare), they have tended to treat the content as universally visible and static. The current state of this research raises numerous theoretical and methodological questions. The content may be "out there", but to what extent are these women-produced, and potentially feminist, sites incorporated into dominant online discourses (Antunovic, 2014; Antunovic & Linden, 2015)? When we assess visibility, we may question whether sports journalists are aware of these conversations, whether and when mainstream media outlets recognize fan communities of women's sport, and what needs to happen for these communities and the content they produce to reach large audiences and potentially encourage shifts in representations of sportswomen.

In order to answer such questions, we argue that feminist sports media scholars must consider new approaches and new methods that allow effective engagement with these shifts from one-way, limited-dialogue, mainstream media-produced media texts, to fleeting, multi-vocal, dialogic and increasingly audience-produced material, on both mainstream online media and user-produced sites such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and Snapchat. We propose that we are in a new "moment" where old methods are insufficient to capture what is happening. As Bruce and Stewart (2015, p. 720) argue, 'the diversity of viewpoints, intensity of emotion and range of voices engaged in online conversation make it imperative that media researchers move beyond the traditional focus solely on media texts and enter the messy, contradictory and ever-changing public online sphere, for it is here that truths are actively produced and struggled over'. The question remains, however, of exactly what methods might enable researchers to effectively engage in these increasingly diverse spaces.

New Platforms, New Voices, New Methods

In a review of the role of Web 2.0 in coverage of women's sport, Creedon (2014, p. 711) argued that 'social media have made sports coverage an interpersonal, intercultural, and international public domain'. To capture the

multi-vocal and dialogic nature of sports coverage, scholars have turned their attention to the different voices that engage in the conversation about women's sport. These studies recognize that the interaction between women's sports leagues, fans, verbally aggressive or harassing internet "trolls", female athletes and journalists results in a fluid instability of gendered power dynamics between multiple stakeholders who participate in shaping new media discourses. These dynamics are further complicated by the anonymity available online, which disrupts if not ruptures the ability of researchers to draw conclusions about patterns of interaction based on identity categories such as gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and/or nation.

Such changes raise questions about the adequacy of our current methodological (and theoretical) approaches. Much of the sport and physical activity research continues to focus on exploratory case studies, often of the online activities of a single individual/organization, and frequently limited to one platform. However, this narrow focus becomes increasingly problematic in the face of the interpenetration of multiple forms of media into our everyday lives. For example, rather than focusing on the power of texts to reinforce unequal power relations, we may need to reorient towards what people *do* with online content. Such an approach would employ methods that capture how users transform or reinforce power relations through how and where they choose to engage online (Burnett & Merchant, 2011). For Jenkins et al. (2007), this shift requires the development of network thinking focused on meaningful and purposeful connections. Hepp (2013, p. 134) argues for a 'transmedial' approach that decentres media products to focus instead on 'analyzing the process through which media, along a diversity of strands, are constructed as "central" within today's cultures of mediatization'. Focusing on action sports, Thorpe (2016, p. 12) asks researchers 'to critically consider how we might ethically, rigorously, and systematically integrate digital methods in our projects to help make meaning of the cultural practices, performances, and politics that are operating within and across physical and digital geographies'. Here the focus is simultaneously on capturing patterns within specific contexts and everyday practices while remaining open to the transcultural realities of media movement across nations and platforms. As a result, diverse methods must be employed, ranging from in-depth cases or netographies (e.g., interviews, observations, media diaries, surveys, online discussions, analyses of media production) of individuals or organizations, to mapping the movement of particular texts across individual, group, national and international borders (e.g., "big-data" analysis, social network analysis).

This is not to suggest that feminist researchers need to completely reinvent the methodological wheel. Earlier work (e.g., Davis, 1997; Thorpe, 2011) has

employed interviews, close readings and analyses of the economic and global context to produce holistic understandings of the production, circulation and impacts of transcultural media texts in a pre-internet-centred environment. What is different now is the need for new methods to better track how content moves across platforms, whether and how it ultimately reaches wider audiences, and the pleasures and motivations that engaging with such content provides for fans (e.g., Clavio & Kian, 2010). Another potential focus is the ways in which the form and content of online interactions are influenced by different kinds of “invitations” into discourse, such as fan support pages, opinion pieces or hard news stories (Bruce & Stewart, 2015). These questions are crucial for the feminist praxis of changing the volume and the character of women’s sports coverage.

While studies that document marginalized voices carry theoretical implications for constructions of sport and gender, these analyses do not move the conversation forward on how powerful representations of sportswomen and critical feminist voices can become a part of the mass conversation (Antunovic, 2014). Similarly, textual analyses alone do not sufficiently assess how sexist “trolls” and exclusionary fan sites impact media content (Kian, Clavio, Vincent, & Shaw, 2011; Merrill, Bryant, Dolan, & Chang, 2015). Thus, an important methodological question is how to attend to the actual power of these voices in relation to larger conversations. Billings (2014, p. 110) argued that ‘the power of the message’ is not with the ‘followers who receive it and the small fraction who may happen to read their posts at that given time of day’ but in ‘all the major sports media outlets, making it a point of discussion to millions of viewers and readers over the course of the following weeks’. As we noted earlier, niche and instant conversations are difficult to capture, but scholars could analyze whether these voices actually reach gatekeepers, how they become incorporated into mainstream media discourses, and the impact they have on sports fans’ everyday lives.

This framework could also be applied to assessing hashtag activism, an area of inquiry that has occupied a central role in feminist media journals, but much less so in feminist sports media studies (e.g., Antunovic & Linden, 2015; Loza, 2014; Thrift, 2014). This would be particularly useful in relation to content produced by athletes and leagues. Beyond analyzing how female athletes negotiate femininity and athleticism (Heineken, 2015), studies on handles and hashtags could also consider who engages in the conversations and how widely these messages are disseminated (e.g., Vann, 2014). Documenting the reach of hashtags would allow scholars to better understand how advocacy for sportswomen is articulated in the online environment, who participates in these conversations, and ultimately who defines feminism (Loza, 2014). Methodological

approaches that allow the capture of such information could also further efforts toward transnational solidarity around gender discrimination in sport.

Within niche environments, new methods that discover the relationships between different voices in the Web 2.0 environment also carry significant implications for the promotion of women's sport. For example, Vann (2014, p. 441) used Twitter-tracking methods that allowed her to investigate the amount and forms of interactions on official netball team accounts, including original tweets, replies and retweets, game-specific hashtags, fan-led activity and fan-to-fan interaction; her analysis emphasized the importance of social media in becoming an 'interdependent part of a transmedia sport experience'. Thus, how leagues engage with fans and what type of content they post can hinder or aid the 'multidirectional communication opportunities' of social media platforms (Vann, 2014, p. 448). Audience studies, encompassing methods such as Twitter hashtags, accompanied by social network analysis of social media interactions, can aid women's sports advocates as well as leagues in better targeting potential fans in relation to ongoing live tournaments and events (Coche, 2014; Cooper & Tang, 2013).

Conducting effective and impactful research in this new environment requires that scholars take methodological risks by combining multiple methods or deviating from well-established procedures. While data collection may present a challenge, an even greater challenge in furthering this line of scholarship lies in the scholarly community's potential resistance to altering standard content and textual analyses. New media are not static, so methods cannot be static either.

In the current moment, feminist researchers face multiple methodological challenges. First, is the expansion of potential sites of research in a context of constant and rapid change. As just one example, Instagram grew from a little-known photo-sharing site to hosting more than 300 million active users in approximately five years (Weigert, 2015). Second, the diversity of voices makes gaining a sufficient impression of what is important a difficult task. For example, the WordPress blog site reports that, each month, over 409 million people view more than 21.5 billion blog pages, while users produce approximately 55.8 million new posts and almost 50 million new comments (WordPress, 2016). Finding efficient ways to capture and analyze such huge amounts of data poses a significant challenge as we move into the realm of network analysis that challenges media researchers to track how content moves through social networks and across different platforms. For researchers, a third concern is the long-term security and archiving of research data, given the rapidity with which new apps and social media sites appear (and disappear). At the time of writing, applications for tracking data existed for most large social media platforms, some of

which offer limited free access for small amounts of data capture (e.g., tweetstats.com for Twitter, or minter.io for tracking Instagram account activity). However, the rapidity of technological change and shifting sites of social media interaction mean there is little value in recommending specific apps for gathering data because their longevity is far from guaranteed. How researchers ensure the integrity and long-term accessibility of their raw “data” is likely to be an ongoing concern in media research.

Implications for Feminist Activism

Research on representations of sportswomen points to a continued need for monitoring sports media practices, content and consumption. The fluidity and multi-voicing of the Web 2.0 environment has presented new challenges for researchers to adjust their theoretical and methodological tools in order to capture the interactions among journalists, fans, athletes and leagues. We have identified methodological gaps as well as opportunities for a more nuanced understanding of gender in the digital sport environment, including where and how various feminisms manifest and circulate. As feminist scholars, we are also concerned with the potential of Web 2.0 content for advocacy and promotion of women’s sports. The digital environment has allowed women from geographically and institutionally disparate locations to form communities around women’s sports. The previously mentioned blog collective *Women Talk Sports* is an example of such a community as it brings together scholars, activists, athletes and fans. While pluralism in voices that strive to collectively promote women’s sports can be a strength in challenging discursive structures of sexism (Hardin, 2011), these blogs are not integrated into the most popular digital sport platforms, nor do they typically become a part of mainstream media conversations (Antunovic, 2014). Feminist scholars may aid advocacy efforts by identifying ways to disrupt networks of power that continue to exclude female and feminist voices.

As important as it is to detect and bring visibility to marginalized online communities (e.g., MacKay & Dallaire, 2012, 2013), feminist scholars must also continue to consider the implications of women’s voices in mainstream digital content. For example, in 2011 the US-based sports media powerhouse ESPN launched [espnW.com](https://espnw.com), a niche website directed at female fans and athletes. The website received much criticism for further removing women from sport conversations by neatly creating a separate, and highly gender-stereotypical, platform. At the same time, *espnW* dedicates the majority of its coverage to sportswomen and overwhelmingly portrays them in a positive way

(Wolter, 2015b). Since its launch, *espnW* has evolved into a powerful community that holds in-person summits, bringing together grassroots activists, elite athletes, sports journalists and corporate sponsors—most of whom are women. The effort to provide a digital environment for women interested in sports has transcended the borders of media to create a professional network for women, with financial and career implications. Although these efforts resonate with feminism, it is argued that the ideological underpinnings of *espnW* are postfeminist and deeply rooted in garnering profit rather than leading toward social change (Wolter, 2015a). As research in this area continues to evolve, feminist media scholars are challenged to move beyond analyzing content to also consider methods that allow the investigation of the larger social, interpersonal, political, economic and geopolitical implications of new media platforms.

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Blogging and Feminist Participatory Research Online

Andrea Bundon

Undertaking participatory action research (PAR) means making a commitment to doing work that exposes how power operates in research and that seeks to redistribute power more equitably by providing participants with meaningful roles in the research process (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj, 2009; Kitchin, 2000; Ponic, Reid, & Frisby, 2010; Reid & Brief, 2009). Feminist scholars have recently started exploring how Web-based methods can contribute to participatory research by opening up opportunities to involve groups traditionally excluded from and/or marginalized by researchers, research topics, research processes and research institutions. Blogging, a digital platform that many have described as inherently democratic, has been of particular interest.

In this chapter, I discuss how feminist scholars can use and are using blogs to advance understandings of gender in sport, leisure and physical education. I explore how, in the blogosphere, individuals who have been excluded from other forms of political engagement may start to see themselves as political agents and cultural producers, and the role of feminist participatory research methods in supporting this process. I draw on my own experience of doing blog-based PAR to discuss the complexities inherent in this work and considerations for scholars looking to embark on digital projects.

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Using Blogs to Know About Gender Relations in Sport

First I will explain what blogs are and why they are of interest to scholars looking to engage in participatory work facilitated by digital tools. Included in this is a discussion of evolving understandings of digital spaces as collaboratively constructed by multiple actors.

What Is a Blog?

In the simplest of terms, a blog is a page or a set of Web pages where posts are made in reverse chronological order. The advantage of blogs is that they are easy to create, easy to update, and do not require extensive training in Web design or coding. Blogging software is available for purchase or as freeware and there are many options, including the popular platform WordPress. Despite being infinitely customizable, many, if not most, bloggers adopt a default design and the iconic blog format has a few easily recognizable features: a home page, a menu bar and a sidebar. Although the technology permits other configurations, adherence to this design is reinforced through communities of practice and an unspoken agreement among bloggers that blogs should look like blogs (Dean, 2010; Rettberg, 2008).

Another key feature of blogs, and the reason that they have been the focus of so much attention with regard to participatory research, is that they are *interactive* and *intercreative*. When a blogger makes a post, the default setting allows readers to add comments. Other popular elements of blogs are “widgets” (small pieces of code that add functionality to a blog) that enable a reader to indicate that they “liked” the post or to “share” the post across social media sites. In short, blogs offer readers the opportunity to engage with the content (interactive) and also to contribute content of their own in the form of commentary (intercreative). It is noteworthy that though some bloggers use privacy settings to limit the visibility of their site, the large majority do not. Accordingly, blogs provide individuals with an opportunity to publish widely while bypassing the traditional costs and barriers associated with public broadcasting. This has led Dart (2009) to comment that ‘for some people, blogging is inherently democratic as it empowers individuals to create their own content and publish to a global audience’ (p. 109).

It is because of this democratic potential that blogs have attracted considerable interest among feminist scholars of sports media. Mainstream sports media has a history of failing to cover the exploits of female athletes and also

systemically underestimating women's interest in sport as fans and spectators (Antunovic & Hardin, 2015; Bernstein, 2002; Bruce, 2013; Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013; Kane 2013; Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003). For many feminists working in the field of sports media, the hope was that blogs would 'offer an outlet where women receive increased and better coverage' (Antunovic & Hardin, 2015, p. 664). Importantly, *better coverage* encompasses both *better coverage* of women's sports and *better coverage* of sports for female audiences. Recent studies of the blogosphere and sports media from a feminist perspective have explored such issues as: coverage of professional women's sport on sports blogs (Hardin, Zhong, & Corrigan, 2012; Lisec & McDonald, 2012); online networks of women who blog about sport (Antunovic & Hardin, 2013; Hardin & Whiteside, 2012); and portrayals of gender and sexually suggestive images on sports blogs (Clavio & Eagleman, 2011).

Blogs as Co-Constructed Spaces

While many early studies of blogs viewed them as the product of individual authors, more recently scholars have addressed blogs as co-created discursive spaces formed through interactions between actors that include bloggers and audiences (Baumer, Sueyoshi, & Tomlinson, 2011; Keller, 2012). According to this conceptualization, the individuals writing the posts are no more (and no less) important than the individuals reading the posts and both contribute to the creation of the site (Baumer et al., 2011). Moreover, the notion of "contribution" has also been challenged. While it is easy to understand how a reader who engages the blogger in a dialogue might be viewed as having an active role in shaping the blog, some scholars have argued that the "lurkers", those who read the blog but who do not comment, also perform a creative function (Baym, 2010; boyd, 2011). This is because, as boyd (2011) points out, the 'invisible audience' (p. 49) on most blogs far outnumbers the visible contributors and lurkers shape the online conversations simply because they are who the blogger is writing *for*. My own research, in which I interviewed bloggers writing about disability sport, certainly supports this statement in that many reported they chose their topics, their writing styles and their rhetoric based on who they *knew* to be reading the posts (the visible audience that commented, liked and shared) and also who they *imagined* or *hoped* to be reading the posts (the invisible audience) (Bundon & Hurd Clarke, 2015a, 2015b). MacKay and Dallaire are among sport scholars who have researched the co-constructed, co-creative nature of blogs. In their study of a crew of female skateboarders with an extensive online presence, they sought out the

perspectives of those involved in developing blog content, those who participated in online conversations and those who were the audiences for the online material (2013, 2014). A key contribution of MacKay and Dallaire's work has been a deeper understanding of how minority groups (in this case, skateboarding women) are experimenting with blogs to create and circulate alternative (re)presentations of active, athletic women.

How Can Blogs Help Us Know About Gender Relations in Sport?

This handbook is focused on the production of knowledge about sport and other forms of physical cultural practices, how feminists come to know about gender relations in these realms and how they engage with the producers of this knowledge. In the digital age, blogs and other Web platforms are increasingly part of these tasks. In her most recent book, *An Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday*, Christine Hine (2015) makes a compelling argument that, as contemporary qualitative researchers who strive for close engagement with the individuals we study, we cannot limit our observations to only that which occurs offline. Instead, she argues, we must 'be particularly agile in [our] methods and adaptive in [our] strategies' (Hine, 2015, p. 22) and prepared to explore cultural practices and meaning making wherever they take place. This is supported by a rapidly growing literature in which sport scholars have followed lines of inquiry that have led them to cross the offline/online divide and investigate, for example: athletes' production of self on social media (Hambrick, Frederick, & Sanderson, 2013; Hutchins & Mikosza, 2010; Lebel & Danylchuk, 2012; Sanderson, 2012); online forums of individuals engaged in weight loss (Bennett & Gough, 2013); self-tracking of physical activity by runners and cyclists using GPS and online apps (Smith, 2015; Stragier, Evens, & Mechant, 2015; Stragier, Mechant, & De Marez, 2013); the function of globalization and digital communication as it pertains to sports fandom (Conner, 2014; Ruddock, Hutchins, & Rowe, 2010; Waters, Burke, Jackson, & Buning, 2011); and (auto)ethnographic explorations of sporting subcultural groups (Olive, 2013; Numerato, 2015). This is a small sample but it demonstrates that although bodies move in "the real world", the meaning-making process transcends the online/offline divide and increasingly sport scholars are pursuing topics that necessitate they address online spaces.

But why are online sport studies, particularly those involving blogs, a feminist concern? As others in this volume have addressed, feminist interest in sport is multi-faceted and includes the task of challenging cultural representations

and dominant discourses that position sport as the natural domain of men, revealing how gender relations shape the practice of sport and engaging in transformative acts that challenge the conditions created by unequal gender relations in sport. Blogs are of interest to feminist sport scholars because they contribute to this project by providing online spaces: (1) where those marginalized and underrepresented in mainstream sport media can publicize their involvement; (2) where individuals can share stories and contribute to collective understandings of how gender relations operate in sport; and (3) where strategies for transformative practice are debated, decided and coordinated. Furthermore, blogs are spaces where people share their stories, hear the stories of others and start to understand that the things they have experienced individually are common occurrences and linked to broader structural inequalities (Dean, 2010). In summary, blogs are online spaces where the personal is made political and are therefore very much a feminist concern.

Blog and Participatory Action Research

The first section explored what a blog is and why we, as qualitative researchers interested in the gendering of physical cultural practices might be interested in blogs. This next section discusses the foundational tenets of feminist PAR and introduces the concept of participatory research in digital environments.

What Is Participatory Action Research?

Frisby and colleagues have situated the development of PAR in the ‘rising dissatisfaction with positivist social science and organizational research, where researchers typically control the formulation of research questions, the data-collection process, the interpretation and communication of results’ (Frisby, Crawford, & Dorer, 1997, p. 11). In contrast to these approaches, PAR disrupts traditional research hierarchies by including in the research process the individuals who are the intended beneficiaries of the work. In doing so, PAR transforms the power relations that characterize many research relationships and contests the assumption that knowledge is something produced in institutions by academics (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Reid & Brief, 2009). In short, conducting PAR-based research means engaging in a project ‘where previously considered participants (or subjects) are (re)constructed as collaborators or coresearchers’ (Evans et al., 2009, p. 896).

PAR research is not defined by a particular set of methods but rather is characterized by adherence to core values that guide the research process.

PAR research: (1) acknowledges the capacity of research participants to identify research topics meaningful to their communities; (2) exposes how power operates in research projects and adopts practices that seek to redistribute power more equitably among research team members; and (3) aims to translate knowledge into action that promotes and facilitates positive change (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Evans et al., 2009; Frisby et al., 1997; Ponc et al., 2010; Reid & Brief, 2009; Reid et al., 2011; Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012).

Feminist Participatory Research

Feminist researchers' interest in PAR methodologies stems from a recognition that participatory projects offer applied ways of addressing epistemological and ontological concerns about the conditions of knowledge production (Gustafson & Brunger, 2014). Olesen (2011) wrote, 'If there is a dominant theme in feminist qualitative research it is the issue of knowledges. Whose knowledges? Where and how obtained, by whom, from who, and for what purpose?' (p. 129). These same questions are central to PAR. However, whereas feminism is broadly concerned with unequal and inequitable power distributions stemming from gender relations across a wide range of spheres, PAR is specifically focused on how power manifests in the research itself. Additionally, the "action" component of PAR resonates with many feminist scholars who seek to engage in research with transformative agendas.

Participatory Research in the Digital Age

The issue of conducting participatory research, particularly feminist PAR, in the digital age is an interesting topic and one that has received little attention in feminist literature (and even less specific to sport). As already stated, PAR is not a method but an orientation to conducting research and engaging with communities. Thus researchers in this area draw on a number of methods, most frequently from the qualitative traditions but also quantitative methods when appropriate (see Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995) and adapt these methods in novel ways to facilitate the participation of community members. The rise of the digital age and the accompanying development of various forms of online communication have provided researchers with a new toolbox for collaborative work. These new technologies provide new ways to interact with and involve communities. They have also, in some instances, contributed to the formation of *new communities to engage with*. Examples of newly formed online networks include: groups of athletes with disabilities that form reciprocal and supportive

relationships online without ever meeting “in real life” (Bundon & Hurd Clarke, 2015b); the “electronic tribes” of hockey fans on online forums (Norman, 2014); and transnational networks of activists involved in protesting mega-sport events (Millington & Darnell, 2014).

Practical Considerations for Feminist Participatory Work Using Blogs

PAR is a guiding approach to doing research rather than a set method and it is unrealistic to cover in this chapter all the possible methods and digital tools researchers might use. Moreover, though blogs have proven to be one of the more enduring Web platforms, they do evolve and any chapter on “how to” use a blog in participatory research would soon be outdated. Instead the next section provides applied examples of things to consider when conducting feminist participatory research in online environments.

What Counts as a Community?

Participatory research is often described as research that arises out of long-term involvement with a community. Historically the term community has been used to describe groups with close relationships and who share identities, practices, beliefs, values *and* physical space. Certainly most PAR-based work has engaged with communities bounded to a geographic locale. Examples from the fields of sport and leisure studies include: developing and delivering an after-school sport programme for students in low-income areas (Holt et al., 2013); working with young urban Aboriginal women to understand sport, gender and development initiatives (Hayhurst, Giles, & Radforth, 2015); and creating opportunities for low-income women to engage in leisure activities (Frisby et al., 1997).

However, the Web is starting to change how we think of communities and this has interesting implications for feminist participatory research. In 1993, Rheingold coined the term “virtual community” and made the radical proposition that groups of individuals who had never meet in real life could still form communities. Since then, scholars have argued both for and against the use of the word community to describe various online gatherings including forums, newsgroups, networks of video gamers, and so on. While some question whether groups can really be considered communities when individuals can simply log on/log off (Hine, 2000), others points to the strength that

individuals derive from their online networks, their feelings of belonging, and their demonstrated commitment to supporting each other emotionally and materially (Chayko, 2007; Hine, 2000; Rheingold, 2012). It is my position that Rheingold's (1993) conceptualization of the virtual community has endured because it resonates with how individuals describe the sense of belonging they experience and the commitment they feel towards other online group members.

What makes virtual communities particularly interesting to sport scholars is that many of the newly formed groups are united by shared interests rather than geography, and sometimes these interests include sport, exercise and/or physical activity. Moreover, many online communities explicitly or implicitly identify with feminist politics and identities. Examples of virtual communities that have attracted the interest of sport scholars working from a feminist perspective include: online forums of fans who repudiate heteronormative representations of women's sport (Plymire & Forman, 2000); derby grrrls, who use virtual spaces to produce and circulate mediated representations of roller derby culture (Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2013); and an anonymous group of soccer girls who manage the @SoccerGrlProbs Twitter account (Heinecken, 2015). All of these new online communities offer opportunities for creating new knowledge about how women engage in and with sport.

Where Is the Community?

While the growth of virtual communities can create new opportunities to learn about gender relations in sport, it also complicates the process of doing ethical, feminist participatory research. For example, how does one define the field site when the community only exists in cyberspace? There may be one main venue, such as a blog, that forms the hub of the network but increasingly these online communities have a presence that extends across multiple social media sites. Dyads or smaller groups within the group may also use other forms of Web-based communication (email, instant messaging, Skype, and so on) to supplement the communication that happens with the group as a whole and these exchanges form 'a social mesh that underlies and helps to connect the broader Web of interconnection' (Baym, 2010, p. 90). Some of these exchanges are publicly visible and but others are only open to select members of the community, thus research teams need to have early conversations about the boundaries of the online "field site". For instance, on the project where I collaborated with a group of Paralympic athletes to host the blog *AthletesFirst*, the team agreed that the research site would be the blog itself. However, though we

attempted to keep all conversation about the research centralized, there were instances when the online exchanges moved from the comment section of the blog to other platforms. The research team decided to try and capture, in the data, those exchanges that occurred on Twitter because we deemed they were “public” but we decided to disregard exchanges on Facebook because they were “private”. Other interactions, such as email or face-to-face conversations between community members were also not included in the project at all because they were simply not available to us.

The networked nature of today’s Web means that content can be rapidly transmitted across platforms and that connections (“friends” or “followers”) frequently crossover on multiple online social networks. Without a clear definition of the scope of the project, it is easy to start adding data-collection sites until the project becomes unmanageable. The key point to remember is that offline projects have boundaries imposed by the limitations of space and distance (not to mention time and cost), but online projects have no such restrictions. Therefore, it becomes incumbent on the research team to set the boundaries of the research field. However, in making decisions on what to include or exclude, feminist scholars also need to be reflexive about the consequences of these choices—which voices are legitimized? Which voices are excluded? Do these decisions disrupt traditional research hierarchies or reproduce them? These are the questions I ask myself when reflecting upon the decisions we made while working on *AthletesFirst*.

Also related to establishing the boundaries of the project is the issue of determining who is part of the community. Online networks may have different notions of “membership” compared to offline communities and while the issue of defining community membership is relevant to all scholars working in digital spaces, it is a particularly loaded decision for feminist researchers who understand the great responsibility that comes with determining “whose knowledge counts”. As was stated in the discussion about blogs as co-constructed spaces, it is very probable there will be people who are virtually present in these online communities but completely invisible to other members. If one accepts the previously advanced premise that invisible audiences play a role in shaping online spaces (and I do), then it follows that at least some of these individuals will feel a sense of kinship with the community and will take an interest in the participatory research underway. Just as we need to be cautious in offline participatory work to allow opportunities for people to engage according to their individual interests and abilities, we need to be attentive to how we include/exclude the invisible members of online communities.

It is also important to note that digital spaces, though virtual, can still be spaces embodied by hierarchical and gendered practices that legitimize certain

voices while marginalizing others. For example, though women make up a significant portion of bloggers, blogs by female writers often receive less attention or are viewed as less influential and less authoritative than those written by their male counterparts (particularly if the topic of the blog is a traditionally male-dominated arena such as politics or sport) (Johnston, Friedman, & Peach, 2011). Other researchers have reported that individuals who express feminist views in online forums are frequently targeted for harassment and “trolling” (Herring, Job-Sluder, Scheckler, & Barab, 2002). Moreover, just as feminist scholars have drawn attention to how different forms of knowledge, evidence and communication styles are favoured by the sport sector (Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011), some types of digital contributions may be given more credence or are more valued by online communities (Lopez, 2009). In short, while much has been made of the democratizing *potential* of the Web as a space for diverse and subaltern publics, in practice we find there are many ways that individuals and groups can be excluded from online participatory research.

Who Participates Online? How Do People Participate Online?

Online participatory research creates both new ways for individuals to get involved and new types of barriers. For example, the AthletesFirst blog was able to engage with a large community of athletes with disabilities that were geographically dispersed (we had readers in over 90 countries). Athletes reported that mobile devices and laptops made it easy for them to stay engaged with the project while travelling between competitions. Furthermore, because a new topic was posted on the blog each week, there was a kind of “reset button”; individuals could miss a post or two and still jump back into the conversation the following week and indeed, throughout the lifespan of the blog, it was quite common for members to drop in/drop out. Yet despite the athletes reporting that they found the blog a highly convenient way to engage in the research, community co-researchers raised concerns about who was being excluded from the project. The disability sport community by definition includes individuals with impairments both physical and sensory. Some of these individuals find online communication a liberating and empowering experience. For example, a few of the athletes involved had severe cerebral palsy that affected their speech and frequently limited their face-to-face conversations with others. On the blog, these same athletes were active participants in the debates. However, athletes with visual impairments gave mixed reviews of the blog. Some said it was easy to navigate the site using a combination

of screen readers, voice commands and/or magnifiers. Others reported that there were elements such as pop-up windows and archives that were difficult for them to use. Additionally, some posts included photos and videos that were inaccessible to some participants. Though the blog team worked closely with the community to make the content widely accessible to different audiences, I know we lost some readers because they found the site difficult or time-consuming to engage with. It was a good reminder to our research team that although the Web is often touted as a tool that will benefit people with disabilities, individuals have very specific needs and what is accessible to one may not be accessible to another (for an excellent book on the topic of new media and disability, see Ellis & Kent, 2011). I think it is also important to note that while individuals that I spoke with felt the look and tone of the blog encouraged participation, I have no way of knowing who did not get involved. Did anyone visit the site and find the amount of text daunting? The athletes who wrote the posts and commented on the blog were diverse in terms of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, geographic location, income, (dis)ability, age and other factors but they were all fluent in English, university educated, comfortable writing for a public audience and capable of applying certain forms of written rhetoric. I would refer to readers to danah boyd's (2009) work where she explains that early conversations about a "digital divide" focused on who had access to the Web and who did not, but it is increasingly recognized that there is also a divide between those who have the digital literacy needed to use the technologies and participate in online environments and those who do not. Anyone carrying out research in this space needs to acknowledge that there are many different ways in which digital divides manifest and these have direct implications for who takes part in participatory research. Furthermore, feminist researchers working from participatory frameworks need to actively seek out methods that encourage broad participation from differently situated contributors.

Where Is the Action?

Of course PAR is not only about facilitating participation for participation's sake. It is premised on the notion that engaging with community members will lead to research grounded in the needs of the community and that will ultimately support action that is directly beneficial to the group. Digital participatory research adds an interesting dimension to the concept of "action" because it raises the question 'if the community is virtual, can the action be real?' and also the follow up 'if the action is real, where does it happen?'

The answer to these questions depends largely on how we are theorizing both action and the Internet.

There are (at least) three ways in which action has been conceptualized with regard to online participatory research and transformative social action. In the first, the Web is seen as a tool used by community members to plan and coordinate offline action. This is what Earl and Kimport (2011) refer to as the ‘supersize’ effect of the Web in that it allows people to do more with less—allowing, for example, groups to connect with larger audience in less time and at a lower cost. What is notable about this particular conceptualization of the Web is that while the technology is viewed as changing how action is coordinated or carried out, the types of actions undertaken as a result of participatory work are not inherently digital.

The second way in which the Web has been theorized in participatory research is as a place (aka cyberspace) where action is undertaken. In these projects the Web is a tool used in the work but it is also where subsequent actions are located. These actions, intended to bring about positive social change, can come in many forms including developing online resources or digital applications for use by community members. The actions may also be more confrontational and targeted at combating social injustices in online realms through, for example, circulating e-petitions, posting online condemnations of policies or practices, or engaging in other forms of cyber protest. As Meikle (2002) points out, although these forms of social actions are digital, they are derivative of offline tactics previously developed and deployed by social and cultural movements working towards social justice.

Finally, we need to consider the possibility that engaging in participatory research in online environments *is action*. As was previously discussed, online forums such as blogs provide spaces for individuals to engage in political conversations that are otherwise barred to them. For example, Keller (2012) found that young feminists on the FBomb site saw their bloggings as directly combating popular societal discourses that position young women as consumers of culture rather than cultural producers or political agents. In a similar vein, several of the Paralympic athletes I collaborated with felt that writing for a blog was a direct means of addressing the lack of attention disability sport receives in mainstream media coverage and was therefore fundamentally a political act. Furthermore, I think we need to consider that actually carrying out participatory work in online environments supports the creation of new online networks. AthletesFirst started with six co-researchers. By the end of the project, we had a global readership and multiple links had been made between individuals writing for and reading the blog. Though the project has ended, these relationships continue and they increase the capacity of the

community to engage in future cooperative and transformative work that can challenge existing inequalities in our sport networks. These are the “actions” that are the true legacy of our participatory and feminist research.

Closing Considerations

The Web is an incredible resource for feminist scholars of sport and physical cultural practices. First, online media offers an additional way of learning about sport particularly when the groups creating the online content represent individuals marginalized or underrepresented in mainstream media (or want to challenge sexist mainstream media portrayals and offer alternative representations of athletic, female bodies). Second, virtual spaces such as blogs create new opportunities for individual actors to come together and form communities centred on shared interests in sport or shared identities (as fans, as athletes, as exercisers, and so on). These virtual communities provide rich new sources of knowledge about sport and physical cultural practices and they also offer vital support to women and others who are marginalized or isolated by their offline, local sporting groups and subcultures. Finally, digital technologies provide feminist researchers with new tools for carrying out interactive, intercreative and participatory research with communities that can lead to transformation action.

Many sport scholars have already embarked on projects that use digital tools, have virtual field sites, or that engage with online communities. In this chapter, I have showcased the innovative ways these scholars are adapting their qualitative research practices to account for (and take advantage of) the way in which the Web has become embedded in everyday lives and everyday practices. They are, as Hine (2015) calls for, learning to be agile in their methods while still remaining committed to a practice solidly grounded in the methodological traditions of their fields. I have also attempted to highlight the complexities of doing online participatory work. I think it important to acknowledge that Web-based technologies might allow us to do more with less, “supersize” our research, or rapidly communicate with people geographically distant from us, but that does not mean this this work is quick or easy (particularly when one is committed to ethical, feminist practices that redistribute power more equally to research participants). The challenges of doing rigorous research and formulating ethical and collaborative research relationships remain, even if the specific issues are somewhat different in online environments. Although there are many technologies and many methods that can be used in online research, the interactive and intercreative

features of blogs make them a particularly good fit for participatory action research that is also intended to be flexible and responsive to the context of the research and the needs of the community involved.

Future Directions

A decade ago, some academics were already declaring that the heyday of blogs had come and gone (a claim Dean (2010) mocked when she pointed out that the announcements of the “death of blogging” were largely blogged). I certainly have not observed that blogs are losing their relevance. What I have observed since I started my research on AthletesFirst is an evolution of how authors, audiences and academics are using blogs. While much online communication has shifted to social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Shapchat and Instagram), blogs still form the backbone of online communities and act as the “home page” for many otherwise very nebulous networks. As a tool for participatory feminist research, I believe we have only started to understand how to leverage blogs in sport research. There are excellent examples of sport scholars who have used online tools and online spaces to transform their research practices and seek methods that are more collaborative and inclusive of diverse communities; the next challenge is to start envisioning how we can use blogs to co-create with community members strategies for transformative practices that are also able to cross the online/offline divide.

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Utilizing Sporting Autobiographies for Feminist Research: The Case of Cyclist Nicole Cooke

Carly Stewart

Sparkes and Stewart (2015, p. 2) note the ‘enthusiasm that has greeted the study of autobiographies’ in a variety of disciplines (e.g., literary theory, history, anthropology, sociology) and cross-disciplinary fields (e.g. cultural studies, women’s studies). Not so in sport. On the contrary, scholars have signalled the relative neglect of autobiographies despite their potential to offer a rich source of data (Stewart, Smith, & Sparkes, 2011; Thing & Ronglan, 2015). Offering an explanation for this current state of affairs, Sparkes and Stewart (2015) draw attention to negative views and misplaced assumptions that convey surmountable problems for the acceptance of sporting autobiographies as a serious resource for researchers in sport. For example, often lumped together under the heading of “celebrity autobiographies”, sporting autobiographies are charged with being commercially driven for profit, formulaic or predictable in nature (often ghost-written), uninteresting and limited in expressive form, superficial in content, banal and cliché-ridden. This said, concerning their use for research purposes there is a cultural suspicion around their unmediated authenticity or truth which positions them as rather dubious source material (Taylor, 2008; Smith and Watson, 2010). However, presenting a more positive view, autobiographies of athletes could be viewed as, and are widely consumed as, a cultural phenomenon in their own right (Sparkes & Stewart, 2015; Young, 2001). Sparkes and Stewart (2015, p. 7) propose that many are ‘well-written, include complex plotlines, and provide illuminating insights into the lives of athletes’ over time with the more memorable ones perhaps drawing

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our attention to the experiences of those which intervene in wider contemporary discussions.

There is, however, a small but growing body of work which does give analytical attention to sporting autobiographies (Overman, 2003, 2008; Palmer, 2015; Sparkes, Pérez-Samaniego, & Smith, 2012; Pipkin 2008; Sparkes 2004; Stewart et al., 2011). Yet, this research consists predominantly of autobiographies written by male athletes revealing an ‘inattention to women’s voices’ (Heinecken, 2015, p. 2). As a consequence there is a distinct lack of feminist analytical attention given to sporting autobiographies. This is something of a peculiar situation, given that autobiography has long been a topic for feminist theorists and women’s life writing in general (e.g., see Smith & Watson, 1998) and there has been significant feminist interest in experiences and lives as told by sportswomen (e.g., see Markula, 2005). It is against this backdrop that this chapter seeks to make two contributions. First, it advocates the use of autobiographies as a valuable resource for feminist scholarship in sport. Second, via an illustrative case study of cyclist Nicole Cooke’s (2014) autobiography, *The Breakaway*, it seeks to show one way in which autobiographies allow for a nuanced analysis of contemporary feminist positions and can be used to bring discussions of feminist theory to the fore.

Autobiographies as a Resource for Feminist Scholarship

Taylor (2008) takes the view that sports autobiographies ought to be viewed as cultural texts beyond facts and verifiable information, and instead read as an interpretation. Such a view is certainly harmonious with the scholarly use of autobiographies in the aforementioned disciplines and fields of study, where works illuminate the complexities of how identity is shaped when we write about who we think we are. Smith and Watson (2010, p. 214) refer to ‘performativity’ to define autobiographical occasions as ‘dynamic sites for the performance of identities that become constitutive of subjectivity’. Similarly, for Eakin (2008, p. x) life stories are ‘not merely *about* us but in an inescapable and profound way *are* us’. From this viewpoint, identities are never final and are enacted through the available cultural narratives and discourses in which they are expressed, that is, we cannot make these up on our own (Eakin, 1999, 2008; Frank, 2010; Smith & Watson, 2010). Eakin’s (1999, p. 4) approach is in the spirit of a cultural anthropologist, ‘*asking what such texts can teach us about the way in which individuals in a particular culture experience their sense of being “I”—and in some instructive cases that prove the rule, their sense of not being an “I”*’. Such an approach, he argues, requires that we ‘accept the

gambit of autobiography's referential aesthetic' (Eakin, 1999, p. 4), leaving open the possibility that they may not be telling the truth. Supporting this, Sparkes and Stewart (2015) state that once this "problem" of unmediated authenticity and autobiographical "truth" is rethought—objective truth is an ideal that no qualitative data can truly claim—sporting autobiographies shift from being a problem to a possible resource for scholarly analysis to good effect, depending on their interests and purposes.

Autobiographies lend themselves to feminist analysis at the outset specifically because they offer the first-person view; something that all feminist epistemologies take as a starting point (Griffiths, 1994). Smith and Watson (2010, p. 214) refer to subject position or 'positionality' to describe 'how speaking subjects take up, inhabit, and speak through certain discourses of identity that are culturally salient and available to them at a particular historical moment'. Therefore women's autobiographies are important to examine because they draw from discourses and discursive regimes about what a woman is and should be; women as subjects are produced by ideologies of gender (Gilmore, 1994). Further, regulatory discourses of identity are related to material bodies in complex ways. Judith Butler's assertion that gender is performative informs much contemporary discussion of life narrative (see Butler, 1993) and for Smith (1993, cited in Smith & Watson, 2010) autobiographical subjectivity is enacted in cultural spaces between the personal "I" and the body politic. Echoing this Smith and Watson's (2010) toolkit for reading autobiography poses some useful questions that bring the body and embodiment, experience and identity into focus, including: when, where and how does the body become visible? How does the narrator negotiate fictions of identity and resistances to the constraints of a given identity in presenting her—or himself as a gendered or a racialized, or ethnic subject?

As well as constructing their own identities and selves, sports autobiographers play an important role in providing a narrative map or blueprint for the life stories of others negotiating the sporting landscape (Pollner and Stein, 1996; Stewart et al., 2011). This said, for Frank (2010), stories teach people who they are, suggesting that people not only think *about* stories, they think *with* stories. He advises that stories are powerful, interpellating listeners to recognize themselves in particular characters, and to act on particular identities as part of a reflexive awareness of who the type of narrative requires him or her to be, and to do. This is important because a coherent and meaningful narrative account of personal experience may become the sole authority to provide romantic but limited options for being (Frank 2013; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Sparkes et al., 2012). Importantly, however, Frank (2010) notes that whilst powerful, people can and do refuse intpellations into particular characters, often through stories in the form of memoirs. In the context of examining the autobiographies

of female athletes we are able to explore the nuanced ways they respond to, negotiate, challenge and refuse cultural constructions of female athletic identity while simultaneously instructing or providing a map for readers about the significance of sports for all women (Heinecken, 2015).

Sporting Autobiographies of Female Athletes: A Postfeminist Context

The most extensive examination of sports autobiographies by female athletes to date provides an important context for the case study to follow. Heinecken (2015) analyzes 30 post-1992 “jockographies” by US female athletes exploring their construction of athletic identity and sports practice. She notes that female “jockographies” are notable ‘for the ways they seek to appeal to a wide audience by mediating feminist concerns around the social status of women as well as conservative fears around women’s intrusion into the male preserve of sport’ (Heinecken, 2015, p. 3), thus articulating a postfeminist sensibility.

Postfeminism as used here¹ is defined as a kind of “popular feminism” that characterizes contemporary culture where aspects of second-wave feminism are taken for granted (Gill, 2007). Importantly, as McDonald (2000) states, postfeminism is not merely antifeminist; rather than combating inequities, instead women are reassured that feminism is no longer necessary as women can “have it all”. In essence women can be both sexy and powerful. In her influential work, Angela McRobbie (2004, 2009) echoes this, arguing that what is distinctive about postfeminist culture is a selectively defined feminism which facilitates a “double entanglement” of the doing and undoing of feminism; young women are offered particular freedoms and choice in exchange for or at the expense of feminist politics and transformation (McRobbie, 2004, p. 255). This said, for McRobbie (2009), rather than a theoretical orientation, postfeminism is an object of critical analysis in itself. Heinecken’s (2015) work on female sporting autobiographies echoes this position, finding that despite variance in background most² female jockographies promote notions of female strength and resistance to gendered limitations, reinforcing the female athlete as liberated and upwardly mobile yet embodying a normative heterosexual femininity. In accordance with Gill (2007), femininity in postfeminist sensibility is increasingly figured as a bodily property. For example, she notes that these themes include a shift from objectification to subjectification, a ‘resexualisation’ of women’s bodies and the dominance of a “makeover” paradigm. Further still, in recent years it has been well noted that postfeminist discourses have been linked to an increase in the visibility of female athletes in sporting media generally, and in turn these discourses have

become increasingly prominent in a variety of contemporary cultural representations of women's sports, including advertising and film (Heywood, 2007; Hill, 2015; Lindner, 2013). It would seem the current cultural context for producing an autobiography is decidedly postfeminist.

In contrast, second-wave liberal feminism is often defined against, or used to juxtapose the characteristics of postfeminism (Hargreaves, 2004; McDonald, 2000; McRobbie, 2004, 2009). Whilst well rehearsed (see Birrell, 2000; Hargreaves 1994, 2004), in brief liberal feminism, based upon a humanist ontological position that men and women are more alike than different in sport, is concerned with equality in terms of women having the same opportunities and resources as men. From this perspective, it is artificially constructed barriers that restrict equal participation, so the solution is to remove the barriers. Hargreaves (2004, p. 188) explains that this approach 'using gender as a distributive category, is based on liberal-democratic ideologies and is linked to equal rights and policy making through government initiatives and the work of sports organisations'. Crucially, in contrast to a non-politicized postfeminist discourse, liberal feminists pursue a politicized agenda and advocate equal access, opportunity, rewards structures, pay, worth and rights for women (Birrell, 2000). In what follows, I analyse one sporting autobiography that caused public controversy or 'trouble' in its alignment to a liberal feminist agenda, and counter-alignment to a postfeminist agenda.

The Case of Cyclist Nicole Cooke's *The Breakaway*

If asked, who was the first British cyclist to win the Tour de France, the answer would *not* be, Bradley Wiggins.³ Welsh cyclist Nicole Cooke, MBE⁴ twice won the Tour de France six years before Bradley Wiggins, in 2006 and 2007. She is undoubtedly one of Great Britain's highest-achieving athletes with a long list of accolades to include Olympic, Commonwealth and World champion, and the first British road rider to have been ranked number one in the world. In 2013 she retired from cycling and published her autobiography *The Breakaway*⁵ the following year. *The Breakaway* documents her life in cycling and examines cycling culture and gender relations.⁶ A critical acclamation inside the book gives a sense of its main purpose:

But what truly sets this book apart from other sporting biographies is seeing from behind the scenes, the sharp differences that exist in sport in the treatment of men and women and a very different perspective on the highly successful British Cycling World Class Performance Plan that has produced so many Olympic champions over recent years. The contents will unsettle the most partisan of male cycling fans. (Elliot in Cooke, 2014)

It has been praised in the media for its outspoken and upfront behind-the-scenes look at cycling (Williams, 2014). Cooke's autobiography, I argue, presents a stand-out counter-narrative to postfeminist sensibility found elsewhere in contemporary sporting culture, and where confronting inequality for Cooke *is* the story and represents a return to the liberal, second-wave forms of feminism that postfeminism is charged with overlooking (Hargreaves 1994, 2004).

The Doing of Feminism: A Liberal Feminist Position

Whilst not overtly claiming authority as a feminist, Cooke adopts an intellectual and political position akin to second-wave liberal feminism. I suggest that she achieves this in three ways. First, she highlights encounters of inequality at every opportunity, drawing attention to how she negotiates everyday gender hierarchies making the personal political. Second, she marks a series of active feminisms whereby she is an advocate for gender justice and makes considerable efforts to disrupt and challenge male hegemony through institutional change. Last, she maintains a focus on gender inequalities and feminist activism and does not represent an image-conscious, sexualized postfeminist body politic.

Unmasking Inequality in Cycling

Cooke's story catalogues a series of incidents which show cycling culture maintaining control and power over women as governed by male organizations. Importantly, whilst there is a narrative of change in terms of funding, support and the professionalism of British Cycling, it consistently benefits men at the expense of women, even late into Cooke's career. In 2008, having become the first person to achieve World and Olympic titles in the same year, Cooke explains, 'From where I was at that moment in time, it was obvious that British cycling was organised by men for men' (Cooke, 2014, p. 376). She alludes to a hierarchy that privileges gender above success, where male cyclists are more important than female cyclists who are often achieving more, giving them privileged access to resources, funding and opportunities. An early experience of the inequity to follow her throughout her career occurs during her time as a junior cyclist in the 1990s. *National Lottery* funding is systematically inaccessible despite her credible run of results:

Shane [Director of British Cycling] advised the funding gatekeepers that I didn't have any results to justify a grant. It seemed an astonishing thing to say, given that by this time I had won Welsh and British Championships across several disciplines available and a whole host of ESCA⁷ titles, in addition to racing well in Holland. My application was rejected because I hadn't won a BCF⁸ track or road championship, even though the BCF provided no such titles for girls. How could I get results if the competitions didn't exist? The Welsh boys had won some of these and so were eligible. They received the support, but I got nothing ... so we tried to get some BCF track and road championships for girls, but were told by the BCF there was 'no demand, not enough interest' ... And so it went on. (Cooke, 2014, p. 39)

Cooke documents clear structural subordination of girls and women. Limited access and funding meant that 'road races for girls in the UK were in short supply' (Cooke, 2014, p. 43). Cooke further explains that a change in UK Sport funding directives 'was to have a fundamental impact on the rest of my career' (Cooke, 2014, p. 52) making British Cycling (BC) the singular centralized organizing body.⁹ BC formed the World Class Performance Plan (WCPP) that would focus on track cycling medals, which Cooke attributes to a more compounding underlying gender issue 'reflecting the sport's imbalance of events, supporting the men far more than the women' (Cooke, 2014, p. 52). Essentially, BC controlled equipment, access to facilities and coaching, and salaries to allow "plan" riders to become full-time cyclists. Crucially she could only compete for Great Britain if she was selected by BC. Cooke's story unfolds around a narrative that sees her not having access to "the plan" as a junior, and developing as an individual outside the BC "system", her results exposing it as failing. For Cooke, this ongoing struggle is clearly linked to a gender issue. She, refers to 'a different and bigger threat' (Cooke, 2014, p. 87), acknowledging deeper more serious structures of patriarchal power between herself and the men of BC which include episodes of rule bending and inconsistency (see pp. 70–71), deliberate attempts to block (see pp. 45–46), sabotage (see pp. 84–87) and stop her outstanding performances (see pp. 78–80) through underhand tactics.

Further, female cyclists have limited access to support staff. Cooke explains: 'the most able would be directed to the most attractive roles, working with the senior men. At the bottom of this priority list, in this male-dominated sport, was the support for junior women' (Cooke, 2014, p. 58). In essence, female cyclists are taught they are not as important as their male counter parts from a young age. For example Cooke recalls the special treatment junior boys received at a World Championship race, the chef cooking their breakfast at a

time to order whilst the girls received no such service. Further, the male-dominated make-up of BC is clear. Only one female is mentioned in an official position—Canadian coach, Peg Hill. Her appointment is welcomed with enthusiasm by Cooke, but it is short-lived and she recalls how she is soon replaced by ‘a novice male coach, with no experience of riding on the continent, no experience as a professional and no experience of the female scene or coaching female riders’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 138). She later alludes to unfair dismissal and treatment based upon gender.

Lastly, the marginalization of women in cycling and struggles around sponsorship and media representation remain a barrier to the development and viability of women’s cycling. There is disparity in wages and sponsorship:

...all the talk was of the massive Sky sponsorship that was coming into the sport and plans for what they were going to do with the money. I didn’t need a crystal ball back in 2008 to predict that, by the time of writing six years later, while millions have been poured into a system to convert the male non-finishers at Beijing and Varese into world beaters, virtually nothing has come the way of the female road riders. (Cooke, 2014, p. 377)

Cooke is also aware of her media profile being controlled, and at times exploited, by cycling journalists, British Cycling and the BBC, citing ‘sexism in reporting’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 240). In contrast to postfeminist discourse where media and marketing celebrates female sports and sports stars for providing role models in a quest for sporting and social equality (McDonald, 2000), Cooke brings media coverage under scrutiny, where women in cycling are underrepresented and trivialized in comparison to men. In one media event Cooke describes press coverage as ‘laughable’; ‘David got blanket coverage, while just eight words in a part sentence were left for me’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 231). Attending the BBC Sports Personality of the Year award, Cooke recalls the significant amount of time given to Lance Armstrong and David Millar (later to be revealed as drugs cheats):

To rub salt in the wound, for the ten seconds they decided to speak about my performances for the year, which included being the youngest-ever and first British winner of the season-long World Cup—in fact no home-developed rider, male or female, had ever won a single round—they showed a picture not of me, but of Jeannie Longo, the rather generous clue being the word ‘FRANCE’ on the side of the kit. (Cooke, 2014, p. 221)

Finally, exploitation is also acknowledged in branding and a display of a capitalist culture that supports men’s cycling; ‘despite the fact I would ride in a jersey emblazoned with Sky, I would receive nothing for this. Sky were also now sponsoring a men’s road team and all the riders received a salary’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 390).

Further still, was the damage that doping in men's cycling¹⁰ was doing to women's cycling, with Cooke arguing that 'the ongoing doping scandals of the men's scene were bringing women's cycling close to collapse' (Cooke, 2014, p. 390).

Challenging Gender Inequality and Active Feminisms

Liberal feminism is marked by a struggle 'to get more of what men have already had' (Hargreaves 1994, p. 26) and involves activism. Cooke makes clear efforts to equalize opportunities, resources and funding for competing on equal terms with men through institutional change. For example, in response to absence of BCF events for girls, Cooke (aged 14 years) and her father wrote to the BCF who continued to block her pathway. Having won an event in conditions not designed for her to win, she writes, 'the BCF may have been embarrassed at that moment, but they literally rolled the red carpet out at the first-ever set of British Youth Track championships for girls the following year, in 1998' (Cooke, 2014, p. 41). In many more examples Cooke illustrates implementing governance reforms. Following 'the bungling, petty, political and indiscreet nature of the incompetence of so many' (Cooke, 2014, p. 52) men during her first time away with GB, positioning herself as 'a victim of their incompetence' (Cooke, 2014, p. 94), she writes a 29-page document to BC with recommendations. Cooke reports that changes are achieved with the CEO assuring her that 'lessons had been learned and things would change. And they did' (Cooke, 2014, p. 99). Following this the BC WCPP hired an experienced female coach and some other excellent people to work with the women's squad (albeit short-lived). Cooke also takes issue with the system-athlete relationship more generally, recognizing the gendered power dynamics at play. She refuses to sign an unreasonable Great Britain (GB) team agreement, excluding herself from the WCPP system, its resources and opportunities (including GB representation). Active challenges put forward by Cooke and her father include achieving legal reforms to remove BC (and governing bodies of other sports) from the position of gatekeepers responsible for distributing *National Lottery* funds to athletes in general, 'changing the whole relationship between the athlete and the governing body of their sport' (Cooke, 2014, p. 137). Crucially echoing aspects of liberal feminist critique, she summarizes not only a personal but a political position, attributing power struggles to a pervasive gender issue affective beyond herself:

Fundamentally, I felt all of this was a collection of insecure men who wanted a sport for men. Peg was the only female coach and undoubtedly she suffered from the same prejudice as Wendy and me. The ridiculous wording of the Team Agreement—that you had to obey every instruction of whoever the WCPP decided might be available to 'coach' you—reflected this. (Cooke, 2014, p. 139)

Amidst the successes, however, Cooke draws attention back to the inequality at the heart of the matter, that ‘in all the posturing and hubris, a golden opportunity has been lost ... what could we have achieved had we both been riding together on the same team, working every day, sharing tactics and practising them together in race after race?’ (Cooke, 2014, p.).

Cooke is also active in her condemnation of the unequal media coverage from which women’s sport in general has suffered. In an attempt to challenge the hegemony in the gendered media system, she documents meeting with the BBC sports department to discuss how they might follow the road scene, though notes ‘the result was a polite refusal’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 380). Similarly, she tried to work with various specialists in sports marketing and sponsorship, ‘to be told time and time again of the corrosive effect [of the drugs scandal on the men’s scene] on potential sponsors not familiar with cycling’ (Cooke, 2014, p. 382).

Finally, the autobiography in and of itself is a form of activism, a political instrument that breaks the culture of silence in relation to gender inequality and cycling. The feminist narrative enacts an alternative subjectivity to claim the possibility of a female body as distinct from representations of women in sport as passive and compliant. There is power inherent in acts of autobiographical inscription beyond the printed life story where the articulation of authorial agency, which relies upon the capacity of action, enables marginal identities, experiences and histories to be seen, heard and recognized (Smith & Watson, 2010). Importantly, we ought to take seriously the stakes of producing counter narratives, including personal and professional risks.

Resisting (and Revealing) Postfeminist Tensions

I have sought to illustrate that Cooke’s subjectivity does not articulate a post-feminist sensibility. Fears around the intrusion of women into a male sporting preserve are not conservative in line with postfeminism but brought forth into a public story. She does not celebrate female achievement in male spaces but instead her achievements are used to speak out, which is, as McRobbie (2009, p. 57) notes ‘what women ought not to do’. Far from maintaining the status quo Cooke is aware of a deviant or “troublesome” (Cooke, 2014, p. 269) characterization imparted to her, suggestive of a strategic attempt by the system to disempower or disparage feminism. However, despite what appears to be a relatively organized liberal feminist framework, we might read other feminist positions in her story.

Other Subjectivities

Physicality, sexuality and the body as a site for defining gender relations is an important theme in postmodern feminist theory and of a feminist cultural studies agenda (Birrell, 2000). Further, as noted at the outset, re-sexualization of the female body is a key feature of postfeminism (Gill, 2007). In terms of Cooke's sexual subjectivity there is no female apologetic or reconciliation of athleticism with heterosexual femininity in Cooke's written narrative. Unlike the postfeminist female subject, she does not represent herself or other women as sexualized subjects up for discussion. This is further illuminated in her representation via photographs. Of 51 photographs in total, including the front and back covers, only two are in a non-cycling context. The front cover shows Cooke as an active cyclist, its composition subtle and not similar to postfeminist notions of the strong, sexy head and shoulders power shot.¹¹ However, this said, one photo *is* a "make-over" shot,¹² indicating a momentary claiming of subjectivity indicative of postfeminist culture. As Weber (2009, p. 128) notes, demonstrating suitable femininity, female bodies 'must look and behave according to the terms of conventional femininity', the makeover 'doesn't create but brings out one's inner woman'. This subject position is fleeting, not claimed elsewhere. Further there is a clear rejection of the postfeminist sporting female:

On the track, a single female to pose with the men and whose star could not in any way be a threat to their collective machismo, a star whose glow could only enhance the aura around the men, was fine. But if they gave oxygen to me, it only served to bring attention to the woeful performance of the men on the road, and the primacy of the road scene over the track was probably not something either British Cycling or the BBC was keen to promote in public. (Cooke, 2014, p. 376)

Her relative silence on the sexualized female body *might* be interpreted as a radical practice of postfeminist resistance, rejecting discourse and a particular narrative about herself as a sexualized female body in sport (Keating, 2013). In refusing the postfeminist narrative it is worth considering the likely pressures from publishing houses and other interested parties Cooke might have felt.¹³

In terms of Cooke's "racial" and class subjectivity, she could, as McRobbie (2004) puts it, be described as a 'subject of capacity' or a 'top girl' in relation to her white, middle-class, educated and supportive family background, enabling her to adopt an active feminist position. For example, she describes an 'idyllic' upbringing and having 'wanted for nothing' (Cooke, 2014, p. 10),

and a 'team Cooke' work ethic that enables her to challenge the system from a privileged position. She constructs herself as a hard-working, well-educated, intelligent and resourceful character. Liberal feminism as a pure category of feminist theory is criticized for considering gender as a 'primary category of oppression that does not consider other categories of "race", class, disability, nation and religion' (Birrell, 2000, p. 65). This said, her subjectivity is congruent with a tendency of white athletes to overlook how "racial" or class privilege enable success in white-dominated and often expensive sports. Read another way, her subjectivity *might* show partial accordance with postfeminist ideals of an individual upwardly mobile female subject, albeit one who *is* encumbered by social barriers.

Individualism Vs Cooperation

Within the social ideology of individualism, female participation is fragmented (Thorpe, 2005). Cooke attempts to reject individualism and re-establish co-operative elements of team cycling on numerous occasions. Importantly, road cycling *is* a team sport and she would often have little team support due to structural inequalities. One outstanding example is at the 2006 Commonwealth Games where, as defending Commonwealth Champion and World No. 1, Cooke explains how 'the Welsh Cycling Union decided it was in my best interests to face a full team of six Aussies alone' (Cooke, 2014, p. 77) and 'gifted Australia, Canada, England and New Zealand my head on a plate' (Cooke, 2014, p. 273). Referring to a decision *not* to fund supporting riders, Cooke recalls, 'British women's cycling has just lost another three talented riders to add to the many others over the year. What a terrible and avoidable waste of time, effort ambition and talent!' (Cooke, 2014, p. 273). She continues, 'What had they decided to do for the men? That had a full quota of six riders. Why did I waste my breath asking?' (Cooke, 2014, p. 272).

However, individualism in a postfeminist neo-liberal sense is, for Harris (2004), the "can-do girl" where good choices, effort and ambition alone are all it takes to succeed. For McRobbie (2004), young women are offered particular freedoms and choice in exchange for or at the expense of feminist politics and transformation. Cooke's subjectivity oscillates between rejecting individualism imposed upon her through structural gender inequality (destruction of a team development approach to women's cycling) and the claiming of it (challenging the system) to advance feminist politics. In the following example, she does not claim to seek individual glory and financial gain but maintains a clear position on single-handedly developing women's cycling more widely:

The most obvious thing to do would have been to use my status as World and Olympic Champion to negotiate for the best year's pay of my life and join an established team ... my dream was to create a team that would act as a development opportunity for young female British riders. I wanted others to have an easier route than I have. So much talent has been lost, ground down by the attitudes of British Cycling. I knew I would only ever have this chance once to do something this big in my life, and I wanted to take it, regardless of the men in the sport around me, and regardless of the risk to me. (Cooke, 2014, p. 378)

She simultaneously adopts individualism defined against the behaviours of women who appear to passively accept and support male hegemony, whilst employing feminist politics to account for their struggle:

Undoubtedly, the girls were riding to the instructions of the coaches, who were unsuited to their roles. They were the problem; massive egos without the ability to match and be supported by a Team Agreement that gave them absolute power. The girls should have had the sense to stand up to them, but perhaps they just weren't as 'difficult' as me to work with. (Cooke, 2014, p. 117)

Read another way, this kind of "socially responsible rhetoric" is not only consistent with the ways that female athletes are expected to uphold the standards of ethical behaviour but also fortifies notions of women as 'inherently giving, cooperative and altruistic' (McDonald, 2000, p. 43). Values promoted by Cooke are often self-sacrificing and other-directed. On this, Heinecken (2015, p. 4) writes, 'while this perspective may seem better than more individualistic sports models, it is a rhetorical strategy designed to render female [athletes] gender-acceptable'.

Concluding Comments and Future Directions

This chapter endeavours to shine a light on sporting autobiographies as a useful resource for feminist analysis, highlighting some of the nuanced feminist positions Nicole Cooke constructs in telling her experience of being a woman in elite cycling. Explicitly, Cooke claims the position of liberal feminist and active agent in bringing this agenda to the fore amid the dominant postfeminist cultural context found in the autobiographies of female athletes elsewhere (Heinecken, 2015). More implicitly, she rejects the "sexy and powerful" postfeminist subjectivity and body politic, resisting dominant identity discourses available to her. Drawing further upon this case study, attention is turned

briefly to some ways we can think with this method for a feminist agenda and research in the future.

Published autobiographies are distinguishable as a specific form in a full range of storytelling options available to us in making decisions about research. They are, as Eakin (2008, p. x) suggests ‘only the most visible, tangible evidence of the construction of identity’ as performed when talking about lives in the world. Unlike narrative data obtained from interviews, authors have more time to compose, edit and polish lives offering a more complete, neat and persuasive life story. Frank’s (2010) socio-narratology approach to storytelling is useful to think about what an autobiography might *do* as a social actor, working for and on people. According to Frank (2010, p. 28) ‘stories have the capacity to deal with human troubles, but also the capacity to make TROUBLE for humans’. *The Breakaway* presents “double Trouble”. There is Trouble¹⁴ in the story: the gender trouble in which Cooke experiences inequity in elite cycling throughout her entire career. But also the story *causes* trouble, both for men in cycling and sport more widely, and for Cooke living with the outcomes or consequences of having chosen to tell it. This said, a story which has gender trouble at its core aligns well with a feminist agenda. In this case, liberal feminism is set out as a model for dealing with the trouble. Scholars have noted the potential of liberalism to impact women, utilize personal empowerment and to bring about more radical changes in the organization, practices and value systems of sport (Thorpe, 2005). Importantly, the effect of telling the story may be to interpellate those who hear it to take Cooke as a model for how to be a woman negotiating sport. It may provide a narrative map, shaping their experiences and encouraging them to engage with a political agenda. This is particularly important where scholars remain concerned about the cultural space of postfeminism and postfeminist ideas of success (Brown, 1997; Brundston, 1997; McRobbie, 1999, 2004). If, as may be, Cooke is rejected as a model for identity by other women then at least engagement with Cooke’s autobiography could encourage lively debate about feminism.

Further, we might ask what the consequences are for sportswomen who chose to tell a troublesome story of sport. It is feasible to assume that post-sports career opportunities are likely to be based upon a story and public identity (or character) which plays by the rules (Eakin, 1999) and doesn’t make Trouble (Frank, 2010), appealing to dominant culture. The work Cooke’s story does in her own life and the impact upon her personal and professional career following cycling ought to be considered. Though Cooke does not expose this uneasiness in her story, alienation from fractions of the cycling world and wider sporting community are a real possibility where identity is

relational and the ethics of writing about others in self-narratives are well rehearsed (Eakin, 1999).

Accordingly, future directions for the use of sports autobiographies in feminist research might include the following. First, by virtue of their distinguishable form (Eakin, 2008) they can be used in an additive or complementary way to existing bodies of feminist research on various phenomena, illuminating or shedding further light on various issues or personal experiences in a variety of sports. They can add a further dimension to our theoretical understandings, allowing us to layer sources of narrative data in the reading of different feminist positions. In their complexity, autobiographies can also provide insights into significant relationships that enhance or suppress athletes' experiences and identities in the context of their lives. Sparkes and Stewart (2015) argue that various forms of narrative analysis are a fruitful way to advance when researching autobiographies. Thematic and structural analyses are particularly useful to these ends, the former focusing on content or the "whats" to the exclusion of the latter, where structure or "how" something is said is the focus (see Smith & Sparkes, 2009). Given that autobiographies are widely available and easily accessible, we look more widely across intersectional categories of subject positions and other cultures with relative ease (language accessibility permitting).

Finally, the cultural phenomenon of sports autobiographies in and of themselves, and the sheer disparity in the numbers of female versus male autobiographies that are produced and published requires attention (Stewart, 2011), as well as closer scrutiny of publishing house demands and processes of ghost-writing to account for these differences. Which female athletes are able to publish their lives, in which sports or for what achievements and under what conditions? We can look at the interconnections across these institutions more closely and examine them as gendered. Utilizing Frank's (2010) dialogical analysis, where the performance of the story for the teller and listener is the focus, we can move beyond hinting at the power of sports autobiographies to exploring the impact they have in shaping the experiences of individuals who consume them (see Sparkes et al., 2012). Given the relatively few female sports autobiographies available, this may be especially insightful. In closing, whilst narrative inquiry in sport and its potential for feminist research is not new, the use of sporting autobiographies as a distinct form of narrative data is. This chapter hopes to have placed sporting autobiographies on the agenda to become one of the possibilities from which feminist researchers make their choices.

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Notes

1. Gill and Scharff (2011) note that postfeminism as a key term in feminist cultural critique in recent years has a taken-for-granted status, and is a term used with a distinct lack of specificity indicating a wide range of meanings. They outline four broad ways to think about its use: (1) to signal an analytical perspective, an epistemological break within academic feminism; (2) a historical shift after the height of second-wave feminism, a set of assumptions often widely disseminated within popular media forms; (3) to refer to a backlash against feminism; and (4) as a sensibility characterizing large parts of contemporary culture.
2. With the exception of two notable examples in the tennis player Serena Williams (Williams & Paisner, 2009) and soccer player, Hope Solo (Solo & Killion, 2012).
3. Bradley Wiggins CBE is a British male cyclist often credited with the accolade of being the first British rider to win the Tour de France.
4. In 2009 Nicole Cooke was appointed Member of the order of the British Empire (MBE) for services to cycling (Cooke, 2014).
5. *The Breakaway* is a cycling term used to refer to a successful and well executed attack to create a gap from the main peloton of riders, and metaphorically here from an unfair and unequal gendered “system” in cycling culture.
6. Cooke also notably examines doping culture in cycling and reports systematic challenges and development, but this is secondary to and often intertwined with an examination of gender throughout. There is a chapter, “Exposing the Drugs Cheats”, towards the end of the book which deals largely with this topic in one place.
7. English Schools Cycling Association (ESCA).
8. British Cycling Federation (BCF).
9. Senior competitive cycling in the UK at this time was run by three separate governing bodies. For junior categories, there were four (see Cooke, 2014, p. 51).
10. Doping on the women’s scene is also reported and condemned by Cooke, however this is less prevalent.
11. We might contrast this to front covers that feature front facing head shots of female athletes staring into the camera, e.g. see Victoria Pendleton’s 2012 autobiography *Between the Lines* with Donald McRae or Lizzie Armistead’s forthcoming 2016 autobiography *Steadfast*.
12. Cooke is pictured lying on her side with head in hand, in a vest top with her Olympic gold medal. The caption reads ‘a shot of me not actually riding a bike!’.
13. *The Breakaway* is one of the few sporting autobiographies that is not ghost authored. Cooke actively resisted a ghost author based upon interpellation into a character she did not recognize (personal communication).
14. Frank draws upon the works of Aristotle, Bruner and Burke who write Trouble with a capital *T*. See Frank (2010, p. 28).

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Thinking Intersectionally and Why Difference (Still) Matters in Feminist Leisure and Sport Research

Beccy Watson

Introduction

In this chapter I explore what it means to develop methodological practice in feminist leisure and sport scholarship underpinned by a view of “thinking intersectionally”. The coverage is selective, necessarily so, as commentators note a dramatic increase in the number of publications detailing and/or engaging intersectionality in recent years (Marfelt, 2016) although not yet prevalent in leisure and sport or Physical Education scholarship. My intention is to consider implications for researchers in relation to intersectionality and inequality and to outline some potential ways of thinking intersectionally for future research engagement. As feminists have suggested, intersectionality can be referred to as ‘a theoretical and/or methodological tool’ (Lewis, 2009, p. 204). For me, first and foremost, intersectionality is a mode of feminist thinking that informs my research regarding the various contexts of leisure (and sport) I explore, and the contextualization of difference. I place black feminist critiques at the centre of my overview in order to illustrate the ways in which they are fundamental to what we mean by intersectionality and how we seek to apply it as researchers. In collaboration with feminist colleagues (Watson & Ratna, 2011; Watson & Scraton, 2013) I have proposed that “thinking intersectionally” can usefully inform our feminist leisure and sport scholarship and this claim is made across epistemological and methodological levels. The chapter incorporates examples

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of my research practice to illuminate both the potential and some of the challenges of thinking intersectionally through the research process from inception to analysis. The chapter also offers some commentary on broader, long-standing feminist methodological issues that need to be considered in relation to thinking through how intersectionality informs my choice and use of methods, including interviews and observations. First, it outlines what I mean by researching difference and then links this with intersectionality and inequality. This is followed by reference to contextualization of research and researching experience, a further ongoing challenge for feminist researchers. The chapter then considers questions of insider status in research and sketches out an approach to reflexivity with responsibility (Watson & Scraton, 2001; Watson & Scraton, 2017). It also demonstrates ways in which space and embodiment are significant to thinking intersectionally.

Researching Difference

When I was undertaking research for my PhD thesis in the mid-1990s my view of the factors influencing (at times determining) women's leisure experiences, in particular young mothers' leisure, was that social factors were all interrelated (Watson, 2000). Over half of my research participants at the time identified as being part of a South Asian diaspora in the UK and in brief, I was interested in how their everyday experiences of gender, race and class informed their leisure. This interest in everyday experiences is a constant throughout my feminist leisure research. Although the term intersectionality was in circulation to an extent (Brah, 1996; Crenshaw, 1989), it was more latterly that I came to consider it more explicitly in my work. That social relations, including gendered power relations, were interconnected in ways that continually informed gender (structurally as well as being resisted and/or reformulated) is where my feminism was "at". This remains so and accordingly, my continuing involvement with various feminist "empirical" studies means that my methodological premise is a dynamic context for grappling with epistemological debates and the challenge of methods and "doing research" that examines and explores various connotations of difference.

A critical analysis of "difference" is nothing new and feminists have long established that difference does not 'speak for itself' (Maynard, 1994; Shollock, 2012; Strickland, 1994). Black feminist scholarship underpins intersectionality in feminism, evident not least in initial conceptualizations proposed by Crenshaw (1989) and informed by critical race theory (CRT). The contributions of black feminists since the 1990s (Brah, 1996; Hill-Collins, 1990;

hooks, 1991; Mirza, 1997) have been crucially and critically influential (to me). In particular Brah's (1996) model of difference as experience, social relation, identity and subjectivity remains pertinent in exploring intersectionality and methodology.

Difference and inequality are inextricably linked within and across processes of gender, race and class, disability and sexuality, processes that are historically contingent and contextual. Black and minority ethnic (BAME) women's identities are formed, challenged and reproduced as a result of specific historical contexts. As a researcher, I continue to engage with theoretical arguments that address inequalities and I seek approaches to gathering data that account for interrelated social "categories". For me, and others, intersectionality is centrally about acknowledging and accounting for the consequences of difference. However, I do not (arguably cannot) offer a neatly defined and described intersectional methodology. Rather, I am encouraged by McDonald et al.'s (2016, p. 86) view of the potential for sport and leisure scholarship that 'intersectional engagements represent the generative possibilities of feminist thought in movements toward justice'.

Intersectionality and Inequality

A number of methodological approaches help operationalize understandings of the complex intersections of inequality. This can include for example, "giving voice" to those in marginalized positions and includes theoretical and political interest in inclusion and standpoint (Harding, 1987; Hill-Collins, 1990; Stanley & Wise, 1993). There are different interpretations of feminist standpoint, and different claims made regarding its suitability for explaining multiple aspects of (gendered) oppression. At a basic level, feminist standpoint epistemology recognizes a materialist basis to a notion of shared oppression (amongst women) on the basis of gender. That can be problematic when and if oppression is regarded as universal, and not surprisingly it is difficult to identify standpoint as a fixed perspective (for a useful review see Lykke, 2010). Intersectionality is directly concerned with processes of discrimination and oppression and arguably exhibits some continuities with standpoint perspectives. For instance, Patricia Hill-Collins (1990) calls for black feminist standpoint in informing analysis of what she terms a matrix of oppression (i.e., different interconnecting factors). An intersectional framework engages with differences between groups and between individuals *and* the dynamic process of marginalization, and potentially, privilege (Brah, 1996).

McCall (2005) highlights the centrality of the epistemological investment that feminist scholars make in critically assessing how research on difference is designed, executed and analyzed. She outlines three methodological approaches of intersectionality: anti-categorical, intra-categorical and inter-categorical. Anti-categorical approaches reflect poststructuralist analyses, in which deconstruction and refuting categorization of “identities” as knowable is commonplace. In contrast, McCall’s (2005) intra-categorical approach focuses on multiple categories associated with, for example, black and standpoint feminists *and* struggles for a politics of recognition to incorporate multiple aspects of identity. This approach tends to focus on marginalized identities with unmarked categories of privilege, for example whiteness, heterosexuality, masculinity, i.e., dominant, normative narratives left largely unstudied (Lutz, Vivar, & Supik, 2011; Valentine, 2007). Capturing the complexity of women’s lives without slipping into diversity-based perspectives which focus on relativist and pluralist accounts of difference associated with poststructuralist “anti-categorical” approaches remains challenging.

McCall (2005) argues that the inter-categorical approach requires multi-level data that captures both the agency of individuals and the structures and processes that can both enable and constrain. I attempt to align my ideas of thinking intersectionally with this approach at an epistemological level; it is something that remains a challenge at a practical level, though it has been identified by some feminist sport scholars as a necessary aspect of our research (McDonald, 2005, 2009). A persistent challenge for an inter-categorical approach is detailing and accounting for difference *and* inequality without reliance on assumptions about how different forms of inequality are accorded primacy (positioned hierarchically). Intersectionality is more than a framework that *precedes* research, rather McCall and others urge that it be understood as a process (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Winker & Degele, 2011). In practical research terms it is likely that different aspects of conceptualizing categories—the anti, intra and inter—converge.

Recognizing the heterogeneity of gendered experiences and identities needs to be balanced with the need for analysis of existing categories or social relations such as gender, race, class (Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2011). I see myself as advocating for this engagement with categories, accepting their complexities, as opposed to moving towards entirely anti-categorical perspectives.

After all, dismissing the existence of collective experience (at a conceptual level) does not eradicate oppression (hooks, 1989; Stanley & Wise, 1993).

In contemporary contexts we might be wary of how discursive shifts play to a neo-liberalist tune of individual choice that fragments feminism and

heightens competitive femininity (McRobbie, 2015). Ethnocentric (and heterosexist) assumptions remain embedded in these discourses and efforts need to be made and revisited to confront normative knowledge production, particularly in relation to whiteness (Bilge, 2013; Watson & Scraton, 2001; Watson & Scraton, 2017). Over 30 years ago, Amos and Parmar's celebration of 'strength in difference' (1984) proposed a standpoint from which to begin to address the particularity of issues in black women's lives, 'to establish the specificity of black women' (Knowles & Mercer, 1992, p. 106). However, Mirza (1997) pointed out that emphasis on identity politics results in the reinscription of an essentialized existence for black women. In some ways, both observations are viable and retain relevance in contemporary feminism. Thinking intersectionally reminds us of the significance of how we approach our research in the round; epistemological and methodological considerations are omnipresent in accounting for difference and inequality and inform the entire research process. It is little wonder that at times putting intersectionality into practice results in a sense of incommensurability (Marfelt, 2016; Mooney, 2016).

Contextualizing My Research and Thinking Intersectionally

...this process of contextualising will inevitably ... undermine the idea that 'research' is the process of discovering and then documenting what is already out there, waiting to be found in the archives or in peoples' thoughts. Because of course, work of this kind is always invented. It always emerges from the author's embeddedness in a specific configuration of intertwined historical, cultural and psychic narratives. (Nava, 1992, p. 6)

Contextualization of research from my point of view prompts us to challenge dominant positions of knowledge production centred on a middle-class, Western, masculine self (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1987, 1991). Context and contextualization are relevant to researchers because asking questions of the overall context—including the domain and/or parameters of our research—is a means of establishing our paradigmatic and epistemological starting points (Stanley & Wise, 1993).

The Western self is usually premised on whiteness, not just maleness, something which is often ignored altogether or given token recognition (Amos & Parmar, 1981; Hill-Collins, 1990; hooks, 1984). 'Reclaiming the Black feminist intellectual tradition ... involves challenging the very definitions of

intellectual discourse' (Hill-Collins, 1990, p. 15). Feminist leisure and sport scholars have been aware of this for some time (Birrell, 1989; McDonald, 2005, 2009; Watson & Scraton, 2001), yet little seems to impact on leisure and sport research writ large. Meanwhile, there are understandable concerns about standpoint epistemologies (Harding, 1987), which essentialize blackness, class or sexuality (hooks, 1989) and Haraway's (1988) concepts of partiality and situated knowledge remain pertinent to feminists. These debates are not uniquely intersectional but they can be usefully informed by inter-categorical intersectional thinking where contextualization is continually scrutinized and accounted for. For example, recent work in cultural geography on perceptions of public space and perceptions of legality in public space through the frame of encounters and intolerances (Valentine & Harris, 2016) is illuminating. The research demonstrates how complex intersections and interactions are simultaneously produced in and through articulation by different individuals in different contexts when various intersecting aspects of identity are characteristic of participants invited to "voice" their opinions. Unsurprisingly, depending on who is given voice to comment, their findings disrupt notions of *fixed* minority or majority positions and highlight a complex interplay of different perceptions that circulate within and have a connection to wider (dominant) discourses surrounding migration, tolerance and intolerance.

Thinking intersectionally might well require researchers to embrace a lack of consensus across feminist epistemology but that does not have to result in an abandonment of critical engagement with difference and inequality. Thinking epistemologically is an important facet of "utilizing" intersectionality; for me, engaging with black feminist epistemology has a profound influence on how to frame our research questions. At a basic level, if I/we ask women about their leisure and sport experiences without sensitivity to historical and political contexts and constructions of identity, it is no wonder that generalizations about experience, particularly in relation to "culture", are reproduced rather than critiqued and challenged and thus in turn that our analytical frame is not shifted.

Theorists and researchers are knowledge producers whose privileges as white-as-dominant-normative-discourse producers continue to go unchallenged (Ahmed, 2004; Frankenberg, 1997; Mirza, 1997; Shollock, 2012). Feminist researchers have specific autobiographies (Stanley & Wise, 1993) that are rarely challenged in relation to race (Bilge, 2013) and the historical location and thus the construction and reproduction of their privileged status is left intact (Brah, 1996; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997). White women (still) get to document black women's lives and I remain well aware of that fact (as relatedly class position, able-bodiedness and heteronormativities also frame research discourse). In

thinking intersectionally, we therefore need to look critically and carefully at how we construct research agendas that centre “women’s experiences” (of leisure and sport and PE).

Researching Experience

Experience is culturally and discursively constituted and is not something simply “there” to be collected, and feminists have established this for some time (Maynard, 1994). Brah’s (1996) conceptualization remains particularly useful where she distinguishes between two levels of experience: one that is everyday lived experience (Smith, 1987); and one where experience is understood as social relation. This somewhat assumes a realist ontology whereby it is accepted that experience can be described and “known” (by subjects themselves, not as defined only by scientists/researchers). Brah (1996) argues that there is no reason to *assume* that membership or belonging to a particular social category or group (be that cultural and/or economic, such as South Asian diasporas in the UK) is either invariably the outcome of individual women’s personal history or the main determining factor. That is, individual and subjective experience is not an inevitable outcome of social relations. Feminists have arguably long established this. Thirty years ago Grant (1987, p. 113) called for ‘an evaluation of the interpretation of experience’. Further,

...obviously women exist in all classes, races, ethnicities, etc., and finding a universal female experience is no easy task. So far this has meant that the elusive universal female experience has been imputed to women by the theorist. (Grant, 1987, p. 108)

Mirza (1997) calls for a non-essentialized approach to blackness to allow for the deconstruction of the complexities of, for example, the term “black British”, and in her discussion of diaspora and the politics of location, Brah (1996) states that identity cannot be neatly compartmentalized. They reflect Spivak’s calls for ‘the deconstructive view that keeps me resisting an essentialist freezing of the concepts of gender, race and class’ (Spivak, 1987, p. 84).

There have been some useful attempts to destabilize what is meant by “leisure experience” in the context of challenging whiteness and ethnocentrism (Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009) but this is by no means widely stated across leisure and sport scholarship. Questioning the premise, the different and multiple contexts of what leisure is and how and where it occurs, along with whose definitions and perceptions of leisure we are drawing on and representing

remains a critical issue. Incorporating black feminist perspectives can disrupt and destabilize normative and normalizing views of leisure. These perspectives are not exhaustive in terms of who or what is included in our research, rather the point is to ask who and what is the focus of our research and what is our premise. My caveat in the introduction regarding my selectivity is pertinent; a false claim for intersectionality is that it “covers everything”.

Thinking Intersectionally About Methods: Using Interviews

An intersectional methodology takes time and commitment. It demands active and ongoing intellectual and political involvement and being an “intersectional researcher”, if there is such a thing, is not something to be taken on lightly.

It stands to reason that various research methods are also useful. My own research involvement has often tended to use semi-structured interviews and this talking-based method remains helpful and meaningful for analyzing gender and leisure; it is highly valuable for exploring the richness of women’s everyday experiences and lives. This is a good reason to think intersectionally about our research, because everyday lives are complex and “messy”, and are not made up of neatly compartmentalized categories including gender, race and class.

While feminists have long established that interviews provide a useful means through which to gather data (Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981; Phoenix, 1994) they have simultaneously been queried as being empowering for research respondents (Finch, 1984; Lather, 1988, 1991). The (often) hierarchical nature of interviews continues to constitute a key methodological concern for feminist researchers, and thinking intersectionally reminds us that power differentials exist between and across multiple factors. Nonetheless, interviews have the potential to enable women to speak about and define their own experiences (Smith, 1987) and can potentially enable self-created knowledges (Christian, 1987; Haraway, 1988). In that respect, interviews are not distinctly intersectional as a method and are tried and tested by feminist and other researchers. The *potential* of intersectionality, arguably, is in framing our overall research questions and informing our analysis. Therefore, methods need to be conducive to achieving our research aims. In feminist leisure and sport (and PE) scholarship we need to think about which methods will help us gather and garner data that captures lived complexity to give voice, to expose inequalities and to demonstrate how inter-categorical thinking can inform meaningful analysis of multiple interrelationships.

Small scale, in-depth interviews are helpful and “workable” for examining these interrelationships. Thinking intersectionally informs my research practice in that I consider in some detail the context of participants’ everyday lives before I locate or consider leisure (in myriad forms) within and relation to this. I approach semi-structured interviews with a view to understanding where an individual is “at” and it is difficult to be prescriptive about that but some of the key “aspects” of life are as significant as ever—work (paid, unpaid, domestic), family (in all its machinations), place of living, time and space for self and so on. At times, some of these elements may be more salient for the researcher to ask about and sometimes researchers need to be open and responsive to what participants have to say about certain matters. As stated in the introduction, examples here are selective and illustrative (as opposed to an exhaustive “how to” guide).

Questioning “Insider” Status in Research Practice

Interviews demand listening skills but they also require researchers (interviewers) to be effective at talking. It may seem a somewhat obvious point yet we often miss out the interaction and interactive processes through which data is generated. If I think back to my PhD work, I adopted a very conversational style; I often did not stick to a schedule but I knew that I wanted to elicit rich data about how my participants described and defined what leisure was to them and how they achieved and experienced that. Sometimes I relied on my “insider” status as a young mother myself negotiating time and space. Claims are often made that “insider status” in researcher–researched relations, particularly in interviewing, is beneficial and the basic premise of women talking to women has been regarded as rudimentary to much feminist research (Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981). However, this insider positionality is clearly more complex than assuming some sort of similarity on the basis of gender and all the generalizing and essentializing pitfalls that go along with that. Debates surrounding the premise and possibilities of varying feminist standpoint epistemologies are long-standing (Harding, 1987) and continue to inform contemporary discussion regarding the viability of standpoint perspectives for feminism (Intemann, 2010). Black feminist critiques (Bhopal, 1995, 2001; Brah, 1996; Phoenix, 1994) usefully inform recent critical commentaries highlighting how research practices are “live” sites of racialized interaction and meaning making (Best, 2003; Buford May, 2014; Norris, 2015). Buford May (2014), for example, highlights some potential advantages and disadvantages of assumptions made by researchers on the basis of shared or similar racial

background. This can also be linked to class differences when participants feel that researchers attempt to “dumb down” their approaches in research interaction contexts. It is most commonly researchers who designate descriptions of belonging and they—“we” researchers—do so as knowledge producers who often decide upon how to describe and/or label boundaries, identities and categories (Bilge, 2013; Shollock, 2012; Spivak, 1987). I continue to attempt to “define” and describe “black” and “South Asian” identities in leisure and sport research, as do others (Scraton, Caudwell, & Holland, 2005; Watson & Ratna, 2011; Watson & Scraton, 2001) and yet more often than not I/we do not define “white” with the same scrutiny (Watson & Scraton, 2017). This remains an ongoing issue for all sport, leisure and PE scholarship, whether we identify as feminist, intersectional, critical race theory (CRT)-based, queer, post-disciplinary or otherwise. It is a further example of why the notion of context is useful. That is, assessing critically the overall context, the epistemological basis of our research as well as detailing what we “discover” in a myriad of different contexts in which we carry out research.

Reflexivity (with Responsibility)

Thinking intersectionally is therefore also linked to my practice of attempting reflexivity with responsibility (Watson & Scraton, 2001, 2017), to recognize various, multiple aspects of my identity and by implication my aspects of privilege too. These are not fixed—identities or privileges—and I believe it is possible to pursue a politically informed intention to adopt ‘traitorous identities’ (Harding, 1991). Harding’s view that white researchers can consciously “direct” their research and professional academic practice to challenge processes of “normalizing” whiteness (Bilge, 2013; Frankenberg, 1993; Shollock, 2012) is potentially transformational. This requires us to scrutinize where and when we question “who we are” as researchers, how we frame questions, who we ask and how we ask them and prompted Sheila Scraton and I to reflect on our research practice in attempts to confront our whiteness as researchers (2001). Shollock’s (2012) calls to disrupt aspects of taken-for-granted epistemic certainty is useful in that respect and remains an area for leisure and sport and PE scholars to engage with.

I continue to promote and encourage self-“labelling” by research participants across my research involvement where possible and feasible and where colleagues and I attach labels and/or descriptions it is most usually accompanied with a warning that attention to plurality and diversity is necessary. At times therefore, McCall’s (2005) view of ‘anti categorical’ *can* be politically valid in

adopting an intersectional framework for research. Thinking back to my PhD work, for example, I described a group of women as part of a South Asian diaspora in the UK and at the same time I indicated how every individual (which is possible in qualitative research) described themselves across “Asian”, “South Asian”, “Asian British”, “British Asian”, “Pakistani living in England”, “Muslim British” and more. I asked participants who identified with African Caribbean heritage to do the same and this included “Black British” and in one instance “half Jamaican” which I went on to describe as “mixed heritage” because it suited my liberal, politically corrected and academically informed approach. I also had “white working-class” women in my study and they described themselves as “British”, “White British”, “Yorkshire” (that is, regional UK “identity”). I described myself to all participants as “White British”. I did not identify this process of naming as intersectional at the time, yet as indicated in the introduction, I set out to examine interrelationships. I offered up my own positionality and experience of being a young mother living in an inner-city area (at the time of the research) as a means of sharing some commonalities (whilst simultaneously acknowledging difference). Thinking intersectionally, to me, is principally an aspect of being a feminist. I want to understand gender and gendered relations and I want to examine how and hopefully contribute to explaining why inequalities persist on the basis of gender (however complex its construction and/or meanings might be). Of course gender relations shift and change (as well as displaying some persistent and continuing tendencies) and researchers change, with age, experience and other impactful events.

Researching difference with an intersectionally informed lens requires us to look at the differences in the socio-economic material conditions of women’s lives. Educational qualifications, previous (paid) work experience, type of housing, level of disposable income and access to private transport are some useful indicators. Although the contexts of socio-economic relations shift and there are undoubtedly changes in women’s lives and opportunities (or lack of) available to them, social class is a critical factor in the matrices of factors influencing and being influenced by women’s day-to-day experiences.

Insider–outsider “status” is more than merely perceived aspects of shared experience or otherwise. Key questions persist regarding privilege in terms of who gets to speak for whom, particularly when, for instance, whiteness is normalized (Frankenberg, 2004) and is white-centric (Ahmed, 2004; hooks, 1989). Buford May (2014) recognizes for example, that participants can (understandably) have feelings of being “let down” when they realize that researchers, as individuals, cannot necessarily change or improve specific material relations and conditions relating to racialization (and other) processes

and their impacts. Thinking intersectionally does not necessarily offer a solution to those issues but it can be a useful reminder that reflexivity with responsibility requires acknowledgement of our motivations to carry out particular research and prompts us to consider whether our findings and/or involvement with participants can make a difference. This continues to inform, for me, a research agenda of working with underrepresented, or often, misrepresented groups and individuals, and at times responding to calls from community groups to establish evaluative evidence about their provision and more (Scraton et al., 2005; Watson, Tucker, & Drury, 2013). It can also inform research that scrutinizes privilege and questions dominant discourse as and where possible. Not all of our research is “transformative”, however, though an epistemological and methodological commitment to gender justice is an important facet of thinking intersectionally. In practical terms this can involve relationship building and long-term involvement with research participants, engaging as research partners (where appropriate) and, by implication, assessing and accounting for broader political contexts, for example, funding and policy contexts of third-sector and community-based organizations (see e.g., Watson, Lashua, & Trevorrow, 2016). This links to a notion of “giving back”, another central theme for many feminist researchers; thinking intersectionally can arguably facilitate reciprocity between research approaches aimed at feminist solidarity and those which detail multiple and plural identities in the context of social relations and inequalities. There are times when researchers’ involvement *is* just about gathering and analyzing data within a limited timeframe and that is something we need to accept, rather than proposing that we can always give back. We can locate our different research involvement in our broader overall research context, outside specific projects. Thinking intersectionally is not about trying to cover everything and one way it can inform our research practice is to recognize that there is a continuum of different types of projects. Some researchers have been moved to propose ‘nimble intersectionality’ on that basis (Mooney, 2016).

Space and Embodiment: Thinking Intersectionally About Leisure

Interviews are by no means the only appropriate method when thinking intersectionally about leisure and sport contexts and, not surprisingly, research aimed at exposing and explaining persistent gender (and interrelated) inequalities requires different methodological emphases (Nash, 2008). Engaging intersectionality to identify and analyse ‘space for leisure’, for example,

(Watson & Ratna, 2011) can enable researchers to assess complex, interrelated social factors in dynamic, live situations. In relation to public parks as leisure spaces, Watson and Ratna focused on the complex and contradictory nature of spaces of celebration in public space within broader, historical contexts of discrimination and alienation. This was at an event championing South Asian popular cultural activities where we sought to explore articulations of “British Asianness” in situ in a “spectacular” leisure context. We considered the historical and geographical “location” of the South Asian diaspora within the city we looked at and were informed by Wearing’s (1998, p. 80) distinction between physical spaces of leisure (beach, pub, park) and more ‘generalised spaces’ which includes media representations. We refer (Watson & Ratna, 2011) to a ‘meta-space’ in which dominant discourses regarding ‘South Asians’ as Other, risky, dangerous across media, are incessantly repeated and reproduced. In the ‘Bollywood in the Park’ research (Watson & Ratna, 2011) we were interested in how people moved and used space in the park. Leisure researchers have used observation as a method to explore historical contexts (Wilson, 1988), to examine the use of different public leisure spaces (Fiske, Hodge, & Turner, 1987), and to assess the gender relations of leisure sites (Broom, Byrne, & Petkovic, 1992). This early work was criticized for not engaging with complexities of difference (Aitchison, 2000; Wearing, 1998). While beyond the scope of this chapter, sport and leisure researchers have increasingly and productively engaged with concepts of space and subjectivity with increasingly nuanced detail. Yet, an occupational hazard of much ethnography (and as highlighted by other chapters in this handbook) is that the researchers’ “authenticity” as white and/or Western-centric is not sufficiently challenged.

However, there are also different forms of observation research, and many feminist and some ethnographic researchers favour researcher involvement as a participant observer and/or to engage in participatory action research (PAR) (see Blundon, this collection). Equally, feminist ethnographers may still have their presence questioned and challenged in sport and leisure contexts. This can be the result of multiple, intersecting factors and it is a reminder of the specificity of the different contexts of our research; we cannot assume “authentic” positions on the basis of supposed aspects of “insider” status, be that “shared” inter-categorical factors including gender, race, class, (as indicated above). Nor can insider status be assumed despite, for example, demonstrable competence in different sport-based activities (Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Wheaton, 2002).

Accounting for processes and practices of embodiment in leisure spaces from standpoint and/or other critical perspectives is a further example of how thinking intersectionally can be crucially significant when we aim to “read” and make sense of various leisure and sport contexts. My approach to

observation is to watch and interact with people, and to write up notes and comments individually as close to experiencing them as possible (later on the same day if possible and sometimes in situ). I am prompted to watch and to make notes through a lens of difference, not necessarily in terms of “splitting” how I write as white or female, for example, but with a conscious view of normativities including how space is embodied. Of course, my notes are *my* interpretations and there is no guarantee that my comments are an accurate reflection and they cannot be separated from my gendered, racialized, classed self. Nonetheless I still aim to gather meaningful observations in a short time-frame without generalizing or inappropriately representing or recounting events. I would not suggest that reliance on a single researcher’s observations without some corroboration with other data sources and/or conferring and critiquing supposed “evidence” with another or other researchers is sufficient. That remains an ongoing challenge for anyone employing ethnographic-based observations. There are obviously nowadays new (and potentially exciting) opportunities for using visual methodologies and different media and widely available technologies for recording interactions and events and it will be intriguing to see how feminist researchers engage with these.

Attempting to account for complex configurations of masculinity evident when boys (aged 12 to 16 years) take part in recreational dance, I have used observations (Watson & Rodley, 2015) and continue to do so in ongoing projects. This is for (at least) two key reasons: I am present “in the field” of community and recreational dance as an observer and not as a participant (dancer); and observation seems a natural means of thinking intersectionally about the dynamic interplay of social factors across embodiment and space. Thinking intersectionally about the body allows researchers to regard leisure as simultaneously liberating and constrained (Rojek, 2009). Villa (2011, p. 181) states, ‘Embodiment is per se intersectional in its form’, using her analysis of tango to present its “live” constitution as at once gendered, classed and racialized. She points out that intersectionality often neglects the body and misses out, crucially, the somatic process of identities as embodied. Whilst people (bodies) are “messy” and do not fit neatly into discourse, Villa argues that categories retain some relevance and that intersectionality is useful for addressing ‘the complex entanglement of structure and action’ (p. 177).

Whilst taking (and making) field notes is a key part of my research practice, ‘writing field notes seems deceptively straightforward’ (Wolfinger, 2002, p. 85). Questions arise regarding what gets written up, alluded to above in relation to my efforts to think intersectionally, in addition to the challenges of “getting the full picture” in situations that change rapidly and are passing moments (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Tjora, 2006). There is a constant ten-

sion surrounding what you think has happened and what you know has happened (Babbie, 1995). As a feminist researcher committed to thinking intersectionally I face ongoing related ethical dilemmas of how to represent those I observe. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) 'salience hierarchy' is meaningful because for instance, when I am watching boys attend and participate in dance classes (and occasionally competitions) I aim to capture their masculinity/ies in process and in production. In order to do this I draw on ethnographic approaches and capture moments and incidents in descriptive rather than categorical terms (Denzin, 1994, 1997). My research diaries and notes are filled with notes about, for instance, the spaces and places where the dancing takes place, the way the boys look, speak, interact with one another, with the instructors and or adults who might be around. I make some attempts to note down various aspects of 'body competence' (Crossley, 2005) and movement styles (though this is not done from a choreographic perspective).

Through describing how the boys "are" I attempt to encapsulate interconnections across gender, race and class. Inherent tensions and difficulties facing researchers in attempts to accurately and authentically reflect the experiences and voices of others (Alexander, 2006; McCorkel & Myers, 2003; Watson & Scraton, 2001, 2017) mean that to keep looking either at, or for, gender, race and class might just as easily reproduce those as fixed categories and miss important complexities and contradictions. For instance, in some dance contexts the views of the instructor appear as contradictory with my observations (Watson et al., 2013) and thus reliance on one method only is not sufficient. I therefore draw on focus group discussions and individual interviews to explore (and corroborate to an extent) what I perceive to be salient from my observations, and there can be benefits to working as a team of researchers in this regard, discussing and challenging (as appropriate) each other's readings and assumptions.

A Note on Analysis

In "finding" difference (out in the field), I continue to spend time thinking critically and analytically about difference, how to record it and account for it, and this is an ongoing iterative process. Building a narrative structure of the analysis of our "data", of which coding is a preliminary feature, is itself a social process (Best, 2003; Holland & Ramazanoglu, 1994; Smith, 1987) and thinking intersectionally requires us to consider our data in relation to identity categories as well as capture inferences about representations and discursive constructions, hence my claims early on and throughout that I am seeking

to account for difference in context (Brah, 1996). I continue to draw on an interpretative approach, long established in ethnography (Denzin, 1994).

If I think back to analyzing my research data for my PhD, I approached it by looking at women's experiences and accounts of leisure as time, as (personal) space and as a feature of their identity. Within these aspects of leisure I explored the interrelationships of gender, race and class rather than attempting to explain them as separate social factors or identity categories. More often than not I start from: what is the overall context of this or these participants' day-to-day lives? From there I consider how leisure is manifest within that context (where "leisure" has different meanings, connotations and is negotiated and experienced in different ways). I often find myself at the disjunctures between identity and inequality approaches and how to express those whilst maintaining links to "realist" accounts, an ongoing challenge of thinking intersectionally. Evocation and complexity allow for consideration of the contradictions often inherent in everyday situations (Strathern, 1987); this enables me to examine micro, context-specific situations, prompting me to retain the idea that leisure experiences can, in some ways, be interpreted in the context of broader social, cultural and economic circumstances.

In terms of using interview data, listening (actively) to audio recordings is fundamental to me as a feminist aiming to think intersectionally, as listening is not merely a means to an end for generating transcripts, though we need these texts in order to develop analysis (Smith, 1987). Active listening provides illustrations of, as Best (2003) argues, opportunities to examine the ways in which face-to-face interviews are sites of interaction in which race is constructed and produced, rather than being regarded as context in which data about race can simply be extrapolated and presented. This complements and is central to feminist analysis of complex articulations of gendered identities that are not necessarily aligned to intersectional frameworks (Skeggs, 1998).

In Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how central the context of women's leisure experience is to me as a researcher and has outlined some of the ways in which I approach the varied contexts in which these are enacted and negotiated. It has also demonstrated my interest in the interrelationships between gender and leisure more broadly (i.e., not just for women) and has considered how thinking intersectionally informs that in relation to space and embodiment and the ways in which these contexts inform and are informed by gender, race and class. Elsewhere, I have given some consideration to the dangers of the

dominant “genderraceclass” focus of intersectionality (Watson & Scraton, 2013), and we need to take that on board as researchers. I believe firmly that we can learn from different feminist epistemological perspectives, particularly critiques offered by black and BAME feminists as well as new and emerging analyses that question how queer and critical disability perspectives are critical in any attempts to account for gendered being and identity (Puar, 2012).

I have shown how thinking intersectionally prompts feminist researchers to question experience as a discursive construction, to explore how experience features as one aspect of difference, and to locate it in critical context with other intersecting factors. McCall’s (2005) overview of different categorical levels of intersectional methodology is helpful for reminding researchers that in reality we tend to move across anti- and intra-categorical accounts in aiming to account for complex *inter*-categorical contexts. The challenge, through the design, implementation and analysis of our research material, is not to *categorize* women’s leisure experiences, rather it is to *contextualize* those experiences.

In many respects, feminist leisure and sport studies have yet to embrace the challenges posed by confronting difference theoretically, conceptually and within research programmes. I remain committed to carrying out research that maps individual, micro experiences onto broader social, macro contexts and vice versa (Brah, 1996; Scraton & Watson, 1998; Watson & Scraton, 2001). It sounds simplistic in some ways yet it remains fundamental to my feminist scholarship.

Researching difference represents a commitment to a (renewed) feminist politics for gender justice, hence the challenge of thinking intersectionally about difference and multiple identities, *and* inequalities and marginalization and discrimination. It comes with a warning too: intersectionality poses difficult questions for researchers to take on and be accountable for and it should not be mistaken for some sort of all-encompassing account of the heterogeneity of gendered experiences.

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Un/Intentional Pedagogies: Impacts of Feminist Ethics and Methods in Practice

Rebecca Olive

Introduction: Feminism, Politics and Activism¹

In 2008, I embarked on a PhD project about women's experiences of everyday, recreational surfing. The project responded to a disconnect in my own experiences as a recreational female surfer. As a surfer, I felt included and encouraged by the people I surfed with, but the existing research argued that this was not the case. Media representations of women in surf culture had particularly troubling impacts on how women are received in the surf (Booth, 2001; Comer, 2004; Henderson, 1999, 2001; Stedman, 1997), but at the time the voices of professional or recreational women who surf were not well represented. Because of my experiences, I felt as though things might be different in the water than the media suggested. However, when speaking about this with a male colleague who surfs, he insisted that as a woman who surfs I was marginalized and disrespected within the culture, even if I was not aware of it. The idea that my experiences could be dismissed as wrong shocked and troubled me, and I remained unconvinced that it was the whole story. My PhD quickly became a quest to hear from women themselves about their surfing experiences, and to promote this in both academic and mainstream spaces. It will come as no surprise that this led me to take an explicitly feminist approach to my research, and that issues of power and ethics came to shape my analysis.

My understanding of feminist research emerged early in my reading, when I was pointed in the direction of Margaret McLaren's (2002) feminist extensions

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of Foucault's theories of power and ethics.² McLaren argues that feminist perspectives share a political orientation towards overcoming the subordination of women by, amongst other things, providing resources for political and social change that are relevant to the women in the project. McLaren's points highlighted the tradition of activism and social justice that has characterized feminist research: feminist research has to *do* something. Realizing that feminism isn't simply an aspiration for female equality and equity, but is something we do across all of our research (and other) endeavours, was a defining idea that has shaped all of the subsequent decisions I have made about research approaches, methods, ethics and outputs. For me, feminist methodology is an encompassing idea that is at its core a political and ethical responsibility (Olive, 2013, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Olive & Thorpe, 2011).

This approach to feminism aligned with my association with Cultural Studies, which as I understand it, has a commitment to exploring and revealing power relations operating in lived experiences of everyday cultures, and to making a contribution to improving conditions for those the culture constrains and marginalizes (Davis, 1997; Garbutt & Offord, 2012; Grossberg, 1993; Turner, 2012; Morris & Hjort, 2012). The feminist cultural studies position I adopt takes an activist approach and encourages researchers to privilege the everyday lived experiences and material conditions of the people and cultures we are researching in order to uncover alternative possibilities for greater diversity and inclusion. In my research, I used participatory ethnographic methods to research my own surfing community; interviews; and participation and observation in geographical and online surfing spaces. These methods required great levels of interaction, reflexivity and ethics, which resulted in a heightened sensitivity to the power relations embedded in the established, historical relationships I was drawing on in this project. It also required me to account for how I should conduct myself as a researcher and community member (Olive, 2013, 2017; Olive & Thorpe, 2011).

Through negotiating these tensions, the conversations I had with community members as a result of my research caused me to think deeply about how the politics of my research 'impacts on my subjectivity and behaviour outside of academic contexts' (Olive, 2017, p. 12). That is, I began to see how my research was already politicized at every stage, and that explicitly engaging with these politics as part of my research methodology was having unintended effects—in particular, opening conversations amongst surfers in my community and online (Olive, 2015). Because of its politicized foundation, methodology takes feminist ideas from the page and into the everyday in a way that can strengthen our projects, our findings and the things we produce as a result. Methods do not just help us collect information; methods do things.

Such an approach to research methods engages with issues of praxis or ‘that space between theory and practice where ideas are translated into concrete activities’ (Hall, 1997, p. 5). As Patti Lather (1986) explains,

...we who do empirical research in the name of emancipatory politics must discover ways to connect our research methodology to our theoretical concerns and commitments. At its simplest, this is a call for critical inquirers to practice in their empirical endeavors what they preach in their theoretical formulations. (p. 258, footnote 3)

While imagining potential for change is defining for feminist and cultural studies research—in my case for the practice of feminist cultural studies—doing so can be difficult (Olive, 2016a). For researchers working in spheres such as government, community organizations and education, there are explicit policy and structural options for addressing imbalances in various power relations. For those of us engaged in everyday and recreational cultures there are few obvious structural influences to access, no organizational policy documents to review. Instead, cultural researchers face what are often ‘difficult to argue against’ experiences of power relations, norms and hierarchies (Nealon, 2008). Aiming to change normative knowledges at cultural subjective and embodied levels is a confronting task. It requires more than changing representations of, and opportunities for, groups of women (and others). It is about changing attitudes, values, behaviours and ways of knowing.

In this chapter I explore the ways my feminist cultural studies research methodology offered opportunities to engage in un/intentional pedagogies in the fields of my research, and to contribute to changes in attitudes about, and opportunities for, women who surf. Thinking about pedagogy in this way emerges from an understanding of power relations as cultural, subjective, embodied, intersecting and always in process. However, as Richard Tinning (2008) suggests, not every interaction can be a moment of pedagogical exchange. For Tinning, what defines pedagogy is that it is the result of a purposeful, intentional exchange that aims to re/produce particular kinds of knowledge—without intent, it is not pedagogical. Leaning on Tinning’s intentional condition, I suggest that since feminist ethnographic research is always underpinned by the intention of improving conditions for women (and others), then it always has the capacity for un/intentional pedagogies in the field and in the communication of research knowledges. Such an argument has implications for the responsibilities that we carry in our interactions in the fields of our research, as well as for the potential we have to contribute to change, even without expecting to.

Un/Intentional Pedagogies

While historically linked to methods of teaching and learning in educational contexts, pedagogy has been taken up in various ways to explain processes of public exchange leading to social and cultural change. Like a growing body of cultural research (Francombe, 2013; Garbutt, Biermann, & Offord, 2012; Hickey, 2012; Offord, 2016; Rich, 2011; Watkins, 2012), the forms of pedagogy discussed in this chapter are different from the traditional pedagogies of a classroom, where teaching and learning find articulation through an acknowledged teacher and an established curriculum (Enright & McCuaig, 2016; Macdonald, 2002; Tinning, 2010). Nor am I referring to those public pedagogies useful for engaging broader populations (Giroux, 2004; Hickey, 2012). Instead I am discussing embodied, intersecting, relational pedagogies that are implicit in the often banal aspects of our everyday lives, and which rely on cultural knowledges, relationships, spaces and contexts. I am interested in moments of teaching and learning that shape our understandings of cultural knowledges and norms, through which we learn the right ways to be and not to be, for example, a surfer. These lessons are both intentionally delivered, and unintentional consequences of the maintenance of norms (Olive, McCuaig, & Phillips, 2015). This is an important point, because Richard Tinning (2008) has located intention as defining of what can and cannot be considered a pedagogical exchange.

In my view, for pedagogy to have occurred there must be a purposeful encounter between teacher, learner, and subject matter, and the purpose is to (re)produce knowledge. There will always be outcomes (consequences or learnings), but they are often unpredictable and always dependent on meaning-making processes, which are beyond the control of the teacher. (p. 416)

Tinning is disputing the idea that any interaction can be a moment of pedagogy and so locates some parameters around what the term can refer to. For Tinning, pedagogy must have intent in relation to knowledge production. This can be to introduce or reproduce forms of knowledge, but it must be with an intention or an outcome in mind. Far from limiting what is possible in the field, Tinning's point is an important reminder of how a political research agenda changes what is possible in ethnographic methods. For feminist researchers, our fundamental intention is clear—to end the dominance of patriarchal privilege across all aspects of societies and cultures, while within this fundamental politics, there are a range of intersecting intentions that will

further shape approaches to pedagogy and the identification of pedagogical exchanges (for example, Caudwell, 2011; Knez, Macdonald, & Abbott, 2012; Roy, 2013; Wheaton, 2014). Yet, beyond this politically motivated intention, explicit structuring in terms of programmes and curriculum is not required and outcomes cannot be predicted. In feminist research methods, the pedagogy can be embodied, consequential and implicit through experiences and relationships (Olive, 2015, 2016b).

Thinking about cultural change as a form of pedagogy—of teaching and learning about norms and difference amongst a given group—has been productive in helping me make sense of how knowledge is maintained and disrupted amongst surfers, and how this links to the maintenance and disruption of normative sex/gender hierarchies and performances. As I have argued with Louise McCuaig and Murray Phillips,

...norms maintain the status quo by bringing attention to deviations. That is, what is not normal defines and illustrates what is. By rejecting the authenticity of the ways and waves women surf, men draw upon their embodied and subjective cultural knowledge and assumptions of what surfing is. Through this process they assert their male, masculine ideas and ideals about surfing onto shared surfing experiences, reminding women that their way of surfing is the right way, the real way. (2015, p. 270)

Of course, these moments work the other way too, disrupting established knowledges and ideas. As male-dominated cultural norms regulate women, women's responses and performances also teach men, offering opportunities to rethink what is deemed "normal". Thus, pedagogy is always implicit and potential in our actions. Although implicit, the forms of pedagogical exchange I am discussing in this paper are not entirely accidental. While the impacts and effects might be beyond my control, the intentional teaching/learning framework in which the pedagogy takes place is not.

In my research, I was constantly in contact with surfers in surfing spaces, and thus my own ideas and actions came to be part of the pedagogy of the culture. When framed by an agenda of social justice this presented a productive opportunity for feminist politics. My argument here is not radical for feminist researchers in sport and physical cultures. For example, it is memorably articulated by Jennifer Hargreaves's (1994) point that the 'most dynamic feminism arises from personal experience' (36). My argument in this chapter is drawn from the feminist researchers before me, whose work has established the foundations I build upon.

Power, Subjectivities and Un/Intentional Pedagogies

This conception of pedagogy extends from Michel Foucault's influential notions of power as relational and productive. Despite his irritatingly gendered language, Foucault (1986) argued that our relationships to people, places, histories and cultures are key to the operation of power, in particular to the ways 'in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice' (27). Power and knowledge are not set or concrete, but are always in negotiation. This suggests that cultures, including physical and sporting cultures, can be understood as 'constitutive, creative processes' (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 36). Key to this understanding of bodily, relational, creative processes of cultural meaning making, are subjectivities. "Subjectivity" describes the constitution of the self as a result of our relationships to people, places, histories, cultures and contexts. Our subjectivity is developed through our lived experiences and identities. For Nick Mansfield (2000), subjectivity 'is always everywhere a fiction, and has no intrinsic reality or structure, neither one given to us at our birth or as a result of the relationships and experiences of our early lives' (64).

In this conception, subjectivities are the effects of our endless subjective negotiations of spaces, knowledges, cultures and other subjectivities, which shape how we become social and cultural subjects. As such, subjectivities are complex, individually specific assemblages within which the multiple aspects of our lives are negotiated—sex, gender, class, histories, discourses, experiences, etc.—and are active, dynamic, fluid and always in process. This movement means each is constantly in processes of negotiation with other cultures, subjectivities and power relations. For individuals, it centralizes the role of bodies, whereby our body 'becomes a site for the production of knowledge, feelings, emotions and history, all of which are central to subjectivity ... the body cannot be thought of as a contained entity; it is in constant contact with others' (Probyn, 2003, p. 290). Nikolas Rose (1996a) talks about this process in terms of intersecting subjectivities, where by subjectivities are not stable;

...they are rather webs of tension that run across a space that accord human beings capacities and powers to the extent that they catch them up in hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, vocabularies, systems of judgement, and technical devices. (p. 38)

These webs of tension are constant negotiations of multiple knowledges, contexts and other subjectivities. Thus resistance to existing power relations 'requires

no theory of agency' (Rose, 1996a, p. 35), because our negotiations of these power relations are implicit in our everyday cultural encounters. Our subjective negotiations of context already always have the potential to be disruptive.

Unintentional Subversions in the Surf

I first noticed the pedagogies of intersecting subjectivities out in the surfbreak, where despite the male-dominated culture, surfers in the water are of various ages, sexes, abilities, and so on. In this everyday recreational context, surfing is far from an extreme sport. Often, catching waves feels like the smallest part of going surfing. Instead, surfers socialize with each other, talking about their week at work, bobbing about in the sea, gazing at the clouds, admiring the light on the water, waiting and jostling for position for the next set of waves, watching other people who are on waves—watching, judging, taking measure. In surfing, there is a lot of time for observing, talking, yelling, listening, responding, thinking and re-thinking. Surfers learn to be surfers from other surfers in surfing spaces, and surfers also have their ideas about surfing challenged by surfers in surfing spaces.

As Nikolas Rose (1996b) argues, subjectivities have authority over other subjectivities. Our words and actions are observed and experienced by those around us, intersecting with their own subjective understandings and experiences. Historically, the voices of authority at surfbreaks have been male (and masculine and young and heterosexual and able-bodied and often white). The authority some men feel free to wield over surfing spaces, performances and subjectivities was apparent in the comments of one of my participants:

Sophie: ...it still happens to me frequently, in a crowded surf blokes have said to me, 'You've had five waves'. And I think well, yeah right. ... I watched and I've sat and I've got crummy bloody little waves and yeah, they've evolved to something else. But I've worked bloody hard to get them and you're just sitting there grunting. Like, whatever. But they've held me into account for the waves that I've had, because visually I'm a female. It's really unfortunate.

Like other women I spoke with, Sophie is aware of being observed and that her responses to such moments will be observed and commented upon as well. For example, while some women choose to respond to forms of differentiation by adopting normative cultural behaviours and acting like the guys, they are also aware that the existing and normative behaviours in surfing are 'by no means the only option' (Tait, 2000, p. 167) for becoming a surfer or,

more importantly, for getting access to waves—an access which, in Australia, has historically been mediated through men. The women I interviewed knew they could make different decisions than those explicitly on offer, and which could be effective in getting more waves, as Sophie explains:

Sophie: I don't wanna get involved in all that stuff, you know. I will bide my time, I will get waves off the point, but I will wait. And I will find those small little windows that I get and I'll be happy with that. I'll get a hundred waves, don't you worry. I will find them and I will get them...

Sophie's actions are subversive and resistant. She knew she was being observed, and she also knew she was 'being held to account' for her waves, and her surfing performances, so she chose to use her knowledge of the surf and surfing culture to avoid the male-dominated politics as much as she could. The result of this is that she is observed getting waves that she has fought for and which have evolved into something those men found unexpected. Her waves choices were not the norm, but they worked out so well as to be noticed and commented upon, and her skills in finding waves took on a new meaning. While they are implicit and incidental, these forms of pedagogical exchange are not necessarily accidental. Women who choose to surf in ways that do or don't align with normative cultural values are making decisions, responding to politics and negotiating power relations with objectives in mind as well—to illustrate that women surf well and to get waves of their own.

For a long time, surfing has been what Margaret Henderson described as 'the fantasized last frontier for sometimes anxious men and youths' (2001, p. 329). Yet as more women surf for longer time periods and in many different conditions, men in Byron Bay have come to establish unavoidable, longer-term relationships with women who surf—relationships that are variously social, loving, abrasive, romantic, fleeting, significant, respectful—and are encountering different ways of thinking about women as surfers. These "different" female modes of behaviour and surfing pose different questions and present different possibilities from those so many men who surf are used to, so women's surfing itself is offering new ways of knowing surfing more broadly. In this way, women's surfing becomes a pedagogical tool for re-thinking possible ways of surfing and for behaving as a surfer; these possibilities require the re-thinking and re-learning of existing of power relations. The key point here is that what we do and say always has the potential to impact people around us, and thus what we do and say matters. Knowing that she is differentiated as a woman, Sophie's intention is to stay out of the politics of surfing and simply to get waves. This might not be a

broadly political approach, but this is an intention that has consequences for how surfers think about women who surf.

The ways women's surfing is changing surfing culture is apparent in how women's voices are increasingly difficult to ignore in that world (Olive, 2016a). I have seen the impacts of this on local men who surf in Byron Bay, whose experiences and relationships with women who surf have helped them develop a different set of assumptions about women's surfing abilities and thus the ways they are allocated respect in the surfbreak. For example, local male surfers I speak with don't doubt the capabilities of local women, and the normality of surfing with women in Byron Bay seems to have become something that is discussed with pride—as though it reflects well on their inclusive tendencies. As I've recently explained elsewhere (Olive, 2016b), one local, John, recounted an occasion when his visiting friends had worried about his wife, Nat, who was sitting out the back in big swell. He kept assuring his friends, 'She's fine. She can handle herself.' When Nat paddled into a solid wave and took off down the face, capable, strong and in control of things, John's friends were shocked. John just laughed at the story. He is used to surfing with Nat and other women, so her confidence and skills came as no surprise to him.

For many men going surfing with a woman remains highly unusual, leaving their expectations of what women can do as surfers defined by a surf media that has a historically sexist attitude to women (Iisahunter, 2017). But as more women are more visible in the surf and in surf media, surfers (men and women and others) are able to see and experience women's surfing skills and contributions for themselves. Through experience, they *know* women can surf, and like John, come to laugh at assumptions that women are weak, lacking in skill, or incapable of handling waves.

As more women become more visible in the surf in surfing culture, men who surf cannot avoid encountering women's ideas, experiences, perspectives and contributions. In my story about Nat, the size wave she caught, the challenging conditions she caught it in, and the skill with which she rode it, didn't fit with John's mates' assumptions. Nat was just going surfing. She wasn't consciously engaging in resistant approaches to a condescending line-up—at the time, Nat didn't even know the conversation was happening—but by catching that wave, on that day, in that context, she disrupted those men's assumptions without meaning to. The pedagogy of her performance was unintentional, but it was no less powerful for it. Seeing Nat catch that wave is now part of John's mates' embodied and subjective knowledge about surfing and women. I've heard John enthusiastically tell that story more than once, passing along the pedagogy of the encounter to others. In this way, women's resistance to existing power relations 'requires no theory of agency' (Rose, 1996a, p. 35), because

our negotiations of power relations are implicit in our everyday cultural encounters. Our subjective negotiations of surfing are, by their very existence, disruptive, extending into our embodied and spatial ways of knowing. The pedagogy of this is unintentional, but the potential for directing the pedagogical intentions and possible effects, is not.

Un/Intentional Cultural Pedagogies

The implicit, unintentional pedagogical potential of relational bodies is key to the possibilities for how we can teach and learn new ways of knowing and doing in everyday physical cultural spaces and contexts, and how this can be part of our research methods. We constantly learn from the subjectivities, cultures and spaces that surround us; ‘How can it be otherwise, given that our bodies and our sense of ourselves are in constant interaction with how and where we are placed?’ (Probyn, 2003, p. 290). Since subjectivities are already always in relation with other subjectivities, spaces and cultures, then my own feminist politics are part of those relational encounters as well. Through feminist political engagement with the embodied subjectivities I encountered in the fields of my research, intentionally engaging with the ethical and political imperative of feminism that I contribute to change, became part of all of my actions, interactions and cultural publications.

I took these commitments seriously. In my research fields, I continue to be active in speaking up when I see moments of sexism and other discriminatory practices, even as they continue to be spaces in which I am collecting empirical information (Olive & Thorpe, 2011). I have been fascinated by the effects of our actions on our research while we do it, and the role that an engaged reflexivity plays in helping us make decisions relating to our feminist ethics and responsibilities in the field (Olive, 2013, 2016a). Sometimes these are directly engaged with our intentional actions, at other times they are unintentional reactions to our presence as women.

As well as taking my ethics and politics into the field, I intentionally followed the lead of other researchers in taking the initiative to write and publish in surf media, raising issues of inequality and inequity throughout surfing culture (Olive, 2013, 2015). My writing, even when it does not appear to be, is always produced with a feminist agenda. This extends beyond my publications, in that I accept all invitations to speak at various festivals and exhibitions, at which I have often been the only woman speaking. At these events, I make sure to name and promote other women who surf or discuss surfing, including researchers, writers, filmmakers, photographers and more, and have

also recommended other women for inclusion on panels when I have the chance (Olive, 2016a, 2016b). In this way I dismiss the idea that there are few women worthy of invitation. When there are other women on the panels, I make sure to amplify their message to the often mostly male audience. On social media, I like and re-post images and information, giving currency to women's contributions. This is a small act, but it's an intentional one that is aimed at challenging assumptions about women's surfing in any way I can.

These tactics have been productive in terms of my research, leading to new interactions, responses, conversations, publications, comments and other forms of 'data' (Olive, 2013, 2015). They have also made my ideas visible to those in positions of cultural power, including professional surfers, journalists, magazine editors, filmmakers and curators. In a recent conversation with one culturally high-status man, we were discussing my intentional political work about surfing in the field and in the media. I was explaining the logic shaping my tactics to him—the very ones I have laid out in this chapter. 'Yeah', he relied after listening to my description. 'But the thing is, you're not that powerful and you don't actually have any influence over anything.' His point is superficially valid. In a culture where women still don't edit any of the major surf magazines and rarely have their competitive skills acknowledged, he is right. What I didn't point out to him, however, was that he often asks my ideas, listening to me in many hours-long conversations, and he does have power in surfing culture and media. And I know he passes my name along to others, as someone worth talking to about surfing culture. The potential I have to, even in small ways, influence the surf media and industry is increasingly apparent in the contact I have with editors, journalists and others who consult me on, in particular, issues relating to women and representation. This is happening at levels which are influential in terms of cultural representations of competitive and recreational surfing, and while my contributions in these spaces are rarely acknowledged, and I do not appear to have influence, this is not the point. While the impacts of these pedagogical exchanges might be beyond my (and their) control, the intentional teaching/learning framework in which the pedagogy takes place is because, as Richard Tinning (2008) argues, 'Pedagogical work is a consequence of pedagogical intentions' (416), which in my case, are feminist.

Conclusion

While I am excited about the potential of embodied subjectivities for understanding pedagogy and change, I remain aware that this potential is active in maintaining the status quo. This takes us back to Tinning's (2008) point about

the unpredictability of pedagogical moments, the results of which 'are beyond the control of the teacher' (416). This is an issue I continue to find challenging and requires ongoing reflexivity. For example, as I critique the continuing cultural power of heteronormativity—the cultural power of slim, toned young women in bikinis—I am at risk of entrenching trivializing ideas about cis-gendered, heterosexy female bodies and their assumed intentions. That is, I need to be aware that my own assumptions and ideals might shut down conversations and representations. In their work on health and physical education teacher training, Louise McCuaig, Marie Öhmans and Jan Wright (2013) point out that educators need to be aware of how their own embodied and preferred form of morality and ethics might impact students. They highlight the importance for well-intentioned teachers of remembering that by inciting students into new ways of thinking, they perhaps 'foreclose opportunities to explore alternative readings and understandings of healthy bodies and healthy living that better serve our students' (16). McCuaig, Öhmans and Wright remind me that despite my efforts and intentions, relationships and spaces are always a relationship of power and privilege, that are impossible to escape and in which my politics are always in play. This is not to discount the importance of the role of activism and politics in research, rather to highlight that as activists and politicized researchers we need to remain aware of the effects of our politics and values, just as we critique and disrupt the politics and values of others.

Discovering the pedagogical potential of research practices and relationships for shaping experiences, knowledges, spaces and cultures was an unintended consequence of doing feminist research. However, given the explicitly political imperative of feminism, it is not surprising. While I enjoy research and learning new things, it is finding out how research can do things that drives my work and encourages me to have conversations, to intervene, to be brave. This approach is not only relevant in my research publications, but is always in action in how I do my research in the field. Even if unintentional, our interactions can have impacts, and so making sure my conversations, interactions and behaviours are always motivated by a feminist agenda to improve things for more women, I ensure that my intentions are always in action. In this I take inspiration from researchers, colleagues and friends, past and present, as well as the women in my research projects, whose own contributions to participating in what remains a male-dominated culture requires an un/intentional politics of its own. For me, theories of the intersecting nature of embodied subjectivities revitalizes the idea that the personal remains political. It adds a new dimension that is always already pedagogical and transformational, which is an exciting and potential possibility, and which carries a great responsibility.

Notes

1. Many thanks to Belinda Wheaton for her feedback on this chapter as it developed.
2. For this and many other moments of theoretical insight, I am forever grateful to Louise McCuaig.

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Theme 3

Feminist Theories of Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Feminist Theories of Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Jayne Caudwell, Belinda Wheaton, Beccy Watson,
and Louise Mansfield

This theme of the handbook illustrates the diverse ways that feminists have made and continue to make sense of gender in sport, leisure and PE. As a collection, the nine chapters examine the intellectual repertoires that have shaped vibrant feminist debates and competing and complementary conceptual approaches to gender, sexualities, race and ethnicities. The chapters identify and elucidate how and why different theoretical perspectives have given direction to empirical study, critical analyses and conceptual development. As a collection the chapters offer a range of approaches and it is this diversity of critical analyses that makes feminist theory dynamic and generative. Some time ago, Susan Birrell (2000) argued that it is the ongoing debates within feminism that help produce the integrity of feminist theory. Instead of viewing the various schisms of feminism as reducing the analytic power of feminist theory, it is argued that the range of feminist points of view work to strengthen the depth and detail of feminist theory, and its potential to provide robust explanations of the intricacies surrounding gendered power relations.

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The nine chapters in this theme of the handbook attest this claim. As a collection they offer an alternative representation to the familiar feminist discourse of first-, second- and third-wave feminism (*cf.* Caudwell, 2011). Instead they chart and plot the influence of parallel social theory and demonstrate how this theory has been refracted in feminist thinking within sport, leisure and PE. For example, Katie Liston and Samantha King show how figuration theory and cultural studies, respectively, merge with their feminist interpretations and critiques of sport and leisure. Liston and King produce their arguments through different approaches to writing about theoretical growth and development. Liston outlines how and when figuration theory developed stronger links with gender and critical gender analyses. King writes of her journey with theory (cultural studies and feminism) through undergraduate and postgraduate study to her position as an established academic. These two approaches offer examples of the different ways we can articulate theoretical debates and trajectories. As the opening chapters to the theme this stylistic juxtaposition serves to echo our aim not to present a monolithic impression of feminist theory. Both chapters are strong accounts, which trace the confluences of social theory and feminist sport and leisure theory.

From the onset, it is apparent that individual theorists have informed our contemporary feminist thinking. Pirkko Markula and Kristy Tredway expand this claim by providing the details of how the conceptual and theoretical work of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Derrida (Markula), and Judith Butler (Tredway) have contributed, and continue to contribute, to the development of feminist poststructuralist analyses of sport and leisure. Through a sharp focus on specific concepts, both authors explain how these four well-known theorists have influenced feminist thinking. It is impossible to ignore and/or deny the contribution of French male philosophers—Foucault, Deleuze and Derrida—to feminism and Markula demonstrates clearly why they have had an impact.

In many ways, the turn to parallel social theory and individual theorists of cultural studies and poststructuralism have supported feminist research that extends gender analyses to incorporate sexualities. Tredway discusses some of this sexualities-related work in her chapter on Judith Butler. Lisahunter continues this approach in her critique of the practices and cultures of physical education. The chapter critically evaluates the existing contributions of feminism vis-à-vis queer and queer theory to pedagogical theory and practice. Through a discussion of existing available feminist and queer concepts the chapter rightly—in our opinion—calls for a more critical research agenda in physical education and sport pedagogy.

In different ways, these initial five chapters offer the theoretical and conceptual context for a turn to emotions and affect. Simone Fullager and Adele Pavlidis document previous concern with emotions as emanating from sport social theory akin with figuration theory. They quickly move to push at this existing conceptual boundary by drawing on key feminist theorists (e.g., Sara Ahmed) to show how an identifiable feminist frame offers a subtle and astute account of empowerment, women and roller derby.

The next three chapters in different ways draw our attention to whiteness, and the ways we can critically theorize the intersections of gender, race and ethnicity. Using a third-wave framework, Leslie Heywood reconsiders its potential in relation to contemporary mediated representations of the sporting body. She starts by tracing the value of a third wave in explaining the amorphous nature of particular representations of the sporting body. Within this discussion she acknowledges the complexities of racialized representations and turns the third-wave lens to whiteness and racism.

Continuing this inquiry, but from a different perspective, Letisha Engracia Cardoso Brown forges a theoretical frame that identifies the overlaps and boundaries between postcolonial and black feminisms. Making reference to Caster Semenya, Brown explains the significance of past representation of women of colour in the USA for contemporary processes of racism in sport. By adopting both postcolonial and black feminism she shows how gender and race are always imbricated.

Mary McDonald and Renee Shebly further develop this important theorizing with a strong and convincing critique of the workings of whiteness in sport and leisure contexts, and within the academy. They apply black feminist frameworks, including black feminist activism, to analyze events surrounding the Rutgers women's basketball team and SlutWalk. Importantly, they provoke the reader to pay attention to theorizing class when explaining race, ethnicity and gender.

The nine chapters in this theme provide a substantial demonstration of the growth, development and application of feminist theories relevant to sport, leisure and PE scholarship. In the spirit of admitting to omissions, which is something feminists have highlighted as politically valuable, this theme of the book remains incomplete. It is noticeable that there are gaps and these silences must be identified if we are to continue to develop and expand feminist thinking. For instance, it is apparent that there is no chapter in this theme of the handbook concerned with theorizing disability and debating the intersectionality of gender, disability, ability, sexuality, ethnicity and class. As producers of past and present feminist theories it is paramount that we address this "lack of" in our individual and collective futures. This acknowledgement of omission and intent is a conscious political and theoretical point of conclusion.

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Norbert Elias, Figural Sociology and Feminisms

Katie Liston

Introduction

At first glance, the 1970s emergence of feminist and figural studies of sport might seem coincidental. Thinking more deeply, however, their simultaneous emergence was a function of the social conditions of the academy at the time that impacted very directly on the subsequent trajectories of, and engagement between, the two bodies of work. The socio-historical development of the two disciplines is an important starting point here. On the one hand, feminist (including women's) studies sought to remedy the hitherto relegation of their experiences and interests by explicitly according primacy to the theorizing of gender inequalities and the problematizing of mainstream ("malstream") subject areas. Positioning theory and activism as hand in hand was to the forefront for this paradigm in which the aim was to transform patriarchal relations in all spheres of social, cultural and economic life, including sport; a task that was underpinned and inspired by developments in feminist thinking and the primary desire for equality of access and opportunity.

Since then, a characteristic feature of feminist approaches has been that, while by no means homogeneous, they have sought to prioritize political and/or moral gender-based objectives: be they equality of opportunity; the separate development of sport by/for women; the necessity and efficacy of positive action and/or discrimination and tackling the primary reasons for women's oppression (e.g., class-, capitalist-, sexual-based forms or a combination of

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these); or, suggesting/building new forms of sport and leisure featuring human relationships focused on more participatory and co-operative values than those typically on view in patriarchally (or more accurately, andrarchally) dominated sport forms. Today, one testimony to this work is the fact that, around the world, more sports are increasingly accessible to young girls and women, particularly sports traditionally associated with males. Allied to this, questions are now being asked, more openly than before, about the values that perpetuate gender inequalities, their origins and the interests of those for whom these inequalities continue to serve some purpose.

Alongside this, an emerging approach sought to prioritize an understanding of sport as a social and sociological phenomenon in the first instance and, thereafter, to use this knowledge to guide interventions that might come from the re-involvement of the researcher/academic in the “real” sports world. This paradigm established clear theoretical and empirical connections between broader social developments, at the level of the state in modern societies, for example, with personal habitus, experiences and values.¹ Also characteristic of this approach was a railing against the retreat of sociologists into the present and the intense individualism featured in agency/structure debates. Such was the intellectual force of this work, forged by figurational sociologists of sport, that many assumed the approach to have far greater dominance in sociology in the Anglophone world more generally. In the sociology of sport specifically, it came to be described as hegemonic or even as an orthodoxy against which alternative viewpoints were pitted.

So it was that embedded in the “early” years of the academic study of sport by social scientists, and the subsequent development of this sub-discipline, were differences between feminists (incorporating the burgeoning field of Women’s Studies) and “figurati”. These centred most particularly on the ubiquitous problem of ideology/values and led scholars of both groups to arrive at different, and at times competing, explanations of the same social phenomenon. Ensuing exchanges between them were, and continue to be, of significance not only to readers interested in the sociology of sport (including exercise, leisure and PE) but also, more widely, to all those concerned with the social sciences in their present state and their future prospects.

This chapter offers an overview of some of the intellectual exchanges that have occurred in this regard. Assuming that readers will be more familiar with the corpus of work by sports feminists and perhaps less so with the figurational approach, first is a brief overview of the latter work on relations between the sexes. Central in this regard are the concepts of interdependence and power balances, the implications of which, it is suggested here, sensitize the reader to the mutual conditioning of the sexes and the continued impact of structural/social conditions on debates regarding individual identity and reflexivity.

On Relations Between the Sexes

Select any social scientific textbook on sport and leisure today and it necessarily includes engagement with the figurational tradition.² Feminist writers such as Birrell (2000) have also acknowledged the insights generated by “figurati” about sport and gender.³ This publication is another case in point. Figurati, those who adopt and utilize the figurational sociological approach, have attained a distinctive degree of intergenerational continuity that diverges from the wider pattern of non-cumulative sociological thought and the associated tendency to “reinvent the wheel”. Included here are various postmodern and reflexive turns. Part of the explanation for this continuity can be found in the belated publication of Elias’ work—he wrote continuously throughout his life but only published most of it in the 20 years before his death—and the associated rise in the popularity of this in the late twentieth century (Gornicka, Liston, & Mennell, 2015). It was also assisted by Elias’ willingness to acknowledge that his central theory—civilizing processes and their variants—had nothing more than the status of a working hypothesis, requiring sustained empirical investigation across a range of social contexts and time periods to test, refute, refine or extend its explanatory power.

Yet this work has also attracted ‘admirers and critics in almost equal measure’ (Bairner, 2008, p. 32), despite the fact that those who take their bearings from Elias constitute a tiny minority of the world’s social scientists. The perceived hegemony of figurati, in the social sciences of sport at least, has led to condemnations of theoretical isolationism on the one hand or to over-adherence to a theoretical framework on the other. Of course, feminisms (and other paradigms) have also been subjected to similar critiques, which are themselves a reflection of claims for academic primacy. Indeed, since the generation of Weber, the process of intellectual specialization has made it ever more difficult for scholars to keep in mind the “big picture” of which their own work is a small detail, and it has tended to narrow, rather than broaden, intellectual horizons. Elias was inclined to broader views, the intellectual ambition of his work being wide ranging.

Mennell (1998, p. 140) notes that Elias ‘came to sport as a topic for sociological investigation relatively late in his career’, in the mid-1960s and 1970s. Of even greater bearing here though is the fact that, some three decades prior, Elias had already begun to think processually about the changing power balances between the sexes, and the ways in which their interdependence was impacting on both.⁴ An intriguing mental experiment in counter-factual history might be to consider how different would be the trajectory of ensuing exchanges between figurati and feminists, had Elias’ book been published in the 1940s as was intended. The statement may at first glance appear

preposterous, given that here was “yet another male academic”, one whose career was severely disrupted and who hid the fact that he was gay,⁵ writing about historical sociology, the problems of process reduction or *Zustandsreduktion* and engaging mainly with the work of other male thinkers, dead and alive. But the implications of his ideas were far-reaching and there is no evidence of his being prejudiced in any way towards females in the academy.⁶ Eschewing the false dichotomies, as he saw it, of agency/structure and individual/society, Elias drew on the notion of *homines aperti*—that is, on the idea of an ever-larger circle of people in modern societies with whom any single individual is connected, no matter how momentarily. In this regard he spoke of:

the ‘conveyor belts’ running through individuals’ lives growing ‘longer and more complex’, requiring us to ‘attune’ our conduct to the actions of others, and becoming the dominant influence on our existence, so that we are less ‘prisoners of our passions’ and more captive to the requirements of an increasingly complex ‘web of actions’, particularly a demand for ‘constant hindsight and foresight in interpreting the actions and intentions of others’. (cited in van Krieken, 1998, p. 4)

Thus, the “subject of knowledge” for him was neither a single individual nor an isolated group.

One pertinent illustration of this is the ways in which the sexes have become more closely bound to, and with, each other in modern societies. In these networks of interdependence (or figurations), recognizable patterns can be identified, just as in the analogy of a dance as it progresses. Conceived in this fashion, the direction and order of the dance between the sexes in sport, and its transformation, cannot be understood solely by one or the other, but by relations between the two. Only through recognizing this ineluctable interdependence can a more adequate understanding be gleaned of power relations between the two. This view stands in opposition to the tendency by some social scientists in the 1960s and 1970s (feminists included) to explain changes in the power balance between the sexes as if they depended on the generosity and/or the ill will of the groups concerned at any one point in time—that is, as if changes were a function of the voluntary action (or “agency”) of one or other of the groups, thereby isolating these from the overall development of the society in question, and from the developmental stage of civilization. Part of the problem with this conceptualization of power was that it was assumed to be unchanging.

Demonstrating a distinctive historical and processual sensitivity, Elias (2009a) wrote not only of power balances between the sexes in Ancient Rome but also, more generally, of the connections between the structure of states

and the personality structures of men and women. In other pieces promoting the figural approach (e.g., Elias, 2009b, 2009c), there are yet further insights into his thinking, on marriage and family, and on the inadequacies of *homo clausus* approaches to sex and gender. In 'Foreword to Women Torn Two Ways' for instance (2009b), he acknowledges that the problems facing women and the associated solutions engender men's problems and vice versa. 'For, inevitably, they intertwine—they cannot be separated' (2009b, p. 272, originally published in Dutch in 1983).⁷ Thus it was that this approach to the study of power balances between the sexes sought neither to escalate the position of females, nor to minimize the role of males, nor to attribute blame to guilty parties. It was this distinctive approach that underpinned the subsequent research on sport as a male preserve, led by Dunning.

The landmark text for figural studies of sport and leisure—*Quest for Excitement*—was first published in 1986, and more recently in 2008 as Volume 7 of the *Collected Works* of Elias.⁸ The 1986 edition included an examination of the emergence and development of sport as a male preserve, later developed into a fuller discussion of sport and gender relations by Dunning (1999).

The next section provides an overview of how figural work on sport and gender has been received, grown and spread. In particular, it has to be recognized that, as the standing of this work has risen in general, it has also generated critique and counter-critique, not least from feminists who have taken issue with the perceived downplaying of women's agency, with the ignorance of women's sports experiences and with what was claimed to be a traditional (perhaps even outdated and sexist) scientific model at the heart of the figural approach.

Figural Sociology, Sport and Gender

Quest for Excitement (2008 [1986]) was a pivotal publication for the present purposes, given its subject matter. It embodied the same approach as that applied by "figural" to a wide variety of other phenomena—the explanatory role of the scientific (as opposed to the evaluative or moral) concepts of civilization and civilizing processes. One consequence of civilizing processes is that women have become increasingly more involved in modern sport around the world. When examined in its own right, this development reveals the increasing interdependence and mutual conditioning of the sexes, fluctuating power ratios between them, and the consequences for the social habitus of members of both groups, all of which was hinted at in the 1986 sub-title:

Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. This text by Elias and Dunning laid an extensive sociological groundwork for the subsequent and ongoing study of sport, leisure and gender, building as it did on Dunning and Sheard's earlier (1973) findings that sport had become a key social activity for males in the preservation of stereotypical masculine behaviour, attributes and ideologies. They attributed the rise and decline of rugby union as a male preserve to the increasing power of females and suggested that the relationship between these two developments was curvilinear—in other words, the same social process had different consequences at different stages. A little over a decade later, Elias and Dunning argued that the ideological association between masculinity and violence was central, not only to rugby union, but to the history of modern sport, and that the power chances of females tended to increase when relations between the sexes were more pacified. Ten years later still, Dunning and Maguire (1996) illuminated the sociogenesis (the process of social becoming) and consequences of females' entry into sports, in which they hypothesized that aggressive masculinity and the subordination of females represented a process of identity testing and formation for both sexes. Thus, civilizing processes could be both emasculating and feminizing for males.

Elias himself noted that 'when we [he and Dunning] started on this work, the sociology of sport was still in its infancy' (2008 [1986], p. 3) for they were at the forefront in seeking to establish sport and leisure as subjects worthy of serious academic attention. Along with a small group of similarly motivated sociologists at that time, they faced intellectual ridicule arising from their contention that 'knowledge about sport was knowledge about society' (2008 [1986], p. 3). Though neither sex nor gender were their sole focus in this connection,⁹ an extension of their argument was that the exclusion of women from certain sports reflected power differentials between the sexes in society at large. But what set them apart from their peers at the time, particularly feminists, was the prioritization of knowledge about sport and leisure that was characterized by the desire for a greater degree of detachment, and which served a primary purpose of generating reality-congruent knowledge about the problems under investigation. In other words, their work did not have a prior political, moral or gender-based objective or motive when it came to understanding the sport–gender nexus, other than to seek to understand the social field of sport and, in so doing, better comprehend that which we call society. Their passion came in the first instance from the pursuit of knowledge, judged autonomously in its own right. This primary scientific purpose involved 'a species of detour behaviour' that Elias (2007) terms the 'detour via detachment', which he argued was necessary for greater human control of the forces—physical, biological or social—that researchers were seeking to understand.

Accordingly Elias, Dunning and colleagues at the Leicester School were acutely concerned to maintain a relatively detached approach to the sociological study of sport, one that sought to maintain some distance from dominant ideologies and behaviour. For them, ideologically driven programmes of action were producing unintended and unforeseen consequences that lay at the heart of the continual recurrent drift from one inequality to another, from racism to sexism in sport, for instance. The question for those applying the figural approach was how to bring fluctuating power balances to a more even level than was usual, and to keep them there. That, for Elias, was 'a more realistic aim than the simple statement: we want equality once and forever' (2008, p. 274).

Conceived in these terms, and set against the backdrop of growing academic awareness (in the United States and Western Europe at least) of women's subordination in sport, *Quest for Excitement* was a controversial intellectual departure from populist, often empiricist and ideologically driven functionalist, historical, Marxist and feminist analyses of sport and leisure. Laudable too was Elias' desire, as he expressed it much earlier, to pass on knowledge 'to younger men and women understanding and able enough to take it up and use it in their own way' (1952, cited in *Figurations*, No. 22, 2004, emphasis added). Succeeding generations have taken up this invitation (e.g. Colwell, 1999; Bloyce and Smith, 2010; Bloyce and Lovett, 2012; Velija, 2011; Mansfield, 2007; Malcolm, 2004; Lake, 2009; Killick, 2009; Fry and Bloyce, 2015; Liston, 2005, 2007, 2014). This work has sought to take account of critiques and counter-critiques, by broadening the choice of sports under examination and testing other tenets of the figural approach. In the more recent figural work on sport and gender specifically, including my own, females mainly have led the way. With some exceptions, this is a telling development given an opposite pattern, more or less, up to the end of the 1990s. This recent work has been characterized by the use of sensitizing ideas and concepts from figural sociology, feminisms, and sometimes both.

Critique, Counter-Critique and Synthesis

Just as moving closer together can generate a different kind of resistance for the sexes, the concurrent development of figural and feminist work on sport has also generated some tensions. For some critics, multidirectionality and multicausality—two hallmarks of figural sociology—led figurati to downplay some explanatory concepts and processes, notably gender. In this connection it was the charge of gender (if not political) neutrality that led

feminists such as Jennifer Hargreaves (1992, 1996) to criticize Elias and Dunning's, and later Dunning's sole-authored, work. Her twofold criticism centred on: involvement–detachment, alleging that this concept claimed or implied complete detachment and “objectivity” as the hallmark of figurational research; and Dunning's failure to investigate gender relations, as if research on men was not analogous to a contribution to gender. The concept of involvement–detachment was eschewed for its perceived connotations of intellectual superiority, objectivity and value-neutrality and, perhaps, for its apparent promotion of men's view of science and traditional (unreflexive) notions of a scientific method (Liston, 2007). In its stead, Hargreaves, drawing on Du Bois before her, suggested that ‘passionate scholarship’ (du Bois, 1983, p. 112) ‘or passion and reason are, and should be, the starting position of any sociological endeavour’. Feminists also took a contrary ideological position on theory to Elias, Dunning and colleagues: ‘theory is only useful if it *informs* political action and practice and it is also *developed out of these*’ (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002, p. 3, emphasis in original). Consequently, they (including second and third waves) maintain that facts are not apolitical and that values require critical examination given the potential for gender bias. Reflexivity¹⁰ became a methodological issue resulting in feminists' calls for examinations of the social construction of scientific knowledge systems, including language.

Accordingly, to the liberal scientific mind that wanted to maintain separation between rationality/logic and irrationality/illogic, passion and reason, or between involvement and detachment, Dunning's approach to sport and gender would have seemed contradictory at best, or very possibly have been regarded as masking hidden, even dangerous, biases. Reflexivity was one feminist solution, therefore: the means through which the assumptions and values of researchers could be uncovered, although without an accompanying theory of shifting psychic functions (Kilminster, 2004) or a framework for explaining the development of individual (adult) introspection. Indeed for some feminists (e.g., poststructuralists), it was no longer relevant to seek either “the truth” or a single explanation to gender-based problems because a uni-dimensional focus on patriarchy ignored the multi-dimensional bases of inequalities between the sexes.

As I argued in 2007, this early exchange between sports feminists and figurati was less than fruitful. Differences and misconceptions may also have prevented those interested in the exchange from appreciating that one of the preconditions for any science (social or natural) to become established is ‘the sustained transfer of controlled emotional affects into “autonomous evaluations” through a process of institutionalization’ (Kilminster, 2004, p. 35). What was at play, then, was a struggle between and within disciplines for

status and autonomy; and that coincided with a period (in British sociology at least) where, according to Mennell, 'it was a great disadvantage to be a member of the male sex' (2014, p. 11). The unsuccessful resolution/dissolution by feminists of the tension surrounding the question of women's bodily specificity may have also clouded the early exchanges and curbed any potential then for building on what appeared to be some common ground between the two approaches: for instance, that our knowledge about the social world, and of gender relations, is incomplete, continually evolving and requires a sensitivity to the past; at best it entails theoretically driven, empirically oriented components and attunement to the multiple bases of power imbalances; and that any analysis of relations between the sexes necessarily involves sensitivity to both, even if the main empirical focus may be one or the other during the course of research.

Subsequent generations of sociologists with varying degrees of commitment to feminist and figural sociologies have examined the potential for theoretical synthesis between these two paradigms (see Colwell, 1999; Liston, 2008; Mansfield, 2007, 2008). Colwell, for instance, drew out what she saw as the boundaries between feminist and figural work on gender. For her, these were primarily characterized by the latter's commitment to an ideology-banishing scientific model.¹¹ Building on this, she discriminated between figural and other work, which could lay claim to being informed by (but not necessarily fully committed to) the ideology-banishing model. By way of contrast, Mansfield (2007, 2008) presented her approach—a feminist-figural sociology—as predicated on involved-detachment: a way of explaining, understanding and working with balances of passion and reason in scholarship about the gendered character of activities in the sports and leisure spheres. In doing so, they reinvigorated a longstanding debate concerning the differing approaches taken to the challenges associated with the scientific status of sociology, the use of the sociological imagination and the research challenges inherent in the study by humans of other humans. As Mansfield put it, 'the sociological problem in research is to determine the continuum of evaluation and attempt to employ an appropriate degree of involvement-detachment in the evaluative process' (2007, p. 126). This applies not only to academics¹² but also to sportspeople who are thinking, feeling and reflective human beings.

There is the challenge for elite sportswomen, for instance, of detaching themselves from older patterns of thinking and being (e.g., traditional gendered and sexualized labels of women in sport), where the respect both of others and of themselves depends largely on their ability to fulfil the normative demands of the established (male) group(s) in sport. My own research (see for example, Liston, 2014) shows that high-performing female athletes are more

likely to use physical, relatively violent forms of instrumental behaviour in order to be regarded as successful on the field of play. Instrumental activities also feature increasingly off the field. Gendered differences appear to be minimized in this regard when considered in the context of instrumental norms in the elite/high-performance sport environment. A paradox for those feminists who espouse women's specificity, unintended outcomes like this—that no one person has designed or chosen—are likely to continue, given the current waves of support for women in high-performance sport. They are also an inevitable consequence of 'complex social processes involving the interweaving of the more-or-less goal-directed actions of large numbers of people' (Dunning, Malcolm and Waddington, 2004, p. 200).

Despite these waves of support for women, from within and without the sports world, andrarchally tilted power balances have not been broken simply by the increasing participation of girls and women in these sports or the goodwill of some of the established (male) groups.¹³ Today we cannot characterize power relations between the sexes on the island of Ireland, for example, as those of harmonious or virtual equality.¹⁴ However, this does not mean that gynarchically tilted customs and codes do not exist. In point of fact, power ratios between the sexes are more akin to a fluctuating balance moving from harmonious inequality to one that might be termed inharmonious equality, involving spurts and counter-spurts. In the context of rugby union, for example, it will be interesting to monitor the impact of girls' and women's increasing involvement in this sport on those boys and men whose gendered self-images are most closely wedded to the game. This is because of the kinds of gender-based inequalities that are codified on the island of Ireland (north and south) and also embodied, psychologically and socially, in the social habitus of individual men and women.

In the limited space that remains, the discussion comes to a close with a commentary on more egalitarian forms of sex relations from an Eliasian perspective and the implications of this for future work, by figurati and feminists, on sport and gender.

On the Development of Changing Power Balances

In contrast to social codes that reflect the unequivocal relegation of women to an inferior position relative to men (e.g., the Chinese custom of foot binding or the Brahmin expectation that widows would be burned alive on their

husbands' death pyres), there are ambiguities in British and European codes of conduct between the sexes. European public codes in the twentieth century, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, decreed that women should be treated 'in a way usually accorded to socially superior and more powerful persons' (Elias, 2009a, p. 241). This was despite women not having property ownership rights at least up to the nineteenth century in some European countries. Some gynarchic features are evident in this example, despite the overall andrarchic trajectory of power relations between the sexes. For Elias, there are always 'shades and grades in the power differentials of human groups' (2009a, p. 243) rather than absolutes—that is, being powerless or all-powerful. Civilizing spurts in single social strata (such as positive action in certain targeted employment groups, for instance) involving a lessening of inequalities between the sexes is always accompanied or followed by counter-spurts. Examined empirically, this opens up two central questions for feminists and figurati alike: that of the social conditions responsible for civilizing spurts in the direction of greater equality between the sexes; and that of the adequacy of conceptual mechanisms that seek to capture these power ratios.

The commitment by both groups—feminists and figurati—to their particular epistemological trajectories will determine their approaches to these two questions and is made possible by the stage of development of the social sciences. It is also built upon differing approaches to the fallacy of treating humankind in the singular (Goudsblom, 1977), as reflected in the emergence of reflexive and dialogic approaches (and, of late, action research). This fallacy, one variant of which has included, latterly, postmodernist and poststructuralist turns, has led many sociologists to shun the perils that can arise in the devising of 'theories of a wide scope, one of the chief perils ... being the exposure of an ideological viewpoint' (Goudsblom, 1977, p. 169). The immense scope of figurational sociology leaves it open to criticism on these grounds but, 'if any conclusion can be drawn, it is ... that sociological ideals reflect a balance between "knowledge" and "fantasy", the ratio of which has to be investigated in each instance' (Goudsblom, 1977, p. 172). This does not mean that theorists must always challenge systems of ideological belief that serve to maintain the dominant positions held by various social groups or that they self-consciously adopt their own viewpoints. This would be to fall foul of the hodiecentrist trap for one.¹⁵ By the same token, the dissonance between the guiding principle of feminisms—to evaluate and challenge the status quo of gender/sex relations—and Elias' active minimizing of the intrusion of evaluation and idealized pictures of particular sports or sportspeople, is another. In point of fact, Elias never excluded the possibility that evaluation might indeed be one outcome of research. As Loyal and Quilley put it:

The development of a scientific sociology depends not upon the eradication of passion or a deep sense of 'involvement' on the part of social scientists. Rather it requires the emergence of forms of 'secondary involvement' in the process of sociological investigation itself (as opposed to immediate politico-ethical attachment), and a 'passion for detachment'. (2004, p. 44)

For these reasons, those feminist practitioners who are wedded to more reflexive contemporary kinds of academic activities may view the figurational pursuit of 'the methodological imperative of greater detachment and suspension of value-judgments, pursued rigorously and in its pure form alone, [as] ... simply inflexible and even authoritarian' (Kilminster, 2004, p. 38). Dunning's 2008 postscript is a revealing insight in this regard.¹⁶

The current and future trajectories of research on the sport–gender nexus appear to be shifting in a gynarchal direction in that there are more female academics active in this field and they now conduct much of the empirical research on women's sports. This is not to deny the valuable contributions from male feminists and male figurati of course. Rather it is to observe that it is as if the structural imbalances in sport (such as differential rates of participation and organizational capacity between the sexes) have found something of an almost opposite expression in research currently. Of course, sociological ideas are always produced in communities—but the constitution of these communities will be crucial for the future development of sport and gender research, characterized as it will be by involvement–detachment, passion and reason.

In his theory of involvement–detachment, Elias was addressing the general issue of how to generate scientific knowledge about the social world while being an active member of that same world. It would be naïve to claim that a researcher could, or should, exclude or suspend all or some of his/her ideological motivations from the research process. No living being can ever be entirely detached, and it is always a matter of balance. But attaining greater detachment also requires standing away from the very idealized self-images and beliefs that provide researchers with emotional and intellectual legitimation.

The kinds of debates reviewed here are certainly more than a sideshow to readers of sport. Indeed, the role played by figurati in challenging the differentiation and proliferation of the sociology of sport is a principal example of important theoretical practice. Without taking refuge in impenetrable and theoretical obliqueness, they have sought a 'bold scale of ambition' in their theoretical enterprise while at the same time always acknowledging that 'their work should be judged as no more than an early stage in the scientific understanding of the sports process' (Rojek, 2008, p. 173)—that is to say, this corpus of work should be viewed as a 'preliminary phase of long-term

inter-generational labour' (Rojek, 2008, p. 174). Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the corpus of work conducted by figurati is that, above all, it has enhanced Elias and Dunning's refutation of the claim that "physical" phenomena like sport and leisure were of lower value than intellectual activities. In actual fact, Elias' conceptualization of human beings "in the round"—that is, in terms of human movement, emotions, thought and rationality—laid the basis for the development of the sub-discipline and laid important groundwork for the "serious" study of sport. In turn, this groundwork enabled other academics—notably feminists—to engage in meaningful and knowledge-based dialogue about gender relations in sport in order to demonstrate that knowledge about sport is undeniably central to knowledge about society and vice versa. What better form of motivation can there be for figurati and feminists alike than to provide future generations—academics, sportspeople and those who profess a dislike for sport—with such knowledge?

Notes

1. See, for example, Dunning and Hughes's (2013) overview of Elias's 'Central Theory'.
2. Tomlinson (2006), for example, includes two excerpts from Elias and Dunning's *Quest for Excitement* (1986) in *The Sports Studies Reader* and Coakley and Pike (2009) make reference to figurational research on sport on theoretical and empirical grounds. Equally, the *Handbook of Sports Studies* (Coakley & Dunning, 2000) and *Sport and Modern Social Theorists* (Giulianotti, 2004) incorporate separate theoretical chapters on the figurational sociology of sport tradition.
3. This is despite violence and aggression often being regarded incorrectly as (solely) synonymous with the figurational approach.
4. A full manuscript was written in the 1940s but accidentally destroyed. Some of this was later reconstituted from memory and published posthumously in Volume 16 of the *Collected Works* of Elias.
5. For most of his lifetime male homosexuality was illegal and Elias could have been imprisoned.
6. Ketler, Loader, and Meja (2008) described a tradition in the pre-war Frankfurt circle around Karl Mannheim, of which Elias was a member, where women were equally 'part of the scene'. Their text also includes chapters on Käthe Trohel, Natalie Halperin, Margarete Freudenthal and Nina Rubinstein, as well as some minor males such as Norbert Elias.
7. See also for instance the section on 'Social repression and psychological repression', in the essay 'Freud's concept of society and beyond it' (Elias, 2014, pp. 28–34).

8. The 2008 edition also included a postscript by Dunning on gender (see chapter 11).
9. Instead of using the terms sex and gender in dichotomous terms, as if biological and social explanations of such differences could be analysed separately, it would be in line with the Eliasian approach to talk of sex/gender. By doing that, the balance between nature and nurture, between biology and culture is stressed. This is because Elias' intention was 'to steer between the two extreme ideological positions which commonly permeate research on the animalic dimension of human beings. On the one hand lies the reductionist view of the ethologists and sociobiologists ... which effectively says that we are basically apes. On the other hand is the philosophical-religious view that human beings constitute a complete break with the animal world, forming a level of soul or spirit' (Kilminster, 1991, p. xiv).
10. Feminist reflexivity may be expressed in two ways (Maynard, 1994). 'It can mean reflecting upon, critically examining and exploring analytically the nature of the research process in an attempt to demonstrate the assumptions about gender (and increasing, race, disability and other oppressive) relations which are built into a specific project. It may also refer to understanding "the intellectual autobiography" of researchers' (*op.cit.*, p. 16).
11. For example, "If one looks for explanations, therefore, it is better to cast aside wishes and values ... and to content oneself with a simple discovery of what happened and why" (Elias, 2008, p. 257).
12. See, for example, Mennell's comments on the phases of more involvement and more detachment in his own work: (<http://www.ucdpress.ie/PDFs/Stephen%20Mennell%20Elias%20Interview%2026-05-15.pdf>), Velija's (2011) application of established-outsiders to women's involvement in cricket in England and Velija and Flynn's (2010) analysis of female jockeys who remain outsiders within the racing figuration.
13. The term andrarchy (andrarchally tilted) is preferred here to patriarchy. It means rule by men or male rule whereas patriarchy literally means a father's rule or rule of the father (Dunning & Maguire, 1996). Gynarchy refers to rule by women (Langer, 2001) and differs from matriarchy or rule by mothers.
14. See goo.gl/B0QRj3 for a summary of research on gender inequalities in sport and physical activity on the island of Ireland presented at the Knowledge Exchange Seminar Series 4, Stormont (Belfast), June 2015.
15. Goudsblom (1977) coined the useful term hodiecentrism to describe the present- or today-centred thinking of so much of modern research in the social sciences.
16. In it he raises the challenges of grappling with the 'rational and emotional dimensions' of his involvement with his wife and what he describes as 'the painful realization that a substantial amount of exploitation and taking for granted of females has always undergirded male participation in sport' (p. 258). So too is the short reflection about his socialization into the idea that men should not strike women.

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Feminist Cultural Studies

Samantha King

Attempts to define an academic field or approach are notoriously risky given the exclusions such endeavours inevitably produce. The task of delineating feminist cultural studies as it has been practised in research on sport, leisure and physical education is particularly challenging given the vast and diverse bodies of scholarship that might be understood to fall within its parameters. That feminist cultural studies has become normalized and that it has been extensively explained and discussed in a variety of publications, presents the additional possibility that what follows might appear anachronistic or redundant (Balsamo, 1991; Birrell, 1988; Birrell & Cole, 1994; Birrell & McDonald, 2000; Cole, 1993; Hall, 1996; Stabile, 2011; Franklin, Lury, & Stacey, 1991). I do not pretend to have an adequate response to these hazards, but in an effort to avoid as much as possible the reproduction of standard histories or universalizing claims, I present my ideas autobiographically, locating and exploring the development of my scholarly practice within a larger history of the particular strain of feminist cultural studies that is associated with the University of Birmingham, UK. It will be up to the reader to judge how representative this account is in relation to their own experiences and understandings of the field.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the history of the Birmingham School and the particular place of feminism within that history. It then moves to a review of what for me are three defining features of a feminist cultural studies approach (intersectionality, contextualization and politicization),

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illustrated by examples from past and present work in sport, leisure and physical education. I conclude the chapter with some tentative observations about the place of cultural studies in these fields today.

The Birmingham School

I start with the Birmingham School not because it is the primary or sole point of origin for feminist cultural studies, but because it is where, as a seventeen-year-old undergraduate, I was first exposed to what I later came to recognize as an interdisciplinary, intersectional, radically contextual and expressly political approach to culture and power. I had actually applied to the University of Birmingham to study for a joint degree in sociology and sport and exercise science, but by the time I arrived in 1988, the sociology department had been disbanded and its course offerings subsumed within the newly inaugurated Department of Cultural Studies. I thus found myself taking courses in a field I knew nothing about but which seemed to resonate with my general interest in thinking critically about social life.

I learned, retroactively, that the field that came to be known as Cultural Studies emerged in post-war Britain through the work of New Left scholars such as Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson. These men used and subverted their training in English literature (Hoggart and Williams) and history (Thompson) to radically rethink the forms of culture that constitute legitimate objects of academic study and to preserve and promote working-class education, institutions and struggle. In his inaugural lecture following his appointment as Professor of English at Birmingham in 1962, Hoggart announced his intention to create a space for the critical study of films, popular fiction and print media alongside empirical research on the ways mass culture was produced and consumed (Hilliard, 2014). His vision was realized in 1964 with the creation of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), the original incarnation of the department in which I found myself.

An understanding of culture as a 'whole way of life' (Williams, 1958, p. 310) and a refusal to reduce culture to canonical literary texts and works of art ("high culture") was entrenched in the curriculum by the late 1980s. Work at the Centre was always highly interdisciplinary and theoretically and methodologically experimental, diverse and dynamic. Over time, however, the dominant approach became more sociological and ethnographic, with the initial focus on the literary merit of working-class and popular texts giving way to concerns about the operation of power and ideology within and through such sites as youth cultures, news coverage of crime, women's magazines and television

audiences (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Hebdidge, 1979; McRobbie, 1991; Morley & Brunson, 1999). Although as an undergraduate student I received no formal or systematic training in “how to do cultural studies”, this was the kind of scholarship I found myself immersed in, through coursework and in research projects. It resonated with me and allowed me to study sport and leisure for their cultural meanings and social significance, rather than their physiological or psychological dimensions, an endeavour in which I was supported by my adviser on the sport science side of my degree, Charles Jenkins, who was himself a cultural studies scholar.

Under the directorship of Hoggart, who was succeeded by Stuart Hall (1968–1979) and then Richard Johnson (1978–1988), the Centre had become known not just for *what* its members studied but *how* they studied, with scholarly life marked by fierce yet creative tensions around not only politics and theory, but process. Having rejected a traditionally individualist and hierarchical orientation to academic work, many of the Centre’s projects were led by students and undertaken collaboratively. Decisions about the management of the Centre were made collectively and a hardship fund was financed through a tax collected from its salaried members (Connell & Hilton, 2014). Frictions with the university administration over this approach were compounded by consistently meagre institutional support afforded to the Centre. Notwithstanding this precarity, the Centre’s impact has been profound.

As Toby Miller (2008) writes, ‘Cultural studies is magnetic’ (p. 1). Over time and in locales dispersed far beyond its original institutional site, the Birmingham tradition accreted Marxism, structuralism and poststructuralism, feminism, critical race theory, post-colonialism and queer theory, and at the same time propelled the study of power and subjectivity within marginal and mundane cultural practices and relations (Miller, 2008). Established as a ‘tendency across disciplines, rather than a discipline itself’ (Miller, 2008, p. 1), the contemporary reach and multiplicity of cultural studies is inestimable. Although cultural studies has always exercised a highly ambivalent relationship to its own institutionalization, there are now cultural studies courses, programmes and departments established on every continent, and transnational peer-reviewed journals, scholarly organizations and conferences to support the work of scholars in the field. As the signifier ‘cultural studies’ has become ever more contingent and localized, the extent to which these entities reflect the tradition of scholarship associated with the Birmingham School varies considerably (Stratton & Eng, 1996; Turner, 2012). That cultural studies has morphed into ‘the shape required by the context in which it is to be put to work’ seems eminently appropriate given its early concern with sensitivity to historical and cultural situatedness and specificity (Turner, 2012, p. 145).

“The Thief in the Night”: Feminism and the Birmingham School

My being unaware of the intellectual and political genealogy of cultural studies upon joining Birmingham meant that I also knew little of the fierce struggles over race and gender that permeated life at the Centre during the late 1970s and early 1980s, or how the effects of these struggles shaped the version of cultural studies to which I was introduced. In my very first lecture as an undergraduate, Professor John Gabriel focused on the mass uprisings against racist policing and state violence that had swept the nation a few years earlier, and in my first seminar, we began to learn how to analyze newspaper images of women. Critical race theory and feminism—if not their intersections—were central to the curriculum by that time, supported by a growing body of working papers and books that included Paul Gilroy’s *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack* (1987), which demonstrated how anti-black racism is central to hegemonic English national culture and identity, and the collectively authored *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women’s Subordination* (1978), which was among the first to draw connections between feminist studies and cultural studies.

Women Take Issue represented a concise and accessible gateway to the recent history of cultural studies and the contested character of the field. Edited by a community of scholars, as were most CCCS projects at the time, the text brought together the contributions of nine women and two men, some but not all of whom worked together in the Women’s Studies Group at the Centre. The book was written as a response to the absence of women and feminist scholarship from the Centre’s fundamental problematics and sought to demonstrate how feminist research might transform the production of knowledge therein. While a critical engagement with the limits of Marxist economism and reductionism had been at the core of the Centre’s approach from its founding, it took members of the Women’s Studies Group to highlight how social formations are structured through both class and sex/gender. Essays in the collection contemplated the adequacy of Marxist theory for explaining the subordination of women and extended concerns about production to include reproduction and the personal and domestic dimensions of culture as they are refabricated through such sites as women’s magazines and working-class girls’ friendships and sexual relationships.

In addition to transforming the cultural studies research agenda, *Women Take Issue* was explicitly self-reflexive, taking seriously, as did much feminist work at the time, the ‘responsibility to elucidate its own conditions of possibility’ (Balsamo, 1991, p. 52). As the book’s editors put it in their highly

contemplative introduction, 'How do we carry out our work without being sucked into the intellectual field as already constituted, i.e. gaining legitimation at the expense of our feminism, losing sight of the informing politics of our work?' (Women's Studies Group, 1978, no page number).

Over time, such questions have become profoundly influential in how I approach my own scholarship, given that I work alongside basic and applied scientists in multidisciplinary environments where the pressure to legitimize cultural studies research and conform to the improvement and performance orientation of kinesiology is ever present. The need to remain attuned to the (shifting) politics guiding and emerging from our work, and to understand that such work holds potential not simply as a form of knowledge production but as a facet of field reconstitution and institutional change, are ideas that my graduate students and I discuss frequently. At the same time, these conversations are undergirded by the recognition that such change is challenging to pursue, hard to recognize when it does occur and often strongly resisted.

In this vein, it would be easy to assume that the publication of *Women Take Issue* reflected a natural and uncomplicated evolution of thought within cultural studies, but even among the 'good, transformed' men working in the field, there was intense resistance to the critiques raised by feminists about the structure and content of its intellectual projects (Hall, 2006, p. 269). Stuart Hall (2006) famously compared the feminist 'interruption' of the masculinist cultural studies project to a 'thief in the night', who 'made an unseemly noise, seized the time, crapped on the table of cultural studies' (p. 269). Hall's words capture the distaste and discomfort that this intrusion provoked, especially once the realization set in that feminists didn't simply want a place at the table, but for men to take on the work of challenging gendered power and to make patriarchy central to their own scholarly pursuits (Stabile, 2011).

The extent to which such a transformation has occurred is questionable. Writing about the specific context of the United States, Carole Stabile (2011) claims that nearly three decades after the contested entry of feminism into cultural studies, 'far from being mainstreamed, feminist scholarship in cultural studies largely remains the work of a handful of women scholars; an argument that can also be made for the work of scholars of color' (p. 18). The degree to which one agrees with Stabile depends on how broadly one defines the field of cultural studies, and on the particular geographic locale in question, but it is worth noting that the centrality of analyses of gendered power to the cultural studies project remains contested. This is in spite of the fact that self-reflexivity about both the construction of objects of study and the theoretical, political and institutional locations from which such objects are approached has long been held as a central commitment of cultural studies praxis.

It's Not Just the Economy (or Gender), Stupid: On Intersectionality

Notwithstanding the care with which the *Women Take Issue* collective described the political and theoretical conflicts and impasses that marked the groups' work, notably absent from the collection are discussions of racism, nationalism and imperialism that would become central to at least some strains of feminist cultural studies in the decades that followed (Balsamo, 1991). Hazel Carby's classic essay, 'White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood', which first appeared in the CCCS collection, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (1982), laid out the problems with such absences in stark terms, insisting that feminist theory in Britain must transform itself, not simply by rendering black women visible, but 'in the process of accounting for their historical and contemporary position ... challenge the use of some of the central categories and assumptions of recent mainstream feminist thought' (Carby, 1997, p. 111). Carby refers, in particular, to the universalizing analyses of the family, patriarchy and reproduction that characterized feminist work at the Centre and elsewhere. Such work could not, for instance, account for the black family as a primary site of resistance to racism—rather than simply a vehicle of patriarchal and class oppression—thus profoundly limiting the critical reach and relevance of white feminist analyses.

The Black British¹ feminism of the 1970s and 1980s, in which Carby was a central figure, was diverse and diffuse, materializing as both a body of scholarship and an assemblage of political organizations and movements. The work of Carby (1987, 1997), along with Pratibha Parmar (1982, 1989), Valerie Amos (Amos & Parmar, 1984; Amos, Gilroy, & Lawrence, 1982), Amina Mama (1984, 1995), and Amrit Wilson (1978), among others, brought migration, labour, media and cultural production, state violence, and a range of other issues shaped by racial and gendered capitalism to the fore. At the same time, black feminist scholars continued to interrogate the whiteness of feminist cultural studies—and of mainstream feminist scholarship and the women's liberation movement more broadly—in an effort to promote an 'open reflexive appreciation of racism in the production of an ethical feminist discourse' (Mirza, 1997, p. 10; Bhavnani & Coulson, 1986).

An approach that emphasized what is commonly referred to as 'intersectionality'—or a focus on the ongoing, dynamic and changing production of social subjectivities and inequalities through multiple interconnecting forces of oppression and privilege—was one outcome of these struggles (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Intersectionality as an approach to feminist theorizing

has been widely discussed and critiqued (Geerts & Van der Tuin, 2013; Puar, 2012). Regardless of the merits of this particular term for describing an attentiveness to the multiple axes of power that shape the experience, organization and representation of sport, leisure and physical education, intersectionality endures as one of the three key facets of the feminist cultural studies that I strive to practise. It wasn't until I moved into graduate work in North America in 1991 that I was introduced to the theory underpinning this concept, that I began to understand the larger history of black feminist challenges to white feminist theory, or that I fully appreciated that critical race feminism has its own histories and trajectories outside its responses to such theory.

For me and for other scholars of sport, an intersectional feminist cultural studies has also provided a space to take Marxist theory seriously (Stabile, 2011)—particularly the profound importance of political-economic forces and relations in shaping and reproducing cultural life—at the same time that it has pushed us to think beyond economic organization as the primary determinant of any social formation, beyond an emphasis on production over consumption, and beyond power as operating between hierarchically ordered, pre-ordained stable groups or classes. Class is not ignored by practitioners of feminist cultural studies, but it is understood to exist in a mutually, if uneven and unpredictable, constitutive relation with race, gender, sexuality, age, disability, nation, and so on (Andrews, 2007). Such forces were historically sidelined in the Gramscian-inspired work that marked the diffusion of cultural studies across the literature on sport, leisure and physical education (Gruneau, 1983; Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; Hargreaves, 1986), in more orthodox Marxist analyses of physical cultures (Beamish, 2002; Brohm, 1978) and in early socialist feminist research on women and sport (Beamish, 1984; Bray, 1983; Hall, 1985; Theberge, 1984).

For one of my first graduate research projects, in which I analyzed media discourse surrounding US basketball star Magic Johnson's announcement that he was HIV positive, it made sense to think about the economic forces, in the form of corporate sponsorships and advertising, at work in shaping the response to this news, as well as how Johnson's class background figured in the narrative. But to focus exclusively on the economic dimensions of this event would have made no sense. Indeed it would have profoundly warped my understanding of the implications of this story given (a) Johnson's identity as a rich but formerly working-class African-American man who claimed to have contracted HIV by 'living the life of a bachelor' and by implication through 'heterosexual transmission' (King, 1993, p. 278); and (b) the centrality of homophobia, racism and misogyny to both representations of AIDS and black men's sexuality.

An intersectional and non-economistic approach shapes not simply how scholars analyze their objects of study, but also the kinds of questions they ask in the first place. In other words, it is unlikely that an unreconstructed Marxist scholar would even consider exploring the meanings generated through the Johnson story because such an undertaking demands a critical focus on signification (e.g., through an analysis of the social anxieties about bodies and pleasures provoked and policed through his announcement, anxieties that far exceeded biomedical considerations) and language (e.g., through an analysis of the construction of HIV/AIDS as a ‘gay disease’ with ‘innocent victims’ and ‘guilty carriers’)—processes that are of little interest within strictly materialist paradigms. Feminist cultural studies, via a prolonged engagement with poststructuralism, thus also opened up space for scholars to explore how subjectivity and identification are constituted through language, and how language operates as a key site for the exercise of power. In this approach, language as a vehicle for the exercise of power cannot be abstracted from the economy, nor the economy abstracted from language.

Contextualization: Mapping the Relationality of Culture

For one of the founders of cultural studies, Raymond Williams, exploring the messy co-minglings of culture as lived experience with culture as signification (e.g., novels, newspapers, television) was a key preoccupation and one that became central to the development of cultural studies as an intellectual project. Cultural studies’ emphasis on the relationality of culture has become the second key thrust of my academic practice as a scholar of feminist cultural studies and sport, health and the body.

From my perspective, cultural studies is not necessarily ‘about culture’ (Grossberg, 2010, p. 169), nor is it defined by a specific theoretical or methodological position. Its approach is nevertheless distinguished by an orientation to the research and writing process that seeks to capture and examine the historic, economic, political, social and psychic contexts through which culture—a thoroughly diffuse, variable and mobile category—materializes and circulates. Called “conjunctural analysis” or “articulation” by scholars in the field, this approach provides a methodological strategy (of sorts) for mapping the complexity of competing forces that comprise cultural life. In its manifestation as a theoretical sensibility, articulation offers a model (albeit rough and amorphous) of society as a ‘layered complex of elements all intricately and dialectically interrelated with one another’ (Willis, 1993, p. 33).

Hall argues that cultural studies conceives of the cultural realm—of which sport, leisure and physical education are central parts—as a ‘constant battlefield’ in which the constraining forces of social structures vie with the creative impulses of human actors (Hall, 1981, p. 233). As such, research in cultural studies represents an attempt to move beyond the classical Marxist understanding of the relationship between culture and society as economically determined and in which the profit-driven, competitive and scientized model of organized sport, leisure and physical education is understood to be governed primarily by the structure and interests of capitalism. But cultural studies scholarship also rejects humanist approaches that argue that there is no necessary correspondence between different elements in a society, or between the social structure and the individual, approaches in which sport, leisure and physical education are understood as freely chosen expressions of individual desire or the personal quest for development and meaning.² Instead, the contextual bent of cultural studies assumes that while there are no necessary correspondences, there are always real or effective correspondences between lines of force in a social formation.

To illustrate the first of these two claims, we can look to state socialist societies such as the former Soviet Union, which also produced competitive, scientized models of sport. The fact that such models emerged outside capitalist contexts such as the United States suggests there are no certain and stable relationships (“necessary correspondences”) between economic systems and sport systems. At the same time, and in a very general sense, athletes within state socialist societies experienced different forms of training, recognition and reward from their counterparts in capitalist societies. These “effective correspondences” were due to a variety of factors—gender and racial norms, militarism, philosophies of the body, cultures of work and education—that were specific to each context and irreducible to economics alone. In other words, the meanings and effects of particular policies, practices, texts and structures were not guaranteed in advance and alternative configurations of social relations were always possible. There were athletes who challenged their treatment in both the Soviet and US elite systems and elements of socialized and commodified sport were variously incorporated into both nation-state contexts.

Hall uses the term “articulation” (the joining of two parts) to describe how social forces are contingently connected. Hall (2006) defines articulation as ‘[T]he form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions’ (p. 141). Thus, he argues, ‘a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects’ (pp. 141–142). Articulation is particularly useful because it

presents a way out of what Meaghan Morris (1997) calls ‘paralysing debates’ about the relative status of different practices conceptualized as though they were mutually exclusive realities (e.g., the “discursive” and the “real”) asking instead how these practices connect and interact in specific instances (p. 47).

Such an approach has been particularly useful for feminist scholars interested in approaching sport, leisure and physical education as historically and culturally specific discourses and practices which, through political struggle and social change, are always potentially subject to reorganization. One recent example of such work is my colleague Mary Louise Adams’ (2011) award-winning book, *Artistic Impressions: Masculinity and the Limits of Sport*, a text that I have used to teach students how articulation operates and why it matters. Adams traces how figure skating was transformed over the course of the twentieth century from a “gentlemanly sport” associated with upper-class masculinity to a middle-class feminized activity practised primarily by girls and women. In other words, she explores how men’s figure skating came to be articulated with effeminacy as part of a larger conflation of ‘male bodies, masculine gender, and heterosexuality that limits the ways that men and boys can experience, move, and display their bodies and, more important, the ways they can see themselves and their place in the world around them’ (p. 20).

In demonstrating that this set of relationships has not always been arranged as such, Adams points to the possibility that gender and sexual norms might be differently—more justly—configured. Indeed, in the final chapter of the book she notes that the discourse of “macho-ness” that had flourished in the 1990s as part of an effort to remasculinize men’s skating had become ‘far less prevalent’ in the 2000s (p. 234). She reveals, in other words, that while there are real correspondences between masculinity and particular ways of displaying and moving the body, those correspondences are not necessary or immutable. And in mapping the shifting social conditions that brought about this rearticulation—a new judging system, which emphasizes aesthetics as well as athletics; declining television coverage and sponsorship opportunities that provide male skaters with less incentive to perform normative masculinity; and increasing public space for ‘things associated with gayness’ (p. 236)—Adams shows concretely how change occurs.

Politicization: Listening to Social Demands

I share with Adams a mode of practising feminist cultural studies that is driven by a commitment to progressive social change—the third key feature of my overall approach. It is worth noting that as a teenager I was what Canadians

call a “jock” with a keen interest in social issues. While I had a vague sense that signing up for a sociology degree would mean studying “social inequality” or “group dynamics”, I thought I would do so from a distance, with my politics—which were all over the place at that point—checked firmly at the door. I had no idea that I had landed in what was the ideological opposite of the household in which I had grown up, and a hub of New Left politics and intellectual critiques of Thatcherism.

I can still recall a sharp feeling of defensiveness in my Sociology of Contemporary British Society course to the suggestion that recent conflicts between urban, poor and working-class black men and the police were best conceptualized as “uprisings”, not “riots”. And it took a while for me to acknowledge, having been introduced to various feminist theories of sexuality, that my then heterosexuality was not so freely lived as I had previously imagined. But in the grand scheme of things, it did not take me long to swing to the left. I was not what is called a “hard study” in the business of classroom conversions, which is not to suggest that I didn’t—and still don’t—struggle to understand what I was reading, to recognize and unlearn the privileges that shape my life, or to figure out how to do teaching and research that is both disruptive and accountable. Conventional pedagogy tells us that our goal should not be to induce students to adopt our ways of thinking but to encourage them to open their minds and ask new questions; but I am forever grateful for the unapologetically leftist education I received at Birmingham and the fact that I had instructors who regularly cancelled classes so that they and whichever students wished to accompany them could, for example, protest the introduction of student loans (in 1988), or visit a picket line to show solidarity with striking ambulance workers (in 1990). To have activism normalized in this way radically transformed my sense of my self—albeit very gradually—and my sense of my responsibilities and opportunities as a student and later a teacher.

Although I was offered these valuable “hands-on” learning opportunities, my undergraduate education was, overall, an academically driven affair. Beyond inviting us to protests, professors in CCCS had little interest in providing practical experiences. Our trips to the picket lines were not part of a conscious attempt to incorporate activism into the curriculum—that is, to professionalize it. We were certainly never asked to discuss, *ex post facto*, our experiences at these mobilizations, or to write about them. Our teachers just assumed we were interested and active members of society who might want to show our support for these various causes and who understood—or might come to understand—that the questions we were asking in the classroom ‘were precisely about the cultural and social changes that were visible “out on the streets”’ (Grossberg, 2010, p. 27).

We were being taught, that is to say, that intellectual work mattered. As Grossberg argues, '[T]he Centre seemed to be attempting to make the academy listen to the demands of politics ... and to produce something worth saying outside as well as inside the academy' (Grossberg, 2010, p. 27). Years later, I am still not a scholar who tends to find her research questions in the academic literature, although my thinking is clearly shaped by what I read; instead, I am inclined towards questions which address contemporary social phenomena and that allow me to engage politically—and unapologetically—with the world around me.

In pursuing this kind of work, I learned much from early feminist cultural studies scholarship on sport and leisure. Jennifer Hargreaves' 1982 edited collection, *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, was a key text, featuring essays on the economic and gendered constraints on working-class women's 'leisure' (Griffin, Hobson, Macintosh, & McCabe, 1982), and the role of patriarchal sport in reproducing notions of sexual difference (Willis, 1982, reprinted as Willis, 1993)—both of which are still read and taught today. A special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum*, published in 1987, and edited by Ann Hall, includes an incredibly prescient essay by Lynda Birke and Gail Vines (1987) about the dangers of understanding biology as fixed, in opposition to culture as dynamic, in theorizing women and sport from a feminist perspective; a now classic essay by Lois Bryson (1987), 'Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony', which explores the role of sport in supporting male dominance and its related exclusion or trivialization of women's participation; one of the first feminist ethnographies of sport, conducted by Birrell and Richter (1987), on the relationship between feminist consciousness and sport participation in a Midwestern softball league; and a powerful argument for women's leisure to be considered comparable to employment and domestic labour as issues for feminist attention, authored by Rosemary Deem (1987). Deem's work is especially useful for how it highlights the broad context in which the dual burden of paid and unpaid labour, alongside fears about safety and the gendered nature of public space, constrain women's leisure time and quality.

What is striking about these texts is their central concern with the work of 'politicizing theory and theorizing politics', as Grossberg (1997) puts it. This body of literature emerged from listening to women's lived experiences and tracing the structures and forces that organize their worlds; but it was also shaped by the inadequacy of the dominant theoretical approaches of the time for imagining and transforming women's worlds. It follows that these scholars' interventions were at once academic and practical, abstract and grounded, interpretive and factual, and the impossibility of separating these forms of labour resonates throughout.

Present and Futures

As I noted at the start of this essay, feminist cultural studies of the intersectional, contextual and political variety has become somewhat normalized as an approach to the study of sport, leisure and physical education. To recap: an intersectional approach seeks to analyze how gender, race, class, and other modes of difference interact to shape sporting subjectivities, discourses, practices and institutional arrangements; contextualization is concerned with mapping the relationality of culture and is embedded in the assumption that the practice and meaning of physical culture is always complex and contingent; and politicization refers to the centrality of social power, struggle and transformation to the feminist cultural studies project.

Thankfully, it is no longer necessary for scholars working in this tradition to explain and justify their commitment to this form of scholarship; indeed, I encourage my graduate students to minimize their discussions of cultural studies in their thesis work. I do this not only because such elaboration seems unnecessary given its familiarity to scholars in the field, but also because I hold that a cultural studies approach should establish itself through analysis, not through the application of a label. Admittedly, my advice also emerges from a sense that cultural studies has become so diverse and diffuse that the signifier has to some extent lost its meaning. Indeed, I work at a university that now has a cultural studies graduate programme, but much of the scholarship that emerges from it is quite far removed from the particular tradition in which I work. I suppose this could act as a provocation to label, distinguish and brand what it is that we do over in our corner of campus, but my commitment to the unfolding and dynamic nature of scholarly fields makes such a response unappealing and unnecessary.

What I find remarkable is that graduate students in my unit seem to learn a Birmingham-tradition feminist approach even though austerity budgets and chronic faculty shortages mean that their coursework provides only fleeting glimpses of explicit discussions of this tradition. In other words, there is enough cultural studies literature with which they can work for this approach to become second nature. With the professionalization of graduate study, the growing cost of higher education and the corporatization of the university, some of the more radical organizational facets of the Birmingham School seem like very distant and utopic possibilities. But the contemporary climate also demands and elicits political action within and beyond our intellectual projects and, at least from where I sit, ritual laments about the diminishing centrality of engagement and critique to the cultural studies tradition seem thankfully out of place.

Notes

1. The “Black” in “Black British Feminism” has a very particular history, having been used by black and Asian women to name a ‘shared space of marginalization’ and a ‘political identity shaped by the shared experience of racialization and its consequences’ (Mirza, 1997, p. 3). It remains a contested space, however, given the capacity for “black” to take on a reductionist function and thus erase ethnic and religious differences among women (Mirza, 1997).
2. The poet and critic Matthew Arnold is often used as an example of a cultural humanist scholar.

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Poststructuralist Feminism in Sport and Leisure Studies

Pirkko Markula

Introduction

The term “poststructuralism” has evoked various responses from feminist scholars of physical activity. Some accuse poststructuralism of favouring a relativist world devoid of relations of dominance, while others embrace it as a foundation for refiguring alternatives to patriarchy. Despite such mixed reactions, poststructuralism, according to King (2015), has ‘emerged as a primary epistemological orientation in the sociology of sport’ (p. 94) and while leisure studies have been somewhat more “reticent” about engaging with poststructuralist discourse (Aitchison, 2000), several prominent feminist scholars (e.g., Aitchison, 2000; Henderson & Hickerson, 2007) openly flag its entrance to the field.

In this chapter, I aim to highlight how poststructuralist thought has informed in particular feminist examinations of leisure and physical activity. My intention is not to develop a universally applicable definition of poststructuralism or feminism following its main tenets. Instead, I will first take a brief detour to structuralism to discuss the foundation(s) of poststructuralism. Acknowledging that poststructuralism is typically understood to include several conceptually diverse strands, I will focus on the scholarship of three French theorists—Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Jacques Derrida—to discuss how feminist researchers of leisure and physical activity employ these poststructuralist frameworks.

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In the Intersections of Structuralism and Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism builds upon the foundation of Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) who problematized the idea of language as an imitation of what it refers to (the mimesis) to advocate “signification” (Meisel & Sayssy, 2011). The process of signification occurs when a signified (a vehicle of reference) connects with a signifier (a concept, image, word or sound) to form a sign. The sign systems (the meanings) are further understood to be born in interaction with the environment, the world we aim to describe through language (Meisel & Sayssy, 2011).

Although not generally taken up by feminist scholars, de Saussure’s work had a significant impact on several male scholars including poststructuralists Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault who problematized what they interpreted as the arbitrary coupling of a signifier and a signified that underpinned de Saussure’s structuralism. De Saussure did not locate the sign systems in their larger social and historical context which, according to the poststructuralists, led to a conceptualization of meanings as “fixed” (or remaining unchanged) once the sign was created. Structuralism, they advocated, does not provide possibilities for understanding multiple and/or transformed meanings in a constantly changing world.¹ Poststructuralism thus emerged as a scholarly response both to structuralism and, as Huyssen (1986) claimed, to the failure of the political left in 1960s Europe. For example, both Deleuze and Foucault, while originally supporters of the Left, grew disillusioned with the possibilities of Marxism due to the failure of the 1968 unrest to create political change in conservative France. While Deleuze, Derrida or Foucault did not openly identify as poststructuralists (even less did they connect with the term postmodernism, often used interchangeably with poststructuralism) (e.g., Foucault, 1997), I, based on their work, understand poststructuralism as a deeply political project that considers society as a site of constant struggle for the dominance of meaning field(s).

It is, of course, notable that the main figures of poststructuralism are all men. Many feminists, nevertheless, have aligned their scholarship with poststructuralism for a common goal of countering the dominant hierarchical modes of Western society with ‘a model of non-hierarchical, reciprocal relations’ (Diamond & Quinby, 1988, p. ix). In this social context, individuals actively produce multiple meanings that are, through language, products of society and culture and consequently, poststructuralism does not assume relativism—free and self-determining individuals making meanings without

any constraints. To examine how poststructuralism can reveal existing forms of power relations and to suggest ways of creating social change through feminist study of leisure and physical activity, I now explore the scholarship of Foucault, Deleuze and Derrida more closely.

Michel Foucault: Formations of the Self Within Power/Knowledge Nexus

Of the poststructuralist theorists, Michel Foucault's work has been by far the most influential among feminist scholars examining leisure and physical activity. To highlight the premise of his work, I discuss his main concepts—relational power, discourse and the self—in more detail.

The Body in Power Relations

Foucault (1978) redefined the operations of power as *relational*: 'as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate' (p. 92). Consequently, he did not refer to subjugation by certain groups or individuals to the dominance of the State or to other group(s) or powers as an essence or an attribute of a person. Not naively denying the existence of inequality, he maintained that power relations, invested with unequal amounts of force, are 'the immediate effects of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums' of economic, political, social and cultural relations (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). They are present in every relationship, limiting but also enabling individuals' actions. In a current socio-political context, Foucault identified two major politics of control.

One of Foucault's major innovations was to reveal how power relations impose control directly on the body through the Panopticon. Originally, the "panoptic" model referred to Jeremy Bentham's prison design, where invisible guards in the central tower could survey the prisoners rendered visible in their cells surrounding the tower. Panopticism (Foucault, 1991) can also be understood as a more abstract form of control that reduces multiplicity into one acceptable form of "normalcy": operating from multiple locations, an invisible "gaze" secures that humans, through self-surveillance, conduct themselves "normally". Feminist researchers, for example, have investigated how fitness magazine images act as an invisible gaze to ensure that the readers self-survey their bodily flaws and continually work towards the (impossible) perfect bodies rendered normal in the magazines (Duncan, 1994; Jette, 2006; Markula, 1995).

According to Foucault (1991), a set of disciplinary techniques designed to produce 'docile bodies' support the panoptic arrangement. The disciplinary techniques are based on effective distribution of space, ordering of time and composition of space–time into exercise. They continually transform and improve the bodies into useful, productive, but controlled docile citizens. For example, Barker-Ruchti and Tinning (2010) traced how space, time and training practices were used to produce docile women gymnasts. They further demonstrated how disciplinary techniques expose the individual's body for further 'normalizing judgment': complying with the disciplinary regime that is continually reinforced through a judgement of one's bodily performance and controlled through movement, space and time becomes "normal". Foucault (1978) added that the disciplinary techniques effectively reinforced the 'anatomo-politics' to target the individual human body in capitalist societies. While seldom explicitly addressing anatomo-politics, a number of feminist researchers of leisure and physical activity employ Foucault's concept of bio-politics.

Bio-politics, while operating alongside anatomo-politics, uses a somewhat different strategy to control large populations in open spaces (Foucault, 1978, 2008). It is practised through government of regulatory practices assigned to a continuum of state apparatus (law, medicine, political economy, education) and enhanced by the emergence of neo-liberalism. In this context of neo-liberal 'governmentality', state intervention is not necessarily reduced, but is, rather, remodelled based on the 'market' rationale (Foucault, 2007). For example, Kerr and Barker-Ruchti (2015) examined how women's artistic gymnastics in Australia and New Zealand followed 'the governing mentality' (p. 398) when it adopted 'a target-funding' modelled after neo-liberal 'marked rationale'. The neo-liberal government, according to Foucault (2008), favours an individual who is both a rational economic actor and "free" to take responsibility for his/her self-care, including adopting a healthy lifestyle of regular exercise (e.g., Jette, 2006; Markula, 2001, 2014; Markula & Pringle, 2006; McDermott, 2011). This logic effectively engages both the individual's body and her self as the targets of governmentality with a new set of rules of conduct and ways of using power. In this context, physical labour and self-care turn into strategies for the "self-enterprising" individuals liberated to maximize their healthy lifestyle within the neo-liberal market place. Within Foucault's theoretical schema, certain ways of knowing are harnessed as strategies for deployment of force through neo-liberal governance.

Discourse

As one of the pillars of his theory, Foucault (1978) argued that power relations are supported by dominant forms of knowledge: it is possible to reinforce dominance by backing it up with certain “discursive formations”. Foucault’s term “discourse” goes beyond language use per se or Marxist or Gramscian-inspired reading of ideologies as systems of beliefs that hide oppression underneath the promotion of the common good while only benefitting the ruling group(s). Discourses, instead, are types of ensembles in which a number of concepts form statements that create certain effects. These statements, then, begin to assume specific meaning(s) by joining into *theoretical formations*. Discourses, such as economics, medicine, “grammar”, or the science (Foucault, 1972), give rise to these theories.

King (2015) noted the significant importance of Foucault’s ‘theory of discourse in the sociology of sport field’ that, nevertheless, has ‘not for the most part’ engaged deeply with the subject (p. 98). For example, despite the general acknowledgement of discursivity, there is little systematic analysis of what discourses maintain the normalization of women’s physically active bodies. Consequently, feminist researchers should identify, more systematically, how the dominant discourses (e.g., medicine, exercise physiology, psychology, feminism, economics) give rise to concepts that then join into theories such as the “aesthetics of the healthy-looking body”, “exercise as medicine”, ‘mindfulness’ (Markula & Kennedy, 2011), “healthy lifestyle”, “lifelong sport participation”, “women’s empowerment through sport” or “improved body/self confidence” in the contemporary (neo-liberal) context of leisure and physical activity.

The theories support the disciplinary anatomo-politics and neo-liberal governmentality of individual responsibility. Foucault added, however, that through a systematic analysis of their formation, it is also possible to change them. Social change requires breaking out of docility and, through active self-construction and problematization, one can then alter the dominant discourses. This is the third dimension of Foucault’s work.

The Self: Subjection and Subjectivation

Foucault (1988) perceived the “self” as a form that is continually changing in the pressures of the power/discourse nexus. Individuals can, nevertheless, actively construct a self through problematization of the discursive formations and the power relations. This self-formation refers to the technologies of the self: subjectivation through an active process involving ‘*problematizations*

through which being offers itself to be, necessarily, thought—and the *practices* on the basis of which these problematizations are formed’ (Foucault, 1985, p. 11). Foucault’s examination of the technologies of the self focused on how individuals reacted and made sense of the “moral” codes around them,² not necessarily how individuals changed the codes. In this sense, an analysis of the technologies of the self is not necessarily an analysis of “resistance”. Instead, Foucault believed that there are different ways of thinking about one’s relationship to one’s self by engaging in what he called ‘practices of freedom’.³ Introduced mainly through interviews, Foucault began to formulate an “ethics of care” based on which an individual, after the process of problematization, engaged in aesthetic stylization: a creation of the self as a piece of art. Freedom in this formulation referred to a critical attitude to, not absolute liberation from, power relations or dominant discourses. Although some feminist scholars of physical activity inflate the concepts of the technologies of the self, practices of freedom and resistance to ideological control, others have also embraced Foucault’s ideas of constructing a different self (Markula, 2004). For example, Thorpe (2008) in her study of the snowboarding media and MacKay and Dallaire (2013) in their work on skateboarding media offered more nuanced readings of these concepts. There is also an increased feminist engagement in Foucauldian interpretations of how sexualities (King, 2015) and bodies with disabilities (Peers, 2012) are regulated and transformed across sporting contexts.

Gilles Deleuze: Rhizomatic Philosophy

Although Gilles Deleuze’s concepts have made inroads into the studies of leisure and physical activity, they are, compared to Foucault’s work, much less visible. However, the body is central to Deleuze’s thought and similar to Foucault’s work, can further stimulate feminist scholarship in physical activity. To provide a snapshot of Deleuze’s notoriously complex thought system, I focus on selected concepts of his work: the rhizome, assemblage and the Body without Organs.

The Rhizome

Deleuze’s philosophical stance stemmed from a need to disrupt the regime of capitalism with his rhizomatic philosophy, an open system of a set of concepts. To find a role for philosophy in today’s world, Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 1994) challenged the dominant philosophical traditions of Hegel, Husserl and Heidegger, which they described as the ‘arborescent model of thought’: a tree

grounded on one principal, supporting root, the 'truth'. This logic also supports the binary, or "molar", categories such as masculine versus feminine assigned to the individual as a 'form that we know from the outside and recognize from experience, through science, or by habit' (p. 275). From a Deleuzian perspective, feminist thought is also considered to be a branch of the metaphysical tree if it is based on the binary opposition of oppressive (male-defined) femininity and resistant ("true", stable) femininity. A Deleuzian feminist, consequently, needs to reach beyond pre-determined dichotomous binary categories to provide an avenue for a positive, empowering future for women and feminism.

In addition to molar categories, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) singled out three "great" hierarchically organized thought segments or strata that further support the tree model: organism, signification and subjectification. Organism draws from the logic of science, particularly medicine, and in many ways defines how we know about our physical bodies. Signification, which refers to the ways we understand language and meaning, draws from the structuralist logic of sign. Subjectification, referring to the ways we understand ourselves, draws, according to Deleuze and Guattari, from the logic of psychological sciences. Because Deleuzian work within feminist studies of physical activity and leisure is still quite rare, I use my work (Markula, 2015) on contemporary dancers' understandings of injuries to illustrate how the three strata operate in the field of physically active leisure.

In my study, I discovered that semi-professional dancers were constantly injured, yet generally denied being in any way unable to dance. To understand why they embraced such a tortuous attitude toward their bodies I, inspired by Deleuze, reflected their thoughts against the dominant strata in capitalist societies. Indeed, aligned with the logic of organism, the dancers located their injuries within the pathology of their individual bodies and took personal responsibility for their own carelessness as a cause for their injuries. Aligned with the logic of subjectification, they felt compelled to accept a pre-given dancing identity (one that ignores pain) that was dictated by the stereotypes of femininity (one that does not train for a strong body). Finally, aligned with the accepted logic of dance signification, they defined contemporary dance as an emotional, expressive movement art and, without questioning, embodied such a passionate commitment to dance that it overruled any bodily harm. Limited by these strata the dancing women did not take care of their bodies and engaged in borderline dangerous practices that, nevertheless, appeared as necessary aspects of feminine contemporary dance identity.

To overcome the limitations of the current strata, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) developed a philosophy based on an image of a rhizome—a type of root that grows horizontally with multiple roots taking off from any point. The rhizomatic

model of thinking is based on the ideas of heterogeneous thought (rather than unified thought strata), multiplicities (rather than singularities such as clearly defined binaries) and asignifying ruptures (rather than signification of meaning interpreted based on a unifying logic). Deleuze and Guattari placed their concepts of assemblage and a Body without Organs on this model.

The Assemblages

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) envisioned a looser formation for a thought system where diverse ideas and concepts assemble in identifiable formations. As spaces for continual change, the assemblages draw from, or are produced within, the strata. However, containing multiple different thoughts, they have the capacity to change the strata, to ‘deterritorialize’ and then bring in new ways of thinking and practising to connect with other assemblages. For example, one can remain within feminism and use its concepts, but create an assemblage of thought that gains territory from the existing stratum of feminism to open it up to deterritorialization. For example, Liao (Liao & Markula, 2015) analyzed the doping charge against WNBA player Diana Taurasi from a Deleuzian perspective to move beyond identity-based politics of dominant and resistant representations and to experiment with broadening feminist readings of the sport media. Instead of using pre-determined identities (gender, race, sexuality) as starting points, thus locating herself within the “tree model” of feminist analysis, she mapped how various elements of the news reporting assembled into a story about Taurasi’s drug-using body within the structures provided for women athletes by the capitalist sport media culture in the USA.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 11) urged every researcher to ‘[w]rite, form a rhizome, increase your territory by deterritorialization’. To facilitate increases in territory, they introduced a new concept, the Body without Organs.

The Body Without Organs

A Body without Organs (BwO) is a type of medium for smoothing out the existing strata: ‘a powerful nonorganic life that escapes the strata, cuts across assemblages, and draws an abstract line without contour’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 507). In this sense, a BwO is not a concrete body. Neither is it a concept such as agency or resistance through which to theorize how the feminine self can be liberated. Rather, it is a practice or a set of practices that we already, to a certain extent, engage in every day when we challenge the stratification of the “social formations” around us. BwO inspires thinking that challenges the existing strata and gives rise to an assemblage of multiple

thoughts. After problematizing the strata, a researcher can begin to formulate an alternative practice. There is no pre-existing or ready-made model to create a BwO that has to be made through experimentation. It is because the dominant strata are strong that the process of creating a BwO (or ways of thinking and consequently, acting “differently” from the pathway provided by the strata) is easily subsumed, or reterritorialized, within the tree model. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 161) also warned against abrupt attempts to dismantle the strata as this will bring ‘them back down on us heavier than ever’.

Despite its possibilities, the BwO has not been widely used by feminist researchers of leisure and physical activity. This can be partly due to many misunderstandings of the nature of this concept. However, I employed Deleuze’s thought to guide the construction of my own BwO as a researcher and practitioner of fitness (instruction) (Markula, 2011). Although with varied success, I actively practised fitness instruction differently by drawing from the existing strata, yet constantly aiming to deterritorialize them by thinking differently about health (the organism) and the ideal feminine body (the subjectification) as a fit body (significance), and how these can be challenged by various uses of time, space and movement practice.

Jacques Derrida: Deconstruction

Jacques Derrida (1978, 2004), more directly than Foucault or Deleuze, positioned his thought against the structuralist theory of signification. Instead of focusing on how the body is constructed by different knowledges within power relations, Derrida’s concern was more directly with how the meaning-making process situates language within the structures of power. Against this backdrop, it is perhaps understandable that the few Derridean feminist works within sport studies are either theoretical treatises of the possibilities offered by his theory (Cole, 1998) or sport media analyses (Helstein, 2005; Markula, 2009). Unlike Foucault or Deleuze, Derrida (1979; Derrida & McDonald, 1994; Derrida et al., 1985) directly addressed feminism in several instances. While Derrida comments on a broad range of topical issues, I introduce his concepts of *différance*, double-affirmative and *écriture* with a focus on feminism.

Différance

Similar to Deleuze, Derrida (2004) aimed to deconstruct philosophy by focusing on ‘the structured genealogy of philosophy’s concept’ but at the same time, like Foucault, by determining ‘what this history has been able to dissimulate

or forbid' (p. 5). This 'logocentric' structure of philosophy, according to Derrida (2004, p. 18) derived from the model of 'semiology of Saussurian type'. He interpreted de Saussure defining the signified (the meaning) as inseparable from the signifier (the image or sound) and therefore, the meaning, once created, was fixed to its material element (the image or sound). Based on this, 'the two-sided unity' of signifier and signified, the structuralists developed general metaphysical rules for how language operated, and Derrida thus located structuralism as part of a power structure that advances one type of thought as a truth. Here his concept of deconstruction intersects with Foucault and Deleuze's conceptualization language/knowledge/meaning as deeply embedded in power relations instead of neutral or universal truths.

Derrida was among the first poststructuralists to clearly theorize that meanings are constantly changing through the process of continual difference (from other meanings) and deferral (delayed meaning-making process). This change is deeply embedded in the structures of power where certain meanings become dominant. To detect the operations of power, or a 'general economy' behind the rules of signification, Derrida (2004, p. 38) developed a strategy of deconstruction. This was built on a new concept of *différance* that, parallel to Deleuze's image of the rhizome, acts as a generic tool for deconstructing the metaphysical discourse in which foundational concepts are structured in a series of hierarchical oppositions. Derrida's central argument is that these oppositions have meaning only in relation to each other, not in and of themselves. *Différance*, therefore, refers to how the sign (signified/signifier) is produced. It points to the temporal and spatial aspects of the meaning-making process in which meanings are constantly produced via the dual strategies of difference and deferral.⁴ This process indicates a possibility to meaning making that 'cannot be governed by or distributed between the terms of this opposition' (Derrida, 2004, p. 24). If the entire feminist thought system is based on a masculine-feminine binary, would not Derridean deconstruction reveal feminism as deeply embedded in Western metaphysics instead of providing an alternative to it?

Feminist Double-Affirmative

Derrida (2004) did not suggest that we should get rid of "feminism". Instead, deconstruction should provide much needed internal critique leading to redefinition of some of its premise. From Derrida's point of view, relying on the idea of women's "liberation", specifically, connects feminism with the metaphysics that it aims to resist. According to Derrida, it is impossible

‘to know the truth’ or rely on universal definition of sexual difference (masculine versus feminine) in a world where meanings are constantly changing. Consequently, the idea of women’s universal or “homogeneous” “liberation” is not only useless, but carries with it the “metaphysical” dream of autonomy and mastery which, as many feminists point out, is in the root of women’s oppression. In this “reactive” dream, Derrida argued, “true” femininity replaces the masculine dominance. Such feminism only re-appropriates the idea of essential femininity typical to logocentrism.

Logocentric culture aims to stabilize meanings through the employment of binary oppositions where reading one term necessitates the presence of the other. As Derrida (2004) phrased it: ‘any break in the movement of reading would settle in a countermeaning, in the meaning which becomes counter-meaning’ (p. 145). For example, when “femininity” is fixed to women’s oppression, the only alternative, within the binary logic of sexual difference, is then to fix women’s liberation to the “masculine”, the countermeaning of oppressive femininity. These binary terms are always interdependent and their difference is necessarily hierarchical in the logic of metaphysics. From the deconstructionist perspective, formalizing women’s “liberation” fails because, instead of fixed signs assumed by logocentrism, meanings are unstable (defined as different from other meanings), sometimes contradictory, and therefore, undecidable (constantly deferred).

Although one could argue that such binary oppositions as masculine/feminine, liberating/oppressive also steer feminist work of leisure and physical activity, few scholars have engaged it in internal deconstructionist critique. In her Derridean work, however, Cole (1998) observed that locating sport feminist analysis within the feminine-masculine binary does not erase the hierarchy of sexual difference, but on the contrary, associates it closely with the ‘grammar of Western (male) reason’ (Cole, 1998, p. 266) and re-enforces “masculine” as the superior and foundational structure of sport. To paraphrase Cole (1998), terms that are apparently primary to feminist texts, such as femininity or women’s sport, parasitically rely on the term that precedes and opposes them: masculinity or men’s sport. This internal deconstructive critique demonstrates that sport feminism is not outside of a “dominant system”, but, at the same time, offers a mode of affirmation of the thing being critiqued: a need for further interrogation of the conceptual binary feminine-masculine (and other binaries) and its impact on perpetuating existing systems of power in sport and leisure. If the first aim of deconstruction is to demonstrate the interdependence of binary terms, the second aim is to break the binary logic of Western reason, to help create, for example, alternative feminist strategies through a different type of writing.

Écriture

Deconstruction through identification of *différance* (the binary oppositions) is aimed as a critique of metaphysics, but ultimately, it is to lead to the replacement of such binaries and a new conception of femininity. Because this 'radicalization' has to go beyond existing thought and concepts, 'a chorus' of 'a choreographic text with polysexual signatures', and 'multiplicity of sexually marked voices' with 'reciprocal, respective, and respectful excessiveness' should be allowed to enter feminist thought (Derrida & McDonald, 1994, p. 154). For example, radicalization of feminism can actualize through a different type of writing, *écriture*, where, after reversing the masculine/feminine binary, a radical phase of deconstruction produces a "new" concept (Derrida & McDonald, 1994, p. 147). Derrida, however, emphasized that change is not so much a matter of conceptual determinations as 'a transformation or general deformation of logic' of determining difference as opposition (p. 149).

It is difficult to compose new concepts when the transformation of the logocentric logic is still in its infancy in feminist studies of leisure and physical activity. Inspired by Derrida, however, Helstein (2005) aimed to demonstrate how the internal logic of binary oppositions in sport feminist thought can be critiqued. Taking Derrida's deconstruction as a starting point for exposing 'the instability and contingency of the oppositional either/or logic', she aimed to open up the analysis of sport community 'to the logic of undecidability' (p. 4). In her analysis of Nike advertisements featuring the United States national women's soccer team, Helstein first unmasked the 'sameness' that constructed each player 'as one, being and desiring the same' (p. 6) to argue against the unitary femininity in logocentrism where 'the female athlete cannot and does not have meaning without reference to that which it excludes (not female athlete)' (p. 7). Any attempt to fix the meaning the female athlete, she concluded, negates their differences and thus, 'new ways of thinking community would allow for fragmented, anti-essentialized subjects in some form of relation' (p. 10).

Conclusion

My brief excursion into feminist poststructuralism advances that all knowledge is contextually produced within certain power relations. Through such concepts as discourse (Foucault), strata (Deleuze) or logocentrism (Derrida), feminist scholars not only critique how physical activity and leisure can constrain the feminine body, but also how feminist thought can be grounded on binary constructions with limiting force to initiate change in women's conditions.

Unlike post-feminism, which no longer sees any place for feminism in the world where the (liberal feminist) goal of equality with men has been achieved, poststructuralist feminism continues to point to the multiple ways domination is reinforced through knowledges that construct docile, self-responsible citizens who unquestioningly accept their control. In addition, it assigns feminism as a positive force that has the potential to respond to women's multiple needs. Foucault and Deleuze drew our attention to micropolitics where women can engage in practices of freedom or construct their BwO to think differently and then disrupt the workings of the dominant discourses or strata. Derrida called for feminism to deconstruct its own logic to provide women with concepts that go beyond unifying, oppressive binary oppositions.

Although in continual need of internal critique, poststructuralist feminism has appealed to a larger number of feminist scholars who now embrace its main premise of challenging the unifying and essentialist forces behind binary constructions of feminine/masculine, oppressive/resistant or material/socially constructed bodies and practices. While work relying on the thoughts of a particular poststructuralist scholar is still rare, it is Foucault's (and Deleuze's) focus on the body that has appealed to many feminists across sport and leisure studies and also physical education. Although it was not possible to extensively review all these insightful works, I want to specifically note the Foucauldian-inspired research by Laura Azzarito, Lisette Burrows, Doune MacDonald, Emma Rich and Jan Wright emerging from physical education. There is definitely scope for further poststructuralist feminist work across the disciplines studying physically active bodies. For example, deeper engagement with Foucault's concept of discursive formation across leisure, sport, exercise and physical education could highlight the knowledge base supporting the surveillance culture across these different physical activity realms and thus help activate social change. With the emerging turn to "materialism" in the wake of physical cultural studies, Deleuzian feminist poststructuralism offers exciting possibilities to acknowledge the force of the physically active body. Derridean deconstruction can be effectively employed to understand the resurgence of such feminist terms as empowerment, choice and sexuality within the post-feminist discourse of active bodies in order to deconstruct how this discourse continues to draw from the oppressive binary logic of logocentrism. To harness the opportunities offered by poststructuralist thought, however, feminists studying leisure, physical activity or physical education need to embrace the entire premise of the poststructuralist critique of universal truth claims. A further engagement with poststructuralism offers feminists opportunities to count for diversity and difference, and the multiplicity of women's leisure and physical activity experiences to suggest different ways of practising and representing diversity.

Notes

1. de Saussure's principles of structuralism were recorded, posthumously, by his students in *Course in General Linguistics*. In their introduction to its second edition Meisel and Sayssy (2011) argued that the criticisms later directed to his structuralism were, in fact, due to errors or misinterpretations by his students who used their lecture notes to compile the text.
2. Foucault (1985) divided the mode of subjectivation into four aspects—ethical substance (the part of one's self one wishes to work on), mode of subjection (the rules within which self work is possible), ethical work (the actual practices of self work), and telos (the goal of ethical work). The technologies of the self do not take place outside power relations. Rather, the individual has certain choices for self-formation within the existing codes to make them one's own.
3. Foucault was reluctant to talk about "resistance" and preferred his term 'practices of freedom'. He believed no one is located "outside" power relations to offer direct resistance to these relations. Foucault (1987) viewed liberation and resistance sceptically as he thought that they relied on the Marxist concept of the alienated "true self". According to Foucault, an individual is effectively objected to the control of dominant power relations and discursive formations through an endless search for a true self.
4. For a more detailed discussion of difference, see Derrida, J. (2004). *Positions*. London: Continuum; Derrida, J. (1978). *Writing and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Derrida, J. (1976). *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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Judith Butler, Feminism, and the Sociology of Sport

Kristi Tredway

Judith Butler, a feminist philosopher and the leading cultural theorist of gender, has had an enormous influence on the field of sociology of sport. Much of the scholarship has come directly from Butler's three books on gender: *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990/2006), *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (1993/2011) and *Undoing Gender* (2004), which have garnered critique, reworking and application to sports by sport sociologists. Additionally, Butler wrote one article specific to sport, 'Athletic Genders: Hyperbolic Instance and/or the Overcoming of Sexual Binarism', published in the now defunct *Stanford Humanities Review* (1998).

The concepts and theoretical frameworks that Butler has provided us include an examination of the discursive creation and maintenance of gender as a category, the performativity of gender and sexuality, the signification of the sexed body, and the complex 'grid of cultural intelligibility' (2006, p. 208) that the heterosexual matrix illuminates. Debunking the discursive creation of gender, and that gender is material in some way, Butler theorized gender as performed. That is, gender is repeated over and over and again until it becomes part of who one is and how one presents oneself to the world. Thus, not only is gender *not* a signifier of sex, gender is performed by a person and can actually signify many things, and also nothing. Gender, as a concept, is bound to the concept of sex through discursive means where one seems to nod to the other. This signification of gender and sex leads to societal assumptions that a

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person with a specific sex coupled with a specific gender will be either heterosexual or homosexual, depending on the significations. Specifically, in the sociology of sport literature, Butler's theories have been most often used to more fully understand the experiences of female athletes, men and masculinity, lesbian athletes, and transgender and intersex athletes.

This chapter is organized in such a way as to explain Butler's theories in regard to gender, sex and the heterosexual matrix as they have been applied to sport. It begins with an explanation of how gender has been discursively constructed, according to Butler. This is related to, and will lead into, an analysis of Butler's theory of gender performativity. Following these two analyses of gender is a consideration of the signification of the sexed body. Finally, and to wrap up this study on Butler's influence on the field of sociology of sport, the heterosexual matrix is discussed. In this way, this chapter flows with Butler's building of her argument on gender: if gender is discursively constructed as well as being performed rather than hard-wired into the body, and if the discursively created and performed gender is what signifies the sex of the body, the 'grid of cultural intelligibility' (2006, p. 208) falls apart for lack of any tangible, material substance.

The Discursive Construction of Gender

When *Gender Trouble* (1990) was published, it brought 'into being the disputatious troubling dynamic it announces by interrogating the stability and very existence of the category of woman which feminist politics has organized itself around' (McRobbie, 2005, p. 68). Feminism was, indeed, ripe for a shake-up. Modernity and second-wave feminism was on the way out, but there were no indicators of what would replace them. In explaining the emergence of Butler's work, McRobbie claims that Butler's work made sense to young lesbians and young feminist scholars (2005). *Gender Trouble* (1990) provided a foundational work from which to build the next generation of feminist theory. There were, and still are, critics of Butler's work; however, *Gender Trouble* has remained a pioneering text for feminist theory. Indeed, as McRobbie explains:

For some critics, ... Butler's work suggests a narrower, perhaps individualistic politics. Others, including myself, have seen the politics of destabilising norms and deconstructing power by interrogating its foundations, more positively. This can be understood as a critical part of the process of extending radical democracy by continually examining the claims political groups, in this case feminism, make, in order to represent their subjects, in this case women. (McRobbie, 2005, p. 69)

Butler's work has provided a resource for understanding women more broadly than only the predominantly white, middle-class women that second-wave feminists are accused of focusing upon. It also provides a politics across various sex and gender divisions.

To Butler, gender has been and continues to be discursively created. That is, gender is continually made and remade through the ways that we speak about it in our society. In *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997a), Judith Butler makes the claim that identities do not exist until the speech act calls them forward.¹ Indeed, one 'must utter the term in order to perform the circumscription of its usage' (Butler, 1997b, p. 104). The example she uses is homosexuality in the US military. Since the origins of the US military, there has been homosexuality within the ranks; however, it was not "homosexuality" then, merely the act of having sex. Attempts to punish and contain homosexuality within the military did not exist until the issue of homosexuality in the military had been named, labelled. As Butler explains:

The regulations [against homosexuality] bring the term into public discourse, rhetorically enunciating the term, performing the circumscription by which—and through which—the term becomes speakable ... The regulation must conjure one who defines him or herself as a homosexual in order to make plain that no such self-definition is permissible within the military. (1997b, p. 104)

Prior to being named, homosexuality technically did not exist because it had not yet been called forth. The same can be said of lesbians in women's sports, especially women's tennis. It was not until the bogeyman of "lesbian" was discursively created that female athletes began to be policed for supposed sexual indiscretions. Once "lesbian" was in the discourse and, probably, the stereotypical images the term conjures, women's sports became the grounds where the hunt took place (see, for example, Cahn, 2015, pp. 164–184).

Another point to be made is that gender being discursively created does not mean that gender is just a word to be used in language. Indeed, Butler questions the limits of discursively bringing something into being when she asks, 'If I persisted in this notion that bodies were in some way constructed, perhaps I really thought that words alone had the power to craft bodies from their own linguistic substance?' (1993, p. x). To this conundrum, Håkan Larsson exclaims that, 'my reply to this irony would be that, yes, words have the power to craft bodies—but not words alone! What supports words in this formative process, however, is not matter but practice, of which people using words is only one aspect' (2015, p. 9). What happens, though, if we choose to disregard gender, since we now know it is a discursively created social construct? Butler notes that:

The tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions—and the punishments that attend not agreeing to believe in them; the construction ‘compels’ our belief in its necessity and naturalness. (1990, p. 190)

Indeed, as Butler notes, ‘we regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right’ (1990, p. 140). Thus, words are created but, from their creation, they take on social meanings that further define the meanings of the words.

The Performativity of Gender

For Butler, identities are not only discursively created; they are performed. The repetitive performance brings identities—Butler especially focused on gender performance—into being. Furthermore, Butler is describing how the identity of sex is produced, consumed, represented and regulated.

Performativity is probably Butler’s best-known concept. In *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler described gender performativity as ‘the effect of gender ... must be understood as the mundane ways in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self’ (1990, p. 179). In addition, the feminist sport theorist Jayne Caudwell claims that gender performativity also includes how ‘the body articulates gender via size, shape and bulk, and gesture’ (Caudwell, 2006, p. 146), what Butler would refer to as one’s ‘corporeal style’ (Butler, 1990, p. 139). Indeed, ‘One must not simply act “feminine”, but look “feminine” too’ (Evans, 2006, p. 550). Even if the corporeal style does not match the performance, Butler notes that ‘bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled’ (1993, p. 2). This serves to further destabilize the concept of gender, as well as sex and sexuality.

In 1993, with *Bodies That Matter*, Butler clarified that gender performativity was not just a type of acting, so to speak. Indeed, she stated, ‘I never did think that gender was like clothes, or that clothes make the woman’ (1993, p. 231).

In Butler’s conceptualization, gender performativity creates the concept of gender because gender, itself, has no origin. It is, to Butler, more simply a concept, a discursive and social construction, that is performed but has no material substance. As Butler states:

Because there is neither an essence that gender expresses or externalizes nor an objective ideal to which gender aspires, and because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all. Gender is, thus, a construction that regularly conceals

its genesis; the tacit, collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions—and the punishments that attend to not agreeing to believe in them; the construction ‘compels’ our belief in its necessity and naturalness. (1990, p. 140)

Furthermore, ‘feminist postmodernism does not eliminate the subject or the self but finds it in operation as a series of bit parts in the concrete field of social relations. Politics must therefore imply subjectivities in process, interacting and debating’ (McRobbie, 1994, p. 69). Indeed, Stuart Hall is agreeing with Judith Butler when he refers to ‘becoming rather than being’ (McRobbie, 1994, p. 69), performativity versus a fixed subjectivity.

This discursive construction of gender, along with the performativity of gender, operates to destabilize the notion of gender. Barbara Ravel and Genevieve Rail explain:

By destabilizing the binary categories of sex, gender and sexuality, queer theory—and Butler’s, in particular, as found in *Gender Trouble* (1990)—questions the ‘naturalness’ of these categories. In this respect, queer theory stresses the notion of ‘performativity’ in that sex, gender and sexuality are not stable or ‘natural,’ rather they are the results of a repeated performance of a given sex, gender or sexuality. (2007, p. 405)

Thus, the assumption that gender, and Ravel and Rail include sex and sexuality as well, is natural (rather than discursively constructed) and therefore devoid of space for challenges gets called into question.

Butler’s theory of performativity is far more complex than it is usually given credit for. McRobbie claims that ‘the great misperception is that it suggests a kind of voluntarism and unconstrained agency, as though, if gender is an enactment, a crafting on or stylisation of the body according to certain conventions, then gender is also a kind of choice, so that social transformation of gender relations would rest on a simple act of self re-designation’ (2005, p. 83). Furthermore, McRobbie explains that: ‘Butler adamantly wants to part company with those who endorse the existence of individual agents, endowed with some capacity to bring about change in the gender system, as this is to ignore the way in which the effects of power define the contours of possibility for opposition or transgression’ (2005, p. 87). Although it would be nice if gender equality could come about so simply, this just is not true and does not give proper value to the myriad power structures that are in place to keep the gender binary in place. Indeed, Butler describes her theory of performativity as ‘a process of coercion, a forceful shaping of the body along

the narrow constraints of gender difference' (McRobbie, 2005, p. 84). This force is coming from within and from various societal power structures. And the shaping is done over and over again. Indeed, identification is not 'the act by which a subject brings into being what she/he names but rather as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains' (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Furthermore, this refers back to the "heterosexual matrix". McRobbie explains that 'we see the revision of performativity so that it becomes a series of practices which mark bodies according to a grid of intelligibility in such a way that the body itself becomes a familiar fiction; it becomes known, a formal entity on the basis that other characteristics and possibilities are negated' (2005, p. 88).

In *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler makes the claim that gender, being understood as feminine or masculine, is a social and cultural construction. According to Butler, gender is what allows sex—being male or female—to signify. Indeed, Butler makes a call for us to "trouble" gender through our performativity of gender. In *Bodies That Matter* (1993), Butler backtracks from this call. In *Gender Trouble* (1990), gender performance could easily be seen as an act or a performance that one could just do at any moment. It seemed very individualistically concerned. Thus, in *Bodies That Matter* (1993), Butler clarified that gender performance is "reiterated" over and over again, until it is hardly a conscious performance. To clarify further, Butler sees gender performance as acting our gendered selves through the performing of established gendered practices (we are often unknowingly taking part in these roles through our actions). The performance of gender is thus the faithful reproduction of traditional gender roles and identities.

Gender performativity, however, is more political. To Butler, gender performativity is the more conscious acting/production/reproduction of gender roles with the intent of producing certain effects. This could be either the conscious decision to perform our gendered identities in traditional ways, or the conscious decision to perform our gender in non-traditional or progressive ways. It is in this sense that one could argue that gender performativity is more political, since it involves conscious decision making (to either conform to or oppose traditional gender identities) rather than the faithful mirroring of gender performance.

Women's athleticism has always been a site for social discomfort as women claim the right to sporting gender performativity, those 'attributes long defined as masculine—skill, strength, speed, physical dominance, uninhibited use of space and motion' (Cahn, 2015, p. 279), previously reserved only for men. Katharina Lindner, in her discussion of cinematic representations of female athletes, notes that Judith Butler 'suggests that women's pursuit of

sports constitutes an often public staging and contestation of gender ideals as normative assumptions about the “natural” female body and its physiology are challenged and undermined’ (2011, p. 322). However, perceptions of women’s athletic gender performativity can evolve over time. Lindner, in describing Martina Navratilova, asserts that:

Bodies, such as tennis player Martina Navratilova’s, that were once considered monstrously masculine have, over time, been integrated into notions of intelligible, acceptable, and even desirable female physiology. Women’s sports can thus be seen as a space in which ‘our ordinary sense of what constitutes a gendered body is itself dramatically contested and transformed.’ ... Female athleticism has the potential to destabilise and ‘trouble’ normative and binary understandings of gender. (2011, p. 322; quoting Butler, 1998, p. 3)

Indeed, even as Butler has noted, ‘gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follows; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts’ (1990, p. 140).

Laura Grindstaff and Emily West, on the other hand, use Butler’s formulation to understand the performances of masculinity among male cheerleaders (2006). Male cheerleaders have a range of acceptable performances to choose from; however, the performance of masculinity must be convincing enough for each in order to thwart perceptions of homosexuality. Grindstaff and West note that for women, there is only one acceptable performance of femininity in cheerleading, yet it is more dissociated from homosexuality than among male cheerleaders.

The Signification of Gender on the Sexed Body

In *Bodies That Matter* (1993), Butler responds to the critiques against gender performativity that she laid out in *Gender Trouble* (1990). Not only is gender performativity not simply acting or wearing specific clothes, it is reiterated over and over and actually marks the physical body. Indeed, Butler explains that ‘performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body’ (1999b, p. 94). Going further, Amanda Roth and Susan Basow explain that, according to Butler,

Gender is not a given, nor something inscribed upon us. We perform gender by *doing* femininity and masculinity. In *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (1993), Butler went further to claim that sex is also a constructed

aspect of bodies. She claimed that ‘the regulatory norms of “sex” work in a performative fashion to constitute the materiality of bodies’, and by performative, she meant ‘reiterative and citational practice’ (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Thus, sexed bodies are constructed through the activities we *do* continually, often without conscious thought. Butler’s point perhaps can be extended to the strength differences, which liberal feminists sometimes accept as natural and which radicals see as being used ideologically to maintain male dominance. According to Butler’s view of bodies as constructed, strength differences are constructed as bodies *do* femininity and masculinity. That is, *doing* masculinity builds strength, whereas *doing* femininity builds weakness. (Roth & Basow, 2004, pp. 246–247)

This description of the inscription of gender onto the body is reminiscent of Iris Marion Young’s conceptualization of “throwing like a girl” where girls throw a ball worse than boys—less distance, less power and less accuracy—because girls have been trained to perform femininity (Young, 1980). That is, by performing femininity, girls maintain their limbs close to themselves, so they do not step into the throw or extend their arms outward towards the target, which leads to less power. However, according to Butler, ‘assuming for a moment the stability of a binary sex, it does not follow that the construction of “men” will accrue exclusively to the body of males or that “women” will interpret only female bodies’ (1990, p. 6).

Critiques of Butler, apart from specific critiques about the concepts she puts forward, mainly focus on the perception that she is dismantling feminism. Butler questioned the term “woman”, and pointed out how “woman” is linked with other facets of identities and cannot be its own entity. Indeed, Butler claims that, ‘being called a “girl” from the inception of existence is a way in which the girl becomes transitively “girded” over time’ (1999a, p. 120). Butler was pointing out with her critiques of feminism, even though she is a self-described feminist, that feminist politics had been built for a group of people whose identities have been socially constructed and, furthermore, the discourse of feminism was keeping the concept of “woman” socially constructed. Are women, then, maintaining our own subjugation? The esteemed cultural theorist Stuart Hall provides an example of the discursive creation of identities by relying on Butler’s understanding of the creation of sex. Hall states:

In *Gender Trouble* (1990) and more especially in *Bodies That Matter* (1993), Judith Butler has taken up, through her concern with the ‘discursive limits of “sex”’ and with the politics of feminism, the complex transactions between the subject, the body and identity ... Adopting the position that the subject is discursively constructed and that there is no subject before or outside the Law, Butler develops a rigorously argued case that ‘sex is, from the start, normative ...

In this sense, then, sex not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces (through the repetition or iteration of a norm which is without origin) the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce—demarcate, circulate, differentiate—the bodies it controls ... “Sex” is an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time.’ (Hall, 1996, p. 14; quoting Butler, 1993, p. 1)

In popular understandings, a person’s gender performance tells others the particular sex the person has, thus, as Butler would explain, the reinscription of both gender and sex causes both to be produced and to become material as conjoined over time.

The noted sport historian Patricia Vertinsky explains further the gendered distinctions of the sexed body. She states that:

Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* has fully articulated the performative notion of gender, i.e. gender as something we do rather than something we are, hence a social relation practiced in social interactions. Gender distinctions, then, as dichotomous categories need to be seen as perpetuated, maintained or challenged through social mechanisms and social constructions. By examining how power inscribes itself onto bodies (and in turn provokes forms of resistance and instability), one can explore how fitness, health and sporting activities become attached to male and female bodies through the process of medicalization and its imbrication within complex sets of health and fitness narratives at particular moments of time. (1999, p. 5)

Indeed, gendered performances sex the body in particular ways. The body, too, is not just our flesh and bones. Fiona Gill, in her study of female rugby players, speaks of the cultural body rather than the physical body that may first come to mind. Contextualizing the concept of gender and bodies, Gill states:

Social context defines gender as being primarily embodied, inscribing meaning and uses onto the bodies of individuals. Our gender identity is limited, not by biology or the ‘natural’ body but by the ‘cultural’ body—the social interpretations of our bodies ... Gender identities are not defined by our physicality, but by the interpretations and expectations of our embodiment ... Thus the performance of a gender identity reflects both an internalized expectation on the part of the performer (this is how I should act), and the creation of an externalized norm (this is how all women are). (2007, p. 417; quoting Butler, 1987, p. 29)

Again, it is made clear how gender performativity informs and becomes a part of the sexed body.

Ian Ritchie explains the discursive construction of gender further when he uses Butler's theorizing to explain his understanding of the discursive construction of sex. Ritchie says:

For Butler, the norm of 'sex' and sex dichotomization is necessitated by the heterosexual imperative that has historically impelled the norm of the (hetero) sex(ual) binary as part of a humanistic process whereby a coherent self has been sought after in the first place. The subject, then, does not simply take on the gendered accoutrements of sex, as classical social constructionists accounts would have it; rather, the subject 'is forced by virtue of having gone through such a process of assuming a sex' (Butler, 1993, p. 3). Butler insists that, instead of viewing gender as a cultural manifestation of sex, we should think gender to designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'a natural sex' is produced and established as prediscursive. (Ritchie, 2003, pp. 82–83; quoting Butler, 1990, p. 7)

Indeed, the cultural implications of sex and gender are so entrenched that there is seemingly no space in society for intersex children, and later adults, so much so that, as Ritchie explains, 'those children that do not fit the imperative have literally and symbolically been transformed' (p. 83). Through surgery, the discursively constructed binary system remains unscathed.

The concept of power that Vertinsky mentions keeps appearing throughout this chapter. Power could be visible in the answer to the question that Håkan Larsson, Karin Redelius, and Birgitta Fagrell pose: 'What kind of movement is sensed as appropriate or inappropriate in a certain situation?' (2011, p. 74). This question follows from Butler's understanding of Pierre Bourdieu's social theories, specifically, 'the embodiment of "social rules" and how these rules constitute a bodily "'knowingness" ... or a practical sense of what is appropriate or not in a certain situation' (Larsson, Redelius, & Fagrell, 2011, p. 74; quoting Butler, 1997b, p. 152).

Feminist sport scholars Debra Shogan and Judy Davidson, in their analysis of the Gay Games, state that men in drag and women performing femininity are in a position to work against the socially constructed connection between gender and sex:

Men in drag and conventionally feminine women *are* in a position to subvert the perceived naturalness of masculine men and create new ways of understanding and participating in sport because the 'artifice of the performance can be read as artifice' ... Since in most contexts neither men in drag nor feminine women are perceived to be able to perform sport skills, when they exaggerate the masculinity of men in sport, it is possible to disrupt the assumption that masculinity 'naturally' coheres to male bodies. (1999, p. 96; quoting Butler, 1993, p. 129)

In the context of the Gay Games, men in drag and feminine women would be those going against the stereotype of gay and lesbian athleticism, the toned but slight gay man and the aggressive, powerful lesbian.

In regard to those female athletes accused of not being women, it is their gender performativity that leads to this assumption. Caster Semenya is one such athlete who was subjected to medical testing to “prove” that she was a woman. Jules Boykoff and Matthew Yasuoka, in describing Semenya, explain the meaning of the “gender verification” test:

In a sense, the test became the signifier and Semenya became its signified. The relationship between signifiers and signifieds is at the core of Butler’s discussion of the signifiers ‘woman’ and ‘female’. Butler writes, that woman and female ‘gain their troubled significations only as relational terms’ ... The problem in the case of Semenya is the relational interaction between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’. Semenya’s gender is ‘woman’, as that is how she chooses to live her life and self-actualize to society. Her sex is what the IOC [International Olympic Committee] and other athletic bodies are trying to verify. Therein lies the discursive slippage: the sports-organizing bodies’ insistence on calling the process ‘gender verification’. This links to the media’s tendency to engage in ‘gender marking’—labelling events as ‘women’s soccer’, ‘women’s basketball’, and so on. Yet, the dividing characteristic is not the gender of the athletes, but their sex. It is not a separation between men and women, but male and females. (Boykoff & Yasuoka, 2015, p. 227; quoting Butler, 1990, p. ix)

The term “gender verification” may be accurate in that, according to Butler, a person’s gender tells the viewer what the person’s sex is. It is Semenya’s performativity of a masculine gender that provoked others into medically examining her to verify her sex. Indeed, ‘it is here that Semenya finds herself: a person caught in the linguistic struggle between gender, sex, and societal expectations’ (Boykoff & Yasuoka, 2015, p. 228).

Interesting, too, is the gendering and sexualizing of sporting spaces. A focus on men has created an atmosphere where not only is sport seen as a male sphere, but sporting spaces as well. Space itself is both gendered and sexualized through being male and heteronormative creations. Indeed, Caudwell notes that, with regard to soccer, ‘the idea that women and girl players are invading male sports terrain must be understood in relation to dominant practices that gender and sexualise football spaces as heteronormative’ (2007, pp. 184–185). To counter this, Caudwell has theorized about “dykespaces”, a subversion of a gendered and sexualized space. To Caudwell, dykespaces ‘reflect[] how space can be infused with lesbianism’ (2002, p. 24). Furthermore, ‘the idea that dykespaces can be created fits a queer political analysis of sexuality and space that is an “in your face” approach to challenging notions

of [hetero]sexuality' (2002, pp. 24–25). This subversion and transformation of space represents moments when regulatory practices used to protect heterosexuality and reinforce heteronormativity are neutralized. As feminist sport theorist Sammi King states, Butler 'suggests that while it is not possible to escape heteronormativity, it is possible to subvert it. Indeed, instability is constitutive of such power relations: Heterosexuality is not a discrete, self-evident fact but a truth effect that stems from the refusal or disavowal of identifications with homosexuality and that is (contingently) secured only through the reiteration of gender norms' (King, 2008, pp. 422–423).

Caudwell points to an "ailing heterosexuality" that requires such an egregiously and negatively situated other. She explains:

'Compulsory heterosexuality' in football is reified, however, through homophobic positioning of the figure of the lesbian as 'predator' and 'converter'. In this way lesbianism is positioned as abject and unintelligible. Such a strategy can be read from a Butlerian perspective as a manifestation of ailing heterosexuality. That is, heterosexuality is reinforced and protected by positioning lesbianism outside intelligible sexuality in order to maintain and reproduce heterosexuality as 'natural'. There is evidence that at specific times and within particular teams an inverting of the sexual 'norm' exists. (2002, p. 41)

This inverting of the heterosexual norm is where dykespaces emerge. Indeed, 'lesbian visibility provides evidence that some of the women destabilise, subvert and resist the construction of heterosexual space' (Caudwell, 2002, p. 35). These 'lesbian space invaders' (Caudwell, 2002, p. 35, 2004, p. 116) create political spaces for themselves and other lesbians. Thus, via dykespaces, lesbian athletes can create spaces that offer expressive freedom while also not feeding into the "ailing heterosexuality" in society.

The Heterosexual Matrix

Judith Butler, in her theorizing of gender in *Gender Trouble* (1990/2006), explains that gender is constructed discursively through the 'grid of cultural intelligibility' (2006, p. 208)—which is how she describes the heterosexual matrix. Gender, then, is performed in ways that maintain the "cultural intelligibility" of the gender.

Judith Butler's "heterosexual matrix" has been of great interest to me. According to the matrix, a male who is masculine would be assumed to be heterosexual; likewise, a female who is feminine would be assumed to be

heterosexual. This, according to Butler, is what makes sense to people in society; people are intelligible to others in this way, thus, she referred to it as the 'grid of cultural intelligibility' (2006, p. 208). Those females who are masculine are, according to Butler, assumed to be lesbians. They are, then, unintelligible in society. Rebecca Lock, in her study of femininity and pain, explains Butler's connections between sex, gender, and sexuality further when she states:

I take from Butler ..., the insight that sex, gender, and sexuality are co-constitutive of one another. That is, to be understood as a real female you must also be feminine, and identify as heterosexual. By the same token, to be read as authentically feminine you must be female and heterosexual; and finally, if you are to be recognized by others as heterosexual as a woman, you should appear as a woman and that entails behaving in a way that is recognized as feminine. (2006, p. 159–160)

Indeed, the signifiers of sex, gender and sexuality operate together to provide a picture that others use to make sense of the person, to make them intelligible.

Håkan Larsson, Karin Redelius and Birgitta Fagrell push the concept of the heterosexual matrix further in their study of heteronormativity in a physical education classroom. They claim that the heterosexual matrix is so engrained that it also governs how we behave, meaning that we attempt to control the picture of ourselves that is being presented. As they assert, the 'heterosexual matrix ... conditions the way in which every student feels that s/he can appropriately engage with, and talk about, a certain activity and still feel, or be viewed as, heterosexual, i.e. "normal"' (p. 68).

I, too, have written on this, using the lived experience of Amélie Mauresmo, the professional tennis player, to add another dimension to Butler's theory of the heterosexual matrix (Tredway, 2014). Before she came out as a lesbian in 1999, Mauresmo was only ever mentioned in the media and by others with such benign descriptions as French, unseeded, and so on. After she came out, Mauresmo was described as having shoulders as wide as a house, having huge muscles, and it being unfair for women to have to compete with her. Tweaking Butler's theory of the heterosexual matrix helps explain this. Mauresmo's coming out caused a shift in what was intelligible. Prior to her coming out, Mauresmo was known as female and feminine, so her heterosexuality was assumed. After coming out, she was known as female and homosexual, therefore, masculinity was assumed. Furthermore, the assumptions with the 'grid of cultural intelligibility' (2006, p. 208) are so powerful as to completely paint a picture of someone as having specific attributes when that person had never been described in that way previously.

Scholars have used Judith Butler's theorizing of gender in various ways, building and stretching her theories in regard to the discursive construction of gender, the heterosexual matrix and gender performativity. The arena of sport, however, offers a particular visage of Butler's theories with each sport bifurcated already into categories of sex. Lisa Disch and Mary Jo Kane explain:

By virtue of . . . various devices that serve to reorganize a continuum of difference as a binary opposition and to establish that opposition as natural, we learn from professional sport to see oppositional sexual difference when we look at bodies in motion. This means that professional sport is more than an arena for the display of athletic excellence, more than a mechanism for the accumulation of corporate wealth, more even than an apparatus for the reproduction of race and gender ideology. It is also one of the most visible institutions by which the cultural logic of Butler's heterosexual matrix becomes everyday experience. (2000, p. 129)

That is, sport is where women face the policing of their gender performativity, questions about their sex, and, by extension, concerns regarding lesbians in sport.

Conclusion

The major concepts and theoretical frameworks that Judith Butler has provided us, then, include the understanding of the heterosexual matrix, the discursive creation and maintenance of gender as a category, the function of gender performativity, and how gender informs the sexed body. Using examples of the uses of Butler's theories within the sociology of sport shows not only what the concepts mean but, also, how they can be used. The examples from sport scholars were by no means exhaustive. The examples used did, however, offer an array of ways that these concepts can be used.

Apart from her article, 'Athletic Genders: Hyperbolic Instance and/or the Overcoming of Sexual Binarism', published in the now defunct *Stanford Humanities Review* (1998), Butler did not overtly apply her theories to examples in society. This makes sense since she is a philosopher and not a sociologist. Thus, Butler's theories have been taken up in myriad ways by sociologists and social theorists to explain social phenomena that show the universality of her theories.

In summary, gender has been discursively created and policed in ways that enforce compliance with the socially approved gender performance. However, many people simply do not fit within the mandates of the prescribed gender

model. This is especially true of female athletes who, by their very presence in the traditionally male arena of sport, are marked as not performing femininity. By working against the construct of gender, people can destabilize the “naturalness” of gender and the belief that it is hard-wired into the body. Female athletes are in a unique position to be the vanguard of social activists challenging socially expected gender ideals because of their athletic skill and physical power.

Note

1. This is exactly opposite of J. L. Austin (1975) who asserts that when it is discovered that something exists, it is then that a word is created to bring it forth.

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^HPE: Pedagogy, Feminism, Sexualities and Queer Theory

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This chapter explores feminist interactions with physical education (^HPE) in terms of the development and employment of queer theory, and links between associated research about sexualities and pedagogy in the field of ^HPE. Queer theory has two manifestations: one focuses on topics of sexuality (including sex and gender) and the other offers critiques of normativity. I use the typographically queered representation ^HPE to acknowledge that physical education (“normally” represented as PE) has a very contentious and varied past, nature, purpose and positioning in schooling, sometimes incorporating implicitly or explicitly “health” education (^H). This is reflected in the various names of subjects including Health & Physical Education (HPE) and Personal Development, Health and Physical Education (PDHPE), for example.

With such variance ^HPE is arguably a very queer space, not only in its daily practices between students and teachers in schools, but also in the broader field where it is constituted by many players including students and teachers, sports gear suppliers, school administrators, curriculum writers, sport, recreation and health authorities, government policy makers, physical education teacher educators and researchers, the media and community interest groups, parents and “outside providers” who deliver services to schools under the auspices of ^HPE (for example the local roller derby club providing coaching or a kapa haka choreographer facilitating performance), and a myriad of societal influences (take for example those weighing in on claims of an obesity crisis and justifications for fitness-oriented ^HPE to be part of the solution).

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I begin the chapter with a very brief overview of queer theory, its emergence and development. I trace how scholars and their research have informed and been informed by the empirical/substantive work of feminist scholars more broadly and then in relation to ^HPE. I address some of the significant fields dominating or marginalized in ^HPE research before identifying potential shifts, and posing a variety of questions to help us imagine how a queer pedagogy (Britzman, 1995; Pinar, 1998) of movement or physical culture might look.

Queer Studies and Queer Theory

Queer theory emerged in the 1990s from several origins and influences including, but not limited to, activist and academic iterations of feminist, and lesbian and gay movements. These movements promoted political transformation regarding recognition and rights for diverse sexualities. Within academia, poststructural and postmodern theory, critical theory, radical race theory, post-colonial theory, disability and transgender studies all contributed to further development of queer theory. Normative notions of sex, gender and sexuality along with assumed relationships between the three, and a critique of identity categories and their markers resulting in social difference, were all targets of queer studies and queer theory. Early scholars include Butler (1990, 1993), Grosz (1995), Foucault (1982), Prosser (1998), Sedgwick (1993), Halberstam (1998), Jagose (1996) and Hall (2003).

Queer theory seeks to dismantle categorical notions, thus it challenges the heteronormative perspective, and moves beyond the ideas of sex, gender and sexuality categories. Although noting that queer theory was ‘a field of inquiry that resists definition’ (Allen & Rasmussen, 2015, p. 685), Rasmussen (2015) succinctly summarizes:

Queer theorists have also mounted critiques of essentialism (the belief in a true or authentic self) within scholarship on gender, sex, and sexuality. Consequently, binaries such as man–woman, feminine–masculine, heterosexual–homosexual are perceived as powerful regulatory fictions that have been troubled in order to highlight the incoherence in sex/gender/desire. A critique of antidemocratic lesbian and gay political movements, drawing on notions of homonormativity and homonationalism, has also been attempted by queer theorists in order to draw attention to the failure of research on sex, sexuality, and gender to attend to disability, class, race and gender, and nationalism. (2015, p. 1043)

Additionally, the term queer became a re-appropriation of an offensive term and denotes a movement away from binaries, and opening up and challenging identity categories—rather than fixing them.

The point of difference and similarity between queer theory and lesbian/gay/feminist/women's studies was the shift from a politics of identity to a politics of difference, challenge and resistance, and to an anti-identity premise. Unsettling assumptions, challenging the work and outcomes of normativity, revealing oppressions associated with categories, exposing essentializing identities and subject positions, and creating heterogeneous and fluid identities, stripping categories of their naturalness, decoupling sex/gender/sexuality, stimulating relationships beyond androcentric notions of able bodies, are all part of doing queer work, or queering. Queering seeks to destabilize and expose the very practices that keep much of category and identity work hidden, taboo, absent or heavily governed by normative practices. The emergence and continuing development of queer studies is also conceptually connected to studies of gender, sexuality and sex. As such, I move to discuss the emergence and development of queer theory in ^HPE in relation to studies of gender, feminist theory, and LGBTIQQI ... studies.¹

^HPE: Gender, Homosexuality and Heteronormativity

Gender

Historically, feminist research challenged what ^HPE was and what it did in terms of gender, sexism and homophobia. In the USA, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada, Europe and the UK early forms of ^HPE were highly gendered and separated by perceived sex categories of students, as either female or male.² Researchers had called for a 'gender-sensitive' approach to the teaching of ^HPE (Vertinsky, 1992), with attention among teachers towards how they might counteract unequal conditions in ^HPE through carefully selecting lesson activities and organizing classes to ensure gender equity. This line of research continues. Alongside research and calls for gender-sensitive ^HPE, early scholars such as Griffin (1991, 1992), Lenskyj (1991), Clarke (1992, 1998, 1999) and Scraton (1990, 1992, 1993) cited (hetero)sexual gender norms as a main site of patriarchal domination in ^HPE, within which desirable femininity functioned to emphasize appearance and control, and desirable masculinity emphasized physical strength and aggression. These writers asked questions in relation to homophobia and lesbianism, but without explicitly drawing upon queer theory.

With the emergence of poststructural feminism, which emphasized the plurality of femininities and masculinities, alignment with queer theoretical frameworks that opposed the heteronormative idea that sex, gender and

sexuality as fixed and natural began to emerge. Sykes (1998a), using poststructural feminism and queer theory, was one of the first to explicitly draw upon queer theory with ^HPE as the subject. Sykes succinctly differentiates feminist from queer: '[o]nce a queer perspective is adopted, the project of reclaiming lesbian voices changes into an examination of how heterocentrism silences those voices' (1998b, p. 156).

Gender research in ^HPE continues and has had a relatively long history (e.g., see Fagrell, Larsson, & Redelius, 2011) relative to the adoption of queer theory. There is evidence that while there have been some changes, the practices that reproduce enduring gender structures remain largely unchallenged by ^HPE teachers/institutions/cultures. The potentially queer work of dissembling gender, paradoxically, calls the gender order into being as the norm is at once made iterable through performativity, but also therefore contestable and open to change.

Performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms. And this repetition is not performed by a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject. This iterability implies that 'performance' is not a singular 'act' or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the production, but not, I will insist, determining it fully in advance. (Butler, 1993, p. 95)

Butler argued that the performance of gender, and its identification with the very notion of gender, itself creates gender. The taken-for-granted coherence and reproduction of categories of sex, gender and sexuality is culturally constructed through the performed repetition of stylized acts in time. Those who resist normative categories may struggle to have a 'livable' life (Butler, 1990).

Sexuality/Homosexuality/Homophobia

A notable special issue in *Women's International Studies Forum* (1987), concentrating on gender in sport, leisure and ^HPE, also paved the way for work focusing on sexuality. Issues of hegemony and sites of cultural production were challenged from standpoint epistemologies of previously silenced or marginalized identity categories, for example "lesbian". The ways that gender was complicit in the sex/gender/sexuality triad were starting to be articulated and teased out within poststructural feminism. While some feminists continue to focus on the heterosexually normalized "gender", other early scholars in sport, leisure and ^HPE who employed lesbian feminism (e.g., Griffin, 1987; Lenskyj, 1986 and later Clarke, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2006) specifically

addressed sexuality, homophobia, lesbian identities and experiences by students and teachers, and then heterosexism as a normative practice. Drawing on Butler's notion of performativity (1990, 1993) Clarke's work was arguably employing queer theory without necessarily naming it as such.

Using a critical feminist perspective, Griffin and Genasci (1990) spoke to the responsibilities of researchers and teachers to address homophobia in ^HPE and issues associated with being a lesbian or gay PE teacher began to be addressed (Clarke, 1996; Griffin, 1991, 1992; Sparkes, 1994; Squires & Sparkes, 1996; Woods, 1992). Female physical educators and coaches were often stereotyped as masculine, lesbian, aggressive, sadistic and athletic (Clarke, 1996; Griffin, 1991; Harris & Griffin, 1997), creating 'suspicion' that acted as a 'shroud of oppressive silence-tolerated only as an open secret, an absence presence' (Sykes, 2001a, p. 13). Such stereotypes are still evident in representations of female ^HPE teachers and coaches today, albeit sometimes now with a queer twist, as embodied in Coach Beast and Sue Sylvester in *Glee* and Brunella Pommelhorse and Ms. Barr in *The Simpsons*.

Heteronormativity

In the spaces that sexuality research was vibrating, the concept of heteronormativity (in contrast to homophobia) was gaining attention in the early 2000s as a focus in school ^HPE (Berg & Lahelma, 2010; Clarke, 2006; Hunter, 2004; Larsson, Fagrell, & Redelius, 2009; Larsson, Redelius, & Fagrell, 2011). The shift was an attempt to locate the problem with *normativity*, which can be described as the power rendered more powerful due to its "naturalness" created within the social spaces of production (Hunter, 2002). This shift, rather than insinuating that the phobia was beyond the control of the person, also relieved individuals of their responsibility to attempt change.

Notwithstanding the lesbian, gay, homophobia research mentioned earlier, research naming heteronormativity and queer in ^HPE had been relatively silent in the new century in comparison to gender. Poststructuralists and postmodernists argued the notion of "difference", not sameness, to be the source of oppression, and named identity as shifting and contextualized rather than fixed and essentialized. In ^HPE the focus was no longer on only "women's issues" or gender being seen as a female "problem", but rather an outcome of a relational politics between the normalized binary of sexes with males and masculinities playing an important role in the (re)production of sex, gender and sexuality. Dominant hegemonic masculinity and social practices of variable masculinities was also gaining interest in pro-feminist circles such as in the work of Bramham (2003), Drummond (2001), Gard (2001), Hickey (2008) and Parker (1996).

Prior to this, the penetration/insertion/diffusion of “health” in the ^HPE conceptual space opened, which allowed, validated and permitted otherwise implied or marginalized knowledges. These included critical inquiry, lifestyle health issues, relationships education, equity and social justice awareness-raising. In some countries, such as Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, health became more present and explicit in relation to PE, with school curriculum documents constructing a subject area called Health & Physical Education for primary and secondary schools and concomitantly in pre-service teacher education. The more explicit addition of “health” (as early as the 1970s in some countries like Australia) also created space for topics associated with social justice, personal development and relationships (Gard, 2001). It addressed many topics including sexuality, sexualities, identity, sex, homophobia, and more recently heteronormativity, sexual diversity, transphobia, rape and sexting. To date there is still relatively little research about many of these topics in relation to ^HPE or teacher education (initial teacher education and ongoing professional development). But, as feminist, sexuality, women’s studies, lesbian and queer scholarship become more influential the time seems ripe to explore queer theory and queering in and as education, ^HPE, physical and movement cultures.

Queer Theory in Education and in Sport Studies

Before moving to the explicit use of queer theory in ^HPE I first want to return to the broader context of significant fields in which ^HPE was/is located. In the 35 years of my involvement in teaching and teacher education (including that associated with ^HPE), across many privileged English culture-dominated countries, gender and sex/uality education have been brought to the fore in some instances, and fallen off the agenda many times, but sexual diversity still seems to be unintelligible in many schools, and particularly in ^HPE. There are exceptions of course, such as the Harvey Milk High School in New York, USA (<http://www.hmi.org/HMHS>), and individual schools where gay–straight alliances (GSAs) and explicit work exists to either support or include non-hegemonic gendered and sexual identities. But, as many have previously argued and demonstrated, “schooling” is a conservative reproductive institution that is by nature normative and naturalizing (see for example Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Britzman, 1995; Hunter, 2004; Jongmans, 2012; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2005). Embedded in the notion of new knowledge and learning lies a paradox of conserving the old and dominant ways of being and doing. There is no shortage of “knowledge” to inform teaching, schooling and teacher education about queer praxis. For example, education-focused

scholarship such as Letts and Sears' *Queering Elementary Education* (1999), Epstein and Johnson's *Schooling Sexualities* (1998), Kehily's *Sexuality, Gender and Schooling* (2002), Campos' *Diverse Sexuality and Schools* (2003), *Sexual Subjects: Young People, Sexuality, and Education* (2005) by Allen and *Becoming Subjects: Sexualities and Secondary Schooling* (2006) by Rasmussen precede even more recent ones (e.g. Meyer, 2010, *Gender and Sexual Diversity in Schools: An Introduction*). However, there seemed to be few spaces, still, where such literature and knowledge is incorporated into ^HPE teacher education or schooling in any significant way. In 2016, given the scholarship and resources of the past, one could assume that ^HPE and those involved in schooling would be well versed in sex, sexuality and gender, including the issues, the theoretical foundations, the concepts and the important reasons for explicit inclusion in the school curriculum.

Problematically for many of our students and teachers though, as I am reminded regularly by my teacher education students and the schools that I visit, very few teachers, teacher educators, curriculum writers and policy makers demonstrate or embody such knowledge in their practices. This is arguably even less so in ^HPE spaces despite rhetoric of inclusivity, equity, equality, social justice, safety and an increasingly significant player in the field, health education including relationships and sexuality education, a point I will pick up shortly. In a way, does this constitute ^HPE as *not* normal?

Schools still seem to work largely on myth, ignorance, fear and oppression in relation to sexual diversity. Topics associated with sex and sexuality and gender seem to continue to be pushed to implicit realms when conservative forces appear to neglect the explicit sexualities schooling agenda. This strikes me as quite a queer thing. Oddly, at the same time, the norm. Previously, I have noted what queer places schools are (2012):

Have you ever wondered about how queer schools are? They are places where basic assumptions relating to life, such as sex, gender and sexuality, have very strict boundaries and are subject to tight taboos and narrow conceptualizations imposed by adults. They are places where the possibilities of *talking* about such topics are often minimal or under the adult radar, let alone possibilities for *being* or *doing*. (p. 60, original italics)

Here lies another paradox: while our youth are “moving on”, more comfortable with fluid sexuality/ies and identities than previous generations, fields such as education and sport in which ^HPE is rooted, have remained slow in providing the so called “student needs” they are charged with meeting. The relevance of the nature of school, sport and ^HPE to young people and their needs is an ongoing debate (see for example Tinning & Fitzclarence, 1994 and a reply to that by Gard, Hickey-Moody, & Enright, 2013).

While some engagement with queer theory had been taken up more extensively in ^HPE-related areas of education, it has only more recently been taken up in another influential field—sport. Caudwell’s edited book (2006) brings together a queer lens for sport through topics that are also relevant for ^HPE. In *Sport, Sexualities and Queer/Theory* ‘the first anthology in the field of sports studies to investigate sexuality and its relation to “queer” and “queer theory”’ (p. 1), the relationship to ^HPE is apparent in chapters about sport. The collection of authors offers a ‘timely contribution to the critical study of sport, sexuality and the body’ (p. 1). This is because queer theory provides a theoretical framework with which to critique established stereotypes of gender and sexuality, which serve to undermine the hegemony of heteronormativity and facilitate new ways of thinking. PE’s absence from this literature is telling in terms of its positioning to sport, given that ^HPE is often the first, and for some the only experience they have of sport. However, given ^HPE is also an important space for the development of an understanding about one’s body, physicality, physical literacy, relationships and much more beyond sport, ^HPE scholarship has some way to go to catch up to the developing literature and studies associated with queer theory in sport. The most substantial expression of queer theory in ^HPE to date is Sykes’ book (2011) *Queer bodies: sexualities, genders, & fatness in physical education*. This work raises ethical questions about what and how society constitutes “bodies” deemed as healthy and athletic. Sykes captures this through narratives of young people about homophobia, transphobia and fat phobia making comment about the role of fields such as PE in contributing to the constitution of bodies. Other fields to which ^HPE is related and that have made very valuable contributions in bridging queer theory and ^HPE include dance, ancient movement such as martial arts and health. As noted earlier, “health” has queered ^HPE for some time. Dance and ancient movement warrants discussion, one that is unfortunately beyond the scope of this chapter (for further discussion see lisahunter, 2016 (under review)).

Queer Theory in ^HPE

Contemporary research associated with, or pointing towards, the various lines of queer theory and ^HPE includes three significant sources. The first is Block’s (2014) plea to support LGBTQ students in ^HPE, secondly Sykes’ ongoing work (1998, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2011) associated with queer bodies, and finally Larsson and colleagues’ work (with Fagrell & Redelius 2009; with Redelius & Fagrell 2011; with Quennerstedt & Öhman 2014; and, Redelius, Fagrell, & Larsson, 2009) to identify heteronormativity in ^HPE and propose queer ways of disrupting hegemonic practices.

In a recent article Block (2014) argues for ^HPE to make a non-normative paradigm shift to:

[T]ransform the movement landscape from celebrating winners and idealizing the domination of some people over others, and frightening people into exercising for good health, to a more holistic approach that embraces complexity and promotes connection to self and others, empowerment, and collaboration ... By changing the movement landscape of physical education, deeper meanings can surface to consciousness and purposeful realization of the self can be fostered. (p. 23)

Block's scholarship reflects earlier work evident in ^HPE associated with critical theory and lesbian and gay studies, by taking the queer theory "line" that focuses on non-normative sexualities and identities without being specifically queer theory driven. 'LGBTQ' identities are the subject of scholarship and research that echoes earlier feminist (and lesbian-feminist) work arguing for inclusion of differences in sex, gender and sexuality. By Block's definition and selection of identities, others—such as intersex and individuals questioning normative sex, gender and sexualities are not included. What Block's work does not do is to directly open up "identities" more specifically (as the "range" was stated), or to challenge notions of identity. This focus is more evident in the work of Sykes (2011).

Perhaps most well known in the ^HPE field for engaging directly with queer theory, particularly alongside its emergence, is Heather Sykes. I remember the shifts to discomfort apparent in the room when Heather performed at the American Education Research Association (AERA) conference in 2001. She stripped off her "identity" T-shirts and verbalizing lesbian teachers' desires. Her three papers (2001b, 2001c, 2001d) generated lively discussion within and beyond those teaching 'PE', including some admitting to never having heard of queer theory, and debating whether it was just another form of critical theory or whether it offers something different. I was intrigued by her contribution at AERA as I had been working with (non)normalcy theories to understand the construction of social space, including poststructural feminist work, but had not come across the notion of "queer theory". This might be an indicator of the normalcy and heteronormativity of the research field in ^HPE. Further investigation meant I could see many parallels with my own work, but also I saw the differences between critical theory and queer theory.

Sykes' work related to sexuality in ^HPE was perhaps the first to step beyond poststructural feminism to an explicitly feminist-queer poststructural approach (1998a). As mentioned previously, her book *Queer bodies: Sexualities, genders and fatness in physical education* (2011) explored Canadian school students' negotiation of heterosexism and transphobia, and the intersecting with other "queer" bodies that is constituted via forms of body discrimination such as fat phobia, ableism and racism. Sykes offered an analysis

of 'how discrimination against queer bodies in physical education serves to maintain widely held illusions about healthy and normal bodies' (p. 1). She attests the ongoing privileging and normativity of heterosexuality, noting ongoing homophobia towards lesbian girls and women who are perceived as masculine, and towards gay males. This challenge is alongside normative and exclusionary binary gender discourses permeating bodies, physical spaces, curriculum and the practices situated as ^HPE. It is not just an ignorance 'about transgender, transsexual or intersex people and not knowing how to provide support for gender non-conforming students and teachers' (p. 1), but the 'kinesthetic gendering of bodily movements and motor skills; curricular gendering of single-sex versus coeducation discourse; and the architectural gendering of the build environment' (p. 15). Moreover, from Sykes' study, ^HPE seemed to be unable to understand identities beyond the male-female hierarchy and binary. Her work continues to trouble and queer not only ^HPE, but also other normalized curriculum, pedagogy, bodies and social politics (Sykes, 2007, 2009, 2011; Sykes & Goldstein, 2004). Engaging with diverse sexualities and genders agendas of queer theory, this work also illustrates anti-identity and the challenge to normalcy that queer theory encapsulates.

The third illustration of contemporary research in ^HPE that draws on queer theory and its intentions comes from a group consisting of Redelius, Fagrell, Larsson, Quennerstedt and Öhman. In attempting to elucidate heteronormativity they employ a queer point of view to analyze the sex and gender work of ^HPE (Larsson et al., 2009). They illustrate how normative relations and identities are presumed; how gender orders are linked to the homogenization of female and male categories and binaries; and the naturalization of same-sex classes. For them, "queer" is about the 'destabilisation of the categories "boys" and "girls"' (p. 4), with heteronormativity as the organizing logic. They found that students regulated gender along similar lines, despite same-sex or dual sex organization of classes. They argue that attempts to challenge gender stereotypes constituted through ^HPE need to be rooted in attempts to challenge heteronormativity as an omnipotent logic.

Drawing on Foucault's notion of discourse and subjectivity (1982, 1997) and Butler's theorizing around performativity and the heterosexual matrix (1990), the authors attempt to take a queer position 'i.e. that makes social interaction intelligible not only from a heterosexual point of view ... a reading that might engender new positions and subjectivities in PE' (p. 7). They suggest that teacher benevolence towards girls, and tributes to hegemonic masculinity for boys, upholds heteronormativity. Assumptions about male

heterosexual desire were the ‘constitutive base for interpreting girls’ and boys’ behaviour in the gym’ and therefore served ‘as the basis for the debate on the usefulness of gender separate or mixed teaching’ (p. 12).

The authors found that physical presentation in terms of leg hair and trouser tightness was linked to gender within heteronormativity and that such practices function to define the limits of heteronormativity by making homonormativity intelligible as abject “other”. Language and bodily movement, in particular in terms of dance were strongly heteronormative, eliciting homophobic commentary at the heteronormative limits. Such work invites further discussion of cishet normativity, which is the taken-for-granted normalcy of heterosexual binaries and desires coupled with normative ideals of femininity and masculinity linked to being female and male (Larsson et al., 2014).

My work associated with normativity in ^HPE and physical cultures (2002, 2004, 2006a, 2012a, 2012b) was not dissimilar to this challenge of normalcy in drawing on queer theorists, and doing a form of “queering” or putting queer theory to work (e.g. Hunter, 2002). Like me, the ^HPE field had not employed/embraced the terminology of “queer” or queer theory until much more recently. As illustrated by the three very different workings of queer theory in ^HPE characterized above, workings that are still not necessarily prevalent or strong in ^HPE research, there remains ample room for queer/ing ^HPE research. Inspired by queer work in education, sport and health more broadly as well as in schooling, it will be interesting to see what forces continue to open up research as a queering move, or close it down under normative influences that work to maintain boundaries such as demonstrated in work on patriarchy, heteronormativity and homonormativity.

By not reflecting what are becoming more normalized understandings and inclusions of gender/sexuality variability and fluidity, ^HPE is perhaps somewhat deviant. It might be described as queer in relation to other fields that are able to realize and embrace diversity and change. While other aspects of young people’s lives point to information and knowledge about queer ways of being, or about normalcy, ^HPE, and its arguably close cousin sport, seem to have failed to keep up with this youth movement and those they claim to serve.

^HPE as Queer (Conservative) Space: An Ongoing Querying Space?

In an attempt to be playfully generative, I finish by offering several queer spaces for researchers to consider joining, caressing, queering and querying ^HPE. This section poses several questions as a way to provide opportunities to imagine

what may come of asking ‘how might researchers consider the normative limits of ^HPE researching?’ There is certainly a strong tradition of scholarship and examples to draw upon and develop from feminist and queer scholarship, as well as critical pedagogy, anti-oppressive research and identity politics research.

School PE is a significant player in turning lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) youth away from engagement in physical activity and sport. In *Out on the fields* (Denison & Kitchen, 2015), the LGB study participants were asked why they did not play team sports. A significant number said they were “turned off” by their experiences in school physical education class (p. 17). The researchers noted that populations with the largest decline in participation between youth and adult sport (NZ:34%, Ireland: 31%, UK: 23%) cited the decline as related to adults’ PE experiences when they were in school. Participants identified homophobia, bullying and harassment in PE as significant and serious issues, and they cited teachers, coaches and parents as pivotal players in mitigating these. ^HPE and queer theory might explore spaces where such exclusion and violence is *not* apparent and the practices that support ideals such as inclusion, safe learning environments and rights to education. There is clearly (still) a need for an LGB queer research agenda as a queer research space. To avoid this agenda and space becoming normalized there is also a need for research to take up a focus on diverse and fluid sex/genders/sexualities that students may identify as or be positioned within. For example, very little exists in terms of intersex or trans experiences with, and visibility within, ^HPE. At the same time enduring practices in ^HPE that maintain dominant categories, for example heterosexism and patriarchy, remain open for scrutiny if ^HPE is to be justified to be part of an inclusive and educative system.

Another queering space for exploration is in historically and contemporarily marginalized epistemologies and ontologies such as dance, ancient movement and health education, which may offer alternative perspectives in relationships, identities and sexualities. Understandings of holistic health (including mental and social) from qigong and traditional Chinese medicine could well contribute to queering normative definitions and practices of PE, providing conceptual resources for the study of normalcy and anti-normative strategies. Health educators and researchers, having been relegated to the margins of ^HPE, can speak back to normative “PE”. Can ^HPE, in heterogeneous form, polyphonically speak as a diverse and generative knowledge field that identifies a flexibility in time and space, exploring rich contexts that are educational, and expanding possibilities for ways of being and doing?

Conceptually, queer theory’s focus on normativity offers researchers a space to explore beyond identity, and to seek ways to understand what and how power flows and who (dis)continues to be valued in ^HPE practices. The spectre

of heteronormativity (Iisahunter, Futter-Puati, & Kelly, 2015) invites further study in HPE and Health and Physical Education Teacher Education (HPETE), as does the operation of homonormativity and intersecting (sex/gender/sexual) identities (Taylor, Hines, & Casey, 2011), and the normative acts of “identification” and identity construction. Already there are increasing scholarly resources from which to draw, whether about different sexual cultures (Brown, 2008), sexual spaces (Rasmussen, Rofes, & Talburt, 2004), (in)visibility of sexualities in educator practices (Rofes, 2005) or queering education in HPE. What could queer versions of HPE practices exhibit and create? What new ways of being and doing could be enacted by HPE to challenge normativity? What might queer presence in the bodies of teachers and students do to learning? Acts of queer performance, an integrated queer presence, and queer worlding³ (Haraway, 2008; Taylor & Blaise, 2014) can invite hitherto largely silenced questions of HPE. Are these to remain silences/d for (purposefully) subversive and subaltern purposes? Can HPE research even offer what might be “after-queer” tendencies in queer research (see Talburt & Rasmussen, 2010)? Methodologically and theoretically, through (queer) insights associated with bodies, physicality, sociality, intersubjectivity, the senses and learning, what might HPE be able to offer research? What would it mean for HPE and its research to take up queer worlding, or the (still) necessary work to recognize and challenge heterosexism, heteronormativity, misogyny, sexual violence and violence of identity-imposing limits on what or who individuals may be or become? Feminism was, and remains, an important space to keep asking these questions, as are other avenues including queer theory.

Whether queer theory is taken up as the study of sexuality, of LGBTQQII identities, of heteronormativity or of normalcy more broadly, there is much on offer for HPE. Queer theory, by (non)definition, offers HPE and its research an ongoing space for research that may or may not be “categorized” as, or claimed to be, queer. Queer theory, queer studies and queering work that is possible in HPE offers important inroads to how we understand, as praxis, our/their bodies, identities, movement, engagement in learning movement, and relationships through movement and physical cultures. Whether investigating heteronormativity (and homonormativity), the politics of difference, resistance and challenge, silenced sexualities, or departures from identity, there is plenty to work with within the field of HPE. There are also important implications if one works with the “sexuality” notion of queer in terms of what non-hegemonic notions of sexuality means for students, teachers, parents and teacher educators associated with HPE. Whether it is in having the ‘transgender look’ (Halberstam, 2005, p. 76), and attending to the significance of a transgender body, mapping the sexual spaces of HPE, transgressing normative teacher identities, supporting bisexual student

activities, or encouraging critique of heteronormativity and homonormativity in ^HPE, sport, movement and physicality, there is still much to be done to ensure more inclusive practices and epistemologies. Useful starting places are proliferating in ^HPE's related fields of Education, Sport, Dance, Health and Pleasure Studies as well as the early and substantive work of those referred to above, who have been working directly within ^HPE.

Notes

1. GLBT, LGBT, LGBTI and variations on these are acronyms built to identify non-heterosexual normativities including L = lesbian, G = gay, B = bisexual, I = intersex, T = transgender, Q = queer, Q = questioning, A = asexual, and the list remains open hence the ... I've used LGBTIQQI ... to playfully and simply (re)present the hierarchy, power, and (non)sense of identity and language that many before me already have.
2. There is ongoing evidence that this is still the "norm" in many areas of the world (see for example lisahunter, 2006a; Hardman & Marshall, 2000, and some of the recent papers such as Gerdin, 2015; Hill, 2015).
3. Queer worlding, a concept introduced by Haraway (2008) and developed by Taylor and Blaise (2014), refers to the blurring of boundaries between categories such as nature and culture, and queering what counts as categories through processes of naturalization and normalization. Hybrid reconfigurations are seen to challenge categories and generate new possibilities that allow us to reconstitute worlds. This process aims to go beyond deconstruction of binaries and naturalness of categories such as "female" for instance, and consider entanglements with the non-human world. Performing the category of "surfer" for example, is constituted by an entanglement of visible sex characteristics, surfwear, surfboard and a wave, yet is largely legitimized as surfer (naturally male) and female surfer without much notice given to the surfboard and wave, although there is usually some attention to surfwear. Current categories affect a person's ability to access waves and, inter-relatedly, to be positioned as competent.

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Feminist Theories of Emotion and Affect in Sport

Simone Fullagar and Adele Pavlidis

Introduction

In this chapter we explore how the “affective turn” within feminist theory (Ahmed, 2004; Blackman, 2012; Braidotti, 2011; Clough, 2008; Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012; Probyn, 2005; Wetherell, 2012) has shaped new ways of thinking about gendered power relations, subjectivities and embodied sport experiences. Scholarship on affect and emotion has advanced theorizing of embodied movement and meaning, enabling more complex understandings of the entanglement of material, visceral, discursive dimensions of gendered subjectivities. Cultural and feminist theories of affect extend poststructural critiques of the rational, self-present subject, while also questioning the limits of language through a desire to explore the relational forces that shape embodiment (in relation to other bodies, surfaces, textures and feelings). In this sense, sport and leisure more broadly can be theorized as affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) that gendered bodies enact as they *move in relation* to other human and non-human bodies, objects and surfaces. At the same time, sporting bodies are also *moved by* these forces (pre-conscious and conscious) in ways that are corporeal and social at once (shame, joy, pleasure and pain). We draw upon a range of examples from different sport contexts, with a focus

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on women's roller derby, to consider the value of theorizing gendered embodiment in terms of the social relations of affect through contemporary feminist approaches.

The turn towards affect is situated within broader feminist debates about critical post-humanism (Braidotti, 2011) and the desire to produce, or materialize, different embodied knowledges. Refuting the ontological assumptions informing phenomenological accounts of embodied subjectivity (the self as an intentional, bounded entity), post-humanist scholars explore what bodies as relational multiplicities can "do" to move knowledge in different directions (Renold & Ringrose, 2016). These theoretical debates have also identified the limitations of research that adheres to a theory/method divide and thus challenges the knowledge practices of sport feminism to think through affect in terms of the "intensities" through which gender power relations play out in multiple ways. We are particularly interested in taking these ideas further to *trouble* notions of women's empowerment through sport to open up the complex, mobile social relations that shape how we feel, act and become gendered subjects. In the shift beyond earlier structuralist accounts of patriarchal power, women's sport has more recently been analyzed in terms of how women and girls enact and resist the social scripts that shape gendered identities in (hetero)normative ways. Yet, this trope of empowerment within feminist accounts of sport still relies upon largely unquestioned liberal assumptions about women as voluntaristic, rational, agentic subjects. As feminists writing in cultural studies and education have argued, privileging agentic selfhood leaves little room for women to articulate how they are subject to contemporary power relations that materialize through entanglements of bodies and technologies to intensify micro-aggressions and exclusion in new ways (Renold & Ringrose, 2016). Harris and Dobson (2015) argue that neo-liberal notions of empowerment can also work to position women who have been victim of violence, harassment or sexism as having failed to be empowered, entrepreneurial selves in control of their lives. Moving carefully through this feminist terrain we seek a more complex account of the affects and effects of gendered sport as a mediated cultural practice.

The Historical Nexus of Sport, Emotion and Society

There is a diverse history of sociological exploration of emotions (participant and spectator experiences and representations) in the literature on sport, which has been largely informed by interactionist, figurational and critical

perspectives. This early work is important to acknowledge as it informs an historical trajectory of thought around the relationship between emotion and sport that precedes the contemporary turn to affect. From a feminist perspective we note that gender and women's sport experiences have been largely absent in this work, which has privileged the masculine body and normalized the gender order. A key text has been Durkheim's (1976, p. 218) classic analysis of 'collective effervescence', which has informed how we think about the social rituals of sport that produce shared emotion as sacred spectacles in the secular age (Fox, 2006). Norbet Elias' (1994) figurational sociology has also been significant in identifying the interrelationship between sport, emotion and the emergence of civil society. Sport enabled the expression and containment of unruly emotions and social conflict through 'the regulation of the whole instinctive and affective life by steady self-control' (Elias, 1994, p. 365). In contrast, the body of critical work on 'football hooliganism' (for example, Dunning, Murphy, & Williams, 1986; Spaaij, 2014) has positioned sport as a site of intensified emotion through which social conflict (class, race, sexual, gender, national and local identities) is played out as a disruptive force. Sport has offered (largely male) fans the excitement of (un)certain outcomes (winning and losing), belonging and bonding, risk and violence, that is bound up with structural divisions, subcultural practices and the consumption of sport as spectacle within capitalist society. We see these discourses play out within the history of women's sport where vigorous and competitive bodily practices were feared for their potential to unleash unfeminine 'aggressive' emotions (Hargreaves, 1997). Similarly, Lyng's concept of 'edgework', primarily developed through his analysis of skydiving (Lyng, 1990), highlights the pleasures of negotiating the fine line between life and death, order and disorder, risk and safety. Lyng (1990) demonstrates the sociological nexus of pleasurable risk, sporting skill and fear that produces an intense, embodied immediacy in the flow of experience (see also, Newmahr, 2011; Olstead, 2011).

Researchers focusing on events have also contributed towards the historical nexus of sport, emotion and society. In relation to the rise of mega sport events on the global stage (Olympics, World Cups), scholars (for example, Tomlinson & Young, 2006) have also argued that emotion plays a significant role in the creation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006) by evoking national pride as a normative experience aligned with good citizenship and social cohesion. Such events deploy the "feel-good" language of community benefits, social legacy and pride in sporting achievement to override critical questions about the political and economic intentions driving government investment (Heere et al., 2013).

These diverse theoretical approaches to understanding the relationship between emotion and sport have importantly foregrounded how personal feeling is constructed within social institutions, forms of regulation and ideological formations related to the state or the market. Aside from the lack of gender analysis, there remain questions about the limitations of structure/agency debates in these rather static accounts of sport as it is experienced or watched as an embodied practice. Emotion has conventionally been conceptualized as a psychologized state that resides “within” sporting subjects and is an outward expression of social processes that act upon the self (who is either compliant or resistant). This social construction of emotional bodies occurs through processes that range from the ideological forces of the capitalist market and neo-liberal political order, to everyday forms of socialization into sport cultures and practices. As we will explore in the rest of the chapter, the limitations of this sociological imagining of sport become clear when we consider the poststructural trajectory of ideas that explore how emotion and affect are implicated in the formation of (non-unified) subjectivity, embodied flows and relations with the non-human world.

The Turn to Affect and Feminist Theory

Contemporary feminist work is situated within, and has significantly influenced, debates within the humanities and social sciences that have been identified with the “turn to affect” (Clough, 2008; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Fox, 2015; Massumi, 2002; Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012; Thrift, 2004; Wetherell, 2012). Within the sport literature there has been growing engagement with the different theoretical strands of this transdisciplinary body of work (Heywood, 2011; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014a; Pringle, Rinehart, & Caudwell, 2015; Roy, 2014; Thorpe & Rinehart, 2010; Woodward, 2015). In this chapter we interweave specific examples of scholarship with broader explorations of affect and also identify the critiques that have emerged in relation to the limitations and possibilities of different perspectives. Feminist theory (Ahmed, 2004; Blackman, 2012; Clough, 2008; Cvetkovich, 2012; Probyn, 2005) has been particularly influential in questioning the gender relations that shape emotional life and how our experiences of embodied subjectivity (and sport/movement) are intimately bound up with the historical, economic and political conditions shaping personhood. Contemporary analysis also needs to be situated within a longer genealogy of feminist critique of the gendering of emotions (reason over emotion, mind over body, masculine

over feminine) (Jaggar, 1989) and how women's subjectivities have been inferiorized through the pathologization of emotions (the figure of the hysteric or weak emotional woman) (Ussher, 2011).

Over the last couple of decades feminist theorists of affect have engaged in rethinking "the personal is political" by exploring how our "inner" lives are fundamentally intertwined with the "outer" social world (hence making this rather static dualism redundant) (Cvetkovich, 2012). Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 56), in distinguishing her feminist analysis (informed by post-colonial, post-phenomenological and queer theories) of emotion from earlier sociological work (Hochschild's, 1983 emotion work), offers a clarifying comment about the feminist shift from understanding 'emotions not as psychological dispositions, but as investment in social norms'. While there are distinct theoretical trajectories that mark the "turn to emotion and affect", there is commonality in the critique of how advanced liberal societies circulate popular understandings of emotions as psychological states that emerge (my feeling of joy, anger, sadness) from the interior self as authentic expressions of individuality (the personal realm). In advancing a more nuanced understanding of affective experiences, contemporary theories are characterized by an epistemological and ontological departure from questions concerning what emotions "are" towards an exploration of what emotions can "do" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 4). This shift in thinking aligns with a feminist critique of essentializing discourses that position women's subjectivities as "naturally" more emotional than men (more caring and less rational) and opens up questions about how emotion is gendered through the embodied performance (doing) of self-other relations in everyday contexts.

Sarah Ahmed's (2004) work provides a critical departure from previous work on emotion, yet there are other approaches that we will discuss later that conceptualize affect through Deleuze and Guattari's post-humanist and new materialist approaches. Ahmed refuses to draw any hard or fast line between the terms affect and emotion: 'the distinction between sensation and emotion can only be analytic' (2004, p. 6). Her focus is on understanding how emotions circulate within social life (affective economy) and work to demarcate normative boundaries around particular embodied subjects.

Hate, fear, disgust and shame are produced in relation to norms about identity that mark out self-other divisions that inform sexism, racism, homophobia and othering practices. The embodied intensity of emotions, such as hatred, is both felt and culturally imagined 'in the very negotiation of boundaries between selves and others, and between communities' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 51). One example that is useful for thinking through these ideas is

the new This Girl Can Sport England campaign that went viral in early 2015. This campaign sought to counter the body shame that women experience as a barrier to physical activity (Fullagar & Francombe-Webb, 2015). The video clip aimed to materialize intense affects (pleasure in sweating, strength, pushing beyond limits, enjoying collective practices) through vision and sound (Missy Elliott's 'Get Ur Freak On'). A collage of moving bodies, scenes skip to a funky beat, bodies running, swimming, in the gym, boxing, doing Zumba, offering a challenge to negative feelings about body size, shape or competency. In what was promoted as a radical departure from previous social marketing the campaign used "real" women's bodies and snappy tag lines (from 'feeling like a fox, sweating like a pig' to 'I kick balls') to create an empowering message, and the clip went viral (generating both positive and critical responses).

Despite its intention to challenge body shaming, the campaign constitutes emotion as a personal feeling (shame, embarrassment) that women can *overcome* in order to liberate themselves through physical activity. The visualization of active embodiment is seductive as the video positions physical activity as *the* source of women's growing body confidence. This increasing confidence is articulated through a discourse of personal liberation, rather than one that challenges the gendered relations of shame that act upon women as they enact "feminine" subjectivity (inflected through the othering practices connected to race, class, sexuality, cisgender status and so on). What remains unspoken are the heteronormative gender relations that position women's bodies as objects of shame, disgust, hatred in relation to feminized (white, young, able-bodied) ideals of beauty, attractiveness to men and status in comparison with other women. The privileging of "empowering" emotions through This Girl Can images (pleasure in achievement, pride in embodied capacities, appearance, even resistance to inferiorization), misunderstands the entangled affective economy (how gendered relations of pride in the body are implicated in shaming practices) that generates uncertainty/anxiety. The gendered performance of feminine embodiment is visualized through relations with other women in the clip (who appear as supportive or benign figures). Bracketed out is how women might feel about their bodies in relation to others against whom they are constituted—male partners, children, bosses, friends and the unknown masculine gaze on the street or gym (Ahmed, 2004; Probyn, 2005).

This Girl Can provides a compelling example of how emotions are not easily captured and tamed by "empowering discourses" of do-it-yourself active womanhood. The gendered process of othering (shaming references to fat, slow, uncoordinated, unattractive, etc.) is arguably intensified by the collective (patronizing and infantilizing) reference to all women as "girls" (one cannot imagine a This Boy Can campaign for men). Even if the campaign elicits

the desire to engage (the movement of emotion connects the non-active body with the imagined active body) and women follow the weblinks to their favourite sport club site, they may find that football teams for women's "masters'" age groups are not available in their local area (as the first author discovered). Fear, shame, desire, pleasure, sadness, joy, hope and anger endlessly circulate through sport spaces and practices, regulating women's bodies and desires in ways that far exceed personal feelings or "empowerment".

Returning to our earlier concerns about how women's empowerment through sport has become a feminist trope, we suggest that theories of emotion and affect offer a more nuanced analysis of women's sporting lives with respect to multiple gender relations and mediations (from official sport campaigns to DIY social media). There are two aspects of the theoretical challenge for sport feminism that is posed by the growing number of diverse "post" theories that move beyond a unified, rational subject who is either the source of power or merely subject to "it". First, there is a question of how we understand the processes and affective practices that enfold the social world as 'relations of force. Our own "agency" is then resultant of the ontology we have folded into ourselves in the course of our history and our practices' (Rose, 1996, p. 189). Second, post-humanist feminists have raised questions about ontology and how we think about corporeality as more than constructed "mute" matter. Sporting bodies are sensory, feeling, moving, fleshy, visceral matter that is also "lively", moving us to know gender in different ways (for example, on the positive configuration of pain for women's sport, see Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014b). These ideas open up diverse possibilities for exploring sport practices that trouble the (hetero)normative boundaries seeking to contain what women can do, feel or say, as well as troubling the materialization of gendered embodiment through the rules of competition that we have seen emerge in recent debates about transgender and intersex athletes (Larsson, 2015). We now turn to explore these questions through a focus on the affects that play out through roller derby.

Roller Derby and Relations of Affect

The revival and growth of roller derby serves as another example of the way emotions circulate between bodies, sometimes "sticking", as well as sometimes moving (Ahmed, 2004, p. 4). A contact sport played on roller skates, roller derby has so far (since the early 2000s) been mainly played by women (although the gender dynamics are changing; see Pavlidis & Connor, 2016 for an introduction to men in derby). As a sport "for women", roller derby is

often espoused as “empowering” in popular media and official league websites, yet this is not always the case. Our own research involved 18 months of ethnographic research in Australia, including over 30 interviews with women aged 18 to 45. We found that although many women acknowledge derby to be a place of love, healing and belonging (Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014a), there were other women who experienced the sport as more destructive (Pavlidis, 2013; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2012, 2014a). As Gorton noted in her review of some key texts in the debate on feminist theories of affect: there is an ‘ugly’ side of affect, ‘when emotions work against us or are used against us’ (Gorton, 2007, p. 345). In being ‘too passionate’, ‘too in love’, ‘too excited’, about roller derby, some women found themselves variously bullied, excluded or disappointed about their involvement. If, as Ahmed notes, affects are not determined in advance (2004, p. 59), then we cannot assume a direct relationship between sport and “empowerment” as power relations work through a range of affects and contexts.

One such example is evident in Jen’s story. Jen had nursed her mother who passed away in 2009 and was searching for some relief for her grief. Having roller skated as a girl—she admitted to being called “roller girl” by her friends as a teen—the discovery of roller derby overwhelmed her with excitement. She stated:

Basically I was addicted from then, it was good to be consumed in a positive way, and be focused so you don’t have to think about your crap that you’ve got going on behind you [starts crying], you just have fun and just go with it, and I think ‘oh my god I’m going to hurt myself’, but you know, once you get hit a few times you realize it’s not that bad, the skates seem to take the shock out of it, and all the girls in that group were frickin’ awesome, I was like, wow, these girls are cool ... I loved it, lived it, breathed it, couldn’t wait for it, and it was just, yeah, great.

Taking our lead from Ahmed we can see how Jen’s emotions are intersubjective: there is always ‘something or somebody’ to whom the feelings are related, ‘although that something or somebody does not necessarily pre-exist the emotion’ (Ahmed, 2004, p. 49). Jen’s feelings of grief and experiences of pain are related to her excitement and love through and for roller derby (see Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014b on pain). But these feelings were not “created” by roller derby, but instead enabled, in what was, for a while, a space of excitement, support and friendship.

Yet quite quickly, Jen’s grief and fear began to surface in roller derby. As a highly skilled skater she rapidly advanced from the beginner group to the competitive level. This shift generated multiple intensities and affects—altering social dynamics and significantly increasing physicality as she was subject to

the full impact of this contact sport. Ahmed writes about the 'stickiness' of emotions (though, she reminds us, things can get 'unstuck') (Ahmed, 2004, p. 89). Writing about the cultural politics of love as an exclusive ideal in public discourse, she notes, 'I would challenge any assumption that love can provide the foundation for political action, or is a sign of good politics' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 141). Of course roller derby is not state politics, but sport is undeniably political. In many ways roller derby attempts to subvert "sport": it is primarily for women, it is a contact sport, it is *not* professional and it is not governed by official state departments. If not feminist by name, the sport is performed and identified as feminist. And, it certainly does evoke *love* as a foundation for action—love of the sport and love of women. But sometimes love is not returned (Ahmed, 2004, p. 124). Jen continued her story:

I guess it was when I went to the competitive level, that's, it's not that roller derby changed, my kind of perception of it [starts crying] changed. It's definitely not the roller derby, it's just because my life is so negative and full of crap, and I go [crying], I'm sorry, I didn't mean to get so upset. When I go to a negative environment, I can't do it; it doesn't make me feel good any more.

...I just think to myself, 'why are you even bothering with this', you know, why is this such an issue, when you know, there are bigger issues in the world than who's playing and who's got this coloured wheels and who's a bitch and who's a slut and who you don't like, and I just think 'oh my god, are you serious!'

Other theorists of affect discussed below draw more specifically upon the writing of French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1987) to articulate a post-humanist or new materialist ontology that moves beyond a humanist notion of the subject as the centre of meaning. Refusing to reduce emotion to subjective feeling, Deleuze and Guattari argue that affect is bound up with the movement of desire as 'an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. xvi). Affect is articulated in terms of the assemblage of flows, materials and forces of desire that move the subject in ways that exceed intention, consciousness and language; it is a productive relation of power and desire that counters Freud's notion of inherent lack that motivates the psychic life of the subject. Nick Fox (2015, p. 5) explains how the use of assemblage as a key idea in new materialist ontologies 'enables a shift in attention from what a body or a thing is, to its capacities for action and desire, what it can do' (Deleuze, 1995, p. 218).

Rather than define physically active bodies by their organs and functions, or by their shape and build, in our collaborative work on roller derby we highlighted the ways in which women came together to organize, manage, govern, lead, train and play a sport that had previously disappeared from the sportscape. In a few short years women around the world had connected (often online) to promote and grow the sport in a range of ways. Their skating improved, the rules of the game changed, and the shape and direction of leagues and competition changed (and continues to change). As derby bodies *moved* in new ways, they were in turn *moved* individually and collectively in ways that required a relational understanding of affect, rather than a notion of subjective feeling. Many of the women who embodied these changes did not have previous experience in sport development, business or marketing. Yet together their affects multiplied and together they are creating spaces that challenge and redefine women and sport. Taking a lead from Deleuze and Guattari, it is not the root and tree that signify this growth (the women did not ‘plot a point and fix an order’), but instead, the *rhizome*: it is diverse, it includes the best and worst, and ceaselessly establishes connections (1987, pp. 5–6).

Deleuze and Guattari’s work is diverse and has been taken up and used by feminists working to better understand women’s experiences of sport, for example, in Georgina Roy’s work on females’ emotions in surfing (2014). In theorizing the feelings of freedom (or ‘stoke’) experienced by herself and her research participants via surfing she turned to Deleuze’s notion of ‘new space-times’, where the internal and external are folded, and gendered subjectivities become momentarily lost (Deleuze, 1995, p. 176). Deleuzian-inspired feminist theories of affect have also been taken up in other fields, such as Fox’s work on the ‘flows of affect’ at the London 2012 Olympics (2013). Although this work by Fox is not about women, it does draw primarily on feminist work on affect to articulate an analysis of ‘what emotions did’ at the Games that year (Fox, 2013). He notes that ‘flows of affectivity ... played an important but not central role, alongside other physical, emotional, social and cognitive affects. However [his] analysis also ascribes renewed significance to emotions as constitutive of the flow of affect that has produced the Games and continues to affect their legacy.’ (Fox, 2013, para 4.1)

This focus on the “non-representable” excitement and flows of affect noted above is important in the field of sport and leisure and has been explored from a range of perspectives. Holly Thorpe and Robert Rinehart’s (2010) paper was one of the first to consider eminent cultural geographer Nigel Thrift’s non-representational theory (NRT). They note that despite the richly colourful and dynamic images, narratives and representations of alternative sport, this is secondary to the embodied, sensual and immediate experience of the sport (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2010, p. 1268). As Thorpe and Rinehart demonstrate,

NRT can be applied to the stories of not-for-profit alternative sport-related social movements to understand commonalities and differences between other similar organizations and broader consumer culture (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2010, p. 1283). They focus on the politics of hope and the politics of affect as key concepts for sport sociology into the future. Since then, Thorpe (2014) has continued in her attempt to find theories and approaches that adequately and ethically account for embodiment and the sensual and immediate experiences of sport.

Non-representational theories have also been subject to critique by a number of scholars who argue that science is deployed in dubious ways to support broad claims about the ‘autonomic’ nature of affect (Blackman, 2012; Rose, 1996; Wetherell, 2012). Nikolas Rose refers to this approach to theorizing affect as a form of

liberation biology ... [that assumes by] recognizing the true nature of human corporeality and the power of the affective that we will be able to free ourselves from an overly intellectualist and rationalist account of contemporary politics, economics and culture.

Feminists have also raised concerns about the vagueness and confusion over definitions and the lack of acknowledgement of the feminist genealogy of emotion (feminized labour, ethics of care, emotion–reason) (Clough, 2008; Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). Social psychologist Margaret Wetherell’s (2012) critique of how affect has been deployed in theory as a mysterious experience beyond thought has contributed a more pragmatic approach to analyzing how “affective practices” are shaped within the mediated effects of discourse. In relation to peak sporting experiences, this notion of an affective practice is interpreted by Woodward (2015) through her psychosocial exploration of “being in the zone” where the self becomes the embodied flow of movement in time and space. The affectivity of spaces where sport and music come together generate forms of creativity that are produced relationally between objects and bodies.

Theorizing Affect: Implications for Sport Feminism

Our discussion above highlights the imaginative and inventive approach that sport feminisms have offered, not only for thinking about gender relations (such as in Roy, 2014; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014a), but also about sport organizations and events (Fox, 2013; Thorpe & Rinehart, 2010). Our review

above is not exhaustive, and there are other notable examples of sport feminists who are engaged in the transdisciplinary project of theorizing affect to help to shift the problematic “win-at-all costs” mentality that permeates sport in general (see Heywood, 2011). In sport, the body is central, yet the body’s gendered affects are only recently being acknowledged as key to our understanding of individuals’ sport experiences and broader sport organizations. Most importantly, a focus on affect and emotion brings into tension theoretical debates about embodied movement and meaning that contribute towards an expansion of feminine subjectivities. It enables us to move away from asking, ‘what is a woman’, and towards ‘what can a woman do?’ and ‘how might womanhood be experienced in gender diverse ways?’ from an ethical and open position. In roller derby the question of gender and “who can play” is central and often contentious: transgender-identified and non-gender-identified people are primarily excluded in the women’s competition (Pavlidis & Connor, 2015). A focus on feminist theories of affect provides the shift in epistemology and ontology that makes it possible to ask these questions in ways that open up, rather than narrow the debates.

But in thinking through affect we need to be careful not to privilege the “excitement” and “thrill” of sport, and also consider the everyday, mundane affects (see also Robinson, 2008, on mundane masculinities) that are as much a part of the sport experience. Going to training, communicating with teammates and officials, waiting for a turn, paying for access and services, disappointment, body shame, care and concern, and endless other “affective practices” are all implicated in the sport experience. Accounting for affects can serve to open the discourses we use to represent and understand women’s experience in inclusive and ethical ways. Gendered bodies, diverse in sexuality, ability, ethnicity, race and health, can be critically examined to explore how (in)active embodiment is shaped within particular cultural contexts.

Thinking through the affective body in sport, we can consider a range of relations that shape the context and performance of sport. Some that we might consider are:

- (a) the rules of the game—for example, in roller derby there are rules that allow for contact and “hitting” in legally sanctioned ways, enabling the expression of anger and aggression in socially acceptable spaces;
- (b) the politics of the sport—the ways it is governed and organized, gender dynamics, its position in the sport landscape (established, new, emerging, lifestyle) and;
- (c) the aesthetics of the sport—conservative, uniform, “alternative” links to youth cultures or other popular cultures.

For all types of sport and spaces of physical culture the affective body is implicated in relationships with other gendered bodies and objects of material culture. Feminist theories of affect and emotion give researchers a language and means of exploring a different set of questions about how women's sport experiences matter. The multiple approaches to understanding emotion and affect posed by the "post-" theories offer possibilities for feminist sport researchers to identify the complex workings of power that are often invisible and unheard, yet intensely "felt" in particular social contexts. The trope of "empowerment", so common in public feminist accounts of sport, such as with the This Girl Can campaign, often fails to articulate how gendered embodiment is constituted, and in turn how women constitute themselves through contemporary power relations—the entanglement of bodies, discourses and technologies—that exclude, marginalize and challenge in increasingly nuanced ways. The theoretical and conceptual advances offered in this chapter can address these limitations in ways that can incorporate the challenges and possibilities inherent in a post-humanist sensibility.

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Third-Wave Feminism and Representation

Leslie Heywood

Third-Wave Feminism: A Brief Introduction

Like any term that carries cultural and emotional weight and touches on people's lives and beliefs, the term "third-wave feminism" has had a dynamic, controversial history that now spans 25 years. Popularized by author and activist Rebecca Walker in 1992 in an article for *Ms. Magazine* called 'Becoming the Third Wave', which was a critical response to the Anita Hill–Clarence Thomas hearings and the widely circulated media claim that America had now entered an era of postfeminism, the term "third wave" has been a part of conversations around feminism and women's issues ever since (Walker, 1992). Like other social movements, third-wave feminism has developed and changed in response to world events, and debates within the movement itself. I am focusing on the US iterations of the field, but "third-wave feminism" also functions as a descriptor for work originating in Canada, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, China, India and elsewhere (Gillis, Howie, & Munford, 2007; Harris, 2008; Yu, 2009).

What may be termed its early, formational period (roughly 1991–1995) was marked by a debate about whether or not third-wave and postfeminist were synonymous, and which term applied to popular authors such as Naomi Wolf, Katie Roiphe and Rene Denfeld, who were overtly critical of second-wave feminism. Postfeminist, in this sense, meant literally "after feminism",

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while third-wave implied a continuation of feminism with a difference. The two terms were often conflated in the mass media. Since Naomi Wolf's books *The Beauty Myth* and *Fire With Fire* had become identified in the media as the most visible representative of third-wave feminism, the term "third wave" became synonymous with a new version of liberal feminism (Wolf, 1991, 1994). This version was roundly criticized in academia for being apolitical, individualistic, self-promotional and applicable only to white, middle-class women who have more economic opportunities, not to women as a whole.

This attention given to Wolf as the representative third-wave feminist obscured other versions of third wave that also developed during this time. Rebecca Walker's essay 'Becoming the Third Wave' articulated a very different version than Wolf's; Walker described pushing herself 'to figure out what it means to be part of the Third Wave of feminism ... my involvement must reach beyond my own voice in discussion, beyond voting, beyond reading feminist theory ... I am not a post feminism feminist. I am the Third Wave' (Walker, 1992, p. 41). Walker's declaration of a difference between postfeminism and third wave was path-breaking. Avowedly multiracial, multicultural, multiethnic, multisexual, and containing members with various religious orientations, this intersectional version of third-wave feminism articulated the views and concerns of a new demographic whose identities could not easily be broken down into opposing categories such as black/white, gay/straight, female/male. The ideas Walker forwarded addressed these complexities and the need for new forms of social-justice activism, and this perspective shaped third-wave feminism within academia. Third-wave feminism was also influenced by poststructuralism and post-colonialism, in which the destabilization of essentialist identity categories is key (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000; Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Walker, 1995).

Along with intersectionality, an emphasis on the power of representation to shape identity and bodies was a primary focus, and this informs ways third-wave feminism serves as an analytic in sport studies. Representation has become increasingly important due to the ubiquity of digital technologies that have developed in the context of economic neo-liberalism. In general, "neo-liberalism" characterizes economic practices in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and marks a stance toward globalization often referred to in the US context as the Washington Consensus. The Washington Consensus advocates 'deregulation, privatization, structural adjustment programs, and limited government' (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 5). Such policies are informed by a set of ideological assumptions outlined by post-colonial

scholars Soniya Munshie and Craig Willse: ‘the belief that the maximization of social good requires locating all human action in the domain of the market ... conceptual linking of market growth and individual freedom has meant that the spread of neoliberal economic policy has come to be seen as equivalent to the spread of democracy’ (Munshie & Willse, 2015). Neo-liberalism’s ideologies and policies have had a pervasive impact on all sectors, including the intersections between third-wave feminism, representation and sport, especially in terms of the ways the proliferation of consumer markets brought female athletes from the margins to the centre.

Early third-wave feminist approaches to sport, such as myself and Shari Dworkin’s *Built to Win* (2003), initially took an optimistic approach to the ways mass media representations informed by neo-liberalism marked positive changes for female athletes. We cited the emergence of an significant market niche devoted to women’s sport apparel and equipment, and the positive imagery of female athletes that emerged with it, as a force that made the image of the female athlete mainstream rather than marginal (2003). Furthermore, the growing numbers of girls participating in sport and the destigmatization of that participation was reflected in empirical work done by ourselves and others (Comer, 2010; Heywood & Dworkin, 2003; Thorpe, 2008; Wheaton, 2013). We saw women in sport as a form of “stealth feminism”, a site where feminist goals were being implemented and achieved even if they weren’t overtly called “feminist”.

In this chapter, I explain this theoretical framing before moving on to consider recent developments in women’s sports in the U S context, from which my examples and case studies are derived. For instance, representation includes a multiplicity of images of athletes that offer a range of body types as ideals that confound traditional gendered, racialized and sexualized images, but those traditions are still present in high-profile media sites (Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013). I will focus on two key recent representational sites: the 2015 issue of *ESPN The Magazine’s* annual ‘Bodies We Want’, which features both male and female elite athletes shot in the nude, and the racist and sexist “body shaming” of Williams in the *New York Times* just before her Wimbledon victory in 2015. These examples indicate the emergence of new significations in the midst of residual stereotypes. Although these are only two of a bewildering panoply of examples, these sites show how representation remains a key problem for a third-wave feminist analysis of sport. A third-wave framework continues to provide a legitimate expansion of dominant critical sport feminisms based on a dualistic approach that assumes an opposition between athleticism and femininity in representational codes.

Third-Wave Expansions of Critical Feminist Sport Studies

Although third-wave feminism has represented an established set of conceptual frameworks since the 1990s and made contributions to sport studies soon after, it has been accepted as valid rubric within the field only recently (Chananie-Hill, Waldron, & Umsted, 2012; Parry, 2016; Parry & Fullager, 2015). Instead, as sport researcher Toni Bruce identifies, the dominant trends in critical feminist sport studies tended to fall under what she terms a 'Pretty or Powerful' model, criticizing representations that emphasize appearance over performance.¹ However, as Bruce points out, and as a third-wave perspective has long maintained, 'although the bulk of existing research suggests that sportswomen are represented as pretty *or* powerful, new forms of representation emerging in some online and social media suggest ways in which sportswomen can be imagined as pretty *and* powerful within discourses of femininity and sport' (Bruce, 2015, p. 1).

By contrast to what Bruce identifies as a critical feminist sport research paradigm loosely based in liberal feminism, a third-wave perspective 'challenges feminist positions that implicitly accept the determining effects of the articulation of sport and masculinity' (Bruce, 2015, p. 8). A third-wave perspective has, since its inception in the early 2000s, articulated a paradigm through which athletes could be seen as 'pretty *and* powerful', instead of 'pretty or powerful' (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). This perspective has furthermore provided a framework in which male athletes might be interpreted in the same way: valued for their appearance as well as their athletic prowess. For instance, our prologue to *Built to Win* began with a description of Marion Jones on the cover of *Vogue* magazine in 2001:

In January 2001, the cover of *Vogue* magazine was set in resplendent tones of reds and blues and proclaimed 'The New American Hero.' The hero's chin was lifted high, and she gazed directly at the viewer, broad shoulders sloping into a red sequined gown that fit her not like a strange disjunction between power and glam but as its very incarnation. V-back and S-curve, latissimus muscles sloping easily down to solid sequined mermaid hips, thighs that explode into Marion Jones, the one who rules fierce winds. We know her well, telescoped with images from the Olympics, power shoulders, thighs that blur the world so much faster than anyone else. Thighs like tree trunks, lightning, Marion's wings. Dreams of solidity, dreams of wings: an athlete on the cover of *Vogue*, contradiction upon contradiction, a figure for the new millenium. Feet strongly rooted in contraposta, she was a statue, she was living flesh, she was, quite possibly, the most beautiful woman in the world. (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003, p. xv)

Our analysis of representations of Jones and other athletes in the book was an early example of an analysis that read athletes as both “pretty” and “powerful”. Yet despite the presence of a third-wave feminist analytic for sport images since the early 2000s, dominant feminist research paradigms were focused on a binaristic framework through which female athletes can only be seen as pretty *or* powerful.

The influential analysis presented by Kane, LaVoi and Fink was one of the first studies to explore ‘how female athletes respond to the ways they are represented within sport media’ (Kane, LaVoi, & Fink, 2013, p. 1), an unprecedented and necessary focus. Yet because it assumed what the researchers termed ‘sportswomen’s dual identities’, the study relied on an opposition between images that emphasize ‘on-court competence’ and those that emphasize ‘off-court soft pornography’, (p. 1) as if such images represent one or the other. This perspective also assumes elite female athletes have “dual” identities in which they see themselves either as athletes or as sexual subjects but not both.

As Bruce discusses, the theoretical framework exemplified by Kane et al. might be too binaristic to fully account for some contemporary forms of representation and identity, although it provides a crucial critical perspective. By focusing on gender as the only axis of identity (“female” athlete instead of “white bisexual transgender economically disempowered athlete” or “biracial heterosexual middle-class female athlete” or any one of a number of intersectional possibilities that exist), the study necessarily triggers a particular kind of thinking (dualistic, binaristic) in the respondents who are the research subjects. Additionally, the *images themselves* that the researchers selected for response are binaristically coded—they present either/or representations of female athletes when many other representational possibilities demonstrate both codes simultaneously, and are layered with many other codes as well.

The images used in the Kane et al. study are broken into four categories: ‘athletic competence’, which show female athletes in action; ‘mixed message’, which show athletes dressed in “feminine” clothing; ‘Sexy/classy lady’, which show athletes in Academy-Award-type dresses; and ‘soft pornography’, which show athletes nude or semi-nude posed in a sexualized way. Each set of images is categorized by the singularity of its code, and elite athletes were supposed to choose the image that they most wanted to represent themselves and their sports. Yet the images themselves help direct a particular kind of response, precisely because they are, unlike many other images of female athletes, so precisely coded in one modality. Many images are more mixed—even more mixed than the ‘mixed message’ category.

The images used in the study seem strangely anachronistic—one shows a white female basketball player in a little black dress holding a basketball and wearing pearls, a traditional signifier of white, moneyed femininity that harks

back to the 1950s. Similarly, the “Farah hair” cascading down the back of the women seems to have stepped out of the 1970s. But current high-school and college-aged athletes don’t even know who Farah is, or what she represented: a US 1970s ideal of normative heterosexual desirability, the classic “sex symbol”. By contrast to the images used in the study, many images of female athletes combine all those strains and others in one image, with only a minority reducible to retro “sex-symbol” coding. Indeed, simply doing an Internet search for “female athlete images” in January 2016 turns up a majority of action shots.

There is a different representational context here, one affected by and affecting a number of complicated cultural strains: the normalization of pornography, the development within neo-liberal economies of niche markets amenable to the narrowest customization or taste, and the explosion of self-generated media from Snap-Chat to Instagram to the “selfie-stick” and other technological paraphernalia for the production of self-image. These images are disseminated in dialogue with commercially produced images, instead of being produced by them. This is not to say that the sexualization of female athletes to the exclusion of their status as athletes does not occur, or that when it does it is not detrimental in exactly the ways a critical feminist perspective outlines. It is to say that a third-wave feminist perspective can help make sense of *other kinds* of images for which a critical feminist perspective cannot fully account.

Indeed, I would argue that images can be conceptualized on the same kind of continuum as pioneering feminist sport researcher Mary Jo Kane articulated for gender. Kane (1995) argued that a sport continuum exists where many women outperform men in particular forms of sport, which disrupts traditional oppositional beliefs about gender in which men are active, women passive, men strong, women weak, and so on. Some women are more masculine than some men; some men are more feminine than some women, calling an oppositional account of gender grounded in biological difference into question. Extending Kane’s paradigm to the field of gender images, it could be said that the images exist on a continuum between sexualization and performance/competence. A third-wave account of representational codes would argue that the resistance/transformation of the oppositional binary extends to any dualistic presentation of sexualization versus competence in images of female athletes, and that this kind of multi-layered analysis helps make sense of the dominant, emergent and residual codes we see framing female athletes in the heterogeneous mix of images we have access to today—images at once more sexualized and more diverse.²

Sexualization is an inescapable part of the normative horizon of contemporary representational fields. In an editorial written by the editors of the new journal *Sexualization, Media, and Society*, the authors make an argument for

the necessity of the journal, noting the ‘prominence of sexual themes in nearly every aspect of children’s lives ... access to and production of a wide array of intensely sexualized material is increasingly available through the Internet ... it is estimated that ... 40 million Americans regularly visit pornography online, 35% of all Internet downloads are pornographic, and ... pornography is now the first and major form of sex education for adolescents and young adults’ (Bridges, Condit, Dines, Johnson, & West, 2015, p. 1). The normalization of pornography along with the proliferation of sexualized material make an emphasis on female athletes’ bodies and sexuality less striking, since that sexualization is everywhere, and includes male bodies (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003; Miller, 2001).

This complicates, although it by no means erases, what Kane et al. effectively argue:

[H]ow sportswomen are seen—and see themselves—matters. If female athletes continue to be portrayed and promoted in ways that emphasize their physical attractiveness over their athletic skills, they will literally and figuratively be stripped of their power not only in sport but in society overall ... sexualizing sportswomen sends the message to young girls that physical appearance is more important than athletic performance, which in turn has deleterious psychological effects. (2013, p. 26)

While this description is an accurate account of what messages are sent if there is only one kind of image of sportswomen, it cannot fully account for the current complexities. In the more general context that serves as a frame for images of women in sport, pornography is a normative subtext. But it is also the case that strong women are represented in active (but not necessarily non-sexual) ways that are more normative than ever. Images infrequently focus on sex versus skill—instead, they often are composed of codes that combine them. Physical appearance is not more important than athletic performance—athletic performance, in the case of athletes, is a large part of their physical appearance. Athletic performance has determined the breadth of the shoulder, the shape of the thigh. It has determined the straightness of an athlete’s spine, their entire bodily carriage. Physical appearance and athletic performance are not opposed to each other but completely intertwined. And while there may be some images that are staged in such a way that they manage to erase the signs of power and athleticism from an athlete’s body and bring a stock sexuality to the fore, these images are residual in the current context.

Instead, the emergent and dominant images are a heady mix of genders, powers, sexualities, racial identities and physical capacities. They signify in both progressive and regressive ways, but what they do not do is set up a

dichotomy of sex versus skill, because that dichotomy tends to characterize earlier representational fields. As Toni Bruce notes, ‘review of the existing research on media coverage of sportswomen identifies a far greater diversity of representations than has been acknowledged in most published work ... The old rules of media coverage are changing, and the rise of the pretty and powerful sportswoman presents theoretical challenges with which feminist scholars are still grappling’ (Bruce, 2015, p. 12).

It was precisely those changing rules of media coverage, and the rise of ‘the female athlete as cultural icon’ that led Shari Dworkin and myself to develop a third-wave feminist interpretive paradigm to account for those developments. In the 17 years since its publication, those changes have become much more normative, widespread and marked. While it is crucial to retain a critical feminist paradigm that interrogates ‘the various ways social relationships and belief systems are embedded in power and privilege’ (Kane et al., 2013, p. 9), that interrogation can only be complemented and expanded by a third-wave perspective. This perspective examines the simultaneity of competing codes in a continually shifting, globalized representational landscape informed as much by consumers as informing them, and is the manifestation of the dominance of a neo-liberal economy that can only grow and develop through the continual cultivation of niche markets—of which female athletes were one of the first.³

A Third-Wave Interpretation of ‘Bodies We Want’ in *ESPN The Magazine*, and the Body Shaming of Serena Williams

There are both positive and negative representational trends in the representation of athletes, and my examples will reflect both. A brief look at the 2015 rendition of the ‘Bodies We Want’ shoot from *ESPN The Magazine* reveals a multiplicity of codifying and identifying that is not easily assimilable to a dualistic competence or pornography/sexuality models.⁴ Representing 12 men and 12 women who are all professional elite athletes, eight of whom were non-white or biracial, each photographed completely in the nude but not showing breasts or genitalia, each accompanied by athletes’ statements about their bodies and images, this shoot is an ideal site for the analysis of the “both/and” codes (in distinction from “either/or”) identified by a third-wave feminist perspective. Of the 60 images included in the shoot, only four could be said to present a traditionally sexualized portrayal where the female athlete’s sexuality is emphasized at the expense of her athletic competence

represented by an action shot. Three of these are of swimmer Natalie Coughlin, and of these, only one—where she is sitting waist deep in water with her arms strategically placed in front of her breasts, wet hair slicked back—really does not show action. Even then, the lighting emphasizes her muscularity, which indicates a body that is strong, active and powerful. There are also at least four shots of male athletes that arguably do the same: Tyler Seguin of the hockey team Dallas Stars sitting naked on a Zamboni; Baltimore Colts football tackle Anthony Castonzo in a send-up of the iconic naked Burt Reynolds *Cosmo* image; and soccer player Jermaine Jones crouched naked over a ball could all arguably be said to present codes that sexualize their bodies at least as much as Coughlin's.

Indeed, *all* the images have some sexual component, since, as sport historian Allen Guttman pointed out, there has always been an erotic component to sports (Guttman, 1996). Embedded within each action shot is a tensile sexuality, male and female muscles stretched toward the glorious end of their action, whether it is Odell Beckham Jr.'s mid-flight extension capturing a football, hammer thrower Amanda Bingson's spinal twist, or heptathlete Chantae McMillan's desert back flip. Athletic action is sexual, is erotic, in the wide range of physiques, races, genders and sexualities pictured here. Both male and female athletes are powerful *and* beautiful in this shoot. Physiques range from the 5'2" 115-pound gymnast Aly Raisman to the 5'6", 210-lb. Amanda Bingson to the 6' 179-pound tennis star Stan Wawrinka to the 6'6" offensive lineman Todd Herremans to the 6'8" 205-lb. WNBA star Britney Griner. The bodies fully represent a gender continuum in which male and female athletes display mixed codes of masculinity and femininity, action and display. The images are shot in ways that make genders almost interchangeable: soccer player Ali Krieger's muscular back, glutes and quadriceps paralleling soccer player Jermaine Jones', their quadriceps flexing the range of muscular development, their backs highlighted in the same gorgeous curves. This is clearly a representational horizon in which physical attractiveness and athletic skills manifest and blend in all the bodies regardless of biological gender. These are bodies that make the idea of biological gender—and all of its attendant assumptions and ideals—seem questionable. In the *ESPN* shoot, formerly dominant codes related to gender, race and sexuality are hopelessly intermixed, and power, beauty, sexuality and achievement are manifest in all bodies featured.

Yet residual though they may be, these old codes resurface in sometimes surprising contexts. In the now infamous *New York Times* 2015 article discussing Serena Williams' body before her Wimbledon appearance, the main focus was on how other female athletes did not want to look like her, implicitly because she was too masculine, or too big. In *Tennis's Top Women Balance Body*

Image With Ambition, sportswriter Ben Rothenberg presents the very kind of world the critical feminist paradigm is designed to interrogate. Starkly opposing ambition (code for achievement in this context) with body image (code for conventionally feminine, white, upwardly mobile beauty ideals), the article makes the case that although other top women's tennis players admire Serena Williams' achievements, they do not want to look like her, and that her success, is, perhaps, bought at the expense of beauty: 'despite Williams's success,' Rothenberg writes, 'body image issues among female tennis players persist, compelling many players to avoid bulking up' (Rothenberg, 2015).

The article goes on to develop precisely the opposition that the Kane et al. study highlighted between athletic competence and beauty defined as traditional codes of white upwardly mobile femininity: 'It's our decision,' the article quotes Agnieszka Radwanska's coach, 'to keep her [Radwanska] as the smallest player in the top 10 ... because first of all she's a woman, and she wants to be a woman' (Rothenberg, 2015). In this case, "woman" is defined as someone who has a body that is 5'8" and 123 pounds, and, given the context, this gender designation is implicitly opposed to Williams. "Woman" implicitly cannot be muscular, and cannot be black. Instead, what signifies femininity is 'Maria Sharapova, a slender blonde Russian who has been the highest paid female athlete for more than a decade because of her lucrative endorsements' (Rothenberg, 2015). The article quotes Sharapova as saying 'I always want to be skinnier with less cellulite. I think that's every girl's wish' (Rothenberg, 2015). Here a girl is someone who wants to be skinny (and implicitly is white), and this morphology is rewarded with endorsements because it approximates conventional codes of femininity (which have traditionally been white as well as thin). On the eve of Williams's career-defining Grand Slam success, that success is questioned by the implication that because of it, and because of the body that has achieved that success for her, she could not really "be a woman". As a critical feminist perspective would point out, athletic success and femininity are antithetical here.

Yet the appearance of this article was accompanied by a public outcry that resounded across every media platform. From outraged Twitter and Instagram feeds to endless blog and cable commentary, to articles across print and digital media, the *New York Times* was called out for being racist and "body shaming". In 'Serena Williams, the *New York Times*, and Body Image', for instance, Sheryl Estrada writes, 'A woman having to sacrifice femininity for sports is an antiquated topic. Why is it still being discussed?' (Estrada, 2015). Estrada highlights the widespread outcry, quoting the *New York Times* Public Editor Margaret Sullivan, who writes, 'By Friday afternoon, many readers were aghast. They were calling the article (and even *The Times* itself) racist and sexist. They were deploring the article's timing, which focused on body image

just when Ms. Williams was triumphing at Wimbledon' (Sullivan, qtd. in Estrada, 2015). From the intensity and widespread nature of the reaction, it would seem that the critical feminist paradigm that would question the conventional opposition between being a woman and being a successful athlete has become part of dominant public consciousness. The opposition between athlete and female is now a part of residual ideology—it retains a presence, but other ideologies are more dominant. In addition to the outcry, the *Times* article may have catalyzed an explosion of pictorial features of Williams. These include the 2016 Pirelli calendar that featured a stunning back shot of Williams pressing up against a wall, as if she was, like Atlas, holding up the world,⁵ and the feature '10 Strong, Badass Female Athletes Who Are Owning Body Shamers With Their Confidence', which showcases ten stunning images of female athletes, accompanied by their affirmative thoughts about their (previously) non-normative bodies.⁶

As these two brief examples suggest, a third-wave feminist perspective makes a contribution to an analysis of contemporary media representation, which in the US context has changed a great deal in the last two decades. The current representational horizon includes codes that scramble earlier images of gendered heterosexualized racial normativity and beauty. A strength of a third-wave approach informed by postmodern and post-colonial theories that formulate identity, discourse and representation as multiple, fluid and contextually specific is that it can account for the dynamic movement and variation within representations. These representations are in turn located within postmodern notions of flexibility and decentralization that are inextricably connected with the same notions in economic neo-liberalism. This intersectional approach to representation provides a crucial context for the way images are produced, received and come to signify in multiple contexts. Standardization—of bodies, identities, ideals—is incompatible with a decentralized neo-liberal economy that depends on the continual cultivation of niche markets for growth. Normative representational bodies, bodies that signify one set of codes only, are perhaps more characteristic of an earlier economic industrial model and set of ideals, when standardization and acceptance of that standard were key.

Yet as the case of Serena Williams shows, the residue of these earlier economic and representational models remains in destructive ways. A limitation of a third-wave perspective is that it sometimes loses the focus of the critical feminist model that is so effective in showing how some bodies are shamed more than others, and how negative coding regarding race, gender, sexuality and other variables is very much alive today. The emergent-to-dominant aesthetic emphasizes multiplicity of identity, context shifting, a different look for every Instagrammed moment, but these new looks often maintain

negative representational coding. While there is no one normative femininity for female athletes to negotiate but rather multiple models, including the “bad ass female athlete”, what we saw in the Serena Williams case was precisely the intersection of racism, sexism and class bias that the critical feminist perspective is so adept at analyzing. The representational field is progressive in that it contains multiple models and codes, but daily practices and behaviours are sometimes otherwise (Heywood, 2015).

From its inception as an intersectional form of analysis informed by post-structuralism, post-colonialism and critical race theory, third-wave feminism has provided a framework that can account for the complexity of contemporary representations of women in sport. Because these representations mostly present a ‘pretty *and* powerful’ coding, in distinction from earlier dominant codes that were ‘pretty *or* powerful’ (Bruce, 2015), a third-wave framework is effective in making sense of contradictions in current representations, which tend to contain a mix of residual, dominant and emergent codings. The dualistic “pretty or powerful” form of representation is now residual, while “pretty and powerful” is more dominant. Emergent forms include the “bad ass female athlete” who owns her own muscularity and size in the face of body shaming (Lim, 2015). A third-wave framework for the analysis of representations of women in sport is emerging in the research as well (Bruce, 2015; Chananie-Hill et al., 2012; Comer, 2010; Heywood & Dworkin, 2003; Parry, 2016; Parry & Fullager, 2015; Thorpe, 2008).

Notes

1. In pointing out this particular limitation in the critical liberal feminist approach to the problem of representation and women’s sport, I am by no means seeking to discredit it. This body of work is groundbreaking and invaluable to the analysis of crucial issues surrounding gender and sport. It would be possible to produce a book-length bibliography of such research, but a few articles key to the argument here include Birrell, S., & Theberge, N., (1994), “Ideological control of women in sport,” in D. M. Costa & S. R. Guthrie (Eds.), *Women and sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, Human Kinetics, Champaign, IL; Cooky, C., & LaVoi, N. M. (2012), “Playing but losing: Women’s sports after title IX”, *Contexts*, 11, 42–46; Duncan, M. C., & Hasbrook, C. (1988), “Denial of power in televised women’s sports,” *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5, 1–21; Duncan, M. C., Messner, M. A., & Cooky, C. (2000), “Gender in televised sports: 1989, 1993 and 1999,” Amateur Athletic Foundation, Los Angeles; Jones, R., Murrell, A.J., & Jackson, J. (1999), “Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages: Print media coverage of U.S. women’s Olympic gold medal winning teams”, *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 23, 183–192; Spencer, N. E. (2010), and “Content

- analysis of U.S. women in the 2004 Athens Olympics in U.S.A Today,” in Bruce, T., Hovden, J., Markula, P. (Eds), *Sportswomen at the Olympics: A global content analysis of newspaper coverage*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, 183–194.
2. These terms come from Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (1977), Oxford UP, London. There he outlined the historical trajectories of ideologies. The “dominant” ideology is the set of assumptions that most people take for granted as “real”. “Emergent” ideologies are new in relation to “dominant”, and mark a different direction. “Residual” ideologies were dominant in a previous time, and are currently present, but with less power and widespread acceptance. I use Williams to discuss how dominant images of an earlier period—those that sexualize female athletes to the exclusion of their athletic competence—are now residual in that many images combine power, competence, femininity, masculinity and multiple sexualities in ways that were opposed in earlier representations.
 3. See *Built to Win*, Chapter One, “Powered Up or Dreaming”, pp. 1–24.
 4. The images can be accessed at http://espn.go.com/espn/photos/gallery/_id/13174028/
 5. Even the Pirelli calendar—an old sexist hold-out—remade its image repertoire this year (2016) to feature images of women “renowned for their work in diverse fields”. What these women do, what they have achieved, is part of how they appear—how they carry themselves, the kinds of morphologies they possess, the images they create. Featuring everyone from Serena Williams to Patti Smith to Amy Shumer, the calendar can be viewed at <http://pirellicalendar.pirelli.com/en/the-cal-2016/home>
 6. <http://aplus.com/a/badass-female-athletes-confidence>. Accessed 16 January 2016. The “bad-ass athletes” include ballet dancer Misty Copeland, whom the feature describes as “black, curvy, and muscular, and her outspokenness on race and body shaming is raising awareness about diversity”; hammer thrower Amanda Bingson, who says “generally when you look at athletes, you see their muscles and all that stuff; I don’t have any of that ... I think it’s important to show that athletes come in all shapes and sizes”; and WNBA star Britney Griner: “My big arms, my bigger hands, these long legs—I love being different. If everybody was the same, it’d be a boring-ass world”. The alternative physicality that these women represent is an emergent part of the contemporary representational horizon.

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Post-colonial Feminism, Black Feminism and Sport

Letisha Engracia Cardoso Brown

Introduction

A decade ago, Susan Birrell (1989, 1990:186) argued for 'a broadening of our theoretical frameworks and theorizing difference within the field of gender and sport'. Ten years on, there appears to be little evidence that feminist sport theorists, or indeed sport sociologists in general, have risen to this task particularly concerning the complex relationships between race, gender and class.

Sheila Scraton (2001, p. 168), *Reconceptualizing Race, Gender and Sport*

Sport, as a social institutions is one to be reckoned with, one that seeps deeply into the social fabric of the human experience and puts on display a multitude of dominant ideologies via the lens of athletic performance. Specifically, sport operates as public and highly visible space in which notions of race, gender, sexuality, ability and class are served up for public consumption. As a field of study, sports are understood as central to the construction of these dominant ideologies and have been examined through a multitude of complex frameworks. However, one of the critiques of the study of sport is its historical tendency to privilege the experiences of men. Such critiques aimed to make visible the experiences of women in sport by 'challenging inequalities seen to be founded on male dominance and male power' (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013, p. 96). This work, grounded in theories of gender, made space for broader

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discussions of sport through the lens of multiple modalities including race, sexuality, ethnicity, ability, class and nation. Such work, however, has—and does—not always pay attention to the ways in which such identities intersect and produce an even more complex understanding of sport, and thus larger social issues.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the complex ways in which race, gender and sport intersect by drawing upon post-colonial and black feminisms. Moreover, this chapter seeks to illuminate the ways in which race and gender intersect with sport with respect to issues of representation and the controversial practices of sex/gender testing. Sex/gender testing in sport emphasizes the ways in which black female bodies in particular become marked as deviant (more masculine than their white counterparts), thereby making the study of sex/gender testing an issue related to representation. Representations matter, and as noted by Richard Dyer (1993), they ‘entail the use of codes and conventions’ that are available within a particular cultural context (p. 2). As such, representations ‘restrict and shape what can be said by and/or about any aspect of reality in a given place in a given society at a given time’ (p. 2). Within sport, representations of athletes are connected to the broader conceptualizations of social identities such as race and gender. Furthermore, experiences of sex/gender testing within sport are also shaped by these larger conceptualizations, which in turn add to the complexities and controversies that surround the practice. Sex/gender testing in sport is a mechanism that seeks to make clear boundaries and binaries around which sport is constructed. An engagement with post-colonial and black feminisms, however, complicates such boundaries and binaries and offers a more intricate understanding of the intersection between race, gender and sport.

Thus, this chapter begins by presenting key arguments and concepts within the frameworks of both post-colonial and black feminisms by drawing on the work of central theorists within both canons. Following the discussion of these frameworks in a broad sense, this chapter then focuses on the ways in which both post-colonial and black feminisms have been taken up within the realm of sports studies by highlighting the scholarship of feminist writers. Next, this chapter offers a broad discussion of sex/gender testing within sport, particularly how it relates to notions of boundary making and binary identities. Following this more general discussion of sex/gender testing in sport, this chapter draws on post-colonial and black feminist theories to look closely at the ways in which South African runner Caster Semenya was subjected to contemporary gender policing, and how such an analysis is critical to the broader study of sport and representation. Post-colonial and black feminist theories allow for a more complex examination of gender in general, and how gender is specifically marked with respect to race and sport.

In order to highlight the importance of these frameworks, this chapter draws on the scholarship of various feminist scholars, but makes no claims that the concepts, arguments and issues presented are by any means exhaustive—nor are the writers covered pigeon-holed as belonging to a single framework. Rather, this chapter recognizes the ways in which post-colonial and black feminist theories (and writers) overlap, both with respect to the study of sport and society at large. Post-colonial and black feminisms are rich and vibrant frameworks and cannot be covered fully in the scope of a single chapter, as the discourse within these frames is wide and varied. However, this chapter does its best to offer a detailed discussion of both post-colonial and black feminisms. The breadth of work within post-colonial and black feminist discourses encompasses a number of anthologies, essays, articles, memoirs, films, novels, short stories and poetry. To name a few, post-colonial and black feminist writings can be found in: *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (2003) edited by Reina Lewis and Sara Mills, *Sister Outsider* (2007) by Audre Lorde, *The Bluest Eye* (1998) by Toni Morrison, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (2012) by Gloria Anzaldúa, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist Thinking Black* (1998) by bell hooks, *Dis/locating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism* (1998) by Uma Narayan, *Women, Race and Class* (1981) by Angela Davis and *Reconstructing Womanhood, Reconstructing Feminism: Writings on Black Women* (1996) edited by Delia Jarrett-Macauley. The aim of this chapter is to touch on some of the key aspects within both post-colonial and black feminisms while highlighting key issues tied to the intersection of race, gender and sport with respect to representation as well as sex/gender testing.

Post-colonial Feminism

Postcolonial feminism cannot be regarded simply as a subset of postcolonial studies, or alternatively, as another variety of feminism. Rather it is an intervention that is changing the configurations of both postcolonial and feminist studies.

Rajeswari Sunder Rajan and You-me Park (2005, p. 53), 'Postcolonial Feminism/Postcolonialism and Feminism'

As noted by Rajan and Park (2005) in the excerpt above, post-colonial feminism serves as an *intervention*, one that 'offers a wide range of theoretical and historical approaches, dwelling upon various complex constellations of concerns' (Hussain, 2000, p. 143). Central to these concerns remains the ways in which Third-World women are taken up, spoken about, and for, by others, particularly with respect to Western imperialism. Post-colonial feminist writers aim to highlight the varied experiences and circumstances that

post-colonial women face and contend that it is necessary for ‘feminists of postcolonial origin [to] come forward and make difference visible and acceptable across cultures; otherwise get ready to take on colonized garbs of identity’ (Mishra, 2013, p. 129). Theorists and critics such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Uma Narayan and many more have done just that. To that end, post-colonial feminism operates as ‘an exploration of and at the intersections of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race and sexualities in different contexts of women’s lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality and rights’ (Rajan & Park, 2005, p. 54).

One of the central concerns of post-colonial feminism is the ‘representation of women in once colonized countries and in Western locations’ (Tyagi, 2014, p. 45). Specifically, post-colonial feminism ‘concentrates on constructions of gender difference in colonial and anti-colonial discourses, representations of women in anti-colonial and postcolonial discourses with particular reference to the work of women writers’ (p. 45). The work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1985), as well as other post-colonial feminist writers, seeks to disrupt the construction of a monolithic Third-World woman as ‘an image which appears arbitrarily constructed, but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of Western humanism discourse’ (pp. 334–335). The monolithic Third-World woman that often emerges in Western feminist discourses is one that is often ‘powerless’ and situated as an ‘implicit victim’ (p. 338). This hegemonic rendering of ‘other woman’ severely limits our understanding of the complexities and ‘historical specificities’ (Mohanty, 1985, p. 340) that exist among women of post-colonial origin, in the Third World as well as within the West. Post-colonial feminist discourse, however, illuminates the importance of ‘the specificities of race, class, nationality, religion, and sexualities that intersect with gender, and the hierarchies, epistemic as well as political, social and economic that exist among women’ (Rajan & Park, 2005, p. 54), thereby challenging homogeneous depictions of Third-World women.

In addition to an emphasis on dismantling the monolithic Third-World woman, post-colonial feminist writers also seek to challenge colonialist constructions of “Third-World traditions” through political and historical grounding (Narayan, 1997, p. 43). One Third-World practice that has been problematically represented within the work of some Western feminists is that of *sati* or widow immolation—the rare sacrifice of a woman upon her husband’s funeral pyre within some Indian communities (Narayan, 1997). Uma Narayan (1997) focuses specifically on the practice of *sati* as discussed by Mary Daly (1979) in her text *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Narayan (1997) sees Daly’s discussion of *sati* as problematic insofar as it offers a ‘colonialist representation’ of a ‘cultural practice’ that impacts Third-World

women (p. 43). Narayan argues that one of the major issues with Daly's analysis is that she fails to situate the practice of *sati* historically and thereby engages in the process of 'erasing history' (p. 47), creating a misleading account of the practice particularly as it relates to the specificities of 'class, caste, religion, and geographical location' (p. 49). Failure to account for such specificities serves only to reify 'a colonialist Western tendency to represent Third-World contexts as uniform and monolithic spaces' (p. 50).

This homogenizing of a Third-World tradition is not limited to the discussion of the practice of *sati*, however; similar homogenizing misrepresentations exist with respect to a number of different practices across the globe. For instance, another Third-World tradition that is often presented as a monolithic (and negative) practice is that of female circumcision, and is often ascribed onto the bodies of African women. Wairimu Njambi (2004) discusses the ways in which practices of female circumcision have been taken up in the West and discussed as "female genital mutilation", particularly within feminist discourses, as homogeneous, "barbaric" and harmful to female bodies and sexuality' (p. 282). Njambi (2004) contends,

that much of the 'anti-FMG discourse', as currently formulated, overly homogenizes diverse practices, is locked in a colonial discourse that replicates the 'civilizing' presumptions of the past, and presents a universalized image of female bodies that relies upon particularized assumptions of what constitutes 'naturalness' and 'normality'. (p. 282)

Njambi (2004), however, after the discussion of media representations of a particular case that occurred during the 1990s and examining anti-FGM discourse, draws on her own experiences in order 'to convey that there are ways of looking at the female circumcision issue which go beyond colonialist stories of barbarity and primitivity' (p. 299). As with the practice of *sati*, it is necessary to situate female circumcision within historical and political contexts while also acknowledging the many 'negotiations, ambiguities, complexities and contradictions' that exist (p. 299).

Post-colonial feminist theorists and critics engage with a number of issues that relate to Third-World women through a lens that is situated socially, historically and politically. Yet, at the core of post-colonial feminism are issues of representation as well as location (the location of post-colonial feminist writers themselves, as well as those whom they write about) (Mishra, 2013, p. 131). Post-colonial feminism offers a theorization of difference that engages with notions of fluidity, hybridity and multiple identities by taking into account the interlocking systems of race, gender, class, sexuality and nation.

Black Feminism

... The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking... As black women we see the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppression that all women of color face.

The Combahee River Collective (1978, p. 264)

Like post-colonial feminism, black feminism recognizes multiple identities, which is why at its core, black feminism is *intersectional*. That is to say, black feminism recognizes the ways in which modalities such as race, gender, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity, age and nation intersect to form interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991) that cannot be thoroughly understood in isolation from one another. As noted by the Combahee River Collective in 1978,

There have always been Black women activists—some known, like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frances E. W. Harper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell, and thousands upon thousands unknown—who have had a shared awareness of how their sexual identity combined with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggle unique. Contemporary Black feminism is the outgrowth of countless generations of personal sacrifice, militancy, and work by our mothers and sisters. (p. 265)

Black feminism emerged alongside the second wave of American feminism as well as the Black Liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, unlike both movements, black feminists sought to create a movement that was both anti-racist and anti-sexist. This initial movement of black feminism that emphasized the intersection of race and gender later went on to target issues of heterosexism as well as economic oppression generated by capitalist societies (Combahee River Collective, 1978). As a theoretical framework, black feminist theory evolved as a means of bringing the experiences of black women to the centre of discussion—by allowing black women to *speak* for themselves (hooks, 1998)—similar to the ways in which post-colonial feminisms want to make room for Third-World women to speak for themselves.

One of the ways in which black feminist scholars, writers and activists have engaged in speaking for themselves is through addressing as well as challenging the representations/'distorted categories' (Davis, 1981) that black women have been placed into throughout history—particularly with respect to the

West. Such categories are the representations of black women that were created (maintained and reproduced) as a means of furthering their oppression (Collins, 2000). Black feminist scholars such as Angela Davis (1981), bell hooks (1992, 1998), and Patricia Hill Collins (2000) have focused on issues of representation as a means of furthering black feminist theory by addressing and challenging images created by the Eurocentric gaze. Controlling images, as discussed by Patricia Hill Collins, operate as tools of power dictated, controlled and deployed by dominant institutions (e.g., media, educational systems, government). Furthermore, Collins (2000) argues that while controlling images—representations of blackness—shift over time with respect to socio-historical context, they remain a deeply ingrained aspect of Western society in general, and American society in particular—specific examples will be addressed later in the chapter.

Specifically, scholars such as Davis (1972, 1981) and Collins (2000, 2005) name particular representations (“distorted categories”, “controlling images”) that are deployed to define and describe black women. Three of the most dominant images that have been ascribed to black women over time include that of mammy, jezebel, and the matriarch. The mammy figure emerged during the era of plantation slavery and was often depicted as heavy set, dark skinned and asexual (Collins, 2000). The mammy worked in the homes of her white masters and served them (seemingly) happily, and was often cast in opposition to the image of the jezebel. Unlike the mammy, the jezebel was not coded as heavy set, or dark skinned, but rather as having a degree of sexual appeal in addition to a hypersexual personality that made it impossible for her to be raped (Collins, 2000; Davis, 1981). The figure of the jezebel served to justify the use of black women’s bodies for reproduction, as well as legitimate the unwanted sexual advances of white men on black women’s bodies. Though the images of the mammy and the jezebel manifested during the era of plantation slavery, they did not disappear with emancipation.

In 1965, the image of the “matriarch” took centre stage, driven in large part by the publication of Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, his take on the state of the black family in the USA. In this publication, black women became framed as “bad black mothers” for working outside the home—thereby neglecting to properly supervise their children—and as overly aggressive and unfeminine (Collins, 2000). As a result, black children failed in school on the one hand, and black men—feeling emasculated by black women—refused to commit to a black woman as a lover or to his children that may have been a product of such a union (Collins, 2000). Such images are dangerous for many reasons. Placing black women at the centre of issues threatening black family structure allows people to ignore

the role of racial, economic and political systems that are in place to disrupt black family processes. For instance, to claim that black women are emasculating their men and are thus responsible for the lack of marriage among black women ignores the number of black men that are incarcerated, as well as the existence of black lesbians. Controlling images operate to make racism, sexism and classism appear to be “normal” parts of everyday life, rather than systems that have functioned as tools of oppression for generations and thrived within dominant Western institutions—including sport.

Post-colonial Feminism, Black Feminism and Sport

Post-colonial feminism and black feminism alike contend with issues of representation with respect to the intersection of race, gender, class, sexuality and nation in multiple institutions—including sport. However, even though Susan Birrell (1990) so poignantly noted that ‘we need to increase the awareness of issues in the lives of women of colour as they themselves articulate these issues’ (p. 193), more than two decades later ‘we still know very little about black and ethnic minority women’s experiences of sport’ (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013, p. 106). With respect to the study of gender and sport, it is clear that while new questions have emerged, particularly as they relate to notions of difference, fragmentation and identities, “old” questions related to issues of inequality remain relevant as well (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013, p. 106). This section offers an overview of some of the work on sport that engages with themes related to post-colonial and black feminism, by and about women of colour. Though the studies presented are by no means exhaustive—as to the existing literature on the sporting experiences of women of colour, or those written by women of colour—they do offer insight into some of the central topics, while highlighting the necessity for continued research.

Within the work on gender and sport, which emphasizes themes related to post-colonial and black feminism, theorists and critics engage with issues of representation particularly as they relate to the intersections of race, religion, sexuality and nation. For instance, the work of Aarti Ratna (2011, 2014) aims to fill the gap that exists in the literature concerning British Asian women in sport through analyses that pay particular attention to the intersections of race, ethnicity and nation. Specifically, Ratna (2014) draws on the oral testimonies of British Asian footballers and fans, both female and male, to unpack notions of national identity and belonging. Ratna’s work combats ideas about “divided loyalties” wherein British Asian footballers/fans are viewed by others as being ‘torn between two cultures’ (Ratna, 2011, p. 117) and thereby not

truly adhering to the imagined notions of what a real English footballer/fan is. Ratna's discussions of belonging dramatically emphasize a core theme within post-colonial and black feminist scholarship: that of identity and belonging as connected to the intersections of race, ethnicity and nation.

Another central focus of post-colonial and black feminism, as noted earlier, is the issue of representation. Work on sportswomen and representation often pays particular attention to the ways in which race, superimposed onto notions of gender and sexuality, operates when it comes to the framing of sportswomen of colour. For instance, Hobson (2003) draws on a black feminist disability framework in her discussion of Serena Williams and the attention given to her now infamous donning of a black "catsuit" days before her victory in the 2002 US Open. Hobson (2003) argues that Serena's

black female body, adorned in all its 'ghetto' glamour—bleached-blond braids and tight fitting suit that outlined the contours of her posterior, among other things—managed to disrupt (literally and figuratively) the elitist game of tennis. (p. 87)

Hobson's (2003) analysis emphasizes the ways in which colonial discourse of black female bodies becomes reproduced through media representations of black sportswomen. The colonial legacies of slavery rendered the black female *derriere* as a central site of black sexual deviance, wherein black female bodies were viewed as 'grotesque', 'unfeminine', and 'obscene' (87), which is similar to the rhetoric used to describe Serena Williams in 2002. Hobson's (2003) work, however, utilized a black feminist disability approach to challenge such discourse, and instead create a 'black feminist aesthetic that recognizes the black female body as beautiful and desirable' (87). Hobson's (2003) discussion of black feminist disability theory draws on the work of Thompson (1997), which draws parallels between disabled bodies and the bodies of women due to the ways in which both are often 'cast as deviant and inferior' (p. 19). This line of thought paired with a black feminist discourse highlights the ways in which the black female body is often marked as deviant and the black woman is viewed as an outsider.

Black feminist scholarship on sport often seeks to challenge dominant representations and discourses as a means of creating a more complicated understanding of blackness, femininity and sport. Ifekwunigwe (2009), for instance, draws on a textual analysis of the Williams sisters in order to 'contribute to the shaping of a new Hip-Hop Black feminist praxis', by situating their 'on the court representations' as 'ghetto Cinderellas' (p. 133) in an effort to counter the ways in which black female bodies become representative of deviant

sexuality. Beyond the work on the Williams sisters (Ifekwunigwe 2004, 2009), representation in sport has also focused on sportswomen such as LPGA golfer Nancy Lopez. Kathy Jamieson's (1998) analysis of Nancy Lopez interrogated the 'interlocking inequalities of race, ethnicity, class and sexuality' as they existed with respect to the ways in which the media portrayed her. Specifically, Jamieson's (1998) work speaks to the importance of a multiracial feminist framework as a means of examining the fluidity of gendered identities.

Post-colonial and black feminisms both aim to challenge dominant white feminist theory by focusing on issues related to representation and identity (particularly with respect to notions of location). Within the study of sport, this becomes clear through scholarship that explores racialization and gendering as well difference, fluidity and the conceptualization of multiple identities. Post-colonial and black feminisms offer a more complex understanding of gender and sport, because they utilize intersectionality to interrogate questions around race (including discussions of whiteness), sexuality and ability. Take for instance McDonald's (2016) work on the politics of representation within the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) via the lens of queering whiteness. McDonald (2016) makes the case that queer can be utilized as an 'analytical tool to illuminate contemporary and historical meanings of race' (p. 380), and she draws on 'particular queer inflections to rethink the articulations of race, sexuality and sport' (p. 380). Post-colonial and black feminisms both allow for more nuanced discussions of the manifold issues within intersectional discourse, including discussions around whiteness, sexuality and representation.

In the sections that follow, I move from the overview of post colonial and black feminisms and focus specifically on the controversial practice of sex/gender testing and the ways in which certain bodies—specifically the bodies of dark-skinned women, become marked by colonial discourses tied to "scientific racism" and imaginings of black sexuality.

Sex/Gender Testing in Sport

The history of sex/gender verification within sports highlights the anxieties that exist around maintaining the boundaries of the male/female essentialist binary, particularly with respect to the governing doctrine of sport as an institution (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011). Early on in the history of the Olympic Games women were completely barred from competition for fear that they would 'contaminate' the Games due to their 'potential pollutant' qualities (Cavanagh & Sykes, 2006; Vannini & Fornssler, 2011). In order to maintain

the Games as a hegemonic and homosocial space of white masculine performance, athletes were required to compete naked, a requirement that Wackwitz (2003) dubs 'the first recorded instance of sex testing in the Olympic Games' (p. 553). Following the entrance of women into Olympic competition during the 1920s, the anxieties shifted from visually inspecting male bodies to the surveilling of female bodies.

Men no longer needed to perform their athletic events in the nude; rather, women became subjected to visual inspections in the form of naked parades before a panel of gynaecologists before they were permitted to compete (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011). Though this practice continued within elite competition well into the twentieth century, sex/gender testing did not become an official practice of the Olympic Games until the 1968 Games in Mexico City (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011). Later, testing transformed from the visual inspection to the chromosomal testing (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011); thus the anxieties moved beyond an obsession with visual representations of femininity to anxieties around genetics and hormones. The surveillance of women's bodies by institutions such as the International Olympic Committee 'reflects processes of Western hetero-patriarchy and the institutional control of normative (and compulsory) sex-gender identities/subjectivities' (Caudwell, 2012, p. 380), and highlights an obsession with making sure that women's bodies adhered to an idealized standard of 'feminine beauty and sexual appeal' (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011, p. 245). The practice of sex/gender testing within sport has remained a controversial issue, and has shifted its practices according to technological and social advances.

The monitoring of sex/gender within sport has become an increasingly complex issue, and though the 2006 International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) Policy on Gender Verification maintains that 'there will be no compulsory, standard or regular gender verification during IAAF-sanctioned championships', the policy 'leaves room for testing to take place when such testing is 'deemed to be necessary' (Vannini & Fornssler, 2011, p. 246). The questions then become: When is sex/gender testing necessary? Who determines this necessity, and on what grounds?

Colonial Fantasies and Controlling Images: The Case of Caster Semenya

Though naked parades are a thing of the past, antiquated notions about femininity still shape sport as well as the perceptions of sex/gender within this institution and beyond. Drawing from an earlier commentary, Ruth L. Hall (2001) explains,

Femininity, and traditional gender roles continue to stick to women like white on rice and sport is no exception. Do we look pretty? Are we cute enough? Are we desirable? Are our outfits form-fitting enough? Can we get the attention of judges, spectators, sponsors and the media? And for God's sake, do we act like women?

Race and gender are firecrackers that ignite America's social conscience, rattle the cages that bind us—cages that block our passage to equality. It's a double whammy for African American female athletes since we aren't the dominant norm—we're not white. Race and racism loom large and thrown a level athletic playing field off kilter.

Many of us don't fit the Anglo mold. We stretch the parameters gender roles by our presence, our physical appearance, and sometimes-unorthodox style. We aren't 'feminine,' they say ... we create dissonance with our skin color, body. (p. 386)

Though Hall's arguments focus specifically on African-American female athletes, the same could be said for the myriad of female athletes of colour. Both post-colonial and black feminisms illuminate the ways in which women of colour are Othered, and viewed as existing outside of the realm of *emphasized femininity* that is tied to whiteness.

In 2009 the media treatment of South African runner Caster Semenya, following her victory in the 800-metre race during the World Championships held in Berlin, Germany, brought to light the continued reliance of a feminine ideal in the maintenance of the female/male binary within sport. Semenya's victory by a margin of 2"45 was met with a maelstrom of speculation regarding her sex/gender identity, as opposed to the celebration such a spectacular win was due. Instead, as noted by several sports scholars, much of the media discourse around Semenya commented on her overall physical appearance—particularly characteristics such as her muscularity, 'masculine' style of running and deep voice (Brown, 2015; Cooky & Dworkin, 2013). Though female athletes have been subjected to questions of their femininity since they entered the sporting centre stage, media commentary on Semenya was about more than the intersection of gender and sport, but rather pointed to the ways in which colonial fantasies of black womanhood still abound. The black female body has long been regarded as more masculine than that of white women, and the media discourse framing Semenya as hyper-masculine served only to reinforce such sentiments.

The ways in which Semenya was, and continues to be framed as deviating from traditional standards of femininity, is reminiscent of the treatment of Saartjie Baartman, a South African woman who was captured (or coerced) into leaving her homeland in 1810 and spent six years of her life treated as a symbol of black hypersexuality, grotesquerie and sexual deviance (Brown, 2015; McClintock, 1995). Moreover, the media treatment of Caster Semenya continues to reinforce the notion that:

the masculine coded representation of ‘the black athlete’ simply heightened the centuries-old discourse that black females were already ‘mannish amazons’ and hence potential if not actual hermaphrodites. Put another way, whereas black male athletes come to be seen as hyper-masculine, black female athletes were seen as not female at all. (Carrington, 2010, p. 80)

Though the speculation and controversy began in 2009, the media framing of Semenya as existing beyond the boundaries of womanhood followed her to the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. For Semenya, her continued success as an Olympic gold medallist in the 2016 women’s 800-metre race was met with more scrutiny and speculation about her identity. The practice of sex/gender verification functions to reinforce the essentialist female/male binary in which men are viewed as superior athletes, while also illuminating colonial discourses of black and Third-World women’s bodies. That is to say, ‘while individual women have been subjected to sex/gender testing in sport, such practices for black women are tied to legacies of scientific racism that categorized all black women as masculine’ (Brown, 2015, p. 16).

In addition to representations of black female athletes as masculine, the image of the jezebel continues to permeate media representations via an evocation of ‘an attractive, if dangerous sexuality and limitless fertility though threatening desire’ (Vertinsky & Captain, 1998, p. 533). The late track and field icon Florence Griffith Joyner—or Flo Jo—is one example. The ‘jezebel in spandex’ (Sims, 2013), Florence Griffith Joyner’s ‘reputation took on [a] more sexualized significance, especially as commentary moved toward her attire’ (155). Media discourse of Joyner often described her as beautiful, though simultaneously hypersexual (Brown, 2012), which harkens back to colonial fantasies about the insatiability of black female sexuality. The position of black female sports bodies is indeed complex, and often contradictory. Media representations of Joyner at once described her as beautiful—though hypersexual—and simultaneously extraordinarily muscled (Litsky, 1998), an attribute that is often associated with masculinity. Black women’s bodies, then, blur the boundaries of femininity and position them as space invaders (Puwar 2004), particularly with respect to sport (Adjepong & Carrington, 2014; Brown, 2015).

Post-colonial and black feminist theories allow us to better articulate the ways in which the intersecting systems of race, ethnicity, nation and sexuality shape gender. Within work on sport, these frameworks allow us to unpack aspects of sport and gender beyond the limits of whiteness and masculinity. Brown (2015) attempts to advance a discussion of “sporting space invaders” as those who transgress dominant sporting ideologies and boundaries, particularly with respect to race, sexuality and ability. Additionally, Brown’s (2015) discussion of Caster Semenya argues that while there are multiple ways

through which bodies are framed as sporting space invaders, it is difficult to ignore the ways in which the black women in particular are framed as falling outside of gendered ideals. Drawing on a black feminist framework, Brown (2015) stresses that the conceptualization of a sporting space invaders framework can lead to a 'breaking down of old barriers and boundaries, thereby making space for change' (p. 21).

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter attempts to bring together the work of post-colonial and black feminist writers by highlighting the work of both fields of thought in general and their applications within the study of sport in particular. To that end this chapter sought to bring attention to the relationship between representation and sex/gender testing as they pertain to female athletes of colour in general, and black female athletes in particular. Though this chapter focused on Caster Semenya, another contemporary example of sex/gender testing in sport of a woman of colour is the case of Indian runner Shanthi Soundarajan, who in 2006 was stripped of her Asian Athletics Championships silver medal after failing a sex/gender test (Mukherjee, 2014). What these two cases demonstrate are issues surrounding sex/gender and race and ethnicity, and the ways in which women of colour and their sporting bodies are subjected to testing when their bodies are deemed as existing beyond socially constructed normative definitions.

Post-colonial and black feminisms allow for a broadening of discussions around gender and sport as related to multiple intersections, including representations of race. The literature within sports studies that draws upon these frameworks continues to grow and generate nuanced questions within the study of sport as a whole. While we still have much to learn about the sporting experiences of women of colour, the continued work in this area—particularly by women of colour ourselves—seems to suggest that we may not be waiting another decade (or two) to see substantial growth in the field.

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Feminism, Intersectionality and the Problem of Whiteness in Leisure and Sport Practices and Scholarship

Mary G. McDonald and Renee Shelby

There is a growing body of sport and leisure scholarship that explores the ways gender relations are implicated in different articulations of power. Those deploying black feminist theories have been at the forefront in both theorizing and calling for more analyses into the complicated means by which sexism, racism and classism merge together with identifiable and unequal consequences. One contribution of this scholarship is that it challenges hegemonic white feminist writings that ground gender as the most significant social relationship (Sandoval, 2000). Instead black feminist scholarship details the shifting discourses and structures through which simultaneously raced, sexed, gendered and classed bodies are hierarchically situated with identifiable consequences for health and wellbeing (Collins, 2009). This process additionally reveals disparate access to and acceptance within a myriad of opportunities and life chances—beyond a singular gender focus—including within diverse sporting and leisure spaces (McDonald, 2014).

This chapter is indebted to and builds upon the legacy of feminists and activists of colour to make visible the persistent problem of a singular focus on gender within sport and leisure scholarship, and within activist spaces that purport to challenge inequality. Specifically drawing upon black feminism and intersectional theory, this chapter highlights several challenges made to the presumption of whiteness by black feminism and intersectional theory, especially within British and North American leisure, sport and gender scholarship.

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To achieve this goal we first outline conceptual contributions of intersectional analysis and link this discussion to the need to explore the workings of whiteness. Next, we critically apply an intersectional framework to explore a highly mediated case involving a US radio talk-show personality, Don Imus, and the Rutgers University women's basketball team. This case is instructive in revealing that gender relations cannot be thought apart from race relations.

We then offer insight from this initial analysis to explore a site of feminist activism: the SlutWalk protest movement. SlutWalks are organized advocacy sites where the ordinary leisure practice of walking is transformed into a spectacle in ways presumably designed to challenge the victim-blaming discourses of rape culture and the marginalization of female sexual agency. Dominant strategies within this transnational movement have sought to challenge rape apologists' emphasis on the demeanour and appearance of rape survivors as well as asserting the right of many women to promote their own sexual autonomy. However, as discussed more fully in this chapter, too frequently feminist scholarly analyses, popular accounts and activist practices fail to analyze the ways in which gender links with race with inequitable consequences. In sum, then, this chapter makes clear the persistent need to challenge the primacy of gender as always and already the most important social relation as some feminists infer. Such a conceptualization is problematic as it reifies the power of whiteness within feminist sport and leisure scholarship and broader popular narratives, as well as within feminist organizing and activism more broadly.

The Promise of Intersectionality and the Problem of Whiteness

Watson and Scraton (2013) have documented the emergence of leisure studies scholarship that engages theories of "intersectionality" and suggests this concept offers an important framework to explore fluid and interlocking relations of power. The authors draw upon black feminist standpoints to expose the limitations of singular foci on gender, or race, or class, and argue for more nuanced approaches that recognize 'that the experience of race, for example, fundamentally alters gender. It is not a simple sum of oppressions but a qualitatively different power relation' (Watson & Scraton, 2013, p. 37). In this way diverse theories of intersectionality allow 'for leisure to be contextualized as more complex than the reductionist and often simplistic dichotomous approach previously employed by leisure scholars' seeking 'to account for persistent inequalities' (Watson & Scraton, 2013, p. 36). In sum, Watson and

Scruton (2013, p. 36) argue that 'thinking intersectionally is a useful means of analysing leisure as a dynamic interplay of individual expression and the social relations within which leisure occurs'.

There has been a similar documented focus within feminist sport studies scholarship (McDonald, 2014) that also suggests the continuing necessity of analyses that deploy intersectionality, a concept first described by US legal scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989, 1991). However, Crenshaw is not alone in recognizing the need to theorize gender as enmeshed with race, class and sexuality. One might say that theories of intersectionality helped to crystallize a much longer legacy in which women of colour, in particular, have sought to understand and to undo power. For example, in the US Patricia Hill Collins (1990) traces what she calls a 'black feminist intellectual tradition' back to the speeches of Maria W. Stewart (1803–1880), a US domestic worker who advocated for women's rights and the abolition of slavery. Stewart is largely recognized as the first black woman—whose texts have survived to contemporary times—to give public lectures on these and related political topics (Collins, 1990). Collins discusses another nineteenth-century thinker, Sojourner Truth, whose speech at an 1851 women's rights assembly in Akron, Ohio disrupted any notion of a universal sisterhood or womanhood. The freed slave famously asked 'ain't I a woman?' as she recounted that she had 'ploughed, and planed', and been made to 'bear the lash' just as she had also 'borne thirteen children and seen most all sold off to slavery' (cited in Collins, 1990, p. 14). Through her words Truth illuminates the cultural construction of womanhood 'by using the contradictions between her life as an African American woman and the qualities ascribed to women' (Collins, 1990, p. 14).

Collins herself has greatly contributed to this intellectual tradition in numerous ways, including by discussing the matrix of domination, yet another iteration that—much as with intersectionality—acknowledges the diverse ways gender, race and class articulate with significantly different consequences (Collins, 1990). Thompson (2006) also acknowledges contemporary challenges to gender as primary—a mythological hallmark of many second-wave white feminist accounts—and instead documents the contributions of a (largely US) multiracial feminism including:

Bernice Johnson Reagon's naming of 'coalition politics'; Patricia Hill Collins's understanding of women of color as 'outsiders within'; Barbara Smith's concept of 'the simultaneity of oppressions'; Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's 'theory in the flesh'; Chandra Talpade Mohanty's critique of 'imperialist feminism'; Paula Gunn Allen's 'red roots of white feminism'; Adrienne Rich's 'politics of location'; and Patricia Williams's analysis of 'spirit murder'. (Thompson, 2006, pp. 337–338)

British feminists have made and continue to make similar and different moves. One such contribution is ‘when women of African, Caribbean, and South Asian background came to be figured as “black” through political coalitions, challenging the essentialist connotations of racism’ (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 78). Much as with Sojourner Truth, and aligned with more recent postmodern feminist critiques of identity, these diverse intersectional sensibilities continue to counter simplistic analyses of gender as the most significant relation of power. In addition to this longer legacy, it is also important to note that the multiple articulations of black, multiracial and intersectional feminisms are not static concepts, but flexible analytic lenses that are continuously re-imagined and deployed by scholars and activists across disciplinary boundaries as well as within different global contexts (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). As Douglas and Jamieson (2006, p. 134) suggest, such diverse conceptualizations are important in helping to establish the notion that the ‘cultural significance of sport lies in its power to represent, and reshape beliefs about gender, physicality, race, and sexuality’.

While often insufficiently appreciated, it is important to note that sport and leisure scholars have used intersectional frameworks to tease out complex social relations. Space does not allow for a full description of this existing scholarship and yet a brief accounting suggests variations of this lens provide the flexibility necessary to help illuminate a wide range of diverse issue and themes. A brief sampling reveals the adaptability of intersectionality in revealing, for example: the racialized gendered experiences of British Asian women and football (Ratna, 2011); hegemonic and competing masculinities as expressed through the Jeremy Lin NBA phenomenon (Park, 2015); gendered colonial narratives as articulated via ballroom dance instruction (Bosse, 2007); and the shifting but ongoing promotion of racism, sexism and classism through popular music (Dyson, 2007).

And yet, despite the insights afforded by these examples and a fairly significant body of related work, sport and leisure scholarship as well as activist projects are still too frequently wedded to inadequate conceptualizations. As Douglas and Jamieson (2006, p. 120) additionally remind us, a good amount of critical scholarship produced in the USA on sport (and leisure) ‘that deals with race considers the experiences of African-American men while analysis of gender and sexuality examine the experiences of white women’. Rather than acknowledging the multiple, interlocking ways in which power operates to produce subjectivities and inequalities, scholarship and some forms of feminist activism too often place a singular focus on gender. One consequence of such a focus is that activist and ‘scholarly orientations presume rather than fully

interrogate whiteness' thus failing 'to fully illuminate the interactive, contradictory ways in which power operates through ... the body' (McDonald, 2014, p. 152).

Feminist of colour have long recognized the problem of whiteness—that is, they have long critiqued norms, practices and worldviews that seek social and political advantage for white bodies largely at the exclusion and expense of people of colour. This criticism has included an indictment of hegemonic white feminism that argues for the primacy of gender while ignoring the complex ways in which gender is implicated in diverse relations of power. Such a (mis)representation continues to promote a false equivalence of experiences and inequalities among and between diverse groups of men and women. In contrast, intersectionality disrupts this illusion, opening up alternative ways to engage the political by recognizing multiplicity and the need to work across difference (Reagon, 1983).

In the next section we discuss the case in which radio 'shock jock' Don Imus' disparaging commentary against the success of the Rutgers women's basketball team ignited a firestorm. This case is instructive as Imus' commentary drew upon racialized, gendered and sexualized tropes that continue to marginalize black women's bodies. After using this case to establish the different ways in which gender links to other social relations of power, we discuss the ways in which an unstated presumption of whiteness continues to (mis)shape some forms of public activism and hegemonic feminist concerns within the SlutWalk movement. We conclude with a brief discussion of alternative practices that provide resistant possibilities and revisit the need for additional analyses grounded in intersectionality within feminist sport and leisure scholarship.

Intersectionality: The Case of Don Imus and the Rutgers Women's Basketball Team

Following the title game in which the University of Tennessee defeated Rutgers University 59–46 for the 2007 NCAA women's basketball national collegiate championship, New York's WFAN radio personality and host of *Imus in the Morning*, Don Imus, engaged in on-air banter with colleagues Sid Rosenberg, Charles McCord and Bernard McGuirk about the game. At one point during the show—which was also syndicated on CBS radio and simulcast on cable station MSNBC—Imus observed that the Rutgers team was made up of 'some rough girls ... man they got tattoos ...'. McGuirk interrupted Imus to

characterize the team as ‘some hard-core hos’. Imus responded: ‘that’s some nappy-headed hos there. I’m gonna tell you that now, man, that’s some—woo. And the girls from Tennessee, they all looked cute.’ McGuirk continued this focus on appearance with a reference to the Spike Lee film *School Daze* to crassly suggest the two teams represented the ‘Jigaboos versus the Wannabes’ (cited in Chiachiere, 2007). Rosenberg and McGuirk went on to physically compare the Rutgers players to the NBA’s Toronto Raptors and Memphis Grizzlies.

Imus and company’s comments and their alleged attempts at humour—directed at the predominately African-American Rutgers team—were immediately criticized by the organization Media Matters. The media watchdog group used their own webpage to critique these and a history of other disparaging comments made by Imus over the years. Over the days that followed, public outrage against Imus’ comments grew stronger. For example, the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) condemned the men’s insulting comments, calling for an apology, while NABJ President Bryan Monroe demanded that Imus be fired. Other organizations, individuals and sponsors joined in to offer their criticism of Imus and colleagues. Eventually such sponsors as Procter and Gamble, American Express and General Motors dropped their support of the show (McDonald & Thomas, 2011).

The Rutgers team subsequently held a press conference describing the emotional toll the comments had taken on them while demanding to meet with Imus. Team captain Essence Carson explained that the demeaning characterization had negated the team’s considerable accomplishments and ‘had stolen a moment of pure grace from us’ (Press Conference Transcribe, 2007). Imus at first denied and deflected responsibility, although he later became more contrite as public pressure against his words mounted. A meeting subsequently took place with Imus apologizing in person to the players, who accepted his apology. And while the team never called for his resignation or for the show’s cancellation, *Imus in the Morning* was cancelled by CBS Radio and MSNBC. However, Imus shortly returned to the airwaves in a morning radio show format on WABC in New York (McDonald & Thomas, 2011).

First and foremost, there are broader contexts from which to understand Imus and colleagues’ remarks as these comments represent the continued marginalization and trivialization of women’s sporting accomplishments. They additionally point towards the longstanding obsession with the femininity of female athletic bodies. And yet, closer examination suggests these comments exist within overlapping histories, which continue to disparage bodies and practices differently. The word ‘ho’ suggests hooker or whore. These terms

are slang for prostitute and each has been used to disparage and control female sexuality with different consequences for white women in comparison to women of colour. The word 'nappy' has multiple meanings but most often is used to pejoratively characterize the style and texture of black women's hair (McDonald & Thomas, 2011).

The comment about the 'Jigaboos and Wannabes' is an out-of-context reference to filmmaker Spike Lee's satirical analysis of the persistent colourism within black communities. As described by cultural critic Michael Eric Dyson (2007, p. 120) in *School Daze*, Lee 'satirizes the interracial tensions on a fictional college campus between dark skinned, community based, politically oriented, natural-hairstyle-sporting young black women termed the "Jigaboos" versus fair-skinned, contact-lens-wearing, self absorbed, elitist women called the "Wannabes"'. As inferred by Imus and company, the 'cute' Tennessee basketball team represents the Wannabes as the team included several fairer-skinned black players while the darker-skinned Rutgers players seemingly embodied the Jigaboos. The radio personalities used the central characters from the movie to demean the Rutgers players. And yet, according to Dyson the broader cultural take-away point is the recognition that 'since American standards of beauty are shaped by the cultural obsession with white ideals and tastes, lighter-skinned black folk have always had a leg up on their darker kin' (Dyson, 2007, p. 120).

Suffice it to say that the banter offered by Imus and colleagues including the phrase 'nappy-headed hos' is illustrative of what Rutgers head coach Vivian Stringer characterizes as 'racist and sexist remarks that are deplorable, despicable and unconscionable' (cited in Horn & Gold, 2007, p. 11) indicative of 'greater ills in our culture' (Rutgers' Coach, 2007). Importantly, the team received a good measure of support, thanks in part to discussions generated through social media (McDonald & Thomas, 2011). And while intersectional accounts did surface during and subsequent to the Imus incident, traditional media outlets and popular commentary overwhelmingly failed to explore the complicated dynamics of this case. Instead television and newspaper outlets framed the story as one of racism and, less frequently, as a cautionary tale of sexism (Cooky, Faye, Wachs, & Dworkin, 2010). Furthermore, traditional media accounts most often failed to include the voices of coach Stringer and team members whose perspectives represented important 'subjugated knowledge' and key narratives of self-definition (Cooky et al., 2010, p. 151). When accounts did include the perspective of the players, such as those offered at the Rutgers-sponsored press conference, traditional media narratives often focused on the team's efforts to mobilize the politics of respectability as 'ladies of class' (Cooky et al., 2010, p. 151).

In contrast to these singular framings as well as the collective silencing of important people, views and contexts, Dyson (2007) offers a thoughtful intersectional analysis. According to Dyson (2007), Imus' reference to 'nappy-headed hos'

achieved a sinister dual impact: he confirmed brutal stereotypes about black promiscuity and hypersexuality and he reinforced the vulnerability black women experience over their hair as a symbol of their aesthetic alienation from norms of white beauty. From the beginning of slavery, black women have been viewed as deviant sexual beings possessed of insatiable carnal urges. (p. 120)

Dyson continues by evaluating socially constructed normative and 'deviant' practices and ideals, further arguing that: 'Black women's hair is among the most vulnerable features of their bodies because it has been used to distinguish their beauty, or its absence, from that of nonblack women' (p. 121). Writing about a different context Collins (1990) suggests such idealized middle-class beauty standards not only project unrealistic expectations as they police bodies, but are also grounded in longstanding ideologies about racialized gender difference. That is,

race, gender, and sexuality converge on this issue of evaluating beauty. Judging White women by their physical appearance and attractiveness to men objectifies them. But their white skin and straight hair privilege them in a system in which part of the basic definition of whiteness is its superiority to blackness. Black men's blackness penalizes them. But because they are men, their self-definitions are not as heavily dependent on their physical appearance as those of all women. (Collins, 1990, p. 79; also cited in McDonald & Thomas, 2011, p. 83)

By providing this important historical grounding in regard to bodily norms, both Collins' and Dyson's analyses powerfully point out deeper symbolic and lived experiences of bodily privilege and penalty articulated in divergent ways at the intersections of race, gender, class and sexuality.

These assertions are consistent with Collins' argument that stereotypes are a grounding mechanism of domination, in which aspects of one's personhood are reduced and essentialized into a single narrative. By design, stereotypes are not reflective of an objective truth, but serve to obscure the reality of disparate power in social relationships (Collins, 1999, p. 76). While there are also numerous examples of self-definitions and resistance at play, such stereotypes are powerful as these 'controlling images' work to normalize acts of social injustice and discrimination. Women's bodies are critical sites in which controlling images

manifest. However, as critical analyses of the Imus controversy also suggest, the controlling images of white women stand in contrast to the controlling images of women of colour. These socially constructed differences continue to perform in a variety of spaces, including in normative discussions of beauty and sexuality which circulate in popular culture and media (Collins, 1999).

In sum, this intersectional analysis reveals that applying a singular gender lens to analyze sport is simply not sufficient to capture complex articulations of power. Instead such a singular framing serves to obscure the historical and contemporary ongoing working of whiteness which ‘orientates bodies in specific directions, affecting how they “take up” space’ (Ahmed, 2007, p. 150). An intersectional lens, such as offered through this analysis, opens the possibility to better understand how women are positioned differently within different shifting cultural contexts. Despite the availability of intersectional lenses, as will be more fully demonstrated in the next sections, some feminist activists have also problematically reproduced universal claims about gender and sexuality. We discuss this issue through an examination of SlutWalks. We suggest that such activities too frequently reify white femininity as an unquestioned norm that serves to mask the disparate histories and contemporary social relations that differently animate controlling images articulated through ‘slut’ discourses.

SlutWalk Impetus, History and the Continuing Problem of Whiteness

On 24 January 2011, Canadian Constable Michael Sanguinetti addressed law students at Toronto’s York University stating that ‘he was told he shouldn’t say this but ... women should avoid dressing like *sluts* in order not to be victimized’ (Romo, 2011; Kwan, 2011). Sanguinetti’s claim about appearance plays into a pervasive rape myth—a false, but widely accepted, stereotype about sexual violence that blames the victim. Similar narratives have been used to justify some men’s sexual aggressive behaviour towards women. This includes such language as ‘she asked for it’, ‘it wasn’t really rape’, ‘she lied’ or ‘rape is a trivial event’ (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Much as with the case of discussions about the whore, hooker and “ho”, slut discourse has been most often used to regulate women’s sexualities and control how many women display their bodies in public spaces. Dating back to the Middle Ages, the word slut was once used pejoratively to describe a person, male or female, with an untidy or slovenly appearance (Mills, 1991).

Over time the term transformed and took on the meaning of a bold, saucy or promiscuous girl or woman whose sexuality conflicted with normative chaste standards (Attwood, 2007). This use gained momentum early in the twentieth century, when some middle-class white women began to gain independence in the public sphere, an act contrary to dominant gender expectations that idealized women in the domestic sphere. As a discourse of power within this context, the word was directed towards women who entered into men's spheres. Despite challenges and resistance, the slut moniker continues to be casually employed by both men and women as a means to critique women's sexual practices and police women's bodies and sexuality—although with different effects and consequences for different women (Tanenbaum, 2000).

Interpreting Sanguinetti's comment as a symbolic act of violence, a diverse group of York University students refused to accept his apology. Similar to some gays' and lesbians' reclamation of the word "queer" (Rand, 2014), these students sought to protest a culture that criticized sexual violence victims rather than perpetrators, and to reclaim the word slut from one of victim blaming and sexual shaming to one presumably of empowerment (Maronese, 2011a). On 3 April 2011, in what is considered the first SlutWalk (Reger, 2015), over three thousand protesters marched to Toronto Police Headquarters to challenge sexual violence, victim blaming and sexual shaming (Maronese, 2011b).

This and subsequent SlutWalks rearticulate leisurely walking in ways similar to and different from elements of Take Back the Night marches. The aim of Take Back the Night is to centre women's agency in an effort to raise awareness, to stop sexual violence and reclaim public spaces for women. In contrast, SlutWalks are arguably intended to be spectacles; though many protesters wear unremarkable clothing (simply jeans and a t-shirt), some don more revealing outfits including lingerie, pasties, slips, or expose their bras or underwear. These practices seemingly represent both an embodied reclamation of the word "slut" in an effort to infuse it with new meanings and a means to argue that clothing should never be used as justification for sexually violent behaviour. From the perspective of these participants, their use of revealing outfits is meant to bring attention to longstanding feminist efforts to analyze and overturn rape culture myths, whereby women are accused of 'asking for it' based upon their choice of attire. After the Toronto protest, advocates in cities across the globe began organizing local SlutWalks to protest the widespread use of slut discourses as methods that not only promote rape myths but also censure and control non-normative expressions of sexuality. In 2011 alone, over 200 SlutWalks took place in over 40 countries (Carr, 2013).

As SlutWalks gained momentum, spreading to distant locales, not all participants felt the events were inclusive, especially in regards to interlocking relations of power. Although some women of colour feel inspired by the collective action of the SlutWalks and recognize how slut shaming is harmful to women and to victim advocacy, criticism increasingly arose about the lack of intersectional perspective taken by many SlutWalk organizers in their mobilization of slut discourses (CFC, 2011; Black Women's Blueprint, 2011; Soloman, 2011a, Soloman, 2011b). Although gender norms prescribe behaviour for men and women, as elaborated upon in the previous sections of this chapter, these notions take on divergent meanings when they intersect with discourses of class, sexuality and race. Slut discourses have historically been set against hegemonic ideologies of white women's sexuality as passive and pure. Thus slut discourses serve to shame 'deviant' women who not only fail to conform to these constructed standards, but who also fall outside the norms of whiteness.

Nowhere are these differences more powerfully demonstrated than via the ideological import and legacy of the nineteenth-century cult of true womanhood (Welter, 1966). The virtues of true white womanhood—including piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity—largely kept middle-class white women in private spaces, constrained their sexuality and encouraged subservience. Read from this perspective, women were ideologically expected to be the passive receivers of white men's active sexual advances, and to willingly bear children in order to reproduce the white race (Collins, 1999). Those who failed to comply were often the objects of cultural scorn. In contrast, and as discussed previously in this chapter, black women have been historically subjected to degrading assumptions about the availability of their sexuality and bodies. As Dyson (2007) suggests, and in regards to the Rutgers basketball team, these notions are embedded in the US history of slavery and colonization that ideologically positions black women as hypersexual, lascivious and constantly available—the antithesis of ideals promoted via the cult of true womanhood. The normative standard articulated via the cult of true womanhood and slavery has positioned black women seemingly as always and already outside the bonds of 'true' womanhood and normative sexuality.

The legacy of this racist sexism has persisted, and women of colour have long sought to undo harmful rhetoric and practices made against their bodies and sexuality in the movement towards self-definition and autonomy. This was clearly the case as the Rutgers women's basketball team stood up and demanded an apology from Imus and colleagues. In regard to the SlutWalks, several activists have pointed out the unproblematic reclamation of the word 'slut'. Black feminist lesbian activist Aishah Shahidah Simmons (Soloman, 2011a) argues that

Black women have been called sluts, whores and skank whores from the beginning. So I wondered why we would embrace the term 'slut' [without] any kind of analysis about what it means for all women, but especially women of colour. (see: <http://www.colorlines.com/articles/slutwalk-movement-relevant-black-feminist>)

In one case, a collective of black women and anti-violence activists issued an open letter to organizers indicating that while they stand in alliance against rape and the shaming of sexuality they did not see the experiences of black women represented in the SlutWalks. They assert:

For us the trivialization of rape and the absence of justice are viciously intertwined with narratives of sexual surveillance, legal access and availability to our personhood.... The perception and wholesale acceptance of speculations about what the Black woman wants, what she needs and what she deserves has truly, long crossed the boundaries of her mode of dress. (Black Women's Blueprint, 2011)

More pointedly, a Crunk Feminist Collective (CFC, 2011) blog asserts that

It goes without saying that Black women have always been understood to be lascivious, hypersexed, and always ready and willing. When I think of the daily assaults I hear in the form of copious incantations of 'bitch' and 'ho' in Hip Hop music directed at Black women, it's hard to not feel a bit incensed at the 'how-dare-you-quality' of the SlutWalk protests, which feel very much like the protests of privileged white girls who still have an expectation that the world will treat them with dignity and respect.

These collectives recognize the ways women are differently positioned and how white privilege operates through many SlutWalks. Whereas white women are policed when they use or display their bodies in non-normative ways, women of colour are policed for simply having non-white bodies. For example, writing about the US context, women of colour anti-violence activists additionally suggest that black women 'do not have the privilege or the space to call ourselves "slut" without validating the already historically entrenched ideology and recurring messages about what and who the Black woman is' (Black Women's Blueprint, 2011). These and similar responses by particular women of colour take issue with the claim that slut is a 'universal category of female experience, irrespective of race' (CFC, 2011). They additionally assert that protests against slut discourses are actually protests against their use 'in white communities, which have not historically been racially degraded' (CFC, 2011). These critics assert that public activism attempting to reclaim 'slut' is an activism largely available for privileged white women (and men) who 'can

afford' to 'chant dehumanizing rhetoric' against themselves (Black Women's Blueprint, 2011). In other words, the ability to engage in a SlutWalk, especially in North America and European contexts, reflects white privilege, as women of colour are controlled through a myriad of powerful racialized and sexualized means. In failing to recognize these important differences, many SlutWalks whitewash women's experiences.

Some signs carried at US SlutWalks reflect the essentializing tone that minimizes and trivializes intersectional inequalities. One sign, carried at a New York City SlutWalk, displays a phrase coined by Yoko Ono, which was later turned into a 1972 song by Yoko and John Lennon: 'Woman is the nigger of the world'. At the time, both the song and its racial epithet were controversial, leading some radio stations to ban it. Black feminists critiqued the phrase, including Pearl Cleage's response, 'If Woman is the "N" of the world, what does that make Black Women, the "N," "N" of the World?' (Simmons, 2011).

The implication of this phrase is that sexism operates on equal footing with racism. This metaphor minimizes the intersectional experiences of women of colour who are subjected to the simultaneous effects of racism and sexism. To claim that either gender or race is always or consistently dominant ignores the dynamic nature of intersecting systems of domination. Collins (1986) refers to similar experiences as being an 'outsider within'. Whereas black women have an 'insider' status with black men, they have an 'outsider' status based on their gender. While context does matter, broadly speaking the powerful articulations of gender and whiteness mean that even in the face of sexism and/or classism, white women still have access to the privileges of whiteness in contrast to women of colour.

In a continuing effort to work across differences, critics of the SlutWalks have also called for efforts to create dialogues between feminisms and encourage education about the diverse experiences of women (CFC, 2011; Simmons, 2011). According to Mendes (2015), in many places across the globe activists have departed from the model initiated in Toronto, as too frequently this model links to Western feminisms and thus would not garner extensive local support. In Singapore, for example, activists de-emphasized the word slut and discouraged participants from wearing provocative clothing (Mendes, 2015). In several North American cities, organizers renamed events in order to reduce emphasis on the word slut, adopting such names as 'Stomp and Holler', 'A March to End Rape Culture', 'Solidarity Walk', 'ConsentFest', 'Walk of No Shame' and 'STRUTwalk' (Murtha, 2013; Reger, 2015; SlutWalk Toronto, 2015). These nominal transformations also helped resolve a common tension over the word slut and disagreement over whether it can and should be reclaimed (CFC, 2011; SlutWalk Toronto, 2015; Steinkellner, 2015).

The deployment of racially inclusive counter-narratives has helped assuage additional criticism. Common at all events, even before criticism of racism emerged, was the practice of concluding marches with speeches on body shaming, slut shaming and sexual violence. In Alberta, Canada, speakers have focused on the disparate treatment of Aboriginal women, who have been assaulted at higher rates than non-Aboriginal women in Canada. Similarly, in SlutWalk Toronto leaders emphasize that young women from marginalized racial, sexual and socio-economic groups are more vulnerable to sexual violence than women in non-marginalized groups (SlutWalk Toronto, 2015; Wolfe & Chiodo, 2008). These examples suggest the absolute necessity of intersectional analysis and coalition building in the effort to work across differences.

Final Thoughts: Thinking Through the Feminist Sport and Leisure Scholarship and Activism

As demonstrated throughout this chapter, while more profound intersectional analyses are available, too frequently both feminist scholarship and feminist activism fail to fully explore the complex articulations of power. This is an important issue to confront, given that within feminist scholarship on sport and leisure white femininity often serves as 'unmarked, as the absent centre against which others appear only as deviants, or points of deviation' (Ahmed, 2007, p. 157). In this chapter we have juxtaposed the case of the Don Imus/Rutgers women's basketball team controversy alongside the dominant discourses articulated through the SlutWalk, a visible site of feminist activism. In doing so we have revealed ways in which intersectional analysis helps to explicitly make visible particular complex discourses and practices at play.

Our ultimate goal in providing these two examples has been to demonstrate the promise of black feminism and intersectional analysis while simultaneously critiquing those (feminist) narratives which singularly focus on gender (or race, or class or sexuality) as primary. Not only do such framings promote a false universality among women (and men), they often reaffirm the power of whiteness as normative, a status and process, which is rarely explicitly criticized in dominant accounts (McDonald, 2014). As such, in regard to future scholarly agendas, we concur with Watson and Scraton (2013) who argue that 'thinking intersectionally in leisure requires us to question our research agendas throughout, from the outset in terms of how we perceive leisure experience and its consequence, through to our analysis and dissemination' (p. 39). In this spirit, the arguments presented in this

chapter represent our modest attempt to encourage more leisure and sport studies scholars—as well as some feminist activists—to reconsider their conceptualizations. In doing so, we join and build upon a much longer tradition of black feminism, which seeks to promote justice while also disrupting and displacing hegemonic white feminist thought.

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Theme 4

**Contemporary Feminist Issues in
Sport, Leisure and Physical Education**

Contemporary Feminist Issues in Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Louise Mansfield, Jayne Caudwell, Belinda Wheaton,
and Beccy Watson

Feminist researchers, scholars and activists have always been concerned with contemporary issues. At the heart of feminist approaches are critical challenges to gendered inequality manifest in social, political and cultural ideas, policies and practices at particular moments in time. Contemporary issues in feminist thought and political action include a complex array of social problems connected to social inequality. The issues that matter most to feminists differ according to the organization and experience of social life at any one point in time. Some contemporary feminist issues have an enduring quality to them and appear as important across generations or re-emerge in different social and political contexts at different historical moments. For example, perhaps the most pressing feminist issues globally in twenty-first-century life concern: the division of domestic labour, gendered inequality in pay and position in the workplace, media representation of women, violence against women, and the significance of intersectionality and inequality in shaping the

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lives of diverse groups of women and girls. Yet each one of these so-called contemporary issues has some connection to the historical trajectory of feminist scholarship and activism, and to the lived experiences of women over time. As Reger and Taylor (2002) point out, early feminist campaigns focusing on suffrage, civil rights, reproductive rights and citizenship have provided legislative and political gains for many women yet there remain legacies of these issues still to challenge and resolve in contemporary contexts.

Each of the twenty-first-century feminist social problems identified above represents a contemporary issue in understanding the gendered character of sport, leisure and physical education, as the following five examples show. Whilst we have not captured each of these issues in their entirety in this *Handbook*, we propose them as significant in understanding feminist issues in the field. First, whilst there is evidence of a more egalitarian split of domestic and child-caring duties for particular men and women (Sullivan, 2000), and indeed a more diverse gender representation in couples and family relationships for some, others continue to experience inequality in the division of domestic work. Where women are compelled socially, culturally or financially to retain responsibility for domestic tasks, opportunities and access to leisure and sporting experiences become symbolically and literally closed to them. Second, despite developments in opportunities for women to work in sport, leisure and physical education, they remain underrepresented in leadership positions via institutionalized practices and cultures of gender discrimination (see for example Burton, 2015). Third, enduring issues surrounding media representation of women in sport and leisure have focused on the extent to which women appear in the media, and the non-serious and sexist ways in which they are treated in visual and narrative media production. Notwithstanding great gains in female participation rates in recreation and elite-level sporting practices, as well as differential patterns in media coverage nationally, it has been argued that coverage of women's sport in the media (particularly in the US context) is at its lowest, and media representation of sportswomen continues to be dominated by strategies that trivialize and sexualize them (Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013). Fourth, and without wishing to oversimplify the complexities of gender relations, the historical development of sports as a masculinity-validating experience has been connected with the reproduction of a culture of violence against women including verbal denigration and aggressive physical sexual acts in men's professional sport (Nelson, 1994), and the retention of strong gendered messages which marginalize girls in physical education (Scruton, 1992) and leisure policy and practice has been found to routinely exclude women (Aitchison, 2000). Fifth, recognizing the multiple ways that gender intersects with other social categories such as age, disability, sexuality, race/ethnicity and faith, feminist

scholars explain the ways that sport, leisure and physical education contexts provide fertile ground for interdependent structures and processes of discrimination and disadvantage for women and men (Watson & Scraton, 2013).

In the chapters in this theme our contributors variously explore the complexities of contemporary issues in sport, leisure and physical education as they relate to: women, representation and print and social media; violence against women and spaces of fear; questions of disability; understanding transgender athletes; the social production of blackness; and ideas about intersectionality in terms of gender, ethnicity and faith. Each chapter further explores the role of feminisms in addressing the contemporary issues under interrogation.

Emma Rich argues that there is a contemporary reproduction of healthism in the organization and articulation of health education through the digitization of physical education for girls in schools. For Rich, interdependent networks of education, digital and social media, and public health agencies operate to reinvigorate overbearing and moralistic messages of obesity politics, and harness digitized surveillance techniques in monitoring girls' bodies and health. Such structures and processes allow oppressive cultures of introspection and surveillance to dominate girls' relationships with their own and others' bodies. The digitization of physicality and health, then, serves to continue the shaming, marginalization and exclusion of bodies that don't meet the exacting definitions of feminine health and wellbeing via the contemporary schooling of young girls.

Jayne Caudwell and Deborah Stevenson address issues of violence against women in sport and leisure contexts. Drawing on theories of human rights, Jayne Caudwell examines the relationships between sexual exploitation, sex work and international sporting events. Caudwell recognizes the challenges in quantifying and qualifying sexual exploitation and sex work, and notes the dearth of evidence on the topic. However, through a case study of the trafficking of girls and women in the Balkans region of Europe it is made clear that particular conditions relating to social conflict, war, migration and poverty serve to promote and sustain such sexual exploitation. Caudwell concludes that it is these contemporary issues that feminists could explore in developing knowledge about the ways in which sports mega events present a context and catalyst for trafficking, sexual exploitation and sex work for women and girls.

Deborah Stevenson explores leisure spaces, violence and fear in the context of women, urban leisure and the night-time economy. The city, she argues, presents an environment of potential danger from violence, criminal and aggressive acts upon women and, thus, their use of urban spaces for leisure activities (night clubs, restaurants, the theatre) is shaped by fear and apprehension. To some extent this may limit the use of some urban spaces by

particular women. For others, and Stevenson highlights the perceptions of young women, such feelings are negotiated in a complex interplay between risk and empowerment in night-time leisure practices. Stevenson summarizes that the relationships women have with urban centres is contradictory and complex. Many women experience and imagine the city as a leisure space full of pleasure, purpose and empowerment but at the same time as a place of potential fear, violence and danger.

The next five chapters address issues of the intersectional character of contemporary feminist issues in sport and leisure contexts. Delia Douglas focuses on the social production of blackness in women's sport. She identifies a prevailing theoretical invisibility of black women in sport studies which fails to examine the significance of complexity and diversity in black women's lives and how that impacts on their marginalized, racialized position in the sporting arena. For Douglas historical and contemporary articulations of a sex-race-gender dynamic serve to reproduce the idea that excellence in sporting performances is equated with an interloper identity which is disassociated from positive images of black women via the construction of anti-black misogyny and gendered racism.

Also exploring the intersections of gender with race/ethnicity and culture, Lyndsay Hayhurst, Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom and Devra Waldman discuss the recent growth in sport for development and peace (SDP) programmes and scholarship in light of post-colonial feminist international relations theory. Through a case study of the Goal Programme, Hayhurst et al. illustrate the interplay between the everyday politics of girls and women on the programme, and the wider global politics of sport for development. To some extent, local physical cultures of girls and women in the Goal Programme are marginalized through a mainstreaming of traditional Western-style games and a dominant ethic of contemporary Western health and hygiene practices. The authors conclude that a post-colonial feminist lens in international sport development work helps to re-tell the stories of SDP programmes with proper attention to the contemporary intersections of gender, race, class and nation.

Tansin Benn and Gertrud Pfister turn attention to the ways that faith, religion and feminist thought intersect in enabling and constraining opportunities for Muslim women in sport and physical education. Through their work with women in the UK, Turkey, Germany and Oman they illustrate the complex and diverse ways in which context, culture and religiosity impact on women's lives and physical activity and sporting experiences in these countries. Moreover they argue that hearing the voices of these women and respecting the prominence of faith and culture is central to understanding the contemporary role of faith and global context in the lived experiences of Muslim women.

A global mind-set on feminist work is also part of Aarti Ratna, Sumaya Farooq Samie, Katherine Jamieson, and Stanley Thangaraj's discussion of the politics and sensibilities of the ethnic Other in physical activity and sporting contexts. Theirs is a chapter that is collaboratively written, draws on a range of feminist thinking and identifies complex inclusionary and exclusionary practices facing women and men in sport by virtue of the intersectional aspects of gender, race, social class, age and disability. The collective endeavour is unique as a contribution to the critical conversations these authors have in using feminisms (of different and similar varieties) to promote alternative ways of knowing the diverse realities and activisms, the contemporary issues of marginalized groups broadly and people of colour specifically.

Also related to marginalized groups, Travers focuses on transgender issues as a contemporary issue with a complex history; and Fitzgerald, Drury and Stride examine the problem of sport for athletes with disabilities. For Travers there is a need to identify the structures, processes and politics in sport and physical education that operate as gendered systems and to understand how these intersect with other systems of subordination to enhance the opportunities and experiences of transgender and gender-nonconforming adults, young people and children. For Fitzgerald, Drury and Stride, there is an interplay of disability, femininity and representation in the production and promotion of Barbie Becky, Paralympic Champion; and they argue for a feminist interpretation of such mass-produced toys. They illustrate that such cultural resources shape the way we think about gender and disability in sporting contexts and have the potential for both limiting but also re-imagining possibilities for girls and women living with disabilities and seeking to take part in sport and leisure contexts.

The final two chapters take specific contexts and types of sport and leisure activity as sites of contemporary feminist issues in and of themselves. Heather Gibson and Mona Mirehie argue that the relative invisibility of critical gender studies in the field of sport tourism, and the minimal engagement in feminist thinking, is indicative of a contemporary feminist issue, which is related to the marginalization of scholarship on the gendered character of sports tourism. For them, it is time that the field employed critical feminist scholarship to examine the complex contemporary gender nature of mass participation sport, nostalgia sports, event travel and tourism issues associated with mega sports events. Taking a similar perspective in her emphasis on the significance of critical feminist work, Holly Thorpe articulates that action sports have to some extent been less plagued by the deeply rooted sexist ideologies of more traditional sports forms. Notwithstanding the evidence that action sports can,

and do indeed, operate to marginalize and sexualize women, they also offer the potential for alternative gender relations played out in contemporary cultures that are less bound by gender norms.

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Healthism, Girls' Embodiment, and Contemporary Health and Physical Education: From Weight Management to Digital Practices of Optimization

Emma Rich

Introduction

The development of the term “healthism” brought into question the ‘preoccupation with personal health as a primary—often the primary—focus for the definition and achievement of, well-being; a goal which is to be attained through the modification of life styles, with or without therapeutic help’ (Crawford, 1980, p. 386). Over three decades later, Crawford’s analysis of public health concerns still seems relevant. Healthism continues to operate as the dominant framework of understanding health (Lee & Macdonald, 2010) in contemporary Western society and has been subject to critical interrogation. It is a concept apparent throughout a number of feminist deconstructions of contemporary health discourses, collectively revealing the potentially far-reaching effects on girls’ bodies and subjectivities. Moreover, it continues to find expression within the policies and practices of schools, particularly within physical education (Walseth, Aartun, & Engelsrud, 2015) and Health Education (HPE). It is important to note that HPE can take varied forms in schools, in part because health policy is ‘recontextualised’ (Evans, Rich, Davies, & Allwood, 2008) and shaped by local context and the interplay between cultural forces, social institutions and subjectivities. However, despite a considerable volume of literature critiquing healthism, as Wright (2014, p. 235) argues, it seems hard to imagine ‘a health education somehow distanced from its neoliberal context, when that context seeps, in so many ways, into our everyday lives’.

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Whilst this history is significant, if we are to understand the continued presence of healthism within HPE, this involves examining its nuanced and contemporary expressions across different HPE settings. As Leahy (2012) suggests, health in schools is the result of complex assemblages of knowledge, practice and representation, thus underlying the need to understand contemporary flows and manifestations of healthism as part of a fluid and emerging relationality. In response, in this chapter I argue that HPE is produced within what Rail and Jette (2015, p. 328) describe as an ‘entire “assemblage” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) of private and public institutions, media, corporations, and, foremost, public health agencies’ which come to ‘constitute the private and public government of the body’. In offering a critical interrogation of its contemporary form and its implications for girls’ subjectivities and bodies, I suggest that HPE is being reshaped by this complex assemblage of health and emerges as a pedagogical site through which new health imperatives circulate. Drawing on various feminist contributions to this research agenda, I explore two contemporary public health priorities that are the result of this assemblage and are shaping the policies and pedagogies of HPE in ways that have significant implications for girls’ subjectivities and embodiment. First, whilst healthism has long held a presence in the curriculum and practices of HPE, I outline how it has been intensified by an obesity discourse (Evans et al., 2008) and its accompanying moral panic. Second, I examine the shift towards digitization within HPE whereby commercial digital health technologies are increasingly being used to track and monitor students’ bodies and health. This trend not only represents the logic of the commercial health market to address health problems, but is giving rise to new imperatives of health involving practices of the self that are no longer limited to self-improvement practices (Jutel, 2005) but instead being better than well, reflecting post-human notions of health as a form of enhanced self-optimization.

Throughout, I indicate the numerous contributions of feminist research in helping to frame the critical analysis of healthism within HPE and its impact on girls’ experiences of their bodies and subjectivities. Reflecting on these contemporary features of HPE, I argue that feminist research might be at a critical juncture in responding to these challenges and addressing the complex gendered relationalities within these contexts. As such, this may warrant future discussions focused on the exploration of new conceptual, empirical and methodological approaches.

Obesity Discourse, Body Pedagogies and Girls' Embodiment

Arguably, in recent times, one of the most significant developments shaping public health concerns is the claim that we are in the midst of a global childhood obesity epidemic. As O'Reilly and Sixsmith (2012, p. 108) note, 'current approaches to health promotion internationally are largely weight centered, creating a healthist and moralizing dominant "obesity" discourse likely to cause harm (i.e. weight cycling, eating disorders, mental health issues, and social stigmatization)'. Moral panic (Jutel, 2005) about obesity has driven intensified concerns about sedentary lifestyles and the "risks" confronting young people. To this end, the moral obligation to manage one's lifestyle and the risks of being ill are maintained through regimes of healthism which feature 'a nearly singular focus on body weight as the litmus test for health' (Brady, Gingras, & Aphramor, 2013, p. 346). Consequently, schools have been increasingly charged with the responsibility of "educating" young people about risky lifestyles and being healthy (Gard & Wright, 2005) as a mechanism to prevent the rise in childhood obesity (Evans et al., 2008; Gard, 2004; Wright & Harwood, 2009). In many ways, this has given physical education a renewed justification for its presence in schools: as Gard (2014, p. 829) observes, 'the emergence of obesity as a public health priority in the last 15 years has been enthusiastically seized upon as the field's professional responsibility and rhetorical reason-for-being'. Indeed, evidence suggests that increasingly younger children are being targeted in these campaigns, such that pre-schools will be similarly positioned as sites of intervention (McEvilly, Verheul, & Atencio, 2015).

It is important to acknowledge that attempts to mitigate disease through pathogenic approaches within schools are not new; physical education has a long history of interventions and promotional strategies focused on undertaking disease prevention (Fitzpatrick & Tinning, 2014). However, arguably many of the school-based interventions and pedagogies focused on obesity prevention have brought about heightened forms of surveillance and body monitoring governing young people's bodies in a number of significant ways.

First, body pedagogies focused on obesity prevention often promote the idea that *individual* health can be sustained through effort alone. The promotion of healthy lifestyles positions the individual as responsible for their own health, for making choices as rational, autonomous individuals. Indeed,

Harrison and Leahy (2006, p. 152) argue that ‘the health field is still dominated by psychological models that focus on individual behaviour change while paying lip service to the social determinants of health’. Other contributing factors ranging from socio-economic status, opportunities for health practices, gender, ethnicity, sleep, through to genetic factors are often silenced in this framework. Through a neo-liberal logic of individual responsibility, young people are increasingly pressed to monitor and manage their own bodies, health, weight and lifestyles. Reflecting healthism, young people are thus assumed to have the control to simply make the “right” choices to protect themselves from the risks of obesity and associated disease. Within obesity discourse, those who are “overweight” are therefore positioned as lazy, lacking in control and making poor lifestyle choices. The impact of these individualized discourses has caught the attention of a number of feminist researchers, some of which suggest that they can be defined as fat-phobic. In their research on how fat-phobic discourses in physical education both constitute, and are continually negotiated by, “fat” and “overweight” students, Sykes and McPhail (2008, p. 67) argue that ‘because fatness is conflated with excess femininity, fat phobia also reinforces normative constructions of gender and sex that compounds the problem for sexual and gender minority students’. Indeed, numerous studies reveal how girls report being spoken of through a moralized language such as “good” or “bad” or of making “responsible” or “irresponsible” choices. For example, studies of pupils’ talk reveal how this discourse is being taken up in such a way that health is seen to be contingent on personal responsibility for body practices (Johnson, Gray, & Horrell, 2013; Lee & Macdonald, 2010; Wright, O’Flynn, & MacDonald, 2006). Feminist critiques suggest that many of these initiatives adopt a predominantly behaviouralist approach to lifestyle modification which often overlooks more complex relations of power and social context impacting on gendered experiences of health (Rich, De Pian, & Francombe-Webb, 2015; Warin, Turner, Moore, & Davies, 2008). Concerns have been expressed that these approaches thus fail to engage with the ‘disparities in health status that exist in communities with fewer resources and the unintended consequences of the legislation, especially for girls’ (Gerbensky-Kerber, 2011, p. 355).

Second, obesity and weight is categorized in such a way that its definition as a social problem is accompanied by particular solutions that involve the quantification and surveillance of girls’ bodies (McEvelly, Verheul and Atencio, 2015). Scholars have raised a number of concerns about the promotion of health surveillance and control (Fitzpatrick & Tinning, 2014) of young people’s bodies within HPE. As indicated elsewhere (Rich & Evans, 2012), girls are now subject to a range of techniques of surveillance that involve monitoring of their lifestyle choices and the collection of information about their bodies

in an effort to monitor their weight and size. Alongside the official policies and health promotion agendas, routine interventions and practices now include things such as weighing, inspection of children's lunch boxes and fitness testing, all of which can be particularly damaging experiences for some young people. Significantly, the normalization of weight has become a strong 'technology of power' in schools (Johnson et al., 2013) justifying surveillance practices such as the monitoring of body mass index (BMI monitoring). Research by Gerbensky-Kerber (2011, p. 262) has prompted concerns about the material consequences of labelling girls' bodies through BMI scores and report cards, particularly where categorization and information can be misinterpreted and lead to negative body-self relationships. Those bodies that are defined and categorized as not meeting the expectations of the "normal" and/or "ideal" body are deemed to be in need of repair and subject to the regulative features of body pedagogies in schools. Elsewhere, Rail and Jette (2015) suggests such bodies are juxtaposed against the healthy citizen as 'Bio-Others'; those individuals who are unfit and unproductive and failing to meet the expectations of health imperatives and thus deemed to be dangerously undisciplined and in need of policing. Such concerns reflect the contributions of broader feminist research and as Sykes and McPhail (2008) argue, draw attention to the way in which fat is positioned as 'excess femininity', in need of containment and negotiated through gender, race, class, sex/gender (Ahmed 2004).

As such, the promotion of obesity discourse within HPE contributes to the devaluing of the fat subjectivity (Sykes & McPhail, 2008). This may have particular implications for girls, given that feminist contributions have revealed the extent to which PE and fitness practices focus on girls' bodies as an object of display (Paechter, 2003; Walseth et al., 2015) and continue to be a site for the construction of gendered subjectivities. Girls often scrutinize their peers' body size and appearance (Olafson, 2002; Sykes & McPhail, 2008) and this is reported to be particularly difficult to negotiate for overweight girls (Cockburn & Clarke, 2002). Elsewhere, participants in the study by Sykes and McPhail (2008, p. 79) reported 'extremely distressing narratives about being publicly weighed'.

The cultural preoccupation with body size, weight and shape has of course occupied the attention of feminists for several decades (e.g., Bordo, 1995; Orbach, 1978; Wolf, 1991), illuminating its impact on the female body. Much of the earlier feminist writing on the ideals of the body revealed its connections with harmful body practices, driven by concerns about the association between young girls' body disaffection and the increasing prevalence of eating disorders. The emergence of the moral imperatives associated with the obesity epidemic has recast analytic focus towards understanding the neo-liberal and

performative cultures on female embodiment. Informed by a range of feminist perspectives, research is revealing how the ‘regulative’ component of these ‘body pedagogies’ (Evans et al., 2008) and its accompanying weight-centred discourse can propel some girls towards harmful practices of the body (Evans et al., 2008). These practices, concerned with the ‘on going maintenance and regulation of their diet and exercise’ (Johnson et al., 2013, p. 460) can lead to unhealthy relationships and orientations to the body (Lee & Macdonald, 2010; Rich & Evans, 2005). My own earlier research with colleagues (Evans et al., 2008) sought to further examine these issues, centring on the lives of some 40 young women who were suffering from disordered eating, including anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa. The research revealed their experiences of mainstream schooling and how it influenced the development of their disordered eating. Although their experiences were those at the extreme, it throws into sharp relief the way that food choices, body weight and physical activity patterns were all subject to scrutiny and examination, such that young women and girls undertake constant introspection—left questioning whether they are doing enough, the right thing, achieving the right weight and right body.

Reflecting broader climates of body modification (Shilling, 2003), research by Walseth et al. (2015, p. 14) revealed how girls ‘talked about exercising, dieting and their body in ways that indicated that they thought of it as a project to be modified’. These body pedagogies position the body as a marker of one’s character, moral worth and “identity” and therefore can have a number of damaging effects on children’s identities (Wright & Dean, 2007). Moreover, there is evidence that this can contribute to the development of body anxieties related to guilt anxiety, fear and inadequacy (see Burrows & Wright, 2004; Evans et al., 2008) and negative body practices (Burrows, Wright, & Jungersen-Smith, 2002), such as unhealthy eating and exercise practices (Evans et al., 2008). Commenting on the extent to which these pedagogies can seriously damage young people’s health (Evans et al., 2008), some scholars describe these forms of health education as a kind of ‘health fascism’ (Fitzpatrick & Tinning, 2014, p. 134) involving a kind of ‘micro-politics of health and the body which is taken up by individuals at the personal level’.

Self-Optimization, Girls’ Bodies and the Digitization of HPE

Despite these growing concerns about the harmful effects of surveillance and new health imperatives, there are indications that the recent trend towards the digitization of HPE (see Gard, 2014) provides a further mechanism through

which young people's bodies can potentially be monitored and regulated. The use of digital technologies in HPE is receiving growing attention, with research studies focused on a range of technologies from iPads to exergaming (Öhman, Almquist, Meckbach, & Quennerstedt, 2014; Vander Schee & Boyles, 2010). However, for the purposes of this discussion on healthism, attention turns to more recently developed mobile health (mHealth) technologies. These technologies include mobile health applications and wireless technologies such as sensors, bands and watches with self-tracking functions to collect and quantify body data such as weight, physical activity levels and diet. The support for use of digital health technologies in HPE is indicative of its characterization in public health more broadly where it is celebrated for its unique and transformative solutions to health problems. The contemporary turn towards digitization within HPE is perhaps a reflection of the capacity of these technologies to further categorize and monitor young people's bodies, and more specifically through its various modes of "self-tracking", offer novel solutions to health crises such as the ostensible obesity epidemic. There are now numerous examples of schools using 'digital devices and software that allow students to collect, track, manipulate and share health-related data' (Gard, 2014, p. 838).

These particular technologies are underpinned by a biomedical orientation towards the calculation, measurement and quantification of the body. Elsewhere, critical digital health scholars are signalling further ethical concerns associated with the surveillance of young people's bodies through digital technologies (Lupton, 2012; Miah & Rich, 2008; Rich & Miah, 2014). The manner in which digital technologies frame health practices reflect a wider socio-political tendency towards the commodification of the body and health. Many of these technologies are produced by fitness and weight-loss companies, and provide the functions through which teachers can collect various body data such as physical activity levels, steps taken, heart rate or even body mass index/weight measurements. Arguably, their use is 'affording the type of close monitoring and surveillance of students' bodies that was previously not possible' (Lupton, 2015, p. 127) and reflects a biomedical and neo-liberal orientation towards the commercial market as having a place within health education.

The research described in the previous section reveals the effects of obesity discourse on girls' lives and bodies as it enters educational practice, producing methods of regulation and governance, including instruction, surveillance and evaluation. The monitoring of girls' bodies through these technologies could potentially lead to practices oriented towards the production of self-governing and docile bodies (Markula & Pringle, 2006). However, the use of digital technologies to monitor and track young people's bodies perhaps goes further by

producing digital pedagogies that celebrate a *new* type of imperative focused on self-tracking and self-optimization. MHealth technologies foreground practices of ‘self betterment’ or ‘self-optimization’ (Ruckenstein, 2014, p. 69) whereby it is not enough to ‘have a more transparent view of oneself, one needs to respond to that knowledge and raise one’s goals’ (ibid, p. 69). Thus, mHealth technologies focused on lifestyle emphasize our ability to enhance our physical or mental capacities, orienting individuals towards practices of monitoring, regulation but then also adaptation in the pursuit of an increasing emphasis on ‘wellness’ (Fries, 2008). In doing so, this neo-liberal logic of the knowable body is part of a broader culture of risk management demarcating a shift towards ‘posthuman optimisation’ (Millington, 2015).

The infusion of this consumerist ethic (Ayo, 2012) into education warrants further analysis of its gendered dimensions. Research is needed which explores the impact of these digitized pedagogies on girls’ ‘embodiment, selfhood and social relationships’ (Lupton, 2012, p. 299). Drawing from the work of Van Amsterdam (2013), this means being attuned to the nuances of the ‘intersections of body size with other axes of signification such as gender, social class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, dis/ability and age’. Relatedly, a body of work informed by poststructural feminist perspectives suggests the ideal female body is no longer deemed to be just slender, but through contemporary fitness discourses also constituted as strong and toned (Azzarito, 2010; Markula, 1995). Future research might extend these perspectives to consider how imperatives to not only monitor and measure, but to optimize the body, impact on girls’ subjectivities and bodies? It is reported that girls often bear the burden of having to navigate multiple, complex and often contradictory messages of health in ways that can lead to health becoming a limitless project in which it becomes difficult to recognize oneself as achieving good health. Arguably, the focus on optimization can generate social practices which might further exacerbate this endless project of self-betterment.

In Conclusion

Together, the contemporary articulations of healthism examined in this chapter offer a characterization of the significant confrontations to the project of developing girls’ and young women’s relationships with their bodies. Drawing on a range of feminist work, the chapter has illustrated how obesity discourse, as expressed in schools, is infused with a deeply moral and regulative code, which for some girls can lead to forms of constant introspection and surveillance. Furthermore, HPE now embraces the ‘technologies that once would

have been considered at the periphery of health' (Cheek, 2008, p. 975). The inclusion of digital health technologies in HPE represent new ways to not only monitor and measure girls' bodies but also to potentially subject them to processes of commercialization and commodification where they are expected to conform to processes of self-optimization. Critical interrogations of healthism and body pedagogies within HPE point towards practices of moralizing, shaming and the marginalization of "unruly" bodies categorized as such through new mechanisms of surveillance. Some enduring questions remain about girls' experiences of their bodies in HPE.

Equally, the features discussed have each given rise to new questions and challenges and in this regard, feminist research within HPE might be considered to be at a critical juncture. Whilst there have been significant contributions across a range of feminist approaches, the contemporary challenges above call for the harnessing of approaches, perhaps in new ways, that are oriented towards finding spaces for emerging critical conversations to find ways to resist the imperatives of healthism. Underpinning this, there remains a core question: How do we develop a critical health education that integrates critical, feminist and more relational perspectives and moves beyond a weight-centred framework that currently 'fails to integrate people's lived experience as gendered, situated bodies in an inequitable world' (Aphramor, 2005, p. 315)?

As noted throughout the chapter, feminist research has contributed to a wider understanding of the imperatives of health, thinness and the stigmatization of fat and the extent to which these messages are reproduced through contemporary HPE. In her work on critical perspectives in health education, Fitzpatrick (2014) offers a useful distinction between perspectives that celebrate teaching 'for health' and those that draw from a critical perspective to teach 'about health'. This latter approach brings us closer to perspectives of health education through which the gendered conditions of girls' lives are explored—the social, historical, political and cultural factors shaping girls' embodiment and opportunities to engage in 'health practices' (Cohn, 2014). Such perspectives enable an exploration of the relationalities through health practices that emerge as a result of particular forms of opportunity or social justice.

This could also involve exploring the knowledge that girls bring to the pedagogical encounter from outside school, including culture and popular media (Johnson et al., 2013; Rich, 2011), shaped by public pedagogies of health circulating across a range of sites, including for example media, family, health professionals and peer culture (see Rich, 2011). Burrows (2011, p. 349) suggest that young people 'flip-flop' between embracing and challenging health discourses and they are 'neither cultural dopes nor dupes' (2011, p. 349).

There is not space here to fully explore the complex pedagogies, nor the subject positions constituted through them, but arguably, girls and young women can experience a great deal of burden in this process, having to navigate and make sense of multiple sites of learning about health. Furthermore, it can leave some feeling that the status of 'being healthy' becomes unobtainable and something to be constantly worked towards or to 'worry about' (Cheek, 2008)—a message endorsed in the public pedagogies of health and the official policies and practices of education. In this regard, hitherto traditional boundaries between different contexts of doing and learning about health are becoming more permeable, as evidenced in the contemporary articulations of HPE explored in this chapter.

This raises questions about whether girls and young women leave schools with the critical skills and resilience necessary to navigate complex health terrains often dominated by neo-liberal perspectives. Elsewhere, Johnson et al. (2013, p. 470) recommend that 'pupils and teachers should be provided with more support to understand knowledge and health "truths" as disputed, unstable and contestable'. These critical inquiry and problem-solving skills (Wright et al., 2004) will become increasingly important and may significantly impact on the opportunities for girls to experience HPE in health-enhancing ways. Whilst there is not space to further explore the future direction of feminist research in addressing these challenges, it seems clear that given the complexity through which health is assembled in HPE, any future trajectory belies any simple solution or reform such as a reliance only on media literacy programmes.

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Sporting Events, the Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation and Human Rights

Jayne Caudwell

Introduction

As a number of commentators have pointed out (Friman & Reich, 2007; Lee, 2007; Van Duyne & Spencer, 2011), the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation is not a contemporary phenomenon; it has a long history,¹ which demonstrates significant tensions surrounding how we define commercial sex, and how we protect the human rights of women involved. In many ways, we can view the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in simple terms: male demand for, and female supply of, sexual acts. However, this demand–supply dynamic is too simplistic. Dense webs of control, coercion and criminality, as well as consent, frame the specificities of, for instance, whose body parts are inserted into whose bodily orifices, and how much is paid and received for these so-called acts of sex.

In this chapter, I explore the possibilities of using a human rights framework to understand sexual exploitation, sex work and sporting events. Human rights perspectives are increasingly emerging as useful ways to interrogate a range of global social injustices. However, defining sexual exploitation and taking a human rights approach is not straightforward, and at the start of the chapter, I consider the tensions by outlining how feminists have shaped existing human rights legislation. In terms of the context, Hayes (2010) highlights that:

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International concern about world sporting events and sex trafficking first emerged in the lead-up to the 2006 World Cup. The governments of numerous countries, the European Parliament, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the media all expressed fear that the World Cup would be plagued with sex trafficking. (p. 1105)

Prior to the FIFA World Cup 2006, authorities and the media circulated a predicted figure for trafficked women and children for sexual exploitation of 40,000 (Milivojevic & Pickering, 2008). In the end, this estimate 'proved to be largely unfounded' (Tavella, 2007, p. 196). However, the public outcry did make visible the potential links between international sporting events and human trafficking (The Future Group, 2007), and Tavella (2007) cites the significance of four Germany-based information campaigns in raising awareness of the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation: (1) 'Final Whistle—Stop Forced Prostitution'; (2) 'Red Card for Sexual Exploitation and Forced Prostitution'; (3) 'Stop Forced Prostitution'; and (4) 'Action Against Forced Prostitution' (p. 210).

In addition to a focus on the FIFA World Cup 2006, commentators seeking to address the sexual exploitation of women have discussed Athens Olympics (2004) (Hayes, 2010; The Future Group, 2007), Beijing Olympics (2008) (Hayes, 2010; Tavella, 2007), South Africa FIFA World Cup (2010) (Bonthuys, 2010; Hayes, 2010; Richter, Luchters, Ndlovu, Temmerman, & Chersich, 2012; Richter et al., 2010; Tavella, 2007), Vancouver Winter Olympics (Bourgeois, 2009; Deering et al. 2012; Hayes, 2010), London Olympics (2012) (Ward, 2012), Sochi Winter Olympics (2014), Brazil FIFA World Cup (2014) as well as the USA Super Bowl (Finkel & Finkel, 2015). As one research participant stressed, international sporting events are emerging concerns (cited in Hayes, 2010):

Trafficking is a trap. And an event like the World Cup—or the Olympics—is the bait. Pushed by poverty, pulled by hopeful dreams of life in the West, and exploited by opportunists, women suspend disbelief and their better judgment and gamble on a better life. (Jennifer Roemhildt, executive director of Greek NGO) (p. 1106)

Despite these existing commentaries, Finkel and Finkel (2015) argue that '[q]uantifying human trafficking for sexual exploitation at large global sporting events has proven to be elusive given the clandestine nature of the industry' (p. 17). Taking stock of this statement, this chapter serves as a call for further critical engagement by sport and leisure scholars with major sporting events and the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. To this end, in the first

part of the chapter I focus on defining sexual exploitation and sex work to show how they are understood within human rights instruments. Specifically, I consider feminist debates that helped inform relevant human rights international law, especially laws surrounding human trafficking.

Second, I provide a vivid illustration of the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation through a discussion of the emergence of the Balkans region of Europe as a source, and transition zone, for the acquisition and movement of women. Through this case study, I demonstrate the conditions and mechanisms of supply of, and demand for, women for sexual exploitation. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the consequential shifts to new regimes of political power changed the established socio-cultural and economic status quo (Friman & Reich, 2007; Scheinost, 2011). For the mid-1990s, the World Bank database of World Development Indicators states that poverty rates in Eastern Europe were above 20% in many countries (Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005). Women, in particular, were affected by the large-scale transformations. Munro (2008) identifies the 'feminization of poverty' (p. 242), as well as the increasing acceptance of the sex trade by previously socialist regimes, as contributory factors to the exploitation of trafficked women. It is worth bearing in mind that Europe is experiencing another seismic shift in terms of the consequences of conflict, war, migration and poverty.

Finally, I return to the limited existing sport-related literature to elucidate the state of current knowledge of sexual exploitation, sex work and international sporting events. In doing so, I highlight the possibilities of adopting a human rights framework for future feminist research.

Sexual Exploitation, Prostitution and Sex Work

As will become apparent, defining sexual exploitation is complicated and feminists are often divided when it comes to establishing the boundaries between prostitution, sex work, sexual exploitation and women's sexual agency. One way to generate a meaningful concept of sexual exploitation is to visit the relevant feminist positions that have informed human rights legislation, which are radical feminism and sex-work feminism. Both positions foreground choice, consent and harm. As such, they rest on the importance of women's freedom and dignity. However, they start from fundamentally different propositions.

Early radical feminists are renowned for ideologies that view sex and sexuality as universal axes of male power, male domination and the oppression of women (e.g. Dworkin, 1981; Dworkin & MacKinnon, 1988; MacKinnon, 1989). Within this framing, sex and sexuality are largely void of choice and

consent for women, and they are the cause of harm to women. Early radical feminists' unflinching critiques of pornography, prostitution, rape and violence are often remembered for asserting the general statement that 'all men are rapists'.² Marking (2005) writes: 'Dworkin might not have actually said "all men are rapists" but she did have the slogan Dead Men Don't Rape above her desk' (12). Undoubtedly controversial, such sentiments were adopted by subsequent radical feminists and are viewed as axiomatic to an analysis of the global economy of sexual exploitation.

The title of Sheila Jeffreys' (2009) book—*The Industrial Vagina*—signals her focus on the relentless subordination of women through the sex trade. She asserts that sexuality is used globally to dominate and oppress women, and that this arrangement is normalized vis-à-vis prostitution. For Barry (1995), all forms of sexual relations, especially prostitution, are sexual exploitation. This is because radical feminists position "patriarchy" as an absolute and obdurate political system whereby all women live within what they see as a 'class condition' that 'is so pervasive that it actually invokes consent, collusion or some form of cooperation from the oppressed' (p. 23).

Within the radical feminist approach, it is not uncommon for women's condition to be reduced to 'cunt' (Millet, 1975, p. 56) and for men to be diminished to their penis/phallus: a 'symbol of terror' (in Marking, 2005, p. 10). Clearly, approaches such as this, which encourage reductionism, essentialism and universalism, are dubious, not least because they fall short of a nuanced account of the problematic, which is, in this case: what constitutes sexual exploitation?

In response to the radical feminist agenda, specifically strident anti-pornography feminism, a pro-sex, sex-positive feminism emerged (cf. Vance, 1984). This approach questioned the assumption that all men cause harm to all women and that all women are oppressed by sex and sexuality. Sex-work feminists, working with the international sex workers' rights movement, concentrated on the reframing of "prostitution" within the rhetorics of labour and workers' rights. This stance translates into an aim to:

[A]dvance the position of sex workers by shifting political (and feminist) debate away from an abstract consideration of exploitation, morality and ethics and towards a concrete consideration of the health and safety of workers, their wages, working conditions and power relations with employers and clients. (Sullivan, 2003, p. 70)

The move to the economic and employment conditions of women who are embroiled in the sex trade attempts to couple their circumstances with the

existing civil, occupational and human rights offered to citizens and workers generally. Within this remit, endeavours to combat exploitation are possible under international law, which is ‘designed to protect the rights of all workers’ (ibid, p. 71).

There’s insufficient space in this chapter to fully explore the intricacies of radical feminism versus sex-work feminism, or to offer more than this simplified duality suggests. Suffice to state, that the two approaches do not share a common notion of sexual exploitation. Radicals believe it is the prevailing, hegemonic structures of patriarchy that determine the fleshy and embodied experiences of heterosexual sex as exploitive of women. They believe that an exploitation-free sex trade is not possible and they rally for abolition. Sex-work feminists acknowledge, more broadly, women’s agency and their agented sexual subjectivity. They support women’s right to sell their sexual services within fair and just infrastructures of employment. They highlight the value of regulation of the sex trade.

In her analysis of the United Nations (2000) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,³ Sullivan (2003) demonstrates the contributions of both radical feminism and sex-work feminism to the eventual composition of the Protocol. Notably, these significant feminist debates (late 1980s–mid-1990s) paralleled the emergence of the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation from the Balkans region of Europe.

The radical campaign, reflected in the advocacies of the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW),⁴ returned to the content of the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. CATW developed, and presented for authorization, anti-trafficking policy in the form of the Convention Against Sexual Exploitation. However, in opposition, the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women⁵ (GAATW), adopting a sex-work perspective, argued for the recognition of the differences between women’s “free” and “forced” sexual labour. In 1995, at the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, these conflicting positions resulted in the GAATW rejecting the CATW proposal. Despite the lack of consensus, both parties affirmed:

[T]he need for a new international agreement specifically addressed to trafficking. There was also agreement that this should target the particular needs of women because they are the main victims of trafficking. (Sullivan, 2003, p. 81)

In sum, feminist debates during this period (1970s–2000s) over what constitutes sexual exploitation did serve to underpin international law. Under Section 1, Article 3a, of the 2000 Trafficking Protocol, trafficking is defined thus:

[T]he recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.⁶

Sexual exploitation is clearly an abuse of power by parties intent on, predominantly, economic gain (profit). This gain is achieved by taking advantage of immiseration, penury and women's vulnerability, by fostering cultures of fear and violence, and by unsolicited access to women's bodies for acts of sex. Such exploitation means that women are denied their humanity and dignity as well as their right to consensual sex, and the freedom to choose with whom they have sexual intercourse.⁷

Despite an increasing focus on the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation, legitimate research-based information did not emerge until after the Palermo Protocol (IOM, 2006). It is worth noting that '[i]n 1994, trafficking was defined very differently and without specific reference to exploitation' (IOM, 2005, p. 12) That said, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has collected relevant data since 1999 (Counter-Trafficking Module Database: CMT). This database and similar sources provide quantitative material that is useful in determining the magnitude of both trafficking and the sex trade. More often than not, it remains difficult to discern the differences between women's informed consent to sex work and women's forced sexual "labour". In an attempt to sketch the scale of the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation I draw from this statistical evidence. However, it is the qualitative, anecdotal evidence that is more meaningful in terms of elucidating conditions of exploitation.

Figures fluctuate for the totals of trafficked people. This is largely due to the dependency on estimates. Kelly (2005) drawing from the 2003 UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), states that their highest estimate of 4 million persons per year globally was adopted by IOM, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the United Nations (UN). In comparison, Rieger (2007) suggests that between 700,000 and 2 million people are trafficked annually, and Friman and Reich (2007) claim that the range is 600,000 to 800,000. Rieger (2007), Friman and Reich (2007) draw from the same source and yet their figures differ. This is indicative of how estimates vary. Roby and Bergquist (2014) highlight further the numerical discrepancies:

Kevin Bales, co-founder of Free the Slaves, estimating that there are 27 million slaves worldwide, compared to the International Labor Organization's estimate of 2.4 million in 2009. Both estimates are in stark contrast to global law enforcement data from the 2012 United States' Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report which documented 7705 prosecutions, 4746 convictions, and 46,570 identified victims. (p. 3)

Clearly, we must approach much of the quantitative data with caution. However, despite the incongruences, recent figures confirm that women and girls are disproportionately involved. They account for 75% of trafficked peoples and the majority (58%) of this proportion is trafficked for sexual exploitation (UNODC, 2012). Specific to Europe, the most recent study (European Parliament, 2014) affirms that the majority of trafficking of women is for sexual exploitation; one estimate claims that trafficked women make up 60%–90% of prostitutes found in the sex trades of member states.

In her critique of the sex trade, Jeffreys (2009) highlights profit figures as well as numbers of trafficked women and girls. For example, taking values from the 1998 International Labour Organization (ILO) report, she demonstrates the worth of the trade to the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia: '2–14 per cent of economies' (4); and Korea: '4.4 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), more than forestry, fishing and agriculture combined' (4). In 2003, profits accrued from the global sex trade were estimated at \$US 7–10 billion, annually (Rieger, 2007). In 2008, this figure had risen to \$US 31 billion, annually (Jeffreys, 2009). Recently, in a statement concerning global trafficking, John Ashe (UN General Assembly President) put the annual profit for human trafficking at \$36 billion. He stressed that 'it ranks as the world's third most profitable crime after illicit drug and arms trafficking' (14 July 2014).

Profit figures are important in exposing the enormity of exploitation. As with the statistics for the numbers of people trafficked, there are no definitive values and prudence is required when making comparisons between figures that incorporate different components of trafficking (e.g., slavery, servitude or removal of organs), and amalgamate aspects of sex work and sexual exploitation. Nevertheless, the quantitative evidence for both proliferation and profit are substantive.

European Case Study: The Balkans

I focus on the Balkans region to offer further research material concerning the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. I do this to demonstrate how large-scale changes in political, economic and social conditions increased

the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation across Europe. Currently (mid-2010s), ongoing conflict, war and poverty in regions bordering Europe has led to significant upheavals. As a consequence, there are ever-increasing migrations of peoples that require careful attention in terms of human trafficking, and the trafficking of women (and children) for sexual exploitation.

Perhaps more compelling than the global quantitative figures are the qualitative findings; there are countless stories related to the Balkans:

Halyna is 18 years old and sees no opportunities in her hometown. Sonya tells her about her good time as a waitress in London, and introduces Halyna to some men who are able to arrange documents and travel As soon as she arrives, she is picked up and taken to a flat. The man tells her that her travel debts have to be repaid and he confiscates her documents. After repeated beatings, she is forced to work as a prostitute. (in Morawska, 2007, p. 92)

Maria, 24, was trafficked from the Balkans to London by a neighbour when she was a child. Despite claiming asylum almost a decade ago, the government had never responded, leaving her unable to work legitimately and forcing her back into prostitution to survive. (in Townsend, 2011)

Interviewer: 'Did you ever have sex with someone or perform some sexual act because you were afraid something bad would happen?'

Woman: 'All the time.' (in Zimmerman, 2007, p. 295)

The two traffickers and their friends raped me. (ibid, p. 295)

I was working as a bartender. A person approached me with an offer: he'd pay me to bring him girls. A lot of village girls came to the club. I judged them by their appearance, age, attitude, and I gave them money, clothes, gifts, took them to restaurants. You sleep with her once so you can get under her skin, and then you give her to the man. (in Petrunov, 2014, p. 169)

In Eastern and Central Europe, the post-1989 transition from socialism/communism to democracy produced significant ripple effects throughout the Balkans. The repercussions of regime change caused numerous consequences that often coalesced to initiate and advance the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. For many Balkan states, the emergent turmoil proved uncontrollable, given political and judicial disarray. State and societal institutions became fragile in the aftermath of transition. In many cases, pre-existing state rule of law failed to apprehend the substantial shifts from longstanding economic and social stasis. For example, with the introduction of democracy, Albania is often cited (A'mula, 2011; Bekteshi, Gjermani, & Van Hook, 2012; Hysi, 2007) as having experienced large-scale, rapid migration and widespread

poverty. Hysi (2007) highlights that pre-1990s Albania was an isolated country with a rising population. In 1991, according to Bekteshi et al. (2012), 20,000 Albanians left the country. Between 1991 and 2002, an estimated 25% of the population emigrated (Hysi, 2007). This outflow of people reflects push factors such as economic uncertainty, negative growth in Gross National Product (GDP), increasing unemployment and poverty, especially in rural areas where post-socialist state policy no longer supported agricultural communities (Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005). In 1998, 'half of Albanians lived in extreme poverty' (Hysi, 2007, p. 100). Pull factors are also instrumental and include employment opportunities as well as an imagined better life—in the West—under established capitalism and the conspicuous trappings of consumer culture. Given these political, economic and social parameters, it is relatively easy to deduce the conditions that led to the following:

In 2001, the Albanian Council of Ministers reported that approximately 100,000 Albanian women and girls had been trafficked abroad during the 1990s, and official police statistics noted over 18,200 persons rescued from trafficking in 2000 and 2001. (Hysi, 2007, p. 98)

In the 1990s, processes of democratization, liberalism and capitalism operated alongside poverty and migration. Porous national boundaries, labour-market restructuring, social inequality and cultural traditions surrounding gender—deep-seated patriarchy (A'mula, 2011)—combined to make Albania one of the key sources of trafficked women to Western Europe (Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005):

By 1997, the trafficking of women for the purposes of sexual exploitation in London was almost totally monopolized by Albanian gangs who also played major roles in other European countries. (Bekteshi et al., 2012, p. 485)

The Kosovo War compounded circumstances through additional instability (Bekteshi et al., 2012). More specifically, 60,000 Kosovo ethnic Albanian refugees entered Albania in 1999. Notably, refugee status and poverty are often inextricable and this contributes additional layers of vulnerability. Also, during conflict and post conflict, traffickers are able to use pre-existing arms and drug trafficking routes (Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005). Under these conditions, and as the qualitative accounts above intimate, Albanian women were at high risk of being lured into sexual exploitation.

Many Balkan states were affected by post-1989 political turbulence, economic upheaval, social and cultural contestations, and ensuing civil war.

Crimes against humanity accompanied the often violent fragmentation of Yugoslavia (1980s–1990s), the Bosnia War (1992–1995) and the Kosovo War (1998–1999). Sexual exploitation of women and girls was a feature of the Bosnia war crimes tribunals. Post war, a significant number of soldiers were charged and imprisoned for raping women and girls (cf. Dewey, 2012). Peacekeepers, and other corrupt authorities, were found guilty of the trafficking of women and girls (Agathangelou & Ling, 2003; Murray, 2003). Of note, and as Kligman and Limoncelli (2005) conclude, wars and militarization facilitate the trafficking of women. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vandenberg documents the impunity granted culpable peacekeeping personnel (2011).

Writing about the general conditions in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Long (2007) illustrates how traditional cultural practices involving gift exchange become reframed by internal conflict and economic incentive. She argues that historically women and girls play a role in family/matrimonial interpersonal transactions, which help form community alliances. However, with a new political regime and civil war, these exchanges re-form in extremely exploitative ways. In terms of trafficking for sexual exploitation, she identifies young women from rural, uneducated families seeking migration as a high-risk group. Maljević (2011), also commenting on Bosnia and Herzegovina, pinpoints the emergence of new forms of crime and the spread of organized crime post independence (1992) and post war (1995), as well as corrupt law-enforcement authorities (e.g., police, customs and judiciary), as conducive to the escalation of trafficked women for sexual exploitation.

Literature concerned with trafficking from Bulgaria repeats many of the features identified for Albania, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Gounev et al. (2011) start by arguing that the sex trade was virtually absent from Bulgaria before 1990. However, through organized crime, coercion, deceit, fraud and violent entrepreneurs, it developed into a highly lucrative business, and alongside an emerging tourism and leisure industry. The large-scale export of women meant that Bulgarian women were the fifth-highest European group of women trafficked for sexual exploitation (UNODC, 2010, cited in Gounev et al., 2011).

Quoting Eurostat (2012) data, Petrunov (2014) acknowledges that Bulgaria is the poorest country in the EU, with the lowest GDP per capita. Unemployment in 2011 was at 11.2% and one-quarter of 15–29-year-olds are unemployed and/or lacking education. Within this socio-economic milieu, young women are massively susceptible. Additionally, it is noted that traditional family structures disintegrated (Friman & Reich, 2007). This can leave young women more exposed. At the same time, dysfunctional family relations can exacerbate

vulnerability. There is evidence that many women trafficked for sexual exploitation have histories of familial abuse—sexual, physical and psychological, and domestic violence. For example, a report commissioned by the Poppy Project found: ‘Forty (34%) of the 118 women sampled disclosed having experienced sexual abuse or rape prior to being trafficked’ (Stephen-Smith, 2008).

The Balkans was a key source for trafficked women, constituting one-third of European figures (UNODC, 2010). Its geographical location means the region is a nexus point, linking Eastern and Western Europe, which makes it a fertile source and transition zone for the procurement and movement of trafficked women. Maljević (2011) makes the point that many women are sold more than once as they move from east to west. An estimated 24% are sold three times or more, and almost one in four are re-sold during their transition to a final destination.

The above discussions testify to the political, economic and social elements that precipitate the supply of women for sexual exploitation. It would be remiss to omit the qualification that Balkan states have attempted to prevent and combat trafficking of women. Indicators suggest there are some successes; although conviction rates for traffickers remain low (Mertus & Bertone, 2007). Critical commentators argue that existing political and legal action is insufficient. They claim that trafficking for sexual exploitation and the human rights of women are not a priority in crime prevention (Van Duyne & Spencer, 2011). Furthermore, when it comes to protecting and assisting trafficked women, witness protection efforts are dire (A'mula, 2011; Lindstrom, 2007), and there is a noticeable lack of cooperation between nation states (Konevska, 2007).

Understanding why, how, where and when women are trafficked for sexual exploitation is important; however, preoccupation with supply mechanisms forgets the fundamental operating principle of demand. As Hughes et al. (2004) highlight, most attention has been on countries of origin and the cessation of supply. Some commentators view this as reflecting Western hegemony, which serves to pathologize the East and frame the women involved as illegal immigrants, thus adding to Western (nationalistic) rhetorics of human security (Aradau, 2003). The prevention campaigns to stop trafficking are usually aimed at women and girls. These campaigns, as well as media representations of trafficked women, promote particular articulations of “victimhood”, which fuel stereotypes of Eastern Europe and women from the East (Davydova, 2013). Hughes et al. (2004) conclude: ‘there have been few campaigns or efforts aimed at reducing the demand for victims’ (p. 2). And there’s limited informed knowledge of the numbers of men who purchase sex, and why they purchase sex.

Farley, Bindel, and Golding's (2009) London-based study attempts to redress the lack of research on 'men who buy sex'. Some of the reasons given by the men who took part in their research include:

[M]en pay for women because he can have whatever and whoever he wants. Lots of men go to prostitutes so they can do things to them that real women would not put up with.

We're living in the age of instant coffee, instant food. This is instant sex.

Prostitution is like being able to masturbate without doing any of the work.

When asked if they were aware of women who had been trafficked, over half (55%) of the men interviewed 'believed that a majority of women in prostitution were lured, tricked or trafficked' (p. 16). This figure corresponds with previous research in Scotland and the USA, and Farley et al. (2009) conclude: 'most men who buy sex are aware of and have witnessed exploitation, coercion and trafficking but this does not affect their decision to buy sex' (p. 16).

Clearly, the conditions of supply of, and demand for, commercial sex generate gross mistreatment of women and the violation of their human rights (Lee, 2007; Munro, 2008). European states have failed to successfully apprehend the cumbersome, clandestine and corrupt nature of supply. The UK remains a primary destination. The trafficking of women for sexual exploitation into the UK continues apace; in a 2013 report entitled 'Capital Exploits' (Bindel, Breslin, & Brown, 2013), Romanian women and girls are identified as the current trafficked group exploited by traffickers for profit. Past and present quantitative and qualitative findings attest that 'trafficking into the UK occurs on a scale that merits serious attention by authorities' (Markovska & Moore, 2011, p. 222).

Sporting Events and the Trafficking of Women for Sexual Exploitation

The small amount of existing research and literature on sporting events and the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation reiterates the points I have made above. These points are:

1. Sexual exploitation is difficult to define and separate from consensual, commercial sex work. And yet, robust evidence testifies to the injustices, exploitation, and harm of human trafficking and the global sex trade.

2. There are identifiable conditions of supply and demand that make countries either a source, transition zone or destination for the acquisition and movement of women. Sporting events, it is acknowledged, provide certain conditions at specific times.

Civil unrest, regional conflict and international war as well as increasing global and localized poverty negatively impact on women's lives, causing conditions of immiseration, penury and vulnerability. Major sporting events add an additional factor to debate because they 'create circumstances that can be exploited by human traffickers' (Tavella, 2007, p. 198) and 'risk providing a venue for the exploitation of the world's most vulnerable persons' (p. 217).

Existing studies that have focused on the FIFA men's World Cups (2006, 2010) have discussed the prevalence of moral panics surrounding prostitution, including a negative focus on women sex workers, immigration policy and attempts to suppress sex work (Milivojevic & Pickering, 2008), as well as the negative impact of public outcry on public health services and action concerning HIV transmission (Richter et al., 2010, 2012). Deering et al. (2012), applying a public health perspective to the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, argued that the event served to promote police harassment and the displacement of local sex workers. This meant that local women were criminalized and their established safe spaces of sex work were jeopardized. Ward (2011), writing about London 2012, called for a rational debate that recognizes abhorrent and abusive treatment and the denial of the human rights of women. But she warned against an abolitionist agenda, which would increase harm of and violence against women, and decrease the sexual health of sex workers.

In terms of sport events and 'human trafficking for sex as well as forced sexual exploitation', Finkel and Finkel (2015, p. 17), Hayes (2010) and Tavella (2007) offer the few critical accounts available. This work is seated in their concerns with public health, legality and human rights respectively. Also, there are reports commissioned by NGOs and religious charities that tend towards resolution, which can deny the rights of sex workers. Noticeably, there is little in-depth academic research from within feminist sport and leisure studies.

Finkel and Finkel (2015) conclude that 'the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation almost certainly exists, but to what extent is the big question' (p. 17). Whilst predictions and estimates for Olympics and FIFA World Cups 'may be exaggerated', the lack of actual figures 'does not indicate that concerns about sex trafficking are unwarranted, or that countries hosting world sporting events should ignore sex trafficking' (Hayes, 2010, p. 1146). Remaining mindful of the argument that '[w]ithout further study it would be irresponsible to

dismiss a possible connection between trafficking and international sporting events' (Tavella, 2007), this chapter makes a call for more sport and leisure feminist research on the issue. It is apparent that public health and human rights scholars working within the realms of sex work and sexual exploitation have turned the spotlight on sporting events. Despite sport and leisure scholars' critical engagement with many aspects of sporting events, there is a noticeable lack of in-depth research on the sexual exploitation of women.

In Conclusion

Abolition, regulation, criminalization and decriminalization of the sex trade remain thorny resolutions and a proposed alternative remedy is the implementation of human rights instruments (Lindstrom, 2007; Munro, 2008). As is evident, comprehensive human rights legislation exists to protect and promote the human rights of women who are trafficked for sexual exploitation. However, and as an exemplar, the UK government has a poor record when it comes to the retrenchment of trafficking of women and restoring the human rights of trafficked women. Stepnitz (2009) claims that 'governmental responses to trafficking as a crime and as a human rights violation have been overshadowed by the perception of trafficking as an immigration problem' (p. 9). The recent CEDAW⁸ Shadow Report (Women's Resource Centre, 2013) confirms this claim. Specific to Article 6 of CEDAW,⁹ the report concludes that the UK government fails because it 'remains focused on immigration and border control in its strategy to combat trafficking, at the expense of the women it claims it is trying to protect' (p. 10).

There are numerous cases of sexually exploited trafficked women coming to the attention of the UK authorities. The treatment of these cases confirms that trafficked women are often discredited and dismissed (Markovska & Moore, 2011) and/or judged in terms of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' (Munro, 2008). Generally, women involved in the sex trade are stigmatized and viewed negatively by enforcement authorities. For numerous reasons, including how they are treated (e.g., lack of interpreters) they find the UK judicial system intimidating (Bindel et al., 2013). Many are rapidly deported, which often leads to a cycle of re-trafficking and repeated sexual exploitation (Morawska, 2007). They frequently withdraw from legal proceedings and/or disappear; few find refuge and justice (Stephen-Smith, 2008).

To reiterate, the UK governmental commitment to CEDAW is heavily criticized. Similarly, the Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (2010) concluded

that the UK does not comply with the European Convention on Action Against Trafficking. Trafficked women are often denied a period of stay, access to sexual health care and psychological support services. As a spokeswoman from the Poppy Project comments:

In many ways it feels to me like domestic violence used to feel—these women are victims, but they're not being seen as victims. When they're freed from violence or exploitation, they're immediately thrown into another whole set of difficulties. (in Moorhead, 2012, p. 7)

In terms of sporting events, it is possible for national governments to affect both the supply of, and demand for, women for sexual exploitation. However, as commentators have made the point, government involvement is poor when it comes to 'mitigating the increase in sex trafficking that is believed to accompany world sporting events' (Hayes, 2010, p. 1107). This leaves sport governing bodies (including the International Olympic Committee) to deal with human rights violations, and recently we have witnessed some progress. In March 2016, FIFA advertised for a Human Rights Manager (see: <http://www.globalsportsjobs.com/job/959077/human-rights-manager-w-m-/>). Only time will tell if this traditionally patriarchal sport organization will include the trafficking of women (and children) for sexual exploitation on its remit of human rights violations.

In the meantime, a sport and leisure feminist manifesto to address sexual exploitation during major sporting events might look like this:

1. Drawing from human rights instruments and feminist debate, further define the boundaries between sex work and sexual exploitation so that a working definition of sexual exploitation is determined. (e.g., theory informing practice).
2. Drawing from existing empirical material (secondary research), establish the extent of trafficking for sexual exploitation, and concomitant abuses of human rights during major sporting events.
3. Conduct original, ethically informed research based on the above processes. This research might overlap with research at major sporting events with sex workers.
4. Work on the ground with existing relevant groups to aid an understanding of the nature of major sporting events. Establish links to enable action research.
5. Mobilize all of the above to lobby sport governing bodies to recognize and address—in policy—human rights violations vis-à-vis the trafficking of women (and children) for sexual exploitation.

Notes

1. This history includes, but is not limited to, slavery and the so-called white slave trade. In recent history, anti-trafficking international agreements include 1910 White Slavery Convention, 1919 Covenant of the League of Nations, and the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Women and Children.
2. A pronunciation of this statement is evident in Marilyn French's novel *The Women's Room* (French, 1977), when the character Val comments: 'Whatever they may be in public life, whatever their relations with men, in their relations with women, all men are rapists, and that's all they are. They rape us with their eyes, their laws, and their codes.' (p. 476).
3. Also known as the Palermo Protocol because it was devised in Palermo, Italy on 15 November 2000. By 2002, 105 countries had signed the Trafficking Protocol. At the end of 2014, 166 parties had ratified the Protocol.
4. Founded in 1993.
5. Founded in 1994.
6. Entered into force December 2003.
7. We might argue that sexual intercourse is, for many, a deeply human/humanistic experience and links with universal human rights pertaining to dignity and respect.
8. Convention on the Eliminate all forms of Discrimination Against Women: 1981.
9. Trafficking and sexual exploitation of women.

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Feminism and Its Places: Women, Leisure and the Night-Time Economy

Deborah Stevenson

Introduction

Urban space and the ways in which it is used and experienced shapes and is shaped by practices, codes and rhythms that are gendered. Until relatively recently, for instance, the suburbs were associated with the day-to-day lives of women while the city was regarded as a place for “working” men. It is also well known that the provision of leisure spaces by governments has long privileged the sports and pastimes of men over those of women. Further, the fear of physical violence and assault is influential in determining how women use public space, especially at night. With a focus on urban leisure and the night-time economy in particular, this chapter highlights some key elements of the complex relationship between gender and space and makes reference to influential scholarship from academic fields including sociology, leisure studies and geography. It discusses the multifaceted and frequently contradictory relationships women often have with the city, which for many is experienced and imagined simultaneously as a place of potential danger as well as a site of pleasure and empowerment. The chapter underlines the view that in order to grasp such complexity and address the challenges “space” poses for understanding women’s leisure, a range of interconnecting approaches and an interdisciplinary sensibility is required.

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Spaces of Fear and Safety

A 2016 Australian study entitled ‘A Right to the Night’ reported that a third of young women surveyed did not believe they should be in public space at night at all, while a quarter said that young women should never travel alone on public transport (Plan International and Our Watch, 2016). These findings are consistent with those of other research that has considered women’s attitudes to, and experiences of, public space in Australia and elsewhere (Stevenson, 2013). For instance, the Islington Crime Surveys conducted in the 1980s by a team of criminologists in the United Kingdom are much cited in the literature on women’s fear in, and of, public space. These surveys found that 73% of women compared with 27% of men were concerned about going out alone at night, and 68% of women aged under 25

...took some form of avoidance action at night through fear of crime, avoiding certain streets, carrying items that could be used as weapons of self-defence. Some 43 per cent of women claimed to avoid public transport at night for fear of crime. (Worpole, 1992, p. 52)

Similarly, the Crime Survey for England and Wales (formerly the British Crime Survey), which has been conducted since 1981, routinely finds that in response to the question ‘How safe do you feel walking alone in the street after dark?’, considerably more women than men say that they experience some degree of fear in this situation (UK Office for National Statistics, 2016). Almost every study of perceptions of urban safety confirms that women are more fearful than men of becoming victims of violent crime (Pain, 2001; Valentine, 1989), a finding that is regarded by many feminists as both evidence and outcome of patriarchy and the structural subordination of women in society. Also relevant in this context is the Reclaim/Take Back the Night movement which, since its inception in Philadelphia in 1975, has developed into a global phenomenon with night-time marches held annually in cities around the world to highlight the problem of rape and sexual violence against women including, in particular, the specific dangers women face in the city at night (Mackay, 2015).

Many women’s perceptions and use of urban public space are thus curtailed and moulded by fear and apprehension—fear of violent crime, unease about strangers, and of feeling marginalized because of the types of activities that dominate such spaces (Valentine, 1989). Indeed, it is well known that women routinely understand the city in terms of places that are “safe” and those that are not, identifying for instance those streets that can be walked alone and

those that must be traversed with others or by private car (Mackay, 2015). Of particular significance are the strategies of avoidance many women adopt almost reflexively in their use of the city and its public spaces. In this regard, Dora Epstein's (1997, p. 134) account of the way women negotiate fear in their use and imagining of urban space remains compelling:

There is a story to this fearing, this fearing that maps the cityscapes into places I will go and places I will not. As speaking subjects, sentient members of urban terrains, we can narrate our cartographies of avoidance, our fearing, far better than we can narrate how the fearing came to be. We know, can articulate, what we have deemed 'unsafe'—the strange, the unfamiliar, the supposedly violent 'other' against which we have insulated and barricaded ourselves—and what we have deemed as 'safe'—the lit, the populated, the orderly, or seemingly controlled to which we have clung. We felt justified when violence occurred in the realm of our 'unsafe'; felt shock when it occurred in our 'safe'.

Fear of physical violence and assault are thus important factors leading many women to avoid certain spaces within the city at certain times, most particularly at night. Women are drawn at night to those places that are well lit and populated and will avoid the dark and deserted. The threat is simultaneously real and imagined. There is, for instance, strong evidence suggesting women are much less likely to be the victims of crime in the urban night-time than are young men (Thomas & Bromley, 2000). But where (young, heterosexual) men may feel invincible in the night city irrespective of its dangers, women are likely to feel vulnerable. Nevertheless, women's use of the city at night is significantly inhibited with it being common for them to manage their presence to reduce their risk of becoming the victims of crime. This management relates not only to their movement through public space but also to their leisure, the venues they frequent when participating in the night-time leisure economy, how they get to and from these venues, and the ways in which they use and claim these leisure spaces when they are there.

Gender and the Urban Night

As the day-time city becomes the city of the night, the familiar spaces of work and leisure take on very different forms and functions. Many sites that seem mundane, safe and populated by day become abandoned and forbidding as the light moves through twilight into darkness, from the seemingly 'natural' to the 'artificial' (Schivelbusch, 1988). Street furniture, for instance, that has been installed for use during the day is often inappropriate or even dangerous

at night. But where work dominates the discourses of the day-time city, it is the practices associated with leisure that are central to the way in which the night city is lived and imagined. Work, such as office cleaning, street sweeping and the like, which takes place overnight to ensure the city is ready for the next day, is rendered invisible in most narratives of the city at night. Also often overlooked is the work that is undertaken in the spaces of leisure including bar work and waiting on tables. What captures the popular imagination is leisure and, in particular, the leisure that is associated with entertainment and excess. This is the leisure that occurs principally in hotels, bars and nightclubs but also in restaurants, cinemas and theatres. It is sometimes illicit and often disproportionately focused on alcohol consumption and the activities of young people and young males in particular. Evidence is mounting, however, that for many young women the city at night is a site of pleasure, opportunity and adventure, as well as of danger and uncertainty. This is an urban presence that is also cut through with contradictions.

The city can offer some women the freedom to transgress but their presence in public space particularly at night historically has been considered a 'problem of order', in part because of its symbolic association with 'the promise of sexual adventure' (Wilson, 1992, p. 6) but also because of their vulnerability to physical assault. As a result, much leisure and social policy has been underpinned by the aim of controlling/containing women's movement through the city at night in order to protect them and their reputations. For many young women in contemporary contexts, however, the city at night is a key site of leisure and a space of empowerment, albeit one that they navigate within parameters designed to manage risk and safeguard themselves from violence and the unwanted attentions of men. Under conditions of the night-time economy, young women are present in ever-increasing numbers in the much maligned alco-centric leisure precincts of cities around the world and many are embracing the so-called 'carnavalesque' of this socio-temporal space with considerable relish (Mackiewicz, 2012).

Young women's use of the city at night for leisure has grown exponentially with the development of night-time economy strategies (Jayne, Valentine, & Holloway, 2011). Women are often explicitly targeted by the night-time leisure industry and there has been an increase in "female-friendly" venues in many cities in the West (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003). Indeed, attempts by local authorities to stimulate the night-time economy as part of urban revival and regeneration strategies (Stevenson, 2013) coincided with a number of significant social changes which meant that women had much greater capacity to partake in leisure and consumption than previously was the case. Of importance were increases in: their participation in the workforce and higher education; leisure time and discretionary income; and the age of marriage and

child rearing (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003, p. 154). Green and Singleton (2006, p. 2) point out that sexuality, class, ethnicity, race and culture also intersect to shape behaviour. Important, too, have been changes to the structure and expression of women's friendships and the associated patterns of socializing, including the emergence of so-called "ladies' nights out" and the institutionalization of "hen nights" which often involve male strippers and other inversions of gender roles and stereotypes (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010).

While increased freedom to be in the city at night is frequently considered evidence of gender-based leisure "equality", according to Chatterton and Hollands (2003, p. 148) this participation 'has often been on male terms, and contains their own negative consequences like increase levels of drunkenness, violence and drug consumption'. In other words, young women are behaving in the city at night in ways similar to young men. And the result has been something of a moral panic prompted in part by the incongruity of established notions of femininity and those of the drunken female body in public space (Waite, Jessop, & Gorman-Murray, 2011) as well as lingering social concerns about the appropriateness of women being in the city at night.

In spite of the increased presence of women in the spaces of the night-time economy, however, men continue to dominate them. As Laura Sheard (2011, p. 621) explains, 'young women's nightlife experiences are still structured by assumptions about their sexual availability (by young men) and a vulnerability to attack and harassment'. Charlotte de Crespigny (2001) points out that women are frequently blamed for assaults and other forms of abuse they may experience in the night-time economy because of the deep-seated view that they should not be there in the first place and, in being there, they are putting themselves at risk. Such attitudes, in effect 'perpetuate a belief that young women who drink make poor decisions, take risks deliberately and leave themselves open to attacks by violent males' (de Crespigny, 2001, p. 44). Women might now occupy the leisure spaces of the night-time economy in considerable numbers, but this occupation is occurring in the context of established stereotypes and beliefs about women, leisure and urban public space and it is not a space that is open to all women.

Safety, Sociality and Excess

At different times in Australia and the UK, government-funded media campaigns have been run in an attempt to address the problem of "binge drinking" that is a feature of the night-time economy, and young women have explicitly been targeted, the aim being to tell them what is appropriate behaviour.

Central to these campaigns has been what Rebecca Brown and Melissa Gregg (2012) label a ‘pedagogy of regret’, whereby intoxicated young women are depicted in a range of vulnerable, degrading and often sexually compromising situations in the urban night-time as an outcome of being drunk. Regret is used as a tactic intended to scare young women into controlling their behaviour and protecting themselves from doing something they will later “regret”. The advertisements play on well-established fears about the dangers that lurk for women in the city at night, including the risk of rape and sexual assault. It is assumed/hoped that the target audience will regard both the depicted behaviour and its consequences as undesirable. Underpinning this expectation are ‘ideals of normative femininity and heterosexuality, in which young women strive to appear “respectable”’ (Brown & Gregg, 2012). As Brown and Gregg (2012) and Waitt et al. (2011) argue, however, rather than being sources of regret ‘in the morning’, the empirical evidence suggests that for many young women, excessive drinking and disorderly behaviour whilst drunk are actually important aspects of their enjoyment of a night out. And this enjoyment may be heightened by the sharing of anecdotes and images afterwards, usually via social media. Green and Singleton (2006) suggest that ‘risky’ leisure behaviour can for many young women be a technique for negotiating and challenging prevailing discourses of acceptable femininity. It may be too that drinking, drunkenness and being present as a consumer in the night-time economy are key elements of the way in which many young women now express and consolidate their friendships and assert their feminine identities (Waitt et al., 2011).

Research has found that friendship plays a central part in young women’s enjoyment of the night-time economy as well as in the way in which they manage risk, their presence in urban space at night, and contradictions associated with consumption and surveillance. For instance, Waitt et al. (2011) found from their study of women and the night-time leisure economy in the Australian city of Wollongong that bonding and intimacy between female friends were not only important aspects of a night out for many young women, but the presence of female friends served to create perceived safe places within leisure venues and public space. They point out that:

[i]n response to the heavily gendered and sexualised social relationships that territorialised pubs, young women also temporarily carved out part of the pub, creating a ‘circle of legitimacy’ around the self, marking out and sustaining a ‘space of privacy’ within a venue. (Waitt et al., 2011, p. 266)

In other words, these women deployed a range of boundary defining and maintenance tactics in order to keep the leisure space safe and to act as markers of inclusion and belonging, something which was also noted by Scraton and

Watson (1998). De Crespigny (2001) is another who notes the importance of female friends to young women's night-time leisure experiences, including ensuring each other's safety whilst drunk. She too highlights the role of female groupings within leisure venues, saying that:

Female friendship was 'the safety net' from which young women could more safely avoid or reject difficult males, or engage with people whom they wanted to interact with but would not do so alone. (2001, p. 38)

Friends thus act as both audience and protector as safety, sociality and excess converge in the night-time leisure economy and the negotiation of its spaces. These observations about the complexity of understanding women's presence in the night-time economy point to the importance of ongoing debates within feminism about women, space and leisure that highlight social expectations and constraints as well as points of resistance and empowerment.

Gender in Place

An interest in women's relationship to the city developed from second-wave feminist challenges in the 1970s to the dominant models of sociological thought (Firestone, 1970; Millett, 1970; Mitchell, 1971). Drawing on feminist theory, critics argued that urban studies had failed to take account of gender differences, the spatial consequences of structural gender inequality, and the intersection of society and space in the reproduction of gender relations. Prior to this time, gender was not regarded as an issue in analyses of cities and urban life and the implicit subject of urban research was male even when the focus of the research was on (traditionally female) domains such as neighbouring and community (Bryson & Wearing, 1985). Underpinning early feminist challenges to the foundations of urban thought was an acknowledgement that 'the city has both enhanced and constricted women's lives; [and] the experience of men and women in ... cities is quite significantly different ...' (Editorial, *Signs* 1980: S1).

Scrutinized initially were the then dominant theories of urban sociology and geography in particular, with a specific charge being directed at Marxist political economy for its exclusive concern with the urban effects of the capitalist mode of production and neglect of relations in the sphere of reproduction associated with the home and the private (Markusen, 1980). There was also a concern that women were frequently disadvantaged by urban life and that the form of the modern city (in particular, the physical separation of work and home) reflected and reinforced this disadvantage. This view was, in

part, predicated on a dichotomy—the distinction between the public and the private realms with the public being linked to the city and places of work, and the private to the domestic—the home and the suburbs. Thus a starting point for pioneering feminist urban scholarship was that men and women traditionally have performed very different roles in society, with men travelling to work each day and women remaining home to take charge of the household, and care for children and elderly relatives. This segregation came to be called the “gender division of labour”. A spatial implication of the gender division of labour was that the suburbs were regarded as the “natural” spaces for women and children while the city was a place for working men (Matrix, 1984; McDowell, 1983; Saegert, 1980). Women’s presence in public space, therefore, has historically been regarded as problematic in part because it ‘interrupt[s] a normative separation of an urban public sphere, coded and enacted as male, from a feminized private or domestic sphere’ (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 98).

More recently, as the concerns of feminism have become more nuanced, there has been a move away from overly structuralist approaches to understanding gender and the city (focused on universality and inequality), to considering the importance of meaning, symbolism and identity to the use and experience of space. Also recognized and often celebrated is difference, including the profound differences that exist between women, their everyday lives and their use of space. In other words, it is now acknowledged that not only are the interests and urban experiences of women frequently not the same as those of men, but they are often not the same for all women. Key variables include class, age, sexuality, ethnicity and race, but as feminists explored the gendering of urban space, many also recognized that an important fault-line was leisure.

Women and Leisure

Academic interest in gender and space coincided with the development of scholarship from within leisure studies that demonstrated there are fundamental differences in the leisure experiences and priorities of men and women, and that when women’s leisure is acknowledged, it is often trivialized and rarely receives the levels of state resourcing provided to men’s leisure, including the provision of urban leisure infrastructure. Just as the city has historically been coded male, then so too has leisure. The reasons for this positioning are many but central again is the gender division of labour and the associated linking of men to work and its places and women to the home and the private

sphere (discussed above). Leisure as “non-work” came, almost by default, to be connected with what men did when they were not at work and with the places within which they did it. The home, therefore, was regarded as a site of recreation even though for women it was a place of work. What this association meant in particular was that women had a problematic relationship with urban space, not only the spaces of work and “the city” but also with those that are public in its broadest sense. These are sites where the uneasy relationship between women, leisure and space is thrown into sharp relief and it is in considering women’s use and perception of public space that many enduring gender assumptions and stereotypes are revealed along with key differences in the leisure practices of women themselves.

For middle-class (white) women it was the advent of the department store that facilitated the emergence of more “feminized” public spaces and was, in part, responsible for forging new connections between (bourgeois) women, leisure and consumption. The department store provided women with options for experiencing and being in (quasi)public space that had previously not been available to them. Along with the emergence in the nineteenth century of white-collar occupations for women, including clerks, hairdressers and shop assistants (Jordan, 1999), the development of spaces, such as the department store, both increased women’s presence in public space and ‘transformed the middle- and lower-middle class woman’s experience of public life’ (Wilson, 1995, p. 68). Such spaces also changed the nature of women’s leisure. Shopping, for instance, became a site of leisure for many women, albeit often inhibited by limited time and resources (Scruton & Watson, 1998). In some respects too, these spaces are extensions of the private sphere, while for many women shopping has a strong connection with everyday domestic labour. The ways in which women travel to and from “safe” public spaces, including shopping centres, are also important because such travel is often highly constrained (physically and temporally) due to concerns about safety and risk.

Mirroring developments within urban studies, feminist researchers in the 1980s challenged dominant leisure studies perspectives for their focus on male pursuits and for making men the implicit subject of analysis. They also drew attention to the structural barriers to women’s participation in leisure and the failure of leisure studies scholarship to recognize the value of this participation (Parry & Fullagar, 2013). As well as highlighting the lived consequences of the association of women with the private sphere and its spaces, research also focused on gender inequities in the provision and use of sporting and recreation facilities. The expanded focus of feminism to include concerns such as difference and identity also changed feminist analyses of leisure

(Parry & Fullagar, 2013, p. 576). Reconceptualizing what counts as leisure made it possible to grapple with its complexity and to understand it as a personal space, an aspect of identity formation, and a source of empowerment (Wearing, 1998) as well as a space of marginalization and struggle. Many feminists also acknowledged that leisure experiences and practices vary considerably between women as an outcome of factors such as class, age and ethnicity, rendering one-size-fits-all explanations unsatisfactory.

Women's increasing role in the workforce also meant that blanket assumptions about the separation of home and work were unsustainable, while many feminist commentators pointed to the importance of popular culture and entertainment in the leisure lives of women. It is in this context, too, that understanding young women's participation in the night-time economy becomes important because, as discussed above, not only does this participation highlight changes in the nature of women's leisure as women now occupy the leisure spaces that were once the domains of men and often seek to do so on their own terms, but it also challenges established gender stereotypes, including understandings of femininity. Women are entering the urban night as active leisure consumers and, in so doing, are redefining three sites historically associated with the exclusion of women—the city, public space and leisure.

Conclusion

For women, the city has been a space of potential danger and often of sanction. Although women may now be able to move by day with relative freedom through the contemporary Western city, by night this movement is still constrained. As this chapter demonstrates, the city at night is both a site of pleasure and of potential danger for many young women. On the one hand they consume and engage with the night-time economy in ways that are very similar to men, including taking drugs and drinking to excess. At the same time, however, research shows that many adopt personal and collective strategies to manage risk and navigate their movement through, and presence in, its spaces. In this context, female friends and the carving out of micro spaces of safety and familiarity have emerged as important.

A complex and contradictory picture thus emerges, with censorious attitudes towards women's presence in public space at night continuing to be hegemonic at the same time as young women seek to claim the night-time city and its spaces as sites of their leisure. There are also prevailing assumptions about public drunkenness that can only be explained in terms of gender

stereotypes, and the physical dangers women face in public space at night are very real. For many young women, however, public drunkenness and other forms of seemingly disorderly behaviour in the night-time economy are leisure options. These are contradictions that contemporary feminism must engage with. Explaining the gendered nature of the night-time economy solely in terms of empowerment and resistance is clearly inadequate because to do so ignores powerful ideologies and structural contexts and constraints. At the same time, it is important to eschew totalizing explanations and for feminists to work with ambiguity and paradox. It is only by proceeding thus that progress will be made on developing a nuanced understanding of the relationship between women, space and leisure.

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Some of Us Are Still Brave: Sport and the Social Production of Black Femaleness

Delia D. Douglas

Black Women in/and Their Bodies: Corporeal Incriptions and Hierarchies of Humanity (Higginbotham, 1992)

The title of this chapter refers to the 1982 influential collection on black women's studies titled *All the women are white, all the blacks are men, but some of us are brave*. The collection, edited by black American feminists Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, comprised a groundbreaking and incisive summary of the theoretical invisibility of black women in feminist and racial discourses, and is instructive in understanding their absence in sport studies in North America. For example, with the exception of the Caster Semenya affair, both feminist and physical cultural sport studies scholarship have demonstrated a negligible interest in the lives of black female athletes. Where this literature does reflect more sophisticated analyses of race, sex-gender and sexuality, these formations are typically constructed as exclusive categories of theory and analysis as evidenced by labels such as "race and sport" and "gender and sport" (Scraton, 2001). These customary configurations ignore the complexity and diversity of black women's lives by placing them in a discursive position that marginalizes or erases their experiences and identities (Crenshaw, 1991). For instance, Serena Williams, Caster Semenya and Brittney Griner have been described by their competitors, the media and the

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public as possessing an unnatural physicality and embodying masculine traits—or, more to the point, they are in fact men. Following these examples, I would argue that these dominant framings of race and gender limit our understanding of how multiple and intersecting systems of power are produced in and through local and global sporting contexts to shape black female athletes' sporting lives.

I maintain that this omission in feminist and physical cultural sport studies scholarship is significant because black female athletes' relationship to sport is influenced by longstanding race–sex–gender conceptions and perceptions of black women that locate their status and identity in their corporeality. That is, the black female body has always been a target and marker of pathology and deviance; the history of enslavement and white supremacist discourse simultaneously denies them status as human and as *real* women (hooks, 1981; Spillers, 1987). The legacy of these histories continues to influence sporting cultures, both in terms of accessibility and ideas about which bodies are best suited to certain sports. It is precisely because the classification of black women's bodies has always been inextricable from their location in relation to their humanity that I am interested in how the (hyper)visible arena of sport (re)produces and reinforces public understandings of black female alterity.

I contend that the insistent querying of the humanity of black female athletes and their bodies is a feminist issue, because the corporeal integrity and personhood of black women is not simply being questioned, it is being violated. Hence, I maintain that the cultural classification and perception of various sports as *masculine* and *feminine* poses specific challenges for black female athletes. In particular, assumptions and claims about the presumed legibility of their race–sex–gender difference and the exceptional nature of their athletic performance have been used as evidence to justify assertions that these athletes are not in fact who they conceive themselves to be—black women.

While it is certainly true that all female athletes must navigate the patriarchal and heterocentric discourses and structures that govern sport, I contend that black female athletes' performance and embodiment elicits a particular (anti-black engendered) disquiet (Cohen, 2004; Douglas, 2002; Munro, 2010). To the extent that discussions of gender non/conformity and gender identity have had little to say about race, they have failed to take into account how the politics of embodiment and race–sex–gender relate to the experiences and representations of black female athletes (Bakare-Yusuf, 1999; Cahn, 2004; Gissendanner, 1996; Griffin, 2012). Following Brittney Cooper (2010, p. 47), I contend that the resultant silences and exclusions are significant since they 'constitute discursive and textual acts of misrecognition for black women and their bodies'. In addition to raising awareness about the continued mis/identification of various black female athletes, I argue that the reiteration of white supremacist discourses

upholds social hierarchies and beliefs about the distinction between black and white women according to 'scales of humanity' (Higginbotham, 1992, p. 263). I argue that the positioning of black women as the embodiment of non-normative gender is important because as Evelyn Higginbotham (1992, p. 258) explains, 'for black and white women, gendered identity was reconstructed and represented in very different, indeed antagonistic, racialized contexts'. Building on this observation I consider how the discordant racialized and engendered cultural conception and perception of black and white women makes possible expressions of anti-black misogyny and gendered racism.

Drawing on the work of historians, black feminist and critical race and gender scholars, this chapter explores the contemporary politics of black female embodiment and the production of black femaleness in sport. I examine the discursive sites of tennis, and track and field to demonstrate how histories of enslavement and colonialism influence contemporary sporting cultures, in terms of the valuation of ab/normal performance "gaps", (Willis, 1982, p. 120) and beliefs about which bodies are best suited to certain sports (Birrell & Cole, 1990). I argue that as a physical cultural practice, sport is central to the (re)production and (de)construction of black female corporeal integrity both in and outside sport. Building on the conspicuous historical examples of Sojourner Truth and Saartje Baartman, this discussion is guided by the following questions: What makes a black person female? What makes a black female athlete a woman? Thus, I seek to introduce race into discussions and analyses of sex/gender and embodiment to impel 'a corporeal rupture and a discursive destabilization, because the newly introduced body literally embodies the social categories in ways that remain unrecognized by the labels as they have been created' (Cooper, 2010, p. 47). In addition to advancing our understanding of how multiple and intersecting systems of power operate simultaneously to shape black female athletes' lives, I aim to demonstrate how the development of integrated and complex analyses of discourses of difference and domination is key to the cultivation of any meaningful and liberatory sporting feminist projects (Cohen, 2004).

Do "We" Look Suspicious? Race-Ing Sex-Engendering Race in Black and White

Enslavement is the inaugural moment which rendered black female bodies legible while sex-gendering them according to logics of whiteness. As Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (1999, p. 313) explains, 'it is the visible physical difference that marked the African as inherently non human'. The enslaved were deemed property under a system that authorized white ownership of black bodies and

black labour; refused the rights associated with humanity and subjectivity and the social status of motherhood, black women occupied a unique location where they were denied a gendered position (Bakare-Yusuf, 1999; Spillers, 1987). Hortense Spillers (1987) expands on this point, offering a persuasive account of slavery and captivity, arguing that the middle passage undermined the African kinship system because the gender difference between African men and women disappeared on the slave ship. As Spillers (1987, p. 73) explains, African women could not engage in the ‘reproduction of mothering’, which according to the white patriarchal gender system was deemed the only female gender that exists. Thus, while white women birthed the next generation and mothering confirmed their status as human, black women were denied a gendered status which rendered them objects, not subjects (Bakare-Yusuf, 1999). Moreover, enslaved women transmitted their status to their offspring—they did not give birth to children, but to property owned by the white enslaver. Thus, slavery’s system of identification and classification contributed to the creation of discourses in which black women were not recognized as either female, or human (Davis, 1971; Gray White, 1985; Higginbotham, 1992).

Furthermore, compelled to labour as field hands, enslaved black women’s bodies were regarded as ‘unwomanly’ and ‘monstrous’ (Morgan, 2004, p. 14), thereby supporting their characterization as ‘surrogate men’ (hooks, 1981, p. 23). Thus, for women of African descent anatomy and reproductive capacity never served as evidence of femaleness or womanhood. The contradictory gendered status indicates the inextricable relationship between sex/gender and race. As Higginbotham (1992, p. 258) compellingly states, ‘gender itself was both constructed and fragmented by race. Gender, so colored by race, remained from birth until death inextricably linked to one’s personal identity and social status’. Building on this conceptualization and its historical antecedent of enslavement, I demonstrate how the paradoxical structuring of a gendered status to black women informs the contemporary perception and treatment of black female athletes in tennis and then in athletics.

Tennis: *Ladies First*

Pursued by the elite in the late nineteenth century, tennis was conceived as an activity whose physical requirements did not compromise dominant notions of femininity, as participants comprised well-mannered women who wore corsets and petticoats (Cahn, 1994). Moreover, owing to the cost of the equipment and the need for grass courts, tennis was accessible to an exclusive few, ensuring the maintenance of the social boundaries of respectability

(Festle, 1996; Rhoden, 1977). Over a century after it was founded, the Wimbledon tournament, held in London, UK and commonly called “the Championships”, remains the focal point for the traditionally “lily-white” apparel, culture and audience of tennis (Jacques, 2005). The tournament’s commitment to upholding white hetero-patriarchal notions of femininity (and masculinity) was apparent in the designation of the ladies’ and gentlemen’s sections of the draw where, prior to 2009, players were identified as Miss or Mrs on the scoreboard and, if married, referred to by their husbands’ names.

Black American leaders of the American Tennis Association, Drs Walter Johnson and Hubert Eaton, believed that the success of a black woman in this realm could influence white notions of black degeneracy. Consequently they groomed Althea Gibson, a young woman from Harlem, to compete, teaching her tennis techniques and social skills, such as how to be a “lady” on and off of the tennis court. They bought her dresses, curled her hair, and showed her how to wear lipstick (Hillman, 1957). In 1951 Gibson broke the colour bar at Wimbledon, becoming the first racialized minority female to play on the revered grounds, reaching the quarter-finals in her first attempt (Gibson, 1958). As prevailing racialized gender etiquette privileged feminine presentation over demonstration of athletic excellence, Gibson’s net play was deemed ‘mannish’ (Festle, 1996, p. 67), while her powerful serve and weight of shot contributed to the belief that she played a ‘man’s game’ (*Time* magazine, 15 July 1957, p. 63). In an article for the *Sunday Graphic* in 1956 Scottie Hall described how the crowd’s disapproval of Gibson’s physicality and approach to the game was conveyed: ‘It was an unspoken, unexpressed but felt anti-Gibson atmosphere’ (quoted in Gibson, 1958, p. 115). In her autobiography Gibson (1958) spoke of wanting to return the next year to take ‘another crack at those 20,000 spectators and the frightening Wimbledon tradition’ (116). Gibson’s aspiration was fulfilled, and she defied the hauteur and inhospitable atmosphere by winning the Ladies’ Singles titles in 1957 and 1958. The reigning Wimbledon Champion was confronted by sexist stereotypes regarding female athletic excellence, and gendered racist stereotypes borne of enslavement and Jim Crow at the US national championships in 1957. Gibson was granted permission to compete only *after* she took a chromosome test to confirm she was female (Rhoden, 2007).

In 1958 when Gibson walked on to the court to defend her US Open title, a sign in the stands read, ‘Go back to the cotten [sic] plantation nigger’ (McKay & Johnson, 2008, p. 491). Similarly as a result of beliefs about the unwomanly nature of black females, Gibson’s demeanour, her apparently ‘sullen intensity’, was ‘off putting to fans’, and her personal habits were suspect (Festle, 1996, p. 67). In order to assuage the fears of the white public, the

press made sure to remark that Althea Gibson ‘took a bath every afternoon’ (Vertinsky & Captain, 1998, p. 541). In addition to the intolerant public, the majority of the white women in the locker room spurned Gibson (Festle, 2006). Betty Rosenquest, a contemporary of Gibson’s described the situation thus: ‘What you have to remember was, we hadn’t had a black person with us. It was all new to us’ (Schoenfeld, 2004, p. 122). Rosenquest’s account of the reason for the tension and hostility that Gibson’s arrival provoked reveals that Gibson was not recognized as a peer, but as a threat who could potentially undermine the cultural integrity of tennis. As reporter William Rhoden (1977, p. 60) elucidates, the racial animosity Gibson experienced ‘masked a more basic fear; namely, that she would secularize the sport—take it down from the pedestal—and reduce it to what it really was: a simple game of learned techniques and snobbery’. Gibson’s experiences illustrate the interconnectedness of different systems of domination: she had to navigate the class, race and patriarchal elements of tennis’ positioning as a country-club sport whose animus reflected hierarchies and privileges that it sought to protect.

The legacies of the ‘deeper, structural invisibility’ of the ‘white center’ (Ferguson, 1990, p. 10) of tennis’ historical development are evident in its ongoing race and class homogeneity and in the continued promotion of white heterosexual femininity as the desired (i.e., appropriate) femininity (Cahn, 1994; Douglas, 2002). Like their black female predecessor, since their arrival on the professional tennis tour Venus and Serena Williams have had to deal with predominantly white crowds whose behaviour has ranged from unreceptive to virulent (Douglas, 2005; Spencer, 2004). The pattern of white hostility towards a black female presence in tennis endures in the mainstream media that describes the Williams sisters as ‘masculine’ and ‘ugly’ (Douglas, 2002; McKay & Johnson, 2008). Moreover, while the alleged ‘gaudiness’ of Serena Williams’ muscles (Thompson, 2015, p. 24) is interpreted as evidence that she (and her sister) are in fact men, according to David Frum, a former adviser to George W. Bush and senior editor of *The Atlantic* magazine, Serena Williams’ victory in the 2015 Wimbledon Ladies’ Singles final was due to steroid use (Feldman, 2015). Beyond revealing the white colonial investment in black female alterity, I would suggest that these explanations for the assumed impossibility of black female sporting excellence confirms that the dehumanization of black women exists in an atmosphere of acceptability (Martinot, 2010).

In her important work, *Laboring women*, Jennifer L. Morgan (2004, p. 28) shows how European explorers’ portrayals of African women as “beasts and monsters” date back several centuries. In their analysis of representations of black American sportswomen, McKay and Johnson (2008, p. 492) build on this feature of racial-gender oppression, arguing that ‘hyper-muscularity’ is ‘a

new social phenomenon and a denigrating stereotype'. They contend that it was originally used to establish the difference between "male" and "female" athletes and is now being used to malign successful black female athletes. I contend that these portrayals are also being employed to engender race and racialize sex to ensure that black women continue to be seen as not truly female and, therefore, not worthy of respect. Moreover, given tennis' historical role in developing and promoting a classed and raced figure of *proper* femininity, contemporary representations of black women as unwomanly and unattractive reinforce the notion that a black "lady" is an inconceivable, indeed, an unattainable figure.

The simultaneous devaluation of black womanhood and celebration of white hetero-femininity are underscored in the response to Serena Williams' loss to Maria Sharapova in the 2004 Wimbledon final.¹ Following her victory, described as a 'photogenic upset', (Glock, 2005, p. 6) the 6 foot 3 inch slender Siberian became the new 'It girl' (Kafka, 2005, p. 117) of the mainstream media (and women's tennis). In an *ESPN: The Magazine* article titled 'The Look of Love', reporter Allison Glock (2005, p. 2) describes Sharapova's 'long, golden hair', noting that 'her skin is fair, ... she must be protected'. According to Glock (2005), Sharapova's black female competitors are no match for her unrivalled 'prettiness'. In her words, '[w]here the Williams sisters can be read as redoubtable and look imposing in evening wear, Sharapova rocks her Versace gowns and is consequently viewed with the same longing and aspiration as Gwyneth Paltrow or Nicole Kidman' (Glock, 2005, p. 9). The parallel between Sharapova and two high-profile white actresses proves that she is an athlete who embodies the traits of a "true" woman. The cultural imagery invoked to differentiate her from Venus and Serena Williams 'articulate[s] powerful, ... racist messages that confirm not only cultural difference but also cultural superiority' (Ware, 1992, p. 14).

The material and psychological rewards for white women loyal to personifications of hetero-patriarchal femininity are revealed by Sharapova quickly becoming the world's highest-paid female athlete, earning nearly \$US 20 million per year (Kafka, 2005). According to Forbes magazine, since her 2004 victory, Sharapova has been the highest-earning female athlete. In contrast, despite unparalleled on-court achievements and holding four consecutive Grand Slam singles titles, Williams' earnings from June 2014–June 2015 total US\$ 24.6 million, placing her behind Sharapova's US\$ 29.7 million.² The considerable gap in remuneration between Sharapova and Williams illustrates the cultural and financial capital associated with white womanhood; confirmation of Sharapova's appeal simultaneously relies on, and normalizes, the devaluation of black womanhood (Higginbotham, 1992; Martinot, 2010). Crucially, while Sharapova may not win on the court, the fact that she wins in the pocketbook also grants her a feeling of superiority and security in relation to Williams/black women.

Track and Field: See How *S/He* Runs

Women were deemed ineligible to compete at the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens in 1896. According to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the modern games, women's participation would be 'impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic, and incorrect' (Abrams, 2013, p. 15). The 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam marked the first appearance of women in track and field; however their inclusion was met with censure. According to Dr Frederick Rand Rogers, the Olympics 'are essentially masculine in nature and develop wholly masculine physiques and behavior traits', and female participation in track and field would compromise women's 'health, physical beauty and attractiveness' (Cahn, 2004, p. 214). Opposition to the sport grew and in the 1950s the International Olympic Committee (IOC) attempted to remove a number of events that were 'not truly feminine' (Cahn, 2004, p. 212). IOC official Norman Cox 'sardonically' suggested that rather than banning women's events they should establish a category of competition for the 'hermaphrodites' who were consistently victorious over 'normal' women who he described as 'child-bearing' women who possessed 'largish breasts, wide hips, [and] knocked knees' (Cahn, 2004, p. 212). Clearly, the belief that outstanding athletic ability indicated masculine abilities that only existed in the male body relied on an oppositional notion that successful female elite athletes were not biological females (Birrell & Cole, 1990; Griffin, 2012). The IOC's introduction of sex tests in 1967 underscored the conception that athleticism and femininity were irreconcilable.³

In 1948 Alice Coachman became the first black woman to win an Olympic medal; the American won gold in the high jump competition. Black women only entered track and field in large numbers following the Second World War, a time when it was regarded as too arduous for "normal" (i.e., white) women (Cahn, 1994). Their participation was due to the fact that the sport did not carry the same disapproval for black women, who had historically occupied a different relationship to their physicality, notions of femininity and womanhood (Cahn, 2004; Gissendanner, 1996; hooks, 1981). That is, in addition to the corporeal demands of enslavement which required black women to birth the future generations of property for the enslavers, they were also required to perform labour typically carried out by men (Gray White, 1985; hooks, 1981). The emergent discourse of the white middle-class cult of "true" womanhood relied on the traits of respectability and its opposite—degeneracy—to organize class, race and gender relations among women (Fellows & Razack, 1998). In contrast, because black women were compelled to work outside the home, often in physically demanding jobs, they were regarded and recognized as their

opposite (Davis, 1971; Higginbotham, 1992). Consequently, excluded from the constraints of dominant femininity, black women developed their own perceptions and behaviours regarding embodiment, respectability and ideals about appropriate womanhood wherein a 'more active femininity prevailed' (Gissendanner, 1994, p. 81). However, because their achievements were in the realm of the physical at a time when anthropometric studies were used to try to prove differences between Blacks and Whites, the success of black female athletes fostered the idea that black women were genetically suited to physical labour and athletics, thereby confirming them as outside the domain of true womanhood (Cahn, 2004; Captain, 1991; Vertinsky & Captain, 1998). The questioning of Caster Semenya's athletic performance and bodily comportment illustrates the heritage of white supremacist discourses that locate black female athletes' alterity in their bodies. I explore the psychological, material and symbolic ramifications of the mis/identification and mistreatment of Semenya later on in the discussion.

B(I)ack to Africa

The normalization of the dehumanizing objectification of black women and their bodies is revealed in the following media accounts of black female athletes which equate their physicality/athletic performance to animals. For example, a *New York Times* reporter characterized Althea Gibson's style of play at Wimbledon moving 'tigerishly to the net', (Lansbury, 2000, p. 251) and in *Time* magazine she was described as 'ranging the court like a restless panther' (*Time*, 15 July 1957, p. 63). In track and field US Olympian Wilma Rudolf was called the 'black gazelle' (Cahn, 2004, p. 227) in the late 1950s, and in the 1980s, the French media described Florence Griffith-Joyner as '*la tigresse noire*', (Vertinsky & Captain, 1998, p. 550) who had 'a panther like stride' (Watson quoted in McKay & Johnson, 2008, p. 495). The Guadeloupe-born Marie Jose Perec who ran for France in the 1990s until she retired in 2004 was also described as a 'gazelle', and 2012 London Games hopeful sprinter Merlin Diamond was referred to as the 'cheetah of Namibia' (BBC, 21 October 2011). Evidently according to white perceptions of black women, the jungle is never far from view. The recurrent proposition that associates black female sport performance with animals should be understood as linked to the view that they are not real women—truly female. Moreover, the reiteration of the engendered colonial gaze not only normalizes the division between black and white women in relation to hierarchies of humanity, this conception and characterization of the black female body as aberrant simultaneously constructs

and protects the normative status and importance of the white female self (Ahmed, 2000; Razack, 2005).

Importantly, this positioning of black females as inhuman also renders their athletic talent and success as unbeatable. According to white definitions of athletic proficiency, black women do not run like (white) women: they run like animals (or in the case of Semenya—men). Given the history of the masculinization of black women, black women's participation in a "mannish" sport bolstered prevailing beliefs about them as unwomanly, and thus not worthy of respect. This discursive framing of the exceptional nature of their athletic performances claims that black female athletes possess an unnatural physicality that in the words of Anita Brady (2011), 'simultaneously blur[s] the boundaries between human and animal' (10). Assumptions about their race–sex–gender difference are evidence that they should be excluded from competing against "real" women. Hence, black women are located outside the boundaries of true womanhood and arguably their physicality renders them ineligible for the human race altogether. In sum, irrespective of their chosen sports, the contemporary seeing of black women is not without precedent; the legacies of enslavement and colonialism predict present-day mis/recognition of black female athletes.

Catch *Me If You Can*: White Female Gazes, Black Female Bodies and the Cultural Politics of the Possible

These kinds of people should not run with us. For me, she's not a woman. She's a man. (Italian Elisa Cusma Piccione quoted in Clarey & Kolata, 2009, p. 6)

If we give an honest opinion, we're either seen as bad sports or we're not happy because we're being beaten ... Jemma [Simpson, Great Britain] and I have been beaten tons of times by athletes who we feel are doing it in the realm of what is considered female. (Canadian Diane Cummins quoted in Hart, 2010, pp. 11–12)

Even if she is a female, she's on the very fringe of the normal athlete female biological composition from what I understand of hormone testing. So, from that perspective, most of us just feel that we are literally running against a man. (14)

We all believe that Caster Semenya, pushed to her full potential, could break the world record. That's 1–53, and that's what college guys are running. From that perspective, she's far superior to any female 800 metre runner we've ever had. (Canadian Diane Cummins quoted in Hart, 2010, pp. 16–17)

It's complicated, but we're the ones who are working hard to make a living at what we're doing and when anybody else makes it look easy, it's not as if you resent her but it's frustrating for the athletes. (Hart, 2010, p. 18)

There are guys who can challenge Usain Bolt but nobody can challenge Caster Semenya. She is four or five seconds better than any of us and that's incredible. (Canadian Diane Cummins quoted in Hart, 2010, p. 23)

Following her victory in the women's 800-metre race at the world track and field championships in Berlin in 2009, the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) revealed that sex tests had already been undertaken in South Africa and Berlin to authenticate Semenya's female identity. According to IAAF's general secretary Pierre Weiss, testing was imposed due to 'ambiguity, not because we believe she is cheating'. Germane to this discussion is the fact that following the final several of Semenya's white female competitors stridently questioned her self-identification as female. But by what criteria? According to Piccione, Cummins and others, we need simply *look* at Semenya to recognize that *she* is a *he*. Of interest is the role of race in their confidence in the perceptible "facts" of Semenya's difference, and how this *seeing* influenced her public mistreatment, namely through the loss of the 'privilege of privacy' (Rivas, 2009: n.p.). I contend that since a black female is already considered masculine—or as an animal—in the athletic context, then we are witnessing a reading of Semenya's corporeality through what Fanon (1967, p. 111) described as an 'historico-racial schema', since the assertion that the "facts" of her physical differences signals an alterity which places her female status in doubt .

Because race influences how we apprehend sex and gender, the marking (and reading) of Semenya's sex/gender status and identity must be understood as symptomatic of how race operates as a 'metalanguage' (Higginbotham, 1992, p. 255). That is, the identification of the 'self evident' referents such as Semenya's blackness, her musculature, the 'dusting of facial hair', (Fordyce, 2009, p. 5) the character of her voice, as well as her superior racing times, all indicate how race permeates our social relations and systems of representation. As Higginbotham (1992, p. 255) summarizes, race 'speaks about and lends meaning to a host of terms and expressions, to myriad aspects of life that would fall outside the referential domain of race'. Thus, I argue that the *seeing* of Semenya draws upon a legacy of discourses of white racial supremacy which have become normalized, given how black women have been sex-genderized in binary opposition to white women within track and field, thus upholding racial and gender hierarchies of humanity.

I now want to briefly "return the gaze", to focus on the identity of those dehumanizing Semenya, namely her white female challengers. The perception

and treatment of Semenya must be understood in the context of the sport's origin during segregation (and colonialism) as a masculine activity, which contributed in part to unequal access for different groups of women. Semenya's co-runners are the inheritors of the imperial projects and discourses of white racial supremacy which circumscribe contemporary sport cultures (King, 2007). Moreover, returning to the assertion that Semenya's embodiment and performance are, in the words of her white female rival Diane Cummins, 'on the very fringe of the normal female athlete' (Hart, 2010, p. 14) simultaneously renders white female embodiment as the racial somatic norm—along with their inferior performance (Ahmed, 2000; Ware, 1992). Their conception of Semenya's body as illegible reifies the colonialist discourse which identified and portrayed black and white women's gender identity and status as irreconcilable (Higginbotham, 1992). Their "way of seeing" Semenya relies on historical and cultural legacies of race and gender that profoundly influence images of the white self and so-called racial other. That is, the subordinate status assigned to Semenya confirms how white female athletes accept, and subsequently protect, the psychological rewards and sense of superiority offered their gendered and racialized embodied positioning in hierarchical relation to black women (Fellows & Razack, 1998; Martinot, 2010).

Furthermore, Cummins' remarks about the ostensibly effortless character of Semenya's athletic excellence recalls racialized discourses of respectability and womanliness evoked to sustain hierarchical relations among black and white women (Fellows & Razack, 1998; Higginbotham, 1992). According to the Canadian, she and her colleagues have suffered an injustice because while *they* work hard, the South African's performance does not *appear* arduous. Consistent with Cummins' reasoning, her statement that makes it look easy about the "ease" with which Semenya runs indicate that *she* is performing beyond the parameters of *normal* (i.e., white) female ability. Ironically, Cummins' assertion regarding the apparent naturalness of Semenya's athleticism reinvoles ideologies about the unsuitability of track and field for white women; the allegation that Semenya "runs like a man" reinforces beliefs about "women's" inferiority (i.e., Semenya's ability is natural for a male, but *unnatural* for a female). Given that corporeality has long been used to differentiate Blacks and Whites, we might ask what part the discourse of black athletic superiority plays here? The implausibility of a *female* athlete possessing Semenya's ability obscures the fact that for black women race has always been part of the determination of sex-gender status. All told, the scrutiny and hostility expressed towards Semenya continues the tradition of white women participating in, and reaping the benefits from, asserting notions of *true* womanhood which rely upon the dehumanization of black women (Fellows & Razack, 1998;

Razack, 2005). In this context, what are the repercussions for “successful” black women athletes, who are not “real” women in the first place? Is there any discursive room for them to succeed?⁴

Closing Remarks: ‘Let Your Motto Be Resistance’

A human being thoroughly dehumanized, has no desire for freedom. (Angela Y. Davis, 1971, p. 6)

In this discussion I have explored some of specific challenges that confront black women in the visual and visible field of sport. I have argued that contemporary conceptions of black female athletes and their experiences of corporeal calumny are situated in the histories of enslavement and colonialism. Black female athletes have not had the luxury of being perceived as who they understand themselves to be. That is, the structured denial of the status of female and human have implications for the ways in which black female athletes have been—and continue to be—mis/perceived and mis/treated in the present (Cooper, 2010; Spillers, 1987). Correspondingly, the ongoing mis/recognition of black female athletes, their bodies and their demonstrations of physical excellence lays bare how ‘subject relations in slavery’ remain active in contemporary sporting cultures (Holland, 2012, p. 6).

The continued mis/recognition reveals that the dehumanization of black women exists in an atmosphere of acceptability (Martinot, 2010). Moreover, the distrust of black female athletes’ self-identification as female and their persistent exclusion from the status of “real” women confirms that discussions of sex and gender without race maintain social hierarchies and beliefs about black and white women according to hierarchies of humanity (Higginbotham, 1992). Thus, consideration of which differences matter is not inconsequential; the issue is one of power and the ways in which multiple systems of domination and subordination are reproduced and sustained (Crenshaw, 1991; Fellows & Razack, 1998).

In closing, sport remains a paradoxical space for black female athletes—it is a site where they can pursue and express their physical/mental/spiritual competence, and a place where their performances are regarded as evidence of their unnatural physicality, and proof that they should be excluded from competing against white female athletes whose corporeality and performance dovetail with the engendered racial somatic norm. Consequently, the persistent dehumanization demonstrates how black women’s ‘struggle for freedom and humanity is of necessity embodied’, since the status of being human—of

being seen as complex, intelligent, sentient, beings—requires their ‘bodily freedom’ (Cooper, 2010, p. 46). No matter their field(s) of play, black female athletes continue to fight against the odds, brave in their efforts to achieve autonomy and affirm their humanness (Davis, 1971). Finally, it is precisely because integration of race in discussions and analyses of sex-gender and embodiment advances our understanding of the complex and contradictory ways in which multiple and intersecting systems of power operate to shape black female athletes’ sporting lives that the development of more sophisticated analyses of discourses of difference and domination is fundamental to the fostering of liberatory feminist sporting projects.

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Notes

1. Williams would lose to Sharapova later that same year in the Women’s Tennis Association (WTA) season ending championships; however, since that defeat in November 2004, Williams has not lost to Sharapova, defeating her in all 17 of their subsequent meetings.
2. As of July 2015 Williams holds 21 Grand Slam singles titles—in contrast to Sharapova’s five. Viewed 15 November 2015, from <http://www.tennis.com/pro-game/2015/08/tennis-has-7-forbes-10-highest-paid-female-athletes/55919/#.VeIiQygx9SU>
3. The tests were suspended at the 2000 Olympic Games.
4. Thank you to Janine Jones for this insight.

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Post-colonial Feminist International Relations Theory and Sport for Development and Peace

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The recent growth of research in the nascent area of sport for development and peace (SDP) has been marked by its entrance into a variety of sub-disciplines in sport scholarship, including critical sociology (e.g., Darnell, 2012), management and organizational approaches (e.g., Schulenkorf, 2012), policy studies (e.g., Lindsey & Grattan, 2012), feminist studies (Chawansky, 2012), social movement perspectives (e.g., Harvey, Horne, Safai, Darnell, & Courchesne-O'Neill, 2013), peace and conflict scholarship (Wilson, 2012), and theories of children and youth (Jeanes, 2013). While each of these perspectives provides pertinent insights into SDP knowledge and practice, in this chapter, we contend that there is still arguably room left for post-colonial feminist international relations (IR) standpoints. Traditionally, as we discuss below, the field of international relations has focused on relations among states, and has defined power as the military and economic capabilities of states to dominate other states. Dominant liberal and realist IR approaches reified the concept of “states” to be divorced from the people living within various countries and the transnational inequalities of power that affect real people’s lives based on class, gender and post-colonial identities underneath the high politics of state warfare and diplomacy. We argue that newer, post-colonial feminist perspectives challenge

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the definition of power and who is affected by power relations, while also responding to issues of global capitalism, international political economy, class and the politics of representation. In particular, we suggest that—though IR viewpoints have recently been utilized in some SDP work (e.g., Black, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009, 2014)—infusing IR with post-colonial feminist perspectives potentially results in: (1) a distinct recognition of knowledge and representation as forms of power, particularly in relation to gender, race, class and the global (geo)politics of development; and (2) prying open spaces for locating multiplicities and hybridities (i.e., by accounting for pluralized and overlapping positionalities deployed through intersecting social categories of race, gender, class, sexuality, etc.) in terms that are relevant to international relations vis-à-vis SDP programmes and policies. Put differently, a post-colonial feminist IR approach to SDP reveals, and foregrounds, the (hyper)masculine tendencies underlying sport and the ways these characteristics are potentially encapsulated, and deployed, through international relations (cf. Ling, 2013).

On the whole, and alongside Ackerly and True (2008, p. 160), in this chapter, we demonstrate how a post-colonial feminist IR approach to SDP is useful for ‘illuminat[ing] postcolonial contexts and multiple local and global intersections of social differentiation and oppression’. In other words, our goal is to show how post-colonial feminist perspectives provide a correction to traditional IR, while also making an important contribution to SDP scholarship. Specifically, we illustrate the value of post-colonial IR feminist perspectives in exploring SDP by discussing two of its central themes—global capitalism, class and post-coloniality; and the power of knowledge and representation. We then apply these themes to examples examining the themes of global capitalism, caste and post-colonialism, while also infusing some of the key insights concerning representation and power generated in post-colonial scholarship to the study of IR through the Goal programme—an initiative run by Standard Chartered Bank in India, China, Jordan, Nigeria and Zambia that uses sport training and financial and life-skills education to try to transform the lives of young women in underserved communities (Goal, 2015).

The remainder of this chapter is structured in two parts. First, we briefly map out the key conceptual tools and theoretical trajectories in IR theory, with the goal of illuminating our ultimate push for utilizing post-colonial feminist IR perspectives, particularly when investigating gender-focused SDP programmes. In the second section, we then use a post-colonial feminist IR perspective to analyze the Goal programme.

Conceptualizing International Relations: Key Tenets and Theoretical Perspectives

In a (somewhat) similar vein to SDP scholarship, the field of international relations has not traditionally taken gender concerns into account. In fact, the dominant perspectives of traditional international relations—realism and liberalism—long failed to consider the impact of international politics on actual people inside state borders, and focused on the ‘high politics’ (Weldes, 2006, p. 178) geopolitical questions of the military and economic power of the state, ‘a domain of hard truths, material realities and irrepressible natural facts’ (Tuathail & Agnew, 1992, p. 193). Newer social constructivist approaches to international relations, as well as newer forms of liberalism, have at least begun to delve into the everyday consequences of international relations, and feminist and post-colonial international relations theory has gone a step further by examining the gender, race and other identity consequences of both high politics actions by states, and the troubling ethical dimensions of the knowledge, power and claims to representation exhibited in the transnational activities of non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international development agencies and corporations.

Classical realism, expounded famously by Hans Morgenthau (1954, p. 4) in one of the foundational works of the field of international relations, *Politics Among Nations*, asserted that politics is ‘governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature’, and that it is possible to develop a rational theory reflecting those laws. Moreover, he argued that political realism ‘stresses the rational, objective and unemotional’ (Morgenthau, 1954, p. 7). State interest for realists, Morgenthau (1954, p. 4) wrote, is ‘defined in terms of power’ and, employing the typically gendered language of the mid-twentieth century, he defined power as the ‘control of man over man’ (Morgenthau, 1954, p. 11). Prudence, rather than moral principles, is the ‘supreme virtue in politics’, so that political ethics only consider political, rather than moral consequences of states’ actions (Morgenthau, 1954, p. 12). Realist approaches take most of Morgenthau’s assumptions as starting points. Feminist scholar J. Ann Tickner, in a highly influential article, examined Morgenthau’s realist theory from a feminist standpoint and pointed out the masculinized vision of international politics embedded in the assumption of universal and objective laws, the privileging of high politics of statecraft rather than the consequences for human beings, the delineation of sharp lines separating public politics from private moral concerns, and the definition of power as being the power of man over man (rather than a feminist perspective on power deriving from Hannah Arendt as action ‘in concert’ or ‘in connection with others’) (Tickner, 1988).

A more recent version of realist theory in IR, called “structural realism” or “neorealism”, divorced international politics from human action and anything involving the internal dynamics of states even more severely. Kenneth Waltz (1979), who wrote the foundational text expounding neorealism, *Theory of International Politics*, adopted many of classical realism’s tenets, but rejected a reliance on rooting man’s quest for power in human nature. Instead, for neo-realists, the condition of anarchy in the international system, in which states exist as sovereign equals with one another, without any overarching governing authority, forces states to take a position of self-reliance and power maximization in order to defend themselves against attack by other states. Thus, Waltz (1979) and other neorealists insist, the structure of the system itself creates the hunger for power and enduring violence in the international system. This leads neorealists to examine states as black boxes with no important internal dynamics or actors. For neorealists, then, to examine the power hierarchies within societies, or the efforts of outside actors to influence actors or events inside states would be anathema to their theory.

Classical liberal theorists, intellectual descendants of philosophers such as Kant and Locke, take a fundamentally more positive view of human nature and traditionally have allowed more elements of human choice of action into their theories (Kant, Kleingeld, Waldron, Doyle, & Wood, 2006; Locke & Macpherson, 1980). Liberals tend to view societies and states as more peaceful and freedom enhancing over time as humans learn from past mistakes and develop institutions to govern themselves democratically in an increasingly interdependent world (Doyle, 1986; Keohane & Nye, 1977; Walt, 1998). In order to counter realist criticism of their ostensibly naïve assumptions about human progress and cooperation, a new version of liberalism, called neo-liberal institutionalism, developed in the 1980s (Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981; Baldwin, 1993; Keohane, 1984; Milner, 1991). Neo-liberal institutionalism accepted some of neorealism’s foundational tenets, including returning to the idea that states are the key actors in IR (and selfish ones at that) and found that cooperation among states is even possible and does occur under these conditions. Still, though, the liberal school of thought in international relations has tended to examine states as the key actors in international relations, and neo-liberal institutionalism took the paradigm back to studying exclusively state behaviour.

While liberals have challenged the realist assumption that the militant quest for power is an immutable fact in international politics, it was not until constructivist and feminist theories of international relations came to fruition that scholars were effectively able to undermine the assumptions that states are the only or primary actors in international relations. Constructivists began

to question again the assumption that states are the only influential actors in international politics. Authors such as Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argued that transnational advocacy networks, crucially including the activism of non-governmental organizations, play an enormous role in changing behaviours of governments as well as social groups within states through work to change the social norms governing actors' behaviour over time. Barnett and Finnemore (2004) argued that the behaviour of actors within international organizations such as United Nations agencies has profound effects upon the policies of states and the impacts of those policies on people around the world towards whom those organizations target their activities. Constructivist theorists believe, fundamentally, that the way that things are situated together 'makes possible, or even probable, certain kinds of political behavior and effects' (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001, p. 394). Adherents to this perspective explore the 'social content of the organization—its culture, its legitimacy concerns, dominant norms that govern behavior and shape interests, and the relationship of these to a larger normative and cultural environment' (Barnett & Finnemore, 1999, p. 706). These standpoints are useful for unravelling relations among knowledge, power and agency within a global development context. Still, however, feminist theorists have criticized constructivist theorizing about social change for its lack of attention to the unequal power relations inherent in the persuasion and advocacy efforts of transnational activists (Locher & Prugl, 2001, p. 113).

Feminist international relations theory also grew in the late 1980s–1990s, although it has remained rather marginal in its influence; it has not grown into a grand paradigm of the discipline as constructivism has. Foundational authors such as Ann Tickner, Cynthia Enloe, Christine Sylvester and Jacqui True have been central to the field's development. They differ from mainstream constructivists in their insistence that gender is one of the major organizing principles of all areas of international relations. They have contributed gender analyses of international relations on questions ranging from the more typically human-centric fields of human rights or socio-economic development, to the masculinized ways in which security, warfare, diplomacy and international political economy are constituted in international relations.

One of the key contributions of feminist theorists in IR has been to point to how the masculinized actions of state power holders serve to reinforce patriarchal structures and subjugation of women, particularly in the Global South, and that these actions are necessary in order to continue to reproduce a masculinized international system (Enloe, 1989; Sylvester, 1994b). Others have argued that not only do states act to reproduce traditional gender roles, but corporations and market forces in a globalized economy of consumerism also

forcefully shape gender identities (True, 1999). Still others have maintained that traditional and mainstream statist conceptions of “international security”, divorcing the “public interest” from the “private”, and the needs of humans from the needs of states, lead to a masculinized legitimation of wars that actually decrease human security (Sylvester, 1994a; Tickner, 1992). Post-colonial feminists who have aimed to further redefine the focus of IR have since joined this feminist questioning of masculinized constructions of the state and security.

Post-colonial Feminist IR Perspectives

Post-colonial feminism in particular built upon the initial foundations of feminist IR theory that questioned traditional realist IR's depiction of the state as a unified actor with no internal social content, and the assumption of “the state interest” as naturally and universally one of military security. In a similar vein to global governance scholarship, which recognizes the increasing scope and intensity of authority held by non-state actors on a global scale (Rosenau, 1999), post-colonialism rejects all-encompassing categories that recognize, for example, the authority of the nation-state—thereby challenging one of the mainstays of IR theory.

In addition to complementing—and expanding—global governance perspectives, post-colonial IR feminist standpoints are also useful for building on social constructivist positions by revealing how power, authority and influence are used in social contexts. While social constructivism is an important approach for investigating the “why” and “how” behind various changes in the global political terrain, such perspectives tend to ignore more diverse, feminist-oriented and ‘non-Western traditions of world-making to see how they *mix* the West to produce our contemporary world’ (Ling, 2002, p. 31). In particular, Chowdhry and Nair (2002) further contend that post-colonial feminist perspectives extend traditional IR theory by upholding: (1) questions of inequality, poverty, powerlessness and social justice in the discipline of IR; and (2) historical processes that contribute to the production of (gendered) global hierarchies. Indeed, the gendered foundations of mainstream IR theory are magnified through post-colonial feminist frameworks, with an eye to issues of representation, resistance and agency—particularly in considering key IR constructs such as “the state” and “sovereignty”.

While feminist IR perspectives may similarly demonstrate the ways that gender has been ignored in broader IR literature, Western feminist voices tend to dominate and homogenize these approaches, with little room for the multiple logics and hybridities (Ackerly & True, 2008). In fact, Ling (2013)

contends that neo-realist approaches to world politics only focus on power and uphold a singular hypermasculinity as a normative value, where feminized, weaker “Others” are often deemed inferior, emotional and ineffective, and where “difference” is a source of alienation. Here, Ling also points to resilient social movements that are taking place “on the ground”—such as strong Indigenous movements (e.g., the Idle No More movement that originated in Canada in December 2012), which cannot be captured by traditional neo-realist perspectives.¹ Post-colonial feminist IR theory, according to Ling (2014), is able to account for these “multiple logics” in world politics—it is, in essence, able to move towards ‘decolonizing the international’ away from singular, hypermasculine models—lending the opportunity to ‘throw off the shackles of colonial politics’ (Ling, 2014, p. 583). To accomplish this, post-colonial IR perspectives suggest that neo-realist approaches tend to, for instance: (1) ignore alternative (non-Western) ways of understanding global politics; (2) fail to address issues of representation; and (3) use a universal language to speak about post-colonial others that positions them as subordinate and invisible (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002). On the whole, then, neo-realist perspectives do not pay attention to how post-coloniality and gender are taken up and implicated in a multitude of “colonizing” practices that structure power relations globally, and resistance to those practices’ (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 9).

In this chapter, then, we specifically hone in on the ways that post-colonial feminist IR theory responds to issues of global capitalism, international political economy, class and the politics of representation. In doing so, we demonstrate how post-colonial feminist insights are gleaned by uncovering how—for example—Western capitalist hegemony is potentially deployed and sustained through the Goal Programme for young women in the Global South funded by a transnational financial corporation—Standard Chartered. We also examine the ways in which a post-colonial feminist IR perspective reveals how racialized and gendered representations of the “Other” are tacitly used in some of the curriculum posted on the Goal programme’s website. Before applying these ideas further, we now turn to research in contemporary sport scholarship to examine how IR theory has been used to explore SDP.

Contextualizing Sport, SDP and International Relations

Post-colonial feminist IR perspectives have yet to be applied to sport scholarship (exceptions include Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, 2014; Hayhurst, 2011a, 2011b, 2014); and more broadly, IR theory has been largely ignored in sport

scholarship (with a few notable exceptions, such as Black, 2008; Darnell & Huish, 2015a, 2015b; Giulianotti, 2011; Houlihan, 1994, 1997; Huish, Carter, & Darnell, 2013; Levermore, 2004, 2009; Levermore & Beacom, 2014; Levermore & Budd, 2004; Maguire, 2008). As Black (2008, p. 469) argues, 'sport remains widely neglected in the scholarly fields of International Relations (IR) and Foreign Policy specifically, and Political Science more generally'. More recently, Levermore and Beacom (2014, p. 220) suggest that 'sport remains on the periphery of IR analyses, and academics from non-IR disciplines dominate what has been published to date'.

For the most part, SDP research that has used IR theory has mostly used realist perspectives that tend to focus primarily on the role of the state attempting to maximize power within the international sport system. For example, this work explains and compares the role of Western state(s) in designing and implementing sport development and SDP policies and programmes (e.g., Houlihan, 1997; Houlihan & White, 2002). Here, scholars argue that these studies 'mostly emphasiz[e] state intervention in sport and sports diplomacy to pursue foreign policy objectives, and (at times) the role of NGOs and major international federations in governing sport' (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, p. 187).

Other influential work by Levermore and Budd (2004) examines sport in the development of social and economic programmes (including those focused on gender), while more current work by Levermore and Beacom (2014) explores IR theory in relation to SDP in terms of governance, community, capital and identity. With reference to governance, these authors show, for example, how NGOs have increasingly extended into diplomatic roles since '(good) governance depends on nongovernmental input ... NGOs with a sport focus ... do have a role to play, for example, in relation to debates concerning the efficacy of development interventions aimed at contributing to the UN Millennium Development Goals' (Levermore & Beacom, 2014, p. 226).² In considering the links between community development and sport, the authors note the range of international actors involved in deploying SDP programmes focused in community development, such as 'the state, multilateral institutions, multinational companies, sports clubs, sport starts, sport federations, and community-based and non-governmental organizations' (Levermore & Beacom, 2014, p. 228).

While the contributions by Levermore and Budd (2004) and Levermore and Beacom (2009, 2014) have been noteworthy in connecting SDP to IR, there remains a lack of discussion that focuses on: (1) gender relations in SDP global politics; and (2) the post-colonial contexts in which many SDP interventions operate. By taking up a post-colonial feminist IR approach, our goal in this chapter is to highlight the involvement of non-state actors such as SDP NGOs and corporations, viewing these entities as socially constructed "agents",

and considering the agency and culture of the marginalized “Other” in global SDP politics. Below, we use a case study from SDP to argue for more of a focus on gender and social relations in IR, including discussions of intersectionality, (neo-)imperialism as it intersects with gender, race and class; and the production of power in IR (cf., Chowdhry & Nair, 2002). That is, through this example, we investigate how post-colonial feminist IR theory can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of SDP and its relationship to gendered world politics. Specifically, the two tenets of post-colonial feminist international relations theory to be further examined in our case study are: (1) global capitalism, class and post-coloniality; and (2) the power of representation and power relations.

Case Study

The Goal Programme: Post-colonial Relationships, Representation and Global Capitalism

Created by Standard Chartered Bank as part of their corporate social responsibility initiative to invest in local communities to be a ‘powerful force for good’, Goal is an award-winning Sport for Development initiative that uses sport and financial and health education to attempt to improve the lives of adolescent girls living in underserved communities (Goal, 2015). Started in Delhi, India in 2006, the programme has since expanded to China, Nigeria, Zambia and Jordan. The programme targets girls aged 13–19 who reside in urban communities, may or may not have access to education, and/or are living on low family incomes. Typically, girls meet weekly over a ten-month period where they will play sport and participate in activities focused around learning a particular life skill. The curriculum was designed by Standard Chartered in collaboration with the Population Council (an international NGO that conducts biomedical and public health research, <http://www.pop-council.org>), and is freely available online through Standard Chartered’s partnership with Women Win (a global organization focused on aiding girls’ empowerment through sport, <http://womenwin.org>). The curriculum has multiple modules that contain a variety of activities that emphasize four life skills: communication, health and hygiene, human rights, and financial literacy. Under communication, the curriculum is focused on learning effective interpersonal communication skills, strategies for identifying and resisting peer pressure, conflict resolution, understanding gender roles in the home and community, and goal setting. The portion of the curriculum directed to health

focuses on positive body image, understanding body anatomy, skills for personal and household hygiene, sexual health, and prevention of sexually transmitted infections. The module on human rights focuses on understanding human rights, sexual rights, resources that girls can access, and safe discussions about sexual and domestic violence. Finally, the goals of the financial literacy module are to underscore the importance of saving money, budgeting skills, career planning, understanding bank functioning, and consequences of borrowing money.

While Standard Chartered and Women Win are careful to mention that the curriculum/programming can be adapted to suit local contexts (they do not provide specific examples, but note that some activities may be more or less applicable), what is provided online is a standardized curriculum that is meant to be implemented in each location where the Goal programme operates. This becomes especially clear in their ‘Training the Trainers Toolkit’ (the document designed to train those who will be implementing the Goal programme) which emphasizes that—although changes can be made to suit various timelines—the curriculum must be taught in the specific order provided and cover the four modules. Moreover, girls who complete the programme and display exceptional leadership qualities are invited to become Goal Champions. Goal Champions are provided further training to facilitate the Goal programme, the possibility of being granted a micro-finance loan to start up their own business, or the chance of internship opportunities in Standard Chartered (Standard Chartered, 2011).

A post-colonial feminist IR approach is useful when examining the Goal programme to highlight the ways in which post-colonial relationships intersect with issues surrounding global capitalism and politics. Particularly, through Goal, Standard Chartered—as a non-state actor—is buttressing a narrow understanding of “development” that is motivated by the interests of global capitalist ideologies. For example, in documents produced by Standard Chartered, the organization highlights that:

The Indian economy loses an estimated \$32.6 billion every year because girls are taken out of schools at a young age, which affects their progress in later years. Yet we know that women are key drivers of economic development in our markets, and studies show that investment focused directly on women and girls delivers strong returns. (Standard Chartered, 2009, pp. 1–2)

In a more recent report issued by Standard Chartered, they reflect on the potential Goal has to contribute to achieving the Millennium Development Goal of eliminating gender disparity in education through empowering girls in

low-income communities ‘in [their] markets’ and providing financial education training to female entrepreneurs (Standard Chartered, 2014). Not only does Standard Chartered emphasize the economic losses suffered by lack of female access to the marketplace, but the understandings of development prioritized (re)inforce (gendered) hierarchical relationships, as Standard Chartered is positioned both as benevolent provider of development as well as the legitimate organization through which development can take place—with understandings that neo-liberal capitalism is the best venue for social, economic and political fulfillment (Ling, 2002). Furthermore, women are positioned as valuable entrepreneurs that are worthy of investment because of the missed opportunities experienced in the economy—they are individual drivers of economic progress with the ability to provide ‘measurable returns’ on poverty reduction in the future. Following Ling (2002, p. 115), the attention Standard Chartered is directing towards promoting female economic integration is reflective of their interests in sustaining ‘Western capitalist hegemony in the global economy’.

Furthermore, utilizing a post-colonial feminist IR lens is beneficial for considering how issues of power and representation—and the related body projects embedded in the programme along with financial education—may work together to homogeneously discipline women in the Goal programme on a transnational scale. While this should not necessarily be understood as a totalizing regime of corporeality, as there is the potential for slight local variations, the curriculum uses normative biopedagogical knowledge designed by groups in the Global North about what constitutes health, empowerment and hygiene. For example, the module of the curriculum dedicated to health covers topics such as reproductive health, issues around HIV, body image and practices to maintain proper hygiene. In an activity related to hygiene, girls are asked to answer “true or false” to a variety of questions that include: ‘it is not necessary to wash your hands after urinating’, ‘washing with soap and water cleans dirt and germs off your body’, ‘you do not need to wash underwear’, and ‘if you have access to sanitary napkins, you should change them twice a day’ (Goal, 2015). Though this knowledge may appear to be “innocent” and potentially useful for these young women in securing their overall hygiene and wellbeing, it is also reminiscent of a civilizing mission in which the young women targeted through this curriculum in the Global South are potentially constructed and represented as dirty, uneducated, uncivilized and racialized subjects—yet, at the same time, they are still “developable Others”. That is, it is only the girls who are being asked to wash their hands, body and clothing, and maintain household hygiene, with no specific equivalent directed to boys through this programme. Combined with the financial literacy component of the curriculum, the focus of the programme is on “ordering” oneself

both in body and finances, in order to impel women to govern themselves into being both active and socially responsible social entrepreneurs that are prepared to become good (and potentially presentable) employees in the context of growing market economies (Batliwala & Dhanraj, 2007). Here, questions arise around the ways in which the Goal programme (and therefore Women Win and Standard Chartered) are given the authority to speak for and about these girls in terms of their health and bodies, and how power is manifested in this programme through domination and subordination/hegemony and resistance on a global scale.

There are further questions to be raised about the ways in which certain women who have gone through this programme are selected as Goal Champions. As Standard Chartered underscores, it is those who display exceptional leadership qualities throughout the programme that are selected to undergo training to facilitate the programme for other women and/or are provided internship opportunities in their bank. It is significant here that only a select few will be inculcated into this logic of development, and that these women will likely be selected based on their ability to emulate the understandings of development put forth by Standard Chartered. Following Ling (2002), it could be that there is an element of 'mimicry' here in that, at the extreme, Goal Champions would likely be selected because of their adoption of Standard Chartered's understandings of acceptable standards of "being" (in finance and body). This could include beliefs in ideologies of free-market capitalism, individual responsibility, as well as the particular (Westernized) understandings of hygiene, health and human rights channelled in Standard Chartered's curriculum. Such Western neo-liberal understandings may work to further promote the image of easily attainable upward mobility, making more visible those who are able to successfully become empowered neo-liberal citizens. At the same time, it could also make more invisible those who are unable to participate or are not destined to become Goal Champions, due to larger structural barriers and processes (such as issues with access) that make this difficult to achieve. Again, the emphasis is on the individual responsibility of the women in these programmes to follow the path to success, and in selecting a few candidates, Standard Chartered continues to reinforce messages of empowerment as "smart economics" (i.e., a sound investment, as women will work to bring themselves and their families out of poverty while simultaneously boosting the economy by entering the workforce) that continue to promote economic liberalization (Chant, 2012).

Here, we see how the presence of Standard Chartered (a prominent global financial institution), in partnership with Women Win (a notable international NGO working in SDP), is able to produce and disseminate a powerful curriculum that focuses on shifting young women's bodies and minds in very diverse

local contexts (India, China, Nigeria, Zambia and Jordan) with an ultimate goal of creating social entrepreneurs who are prepared and able to participate more actively in the global economy. These influential non-state actors (Goal, Women Win and Standard Chartered) are conceivably able to govern this space without considering a cross-cultural model of understanding that accepts multiplicities and specific local cultural knowledge as to what constitutes “leadership” and “hygiene”. From a post-colonial feminist IR perspective, this normative biopedagogical knowledge is injected into SDP programming and transgresses bordered worlds. We are not suggesting here that the young women and girls that are targeted by the Goal programme passively accept its curriculum and biopedagogical messages without resistance or agency; instead, we seek to complicate and question the homogenizing and potentially neo-colonial tone of the programme by pointing to its facilitation through global capitalism and implicit neo-liberal messaging. We are also concerned about the power of transnational corporate and non-state actors, and their ability to design and disseminate dominant discourses of representation and power about girls’ health and bodies.

Concluding Comments

In this chapter, we have argued for using a post-colonial feminist IR approach to exploring SDP programmes as a theoretical tool for igniting discussions about, and exposing, some of the racialized, classed and gendered silences and invisibilities evident in SDP scholarship and practice. Indeed, and as the discussion of the Goal programme illustrates, research on SDP can significantly strengthen its critical insights by using the post-colonial feminist lens from international relations; likewise, the discipline of international relations and post-colonial feminism within it can benefit from SDP scholars’ analysis of an area of global activity by state and non-state actors alike that has heretofore been largely ignored by IR scholars. While the traditional realist and neo-liberal schools of international relations would balk at the idea that sport for development and peace programmes are relevant to global politics, the emergence of post-colonial feminist theory within the discipline provides a new basis for understanding how these low-politics dynamics in everyday development policy constitute much of the important activity in international relations.

This is not to suggest, however, that post-colonial feminist IR perspectives are an absolute panacea to improving our understandings of SDP programming. Indeed, there are many challenges, contradictions and ambiguities involved in

pursuing this theoretical framework. For example, we recognize that we—as authors of this chapter—are middle-class, white, Western academics writing on the topic of post-colonial feminism, international relations, sport and development. In many ways, we are making arguments and challenging the homogenizing character of, for example, neo-realist approaches to studying SDP, when we might be impelling these same standpoints through our very subject positions. And yet, we hope (with some humility) to use this chapter as a departure point for advancing critical discussions about the utility of a post-colonial feminist IR framework in order to address some of the omissions and marginalizations behind more traditional approaches to sport, international relations and development scholarship (see Hayhurst, MacNeill, & Frisby, 2011).

Future research on SDP might consider using a post-colonial feminist IR lens to open up possibilities for exploring instances of grassroots resistance, agency and localized counter-narratives to “global” SDP interventions. Here, we might consider how the post-colonial concepts such as ‘mimicry’ and ‘hybridity’ (cf., Bhabha, 1994) emerge in destabilizing global power arrangements so prevalent in SDP. This may involve examining distinctive forms of (localized) physical culture, recreation and physical activity as they confront dominant metanarratives of “conventional SDP” (i.e., mainstream and globally popularized sports such as basketball, volleyball and soccer). How, for instance, might these localized forms of physical culture struggle against conventional forms of SDP, and potentially resist and confront the increasing global neo-liberal tone of initiatives such as the Goal programme? Is it possible to create solidarities and alliances across gender, race and class through these localized forms of physical culture, recreation and physical activity? While these questions are only beginning to be explored by SDP scholars (e.g., Forde, Waldman, Hayhurst, & Frisby, 2017), we suggest that the time is ripe to heighten research and practice in sport for development and peace by seeking to better understand how contemporary global politics—through the lens of post-colonial feminism—may help us to “rewrite” the SDP story through a richer analysis that is more sensitive, inclusive and attentive to the intersections between gender, race, class and nation.

Notes

1. Idle No More (INM) is an Indigenous-led social movement that focuses on promoting Indigenous knowledge and anchored in Indigenous self-determination, calling on all people to ‘join in a peaceful revolution, to honour Indigenous sovereignty, and to protect the land and water’ (INM, 2014).

2. In 2000, 189 world leaders gathered to commit to realizing the UN Millennium Development Goals, the central aim being to eradicate poverty and support a “blueprint” for designing and implementing development programmes in countries across the Global South. Currently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have emerged as the new development framework for the post-MDG agenda (see <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org> for further information).

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Faith, Religion and Feminist Thought in Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Tansin Benn and Gertrud Pfister

The authors of this chapter have researched and published together over many years, and with other co-authors, on the experiences of Muslim girls in physical education, Muslim women in sport and in teacher education, firmly locating their work as contributions to feminist writing (e.g. Benn, 1996; Benn & Ahmed, 2006; Benn & Dagkas, 2006; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Hacısoftaoglu & Pfister, 2012; Knez, Benn, & Al-Khalid, 2014; Pfister, 2003, 2010, 2011, 2014). As white, Western, non-Muslim researchers living in multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-linguistic Europe, we have developed partnerships with Muslim women from both in and beyond our region. This has required positioning ourselves as learners, broadening our mindset to see the world as others see it and recognizing the significance of diversity. We have worked in countries such as Iran, Oman and Qatar where there is Sharia law, and in Muslim majority but secular countries, such as Turkey, as well as in Muslim minority countries such as our own societies—the UK, Germany and Denmark. Learning from Muslim colleagues of the similarities and differences in their lives helped us in our ongoing journey towards a ‘global mindset’ (Marquardt, 2000, p. 4):

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People with global mindsets have the ability to continually expand their knowledge ... are extremely flexible; strive to be sensitive to cultural diversity; are able to intuit decisions with inadequate information; and have a strong capacity for reflection.

A global mindset thinks and sees the world globally, is open to exchanging ideas and concepts across borders ... the emphasis is placed on balancing global and local needs, and being able to operate cross-functionally, cross-divisionally, and cross-culturally around the world.

Working with Muslim women enabled us to learn and understand about their commitment to faith and Islam, in particular about their religiosity and its impact on their lives. It is not surprising, then, when asked to write about 'Faith, religion and feminist thought in sport, leisure and physical education' that we were willing and eager to reflect on our research and advocacy with Muslim women. The chapter will examine:

1. Contested feminisms and issues for researching Muslim women and sport.
2. Review of studies in the field of Muslim women and sport.
3. A catalyst for our research in the field of Muslim women and sport.
4. Reflections and recommendations on researching across cultural and religious boundaries.

From the beginning of the authors' work with Muslim women and sport our writing has emphasized the importance of intersectionality, which is both a perspective and a theoretical approach that explores and interprets intersecting influences of social class, ethnicity, gender and religion on identities, behaviours and, in particular, life chances of individuals and groups. As researchers we have also acknowledged that the people we are working with are not homogeneous but represent various cultures and live in diverse political, economic, social and cultural contexts.

Contested Feminisms, and Researching Muslim Women and Sport

Waljee (2008, p. 99) explored transitions in the lives of Muslim women in Tajikistan and found that Western researchers often do not appreciate the accounts of these women who redefine their roles in complex political, economic and cultural contexts. She emphasizes that:

Western (even feminist) conceptualisations of gender relations will always remain at best incomplete and at worst misguided. To gain a better understanding of what is played out in such relations it is crucial to pay more attention to political, economic and cultural context so as to understand how communities have historically dealt with imposed ideologies that are diametrically opposed to their values.

The dilemma is that Western academic scholars are at risk of legitimizing and generalizing what counts as the truth from an ethnocentric position that fails to recognize that they, as white Westerners, use their perspectives to interpret and determine what counts as knowledge and truth.

Indeed all researchers have ethnocentric perspectives and particular lenses through which they form their worldviews, but these lenses become a problem when other ways of seeking to know and understand the world are marginalized, treated as inferior or not accepted at all.

In their endeavours to increase knowledge and understanding, researchers are crossing multiple boundaries of experience embedded in culture, religion and ethnicity which requires a measure of sensitivity and open-mindedness. In addition, it has to be acknowledged that, despite shared core values, the position of (Muslim) women varies considerably as religious norms and rules are formed in different and changing situations—economic, political and social—including influences such as globalization and modernization processes.

Waljee (2008, p. 87) emphasizes the limitations in international studies on “gender” and criticizes that they use restricted approaches to gender analysis, for example, by focusing on access, outcomes and performance, which can be misinterpreted by researchers because they ‘fail to address, or find wanting, cultural and religious specificity and economic realities of nations in transition, or different cultural norms that frame gender relations’.

Muslim women are also marginalized in Western journalistic accounts of events involving Muslim people, which usually focus on men’s influence, referring to violence and the threats of Islamism (e.g. Richardson, 2004; Runnymede, 1997). Fears of radicalism and stereotypes of Muslims as “others” have accelerated in the West with the growth of Islamophobia following the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 and the recent terrorist acts in Paris 13/11/15, and Brussels 22/03/16. Such incidents have fuelled negative stereotypes about Muslims and furthered religious discrimination despite political attempts to distance Islam and terrorism (Allen & Nielsen, 2002; Commission on British Muslims & Islamophobia, 2004; Esposito & Mogahed, 2007; Fekete, 2008). In such discourses, Muslim women are often

either invisible or positioned as oppressed, victimized and disadvantaged, a perspective challenged by the Muslim women with whom we have collaborated in various projects.

Research seeking to improve knowledge and understanding of the lives of Muslim women, and how gender, faith and ethnicity intersect with their sport participation, approaches a contested area. Where religious and secular values clash, solutions need to be found, for example, where Muslim women's faith-based preferences for dress codes are at variance with sport governing body regulations leading to possible exclusion from sport. Solutions need to be found *between* the claims of universal human rights, which can deny the significance of cultural distinctiveness, and cultural relativity which can justify inhumane activities on the grounds of long-held cultural traditions.

In the research and advocacy journey the authors' approach has been to research and write with Muslim women on their involvement in physical education and sport, in particular on issues they have raised as crucial to improving their sport participation. In this process we have used both Islamic studies and socio-cultural approaches to gender and sport to deepen understanding and appreciation of differences in situations, histories, power relations and agency that have influenced not only the women's participation in sport but also their (every day) lives.

Rising attention to feminism and the relative invisibility of Muslim women in the world of sport led to them becoming the subjects of struggle for feminist scholars from the 1990s with common aims and different worldviews, such as Western and Islamic feminisms. For example, a group of Western feminists who launched the 1996 initiative Atlanta + interpreted the exclusion of Muslim women from Islamic countries' Olympic teams as discriminatory and protested at successive Olympics, including the 2012 Games, against NOCs of countries that sent men-only teams. For the 2012 Olympics they produced an inflammatory brochure '*7 Imperitifs*' (Comité Atlanta+, 2012) which portrayed negative views of gender relations in Islam. Their goals were legitimate from a Western feminist perspective; they wanted to persuade the IOC and the London 2012 organizers to 'ensure neutrality by banning the wearing of religious symbols and to stop supporting separate games for women which institutionalized sexual segregation in sport'. While such initiatives may defend the rights of women who wish to compete in the mainstream sporting context but who are barred politically or culturally from doing so, they also can ignore, deny or fail to respect the rights of those Muslim women who prefer participation in physical activity in accordance with their 'embodied faith' (Benn, Dagkas, & Jawad, 2011). Some Muslim women may choose to participate in sport with the hijab and/or with arms and legs covered to meet faith requirements for body modesty, and others may prefer to play sports in women-only

environments (Benn & Ahmed, 2006; Benn & Dagkas, 2012; Ehsani, Kouzechyan, Honarvar, & Sharifryan, 2005). While feminists are united by the goal to reach equality of women and men, the ways in which this goal can be achieved depend on many factors in the area of sport and in society at large.

Our research and work with Muslim women in various situations required new perspectives and alternative ways of thinking. Here, we relied on Islamic feminism because it provided the perspective through which Muslim women were reinterpreting Koranic texts in ways that empowered them to fulfil their lives. The aim of Islamic feminism is to improve the position of women and enrich their lives while upholding respect for authentic Islam. Islamic feminists emphasize the positive gender relations of early Islam to counter the suppression, experienced by some Muslim women, caused by an Islam 'interpreted for them by men' (Waljee, 2008, p. 99). 'Islamic feminism ... explicates the perspective of women (and men) who, although committed to Islam as an essential part of their identity, don't hesitate to criticize and challenge the Islamic patriarchal authority' (Jawad, 2009, p. 2). Through their search for authentic Islam and reinterpretation of Islamic texts from a woman's perspective, these feminists have helped Muslim women to become agents of change, recognizing the leadership, political and active lives and roles of women in early Islam (Jawad, 1998, 2009; Wadud, 2006). These approaches to Islam have also helped Muslim women to distinguish religious from traditional cultural barriers and to understand that there are no rules in Islam which preclude participation in sport and physical activity (Al-Ansari, 1999; Daiman, 1994; Jawad, Al-Sinani, & Benn, 2011; Sfeir, 1985).

Islamic feminists promote change within an Islamic framework. They provide legitimacy to reform and social action by Muslim women who are creating new agendas, for example by living more public lives and entering the workplace, playing sports, participating in competitions, even in international sporting events. The Bahraini athlete Ruqaya Al-Ghasara became the first Muslim woman from her country to visibly retain her devout religiosity by wearing a hijab whilst succeeding as a sprint athlete in the Asian and Olympic Games since 2004. Like many others she is claiming both religion and equality in her life in line with the view of Islam as supportive and enabling to women's advancement in life (Al-Ansari, 2011; Esposito & Mogahed, 2007; Jawad et al., 2011; Zebiri, 2008). Growing visibility in sport and in academia encouraged Muslim and non-Muslim women, and some men, to collaborate in research and writing to increase an understanding of their different views, challenges and achievements. Such collaboration has provided a forum through which experiences and insights of the multiple realities of Muslim women's sport participation can be shared with an international audience.

Review of Studies in the Field of Muslim Women and Sport

A recent overview of studies in the field by Toffoletti and Palmer (2015) profiles our edited book *Muslim Women and Sport* (eds Benn, Pfister, & Jawad, 2011) as an example of good practice in transnational feminist research. Despite the fact, which Toffoletti and Palmer acknowledged, that we did not set out to work from a transnational feminist perspective, we would select *Muslim Women and Sport* as the work that epitomizes our approach to research and advocacy in the field and we will offer more personal reflections on the journey that led to the book later.

Toffoletti and Palmer point out that most relevant literature to date focuses on the sport participation (or lack of it) of Muslim women. They emphasize that there are other important issues and areas to explore, for example, Muslim women's encounters and experiences as sport consumers and fans. Furthermore, these authors suggest exploring how Muslim athletes perceive their mediated images and react to the ways in which they are represented.

Our work has focused on the *participation* of Muslim women in sport (in its broadest sense) because that is where deep conflicts have emerged between some Muslim women's faith preferences and the norms set by international sport federations. Authorities in both fields, in sport and religion, demand control of women's bodies, in particular through dress codes and rules of behaviour, which cause problems for the athletes and heated debates among sport officials, social scientists and the general public. Such issues are often exacerbated through media (mis)representation of Muslim women in general and in the sport context. For example, a scholarly analysis of media reporting across the UK, France, North America, Canada and Australia, regarding Muslim sportswomen, their bodies and clothing, before and during the London 2012 Olympic Games, revealed Western-centric reproduction of negativity. Farooq and Sehlkoglou (2014) revealed the discourse of 'incompetence' in the selective focusing on particular Muslim women's participation while ignoring the many successes of other Muslim women. They also found that issues of 'veiling' were viewed as anti-emancipatory, led to pathologizing of Islam and Muslim culture, highlighted perceptions of Muslim women as victims, raised public concern about Islam as a threat and a cause of internal social problems, and reinforced perceptions of Muslim women as 'Other', as 'Strangers'.

Our approach to research and advocacy emphasizes the importance of Muslim women's voices and choices, in particular the voices and actions of those women who advocate increased opportunities in sport participation.

Resultant work has led to deeper understanding of the diversity of views and needs within and between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and changes in sporting practices to accommodate needs. Some sports organizations and practitioners, for example FIFA, have changed their attitudes, regulations and practices to meet dress-code preferences for body modesty, enabling Muslim women to play sport and adhere to their faith.

In any review of literature on Muslim women and sport numerous studies could and should be mentioned, but at least the following authors need to be highlighted for their important work on the topic. In 1985, Sfeir was one of the first women to raise key issues for Muslim women and sport participation in the 29 predominantly Islamic countries; De Knop et al., (1996) focused on issues which are relevant in particular for Muslim girls in Western Europe; Haw (1996) raised awareness of the sensitivity required to face dilemmas for white, non-Muslim researchers crossing boundaries of culture and religion in the attempt to provide an understanding of the experiences of Muslim girls and women; Hamzeh and Oliver (2010) also discuss issues of accessing the lives of Muslim girls; Walseth (2006a, 2006b) produced insightful and enlightening contributions on agency and issues of faith, identity and belonging of Egyptian physical education students; and Hargreaves (2000, 2007) produced important critical comment on power, the body, sport and Islam.

Recent research in the field reflects increasing recognition of the complexity of the issues and the sensitivity required to address religion and the ways in which faith impacts on lives; the centrality of women's bodies; multi-layered identities; sport as an institution; gender relations; and the influences of globalization.

The backgrounds and reasons that contribute to researchers focusing their work on particular issues are unique and rarely made public. In the following section the authors share the journey that influenced their aims and approaches to researching and writing with Muslim women around the world, and specifically the path that led to the publication of the book *Muslim Women and Sport*.

A Catalyst for Researching in the Field of Muslim Women and Sport

Although the approach that led to the book *Muslim Women and Sport* could be described as “transnational” the motivation arose from life encounters, notably the participation in an international seminar that focused on improving opportunities for Muslim women in sport. The seminar group consisted of

Muslim and non-Muslim colleagues from diverse backgrounds and with different views on Islam and the impact of faith on sport participation. However, there was a common interest in improving opportunities for Muslim girls and women in sport and in other areas of life. The seminar was held in 2008 in Oman, a country described, prior to the rise of the current Sultan in 1970, as 'one of the least known countries in the world' (Rippenberg, 1998, p. 144). Both authors had a life-changing opportunity to meet with academics and practitioners from Muslim countries whose insights and experiences are rarely encountered in Western academic circles and seldom shared via conferences and publications. All participants were physical education teachers, sport leaders or university professors with a focus on sport pedagogy or sociology. Some lived and worked in environments where gender and women's studies, as well as sport and physical education, were well-established academic fields, whereas others were "pioneers" at their institutions or even in their countries. The 16 predominantly Muslim participants (15 women and one man) were from: Oman, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Syria, Egypt, South Africa, Morocco, Turkey, Iraq; and Malaysia, UK and Germany, the three Europeans having researched previously with diaspora Muslim women and communities.

The week entailed intense thought-provoking exchanges of knowledge and views on the experiences of Muslim women in sport in the countries listed above. The insights gained via lectures and discussions revealed diverse realities. There were participants who reported how recreational physical activities of girls and women had been affected by war; others told about relatively recent trail-blazing experiences in Middle Eastern societies that had led to women being able to teach physical education, to participate and compete in sport, including at high performance levels. Several participants shared histories of women's long-term engagement and success in sport in both liberal and traditional societies. However, the differences in the situation of women in the countries of the participants, that is, in the various geographical, historical, educational, social and political contexts, influenced women's opportunities and challenges in the areas of physical education sport. We discussed particularly if and how religious beliefs, philosophies and practices influenced women's lives and sport participation.

The seminar participants struggled for consensus; there were contradictory views on "how things ought to be" for girls' and women's participation in physical education, in recreational physical activities and in competitive sport. Questions about how Muslim women could and should participate in sport and how sport providers, events and facilities could and should address the wishes and needs of Muslims were at the centre of heated debates. There were, for example,

Muslim women who considered their faith as private and internalized, requiring no outward manifestations such as the wearing of the hijab. Other participants experienced their faith as deeply embodied, and considered the rituals and practices which are essential to their religious identities as severely challenged by Western sporting spaces, structures and regulations. The seminar participants also discussed how female athletes resolved conflicts that did arise between their religious and their sport identities. For example, in Turkey, covering (meaning here the covering of arms, legs and hair) in top-level sport is banned so, for faith reasons, some wear tracksuits to cover arms and legs and wide head-bands that cover most of their hair, when this is allowed. For some female athletes, for example in Oman and Iran, only gender segregation provides an environment in which they feel comfortable to participate in competitions; therefore women-only events were and are essential to their inclusion in sport. (It is recognized that there are Muslim women with different views in both countries.) In women-only events, for example, in the quadrennial Women's Islamic Games which were organized in Tehran, Iran, from 1993 to 2005, not only the athletes, but also the referees, the members of the medical staff, the journalists and the spectators were women. Thus these games provided wide opportunities for women to develop administrative, reporting and officiating skills and positions. They were, and are, well able to manage every aspect of major international sport events.

In seeking a resolution to the differences recounted, the way in which participants in the seminar could stand in solidarity was to "Accept and Respect"¹ each others' opinions and choices of ways in which everybody could retain his/her secular or religious identity and preferences with regard to sport participation. Hence the Declaration to Accept and Respect the voices and choices of women with regard to participation in sport was formulated and unanimously agreed upon. The declaration has been used subsequently in lobbying sports governing bodies, educators and policy makers to support greater inclusion of women in sport internationally.

The book *Muslim Women and Sport* was another outcome of this seminar. The idea of a book arose from the participants at the end of the week. Both authors, and a colleague who is an expert in Islamic studies, committed to collaborating with those from the different countries on the writing of contributions that would describe and analyze the different situations, perspectives and lives of sport-interested Muslim women in various contexts. All participants had been inspired by the discussions, personal and emotional journeys experienced during the week and hoped that such a publication would be a way to spread knowledge of the diverse ways in which Muslim women live their lives, participate in sport, and manage their religious and sporting identities.

The discourse that had begun in Oman deepened during the two years that followed as the communication during the editing of the book intensified

knowledge about, and insights into, the authors' situations and convictions. Examples of ways in which the seminar affected participants and broadened their understandings of different realities for Muslim women and sport are provided in the following quotes from interviews collected at the close of the Omani week (authors' additions in italics are used to support/clarify meanings exchanged in the original interviews).

Nour El Houda Karfoul—Syria (*An experienced leader of physical education and sport in Syria across four decades. At the time of the interview Nour was Secretary General of the Syrian Olympic Committee; President of the Sport Association of Arab Women; and Vice President of the Sport Movement History Commission in Syria. She gained the IOC Order of Merit in 2000.*)

This week has opened a new window in my mind, some things I did not know before about Muslim women, especially in Europe, have led me to think in a new way. This knowledge will also help me in my association (Sport Association of Arab Women). Now I have become more flexible with this question [*how to increase opportunities for Muslim girls and women in sport*]*—especially with religion ... there is another way [embracing some women's choices to adopt hijab] through which I can see ... and I am glad that the seminar has opened in my mind ... the result of our work—especially the phrase—'Accept and Respect'—it is so important ... for all of us, not only for others—for us personally, some change has happened for many of us, I can see that and I am pleased for that.*

Ilknur Hacisofiaoglu—Turkey (*At the time of the interview Ilknur was a research assistant and PhD Student at Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey, specializing in sociology of the body, gender and nationalism in sport and physical activity.*)

The diversity of the women here is most surprising. The event has opened my eyes. I know just our country's experiences [*Turkey*] and we are reading articles, but in articles people are not alive—you don't know their real feelings, yes some authors and feminists are trying to do that but you don't get real feelings in articles [*unmediated personal exchanges, emotions, increasing depth of empathy, understanding and insight*]. But here I met people from different countries, and it was very important for me to meet them, especially the women from different Muslim cultures. They have different visions of religion and religious practices and politics. So we can learn from these experiences. We need to know otherwise we stay ignorant. And the situation of our European colleagues is very different too—I did not know of problems facing Muslim women (in England and Germany)—and I don't mind to learn about this issue because we have Western and Eastern values in my country. We are in the middle of this discussion and

it's important for me to listen and learn and adapt strategies where appropriate for my country.

I am more free than some other Turkish women, and I think about Muslim women (I am not a religious woman), here—some women are really fighting for something—[*the right to embody*] their religious beliefs. This is really different for me to hear. It's very usable for me in my country, especially for 'covered women'. It has developed my vision, I feel more open to different cultures.

Maryam Koushkie Jabromi—Iran (At the time of the interview Maryam was Assistant Professor and Head of the Physical Education Department at Shiraz University, with specialisms in exercise physiology and women's health with a particular interest in Muslim women and sport.)

It was a unique experience for me. I became familiar with different thoughts even diversity among Muslims ... The leadership of the experiences with this group taught me how we can manage diversity and respect and accept differences. For this purpose it is necessary to see not only ourselves but we must be able to see the world from the perspective of others. In my country we have gymnasiums, clubs and many private places for women's sport activity but one of the major problems of women's sport is participating in international championships. The outcomes of the Oman seminar week are a great achievement for female athletes in my country [*in acknowledging the voices and choices of Muslim women in sport participation*].

Until this meeting it was impossible for me to believe that there were any non-Muslim people in the world who would want to understand Muslims, think about their problems and do something for and with them. Now I am glad to know that humanity is alive in the world and we can find humans who do not only think about and for themselves. Until this time, I felt Muslim women were alone and it was impossible to convey their voices to people governing sports. But, now I am optimistic and hopeful about the future of Muslim women's sport.

Reflections and Recommendations on Researching Across Cultural and Religious Boundaries

The Oman seminar and its outcomes—the Accept and Respect Declaration and the book *Muslim Women and Sport*— provide an example of “situated ethics” which Henry (2007, p. 317) discusses in his analysis of postmodern

ethics as a useful approach to circumstances where ‘absolute standards are rejected in favour of the requirements of a particular situation’. However, negotiations are ongoing because of the need for further refinement since ‘consensus has limits and ... some groups will almost invariably stand outside the consensus achieved, but that consensus is an on-going constructor upon mutual respect and dialogue’ (Henry, 2007, p. 319).

Our analysis draws from the interpretivist/naturalistic positions on valuing partiality ‘claims on people’s lives ... politics and epistemologies of location, positioning and situating’ (Haraway, 1988, pp. 580, 589). From the 1980s, feminist debates on objectivity in knowledge creation demanded distinctions between the then dominant positivist scientific paradigm where ‘universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims’ (Haraway (1988, p. 589) and the increasing acknowledgement of the need for different world views that connect with the diversity of people’s lives. In a critique of objectivity as used by positivists, Haraway (1988, p. 589) made the case for interpretive feminist accounts that have a ‘critical vision consequent upon a critical positioning in un-homogeneous gendered social space’. She made the case for knowledge that engages with people, situated somewhere, with all the limits and contradictions of those realities. She claims that ‘Feminist objectivity means quite simply *situated knowledges*’ (Haraway, 1988, p. 581).

Despite much previous work by both authors of this chapter with Muslim women in the UK, Germany and Turkey, the Oman week proved to be transformative in terms of learning, building trust-based relationships, increasing our international understanding and ability to communicate and collaborate, and establishing research and writing partnerships with a focus on issues which stretch across cultural, political and international boundaries. We came to realize the diversity of ways in which both situation and religiosity affected Muslim women’s lives and their participation in sport.

The encounters with the seminar participants and their different ways of dealing with and talking about gender remind us that sex and gender are social categories which convey different meanings depending on the contexts. Inspired by constructivist approaches to gender as proposed by Raewyn Connell (1987, 2002) or Judith Lorber (1994; Lorber & Martin, 2007), we gained insights into multiple ways of constructing lives where gender and faith reflected situation and personal belief. The women in our group embodied and presented various “versions” of femininity and religiosity which were understood, accepted and respected by the other participants.

As European, non-religious researchers, we reinforced our understanding that engagement in social sciences means engaging with multiple realities, addressing diversity, listening to worldviews that may differ from our own.

This also meant facing the challenges of cross-cultural work, such as the need for sensitivity to power differentials, and awareness of the danger of linguistic and cultural misinterpretations. The foundations of our research with and about Muslim women have been relationships based on mutual respect and trust. Building these foundations is perhaps the greatest challenge to scholars who cross multiple boundaries, for example, cultural, religious and ethnic, in their attempts to increase knowledge. The journey to new knowledge and understanding is challenging but essential to the process of building bridges between people who live their lives in very different ways. As Mahatma Gandhi reminds us, 'Our ability to reach unity in diversity will be the beauty and the test of our civilisation'.²

Recommendations for Researchers Crossing Cultural and Religious Boundaries

In concluding the chapter we reflect on the characteristics of our approach to crossing religious and cultural boundaries in social science research. We offer the following as guidance to others considering similar studies that challenge their ability to see beyond their researcher position and worldview.

As with every study, the researcher needs to reflect on the aims and purpose of their research. In social science, where people research the lives of others, the understanding of power differentials between researcher and target groups is important. Particular sensitivity is required where researchers from the Global North, who dominate global knowledge creation, work with participants from the Global South, who live in very different social, economic and political situations. Thinking through the management of differences improves the chances of building bridges. Researchers should take time to establish relationships of mutual respect and trust as these will bring validity to the research.

The starting point for any study that crosses religious and cultural boundaries has to be with the lives of the research participants, their situation, everyday realities, needs and aspirations. It is vital to listen to their voices, observe their behaviour and be aware of possible misinterpretations, for example, of body language and translation. Researchers should beware making assumptions from their own standpoint, avoid homogenization, generalizations and ethnocentric thinking. Where there are language differences, the process of translation in gathering, analyzing and interpreting data, particularly in the form of interviews, increases the risks and complexity.

Partnership, collaboration and communication are the keys to successful research and the transfer of results to areas of practice. Joining with local researchers with mutual interests who have the skills and familiarity with the situation will assist in the entire process. Respecting local ethical values and practices, for example family hierarchical protocols, will minimize mistakes. Constant exchanges of information and interpretations with research partners and other participants will also help to maximize validity.

Central to the researchers' ability to cross religious and cultural boundaries is the ability to develop and act on a mindset that accepts and respects different worldviews. This chapter has focused on ways of increasing international understanding of Muslim women's diverse experiences in sport participation, a journey which began with meetings and exchanges of experiences and knowledge about lived experiences. Muslim women have contributed powerful voices and have shown agency in overcoming challenges specific to their situation. They continue to find ways to embody both religious and sporting identities. We have learned that religion and the embodied faith of religious people will be the most important determining factor for their life choices, including how, when and where Muslim women choose to engage in sporting activities.

Notes

1. Accept and Respect the voices and choices of Muslim women ... the Declaration from the Oman 2008 Seminar of the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women www.iapesgw.org (Accessed 24 March 2016).
2. <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/7352037-our-ability-to-reach-unity-in-diversity-will-be-the> (Accessed 27 May 2016).

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Learning Lessons from the Feminisms of Ethnic “Others”

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Introduction

In this chapter, we reflect upon the lessons learned from an engagement with feminisms of ethnic “Others” and explore key ideas used to analyze the lives of people of colour in/through different physical and sporting cultural contexts. Our prime motivation is to use this chapter as an opportunity to write back to pre-dominant white feminisms in the socio-cultural analysis of sport and physical culture, especially those feminisms that continue to ignore or give lip-service to the politics and sensibilities of ethnic “Others”. Despite the presence of critical scholarship in this academic field (as discussed below), the intellectual critiques of feminisms of ethnic “Others” is rarely cited and thus remains undervalued. We are mindful here of the point made by black feminist Audre Lorde (1985). She argues that scholars of colour and their critical engagements with feminisms continue to be marginalized within the academic community. Not only are they rarely invited to academic conferences, but opportunities to broaden and diversify intellectual debates and analyses

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are limited. When invitations are extended, oftentimes they are last minute and ignore the diversity of scholars well equipped to respond to the aims of various intellectual projects which speak beyond the narrow confines of their own racial and gendered ontologies. Furthermore, it continues to put the onus of critical race scholarship upon scholars of colour. White fe/male academics, in stark contrast, continue to be given centre stage and are praised for occupying the trendy spaces of the margin even if their work is problematic or fails to push the intellectual boundaries of the field (Mirza, 1997). Our contention here should not be mistaken as an assault against all feminisms. We understand and applaud those feminists who have critically interrogated whiteness and race relations, and stimulated much needed critical scholarship in the socio-cultural analysis of gender, sport and physical culture (e.g., Birrell, 1989; King, 2008; McDonald, 2009; Scraton, 2001; Watson & Scraton, 2001). As the work of these particular scholars reveals, centring and engaging with the theoretical critiques of various marginalized communities has always been crucial to developing and maintaining the emancipatory potential of feminism in and beyond sport. The point here is to broaden feminist thinking and practice to an expansive set of positionings and politics in order to recognize that feminist philosophies are and continue to be a reflection of multi-dimensional, overlapping standpoints, and are developed in response to agitations of a diverse range of marginalized groups, including those who are positioned as ethnic “Others” (Mohanty, 2003; Narayan & Harding, 2000; The Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective, 2014). Thus, thinking intersectionally across relations of power (Adjepong, 2015; Collins, 2008; Crenshaw, 1989; Lorde, 1985; McDonald, 2009; Ratna, 2013; Watson & Scraton, 2013) can challenge narratives around the assumed liberating and meritocratic nature of sport, provoking debates about the wider social significance of sport and alternative physical cultures (see Silk & Andrews, 2011). To further explore our engagement with feminisms of ethnic “Others”, in this chapter we begin by overviewing the scholarship and activism of The Santa Cruz feminist collective. From this underpinning framework, we then reflect upon our own biographical and political connectivities before building upon each others’ arguments by troubling sport in and through the theoretical lens of post-colonial feminism (Samie), Chicana feminism (Jamieson) and vagaries of women-of-colour feminism (Thangaraj). We end this chapter by reflecting on the promise of working dialogically in and through our different feminist positionings to emphasize the humanist goals of our respective and joint feminist vision(s).

The Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective

The Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective are a group of un-named scholars and activists who have written about the multi-dimensional and locally contextualized flavour of their own feminist philosophies and praxis (see The Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective, 2014). Significant to their work, they argue that complex axes of oppression only become known in/through/ across the borders of different social positionings. These points of being, belonging and politicking influence how they make sense of their own collective experiences and those of other cultural groups in recognition of fluctuating and inter-connected differences across modalities of race, gender, sexuality, class, age and (dis)ability as well as transgenerational and transnational genealogies. The purpose of this mutual understanding is to benefit not only themselves but more broadly the wellbeing of each other, their collective communities, and the greater good (see below). Furthermore, they argue that knowledge produced ‘at the borders’ forges connections across different socio-political struggles that aim to build on ‘the edge of each other’s battles’. Their philosophy—built on the early work of the Combahee River Collective and lesbians of colour—acknowledges that our respective politics may be mobilized through different cultural sensibilities at the same time and/or separately depending on the context of our political locations. But, importantly, that our praxis and mode of being cannot be confined to narrow identity politics but is understood and felt in and across various relations of being. The sentiments and political praxis of the Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective are not new; they represent a wider body of feminist scholarship that is born from the historical and continued struggles of people of colour, from within and across different geopolitical sites, in order to challenge dominant discourses and hierarchies of power while underscoring the difference within categories and identities. Accordingly, the rise of new and different feminisms should not be read as necessarily reflective of their particular subjectivities but as a form of political expression (Carrington, 2007); women and men figuring out how to work on/ at the borders of space, knowledge, discourses and subjectivities. In this chapter, we suggest that multidimensionality and inter-disciplinarity are thus key components of the feminisms of ethnic “Others”. Whilst we acknowledge that the feminist critiques that we favour in this chapter have key distinctions and parallel concerns, thus building on ‘the edge of each other’s battles’, they reflect a deeper desire to use research for public good. Reflecting on the quest for a public sociology more broadly, Carrington (2007) further reminds us that the purpose of research (about identities) does not begin and end with whatever group is being discussed. He (2007, p. 62) suggests that a public (sport) sociology is:

a form of committed scholarship that is premised on the attempt to reveal the play of power and the complex articulations of dominant ideologies whilst simultaneously recognising the joy, creativity, and moments of resistance and, occasionally, transformation that popular culture and sport provide us with.

Situating the Politics of the Authors

Before we provide an overview of the selected theories, some autobiographical details of the respective authors is necessary to situate ourselves within the research we both critique and advocate for. We are a group of scholars: some of us have only known each other for a short time, and others have known each other for longer. We have begun to work with each other as critical friends across our different disciplinary boundaries: anthropology, sociology, cultural and post-colonial studies. We are different and similar to each other in terms of our gender, sexualities, race and ethnicities, diasporas, nationalities and ages. Following the precedent of the Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective, we refuse to demarcate our personal trajectories as fixed to either/or any of our particular subjectivities as this runs the risk of promulgating a “standpoint” that essentializes our multiple, dynamic and complex personal histories, politics and relations. Moreover, our collaboration aims to give primacy to our respective politics which may stem from a combinations of factors, such as our own educational histories, political beliefs, and personal experiences of sport and academia which are fluid and complex, altering as we move across time and space. Secondly, in recognition that the Santa Cruz Feminist of Color Collective emphasized the dialogical relations in and between scholars and activists, the nature of our conversations for this chapter have not been so easily facilitated (three of us live across the expansive terrain of America, Samie, Jamieson and Thagaraj, and one of us is from England, Ratna) but we have nevertheless endeavoured to share personal stories as well as critical debates which in various ways have enabled us to begin to work across and through the ‘edges of our different battles’. Through email exchanges and the reading of each other’s sections, our political and relational solidarities are being enthused, defined and confirmed. Whilst space limitations of the chapter do not allow for a deeper debate about our theoretical synergies and differences, this chapter is tied together through our different and respective quests to use feminism to open up academic spaces for dialogue which promote ‘other ways of knowing’ the diverse realities and activisms of people of colour (Sudbury, 1994) in and through sport.

Post-colonial Feminist Thinking

In June 2015, Toffoletti and Palmer (2–3) called for new approaches to the study of Muslim women and sport to better engage this kind of feminist politics to privilege the ‘diverse interests of Muslim women’, and think about the ‘production of knowledge’ that ‘informs the design, authorship and co-authorship of policy and research in specific settings’. I applaud this move and have advocated for it too. As a scholarly and theoretical convention, post-colonial feminist thinking provides a way for contemporary researchers to unhinge the ‘organising premises of (certain types of) white, western feminist thought’ (read: Anglo/Eurocentric perspectives pertaining to the racialized “Other”) to better facilitate ‘different ways of thinking about feminist research and the production of knowledge, feminist activism and the making of connections, the processes of identity formation and identification, and the relationship between gender and other forms of social differentiation’ (Ahmed, 2000, p. 111). The politics and ethics of such thinking have resulted in a multitude of different consequences ranging from feminist researchers of both Western and non-Western heritage rejecting universalist theories of “Other” women’s cultural practices as unjust and oppressive, to feminists of colour dismantling the essentialist connotations of racism that have typically neglected the agentic capacity of such women to historically struggle and resist oppressive regimes and practices ‘in their own rights and in their own unique ways both inside/outside of the feminist movement’ (Amos & Parmer, 1984, p. 7). In this sense, the “post” in post-colonial feminism imbues a ‘compound term’ where emphasis is placed on the ‘conceptual superseding’ (read: transcending, going beyond, unhinging, rupturing) of the parameters of ‘colonial discourse’ (Adam & Tiffin, 1994, p. xii). And the word “feminism” conveys a personal and political commitment to explore the complex dynamics of gendered power and the structural effects that certain dominant (Anglo/Eurocentric) feminist epistemologies have had on controlling knowledge about the “Other” and institutionalizing (and policing) forms of thinking that have contributed to the epistemic erasure of alternative truths from contemporary discussions about such individuals. Such policing has historically nurtured an epistemic worldview where white/Western middle-class women (and feminists) are uncritically depicted as privileged and superior and “everyone else” is juxtaposed as inferior and “Other”.

Since 2013, much of my own work has embraced this kind of thinking to pick apart and confront the extent to which knowledge production, metanarratives and various textual and analytical strategies have (a) universalized sporting Muslim females in static ways; and (b) dichotomized the epistemological and ontological assumptions and interpretations made about their

lives, realities, identities and experiences (see e.g., Samie, 2013, 2014, 2016; Samie & Sehliloglu, 2014). As a Muslim female who has devoted more than a decade to researching this field, I continue to be troubled by (different kinds of) scholarship and intellectual forums that engage Muslim females, only to subsume and confine their lived experiences, identities and dialogical voices as somehow “lacking” when compared to non-Muslim, Western women. It is certainly an inherent message that emerges out of research that, albeit well-intentioned in raising awareness about legitimate inequities, privileges the need to look first to constraints and religious and socio-cultural restrictions that hinder, block and/or dictate the conditions of Muslim females’ limited participation (Dagkas & Benn, 2010; Kay, 2006; Pfister, 2010). This message has gained more strength and momentum in recent years as Western fe/male researchers and journalists, often troubled by the challenges that Muslim females face when accessing sport in Europe or the West, turn their attention to understanding the plight, the struggle and the many challenges that Muslim females face across Islamic countries (out there, away from the West) (Benn, Pfister, & Jawad, 2010; Di-Capua, 2005; Klein, 2007; Martin & Mason, 2003). In some cases Muslim females living in Islamic countries have been invited to report on their experiences, challenges and achievements while living under powerless regimes (see contributions by Mona al-Ansari, Youstra al-Sinani, Nour el-Houda etc. in Benn et al., 2011; see also Attarzadeh & Sohrabi, 2007; Mozafari, Ahani, Shajie, & Hadavi, 2010). Privileging Muslim women’s marginalized voices is an important and necessary step to dismantle racist and imperialist epistemologies, but in most instances, their voices are included not necessarily to challenge the metanarrative of struggle and conflict, but to strengthen it and corroborate the Western assumption (see e.g., Harkness, 2012; Harkness & Islam, 2011; Marwat et al., 2014).

I recall a global feminist sport and physical activity conference where scores of heavily veiled Muslim women from across the “Arab world” were invited to share their stories (IAPESGAW, 2009). Certainly their inclusion was a pivotal moment to be celebrated, especially since IAPESGAW has been at the forefront of efforts to work more closely with Muslim women in physical activity and sport so as to increase knowledge and challenge traditional and cultural myths. And yet at the same event, many non-Muslim fe/male delegates interrogated un/veiled Muslim female sports scholars (myself included). One Muslim female delegate was asked why her husband was “chaperoning” her, overlooking the fact that several non-Muslim females were also attending the event with their fe/male partners and children. At other times, we were questioned on our choices to veil or not, and assumptions about the socio-cultural, religious and political coercions we faced were thrust upon us as if they were

truths that we were hiding or running away from. Whether intentional or not, these circumstances not only devalued our freedom to make choices, but they sidelined us as insignificant “Others” even in the moments when we were centre stage to the harrowing scrutiny. And despite multiple stories from respected and accomplished female Muslim physical education teachers, professors, coaches and practitioners working in Islamic countries (Iran, Iraq, Oman, Turkey, Malaysia, etc.), the subtext and the overarching discourse of the event continued to hark back to notions of tensions, irreconcilable differences and barriers (poignantly captured by the title of one presentation that received a standing ovation, ‘I am dancing between two cultures’, a case study of Muslim female participation in Germany). Western sports scholars were less interested to listen attentively and intuitively to researchers who had consciously retrieved and included diverse, fluid and shifting realities and identities. Our testimonies and narratives were alien and so far removed from where the discussion was at, that even when many of us were hyper-visible at the conference, we were either invisible or existed as outsiders to remind Western scholars that we are simply “too different” to be understood.

In the media, Islamic feminist advocates of sport for women and girls have been pitted against secular white feminists whose glimpse into women’s sport in Islamic countries is understood almost entirely through a myopic lens privileging the “West is best” ideal.¹ At other times, I recall heavily veiled Muslim women or male clerics being asked to give “authentic” voice to all Muslim women. While I appreciated the intention to take seriously religion as a positionality from which to explore the realities and experiences that women have/forge with/through sport, the ambiance has always been very uncomfortable.² At IAPESGAW, a prominent Iranian scholar was asked challenging questions about Islam’s position on sport, about how as a Muslim female she navigated, coped with and ultimately tried to smooth tensions that underscored and plagued her reality simply because she was (a) a Muslim female; and (b) a subordinate other marginalized by and within the various religious, cultural and political structures of her country. Questions about her published scholarly work in peer-reviewed sports medicine journals, or indeed her accomplished status as a university professor of sport at a high-profile institution were irrelevant and insignificant compared to the overwhelming obsession to make sense of her religious inclinations and derail her own confidence in her freedom of choice. This is unsurprising: non-Western women’s agentic capacity to challenge oppressive structures or forces ‘in their own rights and in their own unique ways both inside/outside of the feminist movement’ has long been ignored or misrepresented (Amos & Parmer, 1984, p. 7).

At another event, an unveiled Muslim female scholar took to the stage in a black burka, only to tear it off when she began to speak and present her work. The audience gasped and applauded. I can say I have witnessed this level of uncomfortableness at six academic conferences since my disheartening encounter in 2009. These events—these realities and truths—are problematic, especially when we are faced with claims that the scholarship and the academy is embracing diverse identities and inspiring new modes of thinking. To me, this kind of knowledge production rests on ultimately juxtaposing Western sporting women as being free to make their own choices and decisions, and as having control over their lives and bodies, and Muslim females (myself included) as the ultimate inferior “Others” to our modern, progressive, superior Western “sisters”. Our agency is celebrated only in so far as it confirms and solidifies the metanarrative that we are always controlled or always resisting being controlled. Our agency is a reactionary resistance to the systems of control that we have (or are expected) to fend off and navigate around. We are depicted as pushing back, struggling against, fighting for, or reclaiming agency as opposed to being depicted in ways that celebrate us as embodied subjects who already possess active, controlling, proprietary power over our lives and bodies. And sport is only ever depicted as a positive, transformative force in the lives of us “have nots” collectively positioned as repressed and inferior (Samie et al., 2015), even when sports scholars across the world continue to air and challenge the inherent inequalities of this sexist and racist institution. The Western “sport for all” agenda has inspired a new wave of sport scholarship that seeks to help, empower and liberate tradition- and religion-bound women. In doing so, the claim of capturing “legitimate truth from the field” has painted a rather distorted perception. Not only has it cut off, ignored and silenced real Muslim women revealing in the multiple and fluid realities of their lived experiences and complicated identity work, but it continues to police the intelligible forms of knowing us and our ontological and epistemological status.

Toffoletti and Palmer (2015) ask that we turn our attention to how Muslim females consume sport and try to understand what it truly means to us. I ask contemporary researchers to deploy a variety of ‘flexible methods’ to ‘attend to the challenges of heterogeneous locations and subjectivities, as well as to contradictory positions in relationships’ that emerge when we (Muslim, non-Muslim, male, female) researchers conduct such work (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2009). I also ask that we question the pursuit of our scholarship and be cognizant of “who” has (had) the authority to speak for and on behalf of Muslim women in existing scholarship and in mediated representations. Contemporary research should be inspired less by an age-old obsession to make sense of Islam

and its positioning of gender, sexuality and femininity, and more by a desire to include and capture the rich and deeply complex identities, politics and ethics of real Muslim women who are influenced by a myriad of different, conflicting and contradictory cultural influences in ways that matter (ultimately also) only to us. Our responsibilities are to nurture critical thinking that dismantles divisive scholarship to allow our readers to ‘travel transversely across cultural borders’ (Hamzeh & Oliver, 2009, p. 1) so that they can truly access the lives of women and girls they are researching or reading about. ‘The authentic identity of (Muslim women) is not a straight jacket or dress or veil. It is an active, living, changing process, which demands a rereading of our history, and a reshaping of ourselves and our societies in the light of present challenges and future goals’ (El Sadaawi, 1999 in Kassab, 2010, p. 95).

Chicana Feminist Thinking

Often cited as having its roots in the late 1960s and 1970s US political movements, and growing out of discontent with gender, sexual and racial erasures in the (masculinist) Chicano Movement and (white) women’s/feminist movement of the same time, a Chicana feminist politic informed by the multi-sited, multi-faceted, lived legacies of brown, indigenous and displaced “female” subjects evolved (de la Torre & Pesquera, 1993). Chicana/o³ organizing can be linked to social organizing much earlier than the 1960s, but like many currently relevant social movements it gained momentum during the larger US struggles for civil rights. In academia, a recognized need for safer spaces for intellectual and political projects led to the development of intentionally politicized sites of academic programmes in Chicano Studies, the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) and Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS), all in the early 1980s (Pesquera & Segura, 1993; Trujillo, 1998). Deeply tied to various traditions of advocacy and intersectional analyses of brown lives, Chicana feminisms have always been about corporeal, psychic and cultural experiences of inherited social-structural conditions. To the extent the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 produced a new citizen subject—“the Mexican-American”—a politicized, resistive, agitative sense of brownness also emerged, under the rubric of Chicana/o identities, political engagements and theorizing (Anzaldúa, 1987; Perez, 1999). Not surprisingly, an engagement with Chicana feminist thinking requires an engagement with multiple sites of political struggle including education, labour force, communities of residence, material and symbolic “homelands”, national and supranational politics, and community and self. As well,

multi-layered identity frames and social categories of difference are recognized not merely as products of marginalization, but more importantly as core components in capacities for seeing the social world, its structures and its possibilities (Anzaldúa, 1987). This is not to say Chicana feminisms operates only from a standpoint epistemology, but more crucially, Chicana feminist sensibilities refuse an externally imposed compartmentalization of political commitments (Sandoval, 2000).

Emerging out of this refusal are generative sites for coalition building and linking of agitative energies across transnational movements for social justice (Lugones, 1994). In cultural studies of sport and physical activity, I remain moved by Susan Birrell's (1990) invitation to sport studies scholars to consider the scholarly work of women of colour including Chicana feminists, especially as these analyses deploy differently expansive conceptions of intersectional social categories and methodologies for illuminating brown lived reality as more than victimization. Most recently, the work of Jorge Moraga (2015) offers a decidedly transnational Latino/a study of the NBA with special attention paid to league outreach through the Noche Latina campaign which, he argues, may be especially informative about the ways that sport fans, pundits and academics may grapple with the ways such campaigns repackage racialized, sexist and cultural tropes for global television audiences as well as social media users. In my own work, I have found a focus on sporting/brown/queer bodies to be especially instructive for interrogating white, Western and European privilege in the production of and movement through physical cultural spaces. For example, differential mediated representations of USLPGA golfer Nancy Lopez served an assemblage of cultural power brokers throughout her career, toward an illusion of racial, gender and sexual equality, while also marking less assimilable (read brown and queer) golfers as problematic and detrimental to the "post-Title 9/11", global (US) women's golf project (Douglas & Jamieson, 2006; Jamieson, 1998, 2015, p. 503). Beyond mediated representations and cultural productions, Chicana feminisms have also been intellectually productive in examining supposed post-Title IX liberating effects through the actual lived experience of US Latinas in collegiate sport (Jamieson, 2005). Illuminating structural, generational and cultural conditions, Chicana feminist theorizing also demanded attention to researcherly position and nuanced negotiation and navigation by these uniquely situated US collegiate athletes, drawing analytic attention to the rational disidentifications enacted by these women throughout these sport-related strivings (Jamieson, 2003a, 2003b; Muñoz, 1999).

Despite the above-mentioned interventions, there remains much work to be done. As Teresa Cordova (1998) has argued, there are at least three canons of

the US university that support ongoing coloniality. These are (1) the notion of objectivism which works to separate the academy and its ontological objects; (2) the sanctity of curriculum which features a centrality of Western experience on the basis of legitimate knowledge; and (3) the cry for standards, or the reliance on measures of excellence exemplified in standardized tests and preferred forms of “research” and methodologies (Cordova, 1998, p. 22). Turning our attention to a decidedly Chicana/o Cultural Studies (CCS), Angie Chabram-Dernersesian (2006) suggests that it might contest the primacy of analytics based on nation states by deploying transnational and border consciousness; refuse participation in the privileged “Anglocentric” genealogies that situate British Cultural Studies (BCS) as an “authoritative discipline”; work against disciplinary boundary making through intentional, oppositional forms of interdisciplinarity; and actively recover forgotten and excluded legacies to provide alternative understandings of current social conditions. Taken together, Chicana feminisms, Chicana/o Cultural Studies and Cultural Studies of Sport and Physical Activity link the body and physical culture in an illumination of *mestizaje*—a methodology for seeing, navigating, and changing the social world and our *movidas* though/within it (Anzaldúa, 1987; Jamieson, 2003a). Perez (1999) argues that Chicana/o history is forever understood as beginning at the colonial moment we have come to know as the end of the US–Mexico war of 1846–1848. This colonial moment continues to shape scholarly accounts, political agendas and lived experiences for Chicanas/os in the United States.

Similarly, deploying a Chicana feminist sensibility, Title IX may be seen as a rupturing point in women’s sporting history in the USA specifically, casting a colonial reflection upon supposedly liberated subjects. A decolonial imaginary complicates understandings of “female” athletes and their movement between coloniality and post-coloniality. As well, a Chicana feminist sensibility may invite reflections on our collectively (coerced) choices in scholarship around sport as a space for the illumination of difference and power. It is at these edges of our scholarly work where we may resist the constant invitations to reduce capacious and complex inquiry to weak multiculturalist tales. Chicana feminist analyses of sport and physical activity offer the opportunity for crucial dialogue with and against all too often de-linked cultural studies, area studies and feminist studies. Chicana feminisms offer endless crucial insights for researcherly practice in the cultural study of sport and physical activity. While feminist-informed sport and leisure scholars must actively interrogate the seeming irrelevance of sport and physical activity (perhaps this is an ontological challenge) in legible projects of Chicana/o Cultural Studies, we must also actively deploy Chicana feminist sensibilities toward questions

about the nuances of multi-community and transnational memberships and the role of sport/leisure involvement in these engagements. A sport/leisure studies informed by Chicana feminisms would critically analyze the extent to which the conditions of seemingly unrelated sport and leisure incidents are actually linked around new imperialisms that produce brown and queer communities as abject and in need of sport programmes to contain and civilize their members. Chicana feminist-informed sport/leisure studies may also contribute to a re-imagining of a global public health agenda that begins with value and love for brown people, as opposed to a neo-liberal management of brown lives and communities (see Chabram-Dernersesian & de la Torre, 2008). Ultimately, Chicana feminisms may aid sport/leisure leaders in decolonizing our scholarly and on-the-ground practices for creating and sustaining physically active communities.

Women of Colour Feminist Theory, Queer Diasporic Critique and Queer of Colour Critique

At a job talk in 2013 where I discussed my book *Desi Hoop Dreams* (New York University Press, 2015) and the ways in which sexuality and race complicate sporting practices of masculinity, in a packed room that exceeded capacity, a few Vanderbilt University sociologists asked me, 'Isn't this [my research project] already stuff done by Michael Kimmel?' and 'Isn't it just basketball and nothing more?' These questions presumed that Kimmel's work on masculinity in white, middle-class America would be used to explain masculinity in general. Here we immediately see a focus on equivalence that fails to attend to the contradictions within identity formation in sporting practices. Similarly, the question about basketball as just sport evacuates the social context and the social positions of the young South Asian American men in my book. Although it is important to recognize Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner along with R. Connell as key figures in the formation of Masculinity Studies, their important contributions to feminist theory, masculinity studies and sport does not always take up critical evaluations of masculinity in minoritized communities. We must disrupt the singularity of masculinity in order to attend to the multiple interpretations and experiences of leisure for racialized communities. In my ethnographic research in South Asian American and Kurdish American communities in the US South, I employ Black Feminist Theory, Women of Colour Feminist Theory, Queer Diasporic Critique, and Queer of Colour Critique as a necessary means to

attend to the messy, contradictory and complex world of diasporic and ethnic nationalism (Thangaraj, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015).

Women of Colour Feminist Theory, Queer Diasporic Critique and Queer of Colour Critique offer a chance to complicate the multiple, shifting and contradictory relationships communities have to sport, capital, nation and diaspora. Arguably, Black Feminist Theory presents foundational understandings of “difference” and how difference structures relationships to capital, nation, sport and “woman”. Women of Colour Feminist Theory, Queer Diasporic Critique and Queer of Colour Critique build on Black Feminist Theory, recognizing that black women, women of colour and queers of colour have been universalized under the rubric of “woman” (in the singular) and “gay” (in the singular), whereby their experiences of slavery, poverty, racial capitalism, empire and colonialism have been elided in the mainstream second-wave (white) feminist canon. Thus, the theoretical perspectives I adopt in my research on sporting masculinity in South Asian American basketball cultures aims to highlight the various intersectional marginalizations within co-ethnic, co-gay and co-racial communities. Women of Colour Feminism (Hong, 2006), Black Feminist Theory (Collins, 2008; Davis, 1985; Lorde, 1985), Queer of Colour Critique (Ferguson, 2004; Johnson, 2003; Manalansan, 2003), and Queer Diasporic Critique (Gopinath, 2005) refuse to universalize categories of “woman”, “man”, “gay” and “queer”. These scholars aim to disrupt the universalization of gender and sexuality while forcing conversations that address the intersectionality of those categories with race, class and power, and how difference structures identities. Through these theoretical perspectives, I am able to highlight concurrently the white heteronormativity that undergirds the relationship between leisure and tough national masculinity, while attending to the exclusions that come with the responses to racism within ethnic and racial minority communities. For example, an examination of South Asian American sporting cultures reveals that the performance of a sporting masculinity comes with gendered, sexualized and racialized regulations of belonging. National sporting masculinity in the USA is already interpellated as white, muscular, heterosexual, Christian, middle class and male (Bachin, 2003; Espana-Maram, 2006; Lorde, 1985; Mumford, 2001). Thus, the young Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and Christian South Asian American men in my book fall outside of these normative boundaries through various intersections of race, gender, sexuality, class and ethnicity. Yet, we cannot superimpose the South Asian American experience for all communities. Unlike African Americans whose relationship to basketball is one of a long history against white supremacy and as a means to garner social mobility, South Asian American men in my research take to basketball as a site of sporting pleasure

where they can stake a claim to American identity. Since several of the young South Asian American men are professionals and the children of medical or engineering professionals, their love of the game is not about financial mobility and escape from poverty. There are different relations of pleasure, race and masculinity with sporting cultures (Joo, 2012; Yep, 2009).

When the Vanderbilt University sociologists demanded Kimmel's and Messner's theoretical language, they intimated that there is nothing new that could arise beyond the works of Messner and Kimmel. In the process, they dismissed the importance of studying immigrant men of colour in the United States. Additionally and importantly, they simultaneously dismissed and failed to account for the long histories of appropriating Black Feminism, Women of Colour Feminist Theory and Queer of Colour Critique that are quite commonplace in the academy. Furthermore, by emphasizing Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner, the sociologists reoccupied and reclaimed Masculinity Studies as a white intellectual project—both with regard to the social location of the subjects under study and the researcher. Whereas the work by scholars and activists like Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Patricia Hill Collins, Grace Hong, Roderick Ferguson, E. Patrick Johnson, Martin Manalansan and Gayatri Gopinath allow a broader and expansive understanding of the contradictions in diasporic and minority communities, key works in Masculinity Studies have not addressed the multiple and contradictory relationships that a wide variety of communities of colour have to sport and nation. With respect to my own project, US citizenship is practised through sport but that same nationhood also demands the exclusion and marginalization of various men of colour from the framework of normative national masculinity. Through my work I show the many movements in and out of exclusion that govern sporting masculinities and their multiple, contradictory relation to nation.

While looking at the ways in which these identities are formed across numerous axes, we can also locate and understand how even ethnic nationalism and diasporic subjectivities are internally policed, regulated and excluded within their own communities. In the case of the South Asian American basketball players in my research, in order to be read along recognizable sporting language, South Asian American men took to consuming US sporting cultures through basketball games, American football, video games and the respective exclusions that accompany them. Instead of opening up the parameters of diasporic and national belonging through sporting pleasure, the young men reinforced heterosexual, racial and masculine boundaries so that they would be seen as respectable sporting men in relation to racialized black masculinity, heterosexist renditions of queer masculinities, and sexist, patriarchal renderings of female athletes. As South Asian Americans are already queered and made into non-normative figures in the larger national

imagination as “nerds”, “terrorists” and “effeminate”, they felt compelled to exclude gay masculinities, women and other racialized masculinities as a way to consolidate (heterosexual) sporting masculinity.

I employ Queer Diasporic Critique in my work on leisure and sport because this theoretical frame proves important in making sure we do not fall into the trap of interpellating the Global North, the USA in particular, as sites of gender and sexual liberation. Even the young men in my book emphasized the backwardness of South Asia while failing to account for the gender and sexual conservatism in the United States of America. For example, one of my self-identifying gay interlocutors alluded to how his parents and community sent him back to India as a way to *straighten* him up—sexually. Sport and other masculine venues did not suffice in the USA so his parents thought a “conservative” India would re-heterosexually masculinize him. Instead, the young man intimated to me that sexually playing with other boys in India affirmed his same-sex desires. Examples like this stress that we must attend to the conservatism in the USA and not construct the Global South as the only site of gender and sexual conservatism (Rana, 2011; Thangaraj, 2015).

The sexual slur “butch” is commonplace in US sporting cultures to curtail female participation in a variety of sports deemed as masculine. While female South Asian American women do not appear with the same frequency in basketball circuits and lack the kinds of support given to their male counterparts, their relative absence is part of the consequences of living in the United States. In contrast to the lack of active female basketball players in South Asian American diasporas, there active women’s basketball leagues and venues in India. What Women of Colour Feminism, Black Feminism, Queer Diasporic Critique, and Queer of Colour Critique offer is a chance to disrupt the idea of equivalence while complicating the terrain of difference. Instead of stabilizing the categories of gender, race, sexuality, class and ability in relation to nation and diaspora, the theoretical frameworks I have detailed work at the edge of each other to deconstruct identity in direct, different and differential relations to capital, sport, nation and community. This kind of disruption is a permanent political commitment to critique and the questions that arise from this critical re-framing.

Working with and for Our Feminist Selves and “Others”

The feminisms of ethnic “Others” identified in this chapter provide a contrasting relief to some white feminist analysis of sport and physical culture that continues to uncritically position it as liberating and progressive despite

evidence from within and across the borders of Western nations which signal that such practices can reproduce as well as challenge forms of both privilege and marginalization. The complexities and contradictions made visible and thus accountable by re-centring the feminisms of ethnic Others illustrates the power of individuals and collectives of men and women to fight for other ways of knowing, and seeking justice for, the multiply-constituted axes of oppression that impede their involvement in sport and physical cultures. In this chapter, we have applied feminisms of ethnic “Others” to a contextual analysis of the intersectional contours and discourses of being and belonging. Moreover, through a focus on post-colonial, Chicana and Women of Colour feminisms, we have argued that to research complex, dynamic and multifarious lives requires sophisticated frames of thinking which move beyond singular or linear developments of theory, method and practice. Thus, we have encouraged researchers to think across the borders of social difference as well as the boundaries of intellectual traditions, in order to critique what is already known or not known about diverse ethnic populations and their relations with one another in and through sport and physical culture.

However, we recognize that working in and across our various feminist practices and differences is not an easy task. Nevertheless, we suggest that the desire for deeper or better knowledge, to raise our individual and collective feminist consciousness, is an ongoing quest. By sharing our respective thinking we hope to continue our own conversations but also to invite dialogues with other academics from within and beyond the field of sport and physical culture. In respect of this, we echo the sentiments of black British feminist Pragna Patel (1997, p. 268):

Our task is to find new ways of resisting, and new ways of truly democratic thinking ... Our alliances must cross our different identities, and help us to reconceptualize notions of democracy, human rights and citizenship. Whatever the dividing lines drawn by priests, mullahs, gurus and politicians, we will then be able to reach out to our each other, to support one another in our transgressions and defiance. Above all, we must leave room for doubt and uncertainty in our own orthodoxies...the time has come ... to talk to many things.

Shollock (2012) argues that building relationships with other feminist and non-feminist scholars is not always comfortable as we question our own epistemic preferences. But creating doubt also creates space to re/learn from different ontological, intersectional, changing and often marginalized locations of thinking, space and being. Lorde (1985) acknowledges that whilst there are very real differences between us, we cannot stop this from damaging the

possibilities for mutual exchange and dialogue which has the potential to create effective change for us, and between us, for the greater good (see also McDonald, 2009). In this chapter we have aimed to prioritize feminisms of ethnic “Others” in order to critically interrogate sporting practices and physical cultures, and to find alternative ways of knowing the lived realities, ambitions and political motivations of people of colour.

Notes

1. This is poignantly captured in a BBC 2005 interview highlighting the views of Faezeh Hashemi, head of the Islamic Federation of Women’s Sports and long-standing Vice President of Iran’s National Olympic Committee, and Linda Weil-Curiel, founder of The Atlanta Plus group whose campaign to ban Muslim countries who do not send women to the “real” Olympics is underpinned by an exclusionary ideal that privileges etiquettes of sport that are unattractive, unappealing and offensive to some Muslims. In Samie & Sehlkoglou, 2014, a more detailed analysis of how the media hyper-sensationalizes Muslim sports-women as strange, incompetent and out of place is provided.
2. This viewpoint has not only overlooked the fact that some Muslim women do not prioritize religion in their lives, but also failed to recognize that even when religion is important, it is not the *only* influence that shapes Muslim females’ decisions.
3. *Chicana/o*—1960s term referring to a politicized US-born or residing person of Mexican heritage. *Latina/o*—refers to any person of Latin nativity or of US-born Latin heritage coming from several countries (P.R., Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela, USA, Mexico, etc.). *Hispanic*—A government-imposed term to refer to Latinos/as in the USA for purposes of the Census produced a falsely universalized accounting of Latinas/os in the USA.

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Transgender Issues in Sport and Leisure

Ann Travers

On 27 July 2015 my Facebook page exploded with the welcome news that ‘Dutee Chand cleared to race as IAAF suspends “gender test” rules’ (BBC, 2015). The 19-year-old sprinter had been banned by the Athletics Federation of India (AFI) because her testosterone levels were deemed to be “too high” to be naturally occurring in a “woman”. The AFI’s policies in this matter lined up with that of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), which had in turn followed the lead of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in setting such policy (BBC, 2015). Chand took her case to the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) which ‘suspended the International Association of Athletics Federations’ “hyperandrogenism” rules for two years’. The ruling stipulated that new evidence must be provided by the IAAF within that time-frame if Chand and other athletes with naturally high testosterone levels are to be barred from competing. The statement issued by the IAAF following the ruling (27 July 2015) emphasized that the rules in question had been adopted in consultation with the IOC in the first place and that the IAAF would work closely with the IOC to respond to this ruling. In the interim, Chand went on to win three gold medals at the Indian national championships (Zeigler, 2015).

This ruling by the CAS did something unprecedented in international and national sporting policy: it questioned the long-held conviction, in the sport world and beyond, that testosterone levels are a clear indicator of sex identity and that the relative lack of this hormone among women explains across-the-board

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so-called female athletic inferiority. In the same month, the Women's World Cup football final was the most watched soccer game ever in US (FIFA, 2015) and Canadian history (Bell Media, 2015) and achieved worldwide record viewership for women's football (FIFA, 2015), challenging mainstream media's justification for its refusal to cover women's sports on the basis that "women's sports don't sell". Both these examples of challenges to modern sport's institutionalization of binary sex difference came closely on the heels of another disturbance in the gender order of sport: Caitlyn Jenner's official gender transition announcement in her interview on *20/20* on 24 April 2015, followed closely by a cover story in *Vanity Fair*, complete with a glamorous and revealing hyper-feminine photo shoot by Annie Leibowitz. As the epitome of the world's greatest athlete (with no need to emphasize the masculine subtext of this moniker) for her 1976 Olympic decathlon gold medal as Bruce Jenner, this announcement dropped a bombshell on assumptions about sport performance and male superiority. How could such a "manly man" want to be a woman or come to look like this? While critical feminist sport scholars celebrated these moments of disruption, the polarized gender order was quickly restored by the IOC with its release of a new 'consensus statement on sex reassignment and hyperandrogenism' in November 2015. These moments of disruption and reconsolidation provide a powerful jumping-off point for an overview of feminist engagement with issues relating to transgender participation in sport and leisure.

Since the 1950s, transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals have emerged as polemic and sensationalized figures in Western media accounts. Some of the controversy has centred on their participation in sex-divided sporting spaces—since Rene Richards' groundbreaking appearance on the Women's Tennis Association tour in 1977. Richards, a transsexual woman, set an important precedent in 1977 when she successfully sued the Women's Tennis Association for barring her participation (Birrell & Cole, 1990). Since then, more recent cases at both amateur and professional levels of sport have challenged simplistic notions of binary-based biological sex difference (see, for example, Love, 2014; Travers & Deri, 2010). Other groundbreaking trans athletes in elite amateur and professional sports include Canada's Michelle Dumaresq (women's mountain biking), Denmark's Lana Lawless and USA's Miane Bagger (Ladies' Professional Golf Association), Indian runner Shanti Soundarajan, and Americans Kai Allums (NCAA women's basketball), Keelin Godsey (two-time NCAA women's hammer-throw champion), Fallon Fox (mixed martial arts), Chris Mosier (duathlon, triathlon) and Caitlyn Jenner (1976 Olympic gold medal winner decathlon). The transgender challenge to the traditional organization of sport on the basis of binary sex categories has had an impact in a series of ways.

An increasing body of literature documents issues relating to transgender and transsexual inclusion in sport (Birrell & McDonald, 2000; Broad, 2001; Caudwell, 2014; Love, 2014; Martin & Martin, 1995; Pilgrim, Martin, & Binder, 2002; Tagg, 2012; Travers, 2006; Travers & Deri, 2010). In this chapter I provide an overview of academic literature relating to transgender participation in sport and an analysis of transgender inclusion policies for adults at the international level. I draw attention to sport (and organized programmes of physical leisure) as an area of crisis for transgender and gender-nonconforming people of all ages because of the sex-segregated nature of facilities, programmes, activities and uniforms.

Transgender athletes present a potential challenge to sex-segregated sporting institutions and programmes. For this reason, issues relating to transgender participation in sport cannot be understood independently from the role of sport in normalizing and reinforcing widespread gender inequality (male superiority) and related assumptions about sex difference. This discussion, however, needs to have an intersectional (Crenshaw, 1998; Hill Collins, 2005) footprint (see, for example, Carrington & McDonald, 2009; Douglas, 2013) as race, class, sexuality, gender and nation constitute assemblages of power and privilege (Puar, 2007) working in and through sport that are far from simplistic.

Modern Sport: Patriarchal and Colonial to the Core

Modern sport emerged in Europe and its colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a male-supremacist “civilizing” project (Carter, 2008) that represented a backlash against the increasing power of middle- and upper-class white women (Bullough & Bullough, 1993). It was designed to emphasize sex difference, to socialize boys and men into orthodox masculinity, to enforce heterosexuality (Pronger, 1990) and to further the goal of white middle- and upper-class morality and leadership within Western imperialist projects (Carrington & McDonald, 2009). Mainstream competitive and amateur sport still plays a central role in naturalizing an ideology of a two-sex system (Fausto-Sterling, 2000) while normalizing white cisgender,¹ heterosexual masculinity and class privilege (Hill Collins, 2005). As I emphasize in a previous article (Travers, 2008), male-dominated elite professional and amateur sport plays an important role in gendering citizenship as male (Burstyn, 1999; Hargreaves, 2002; Messner, 2007), but it does so hegemonically; the masculinity that sport ultimately empowers is white, economically well-situated, cis-gendered and heterosexual. Sport in much of the world continues to be organized in terms of

taken-for-granted assumptions of binary sex difference that unequally reward and recognize male athletes, and normalizes the ideology of the two-sex system. It also normalizes a 'European diaspora morality' (Lemert, 2002) of whiteness, heterosexual masculinity and class privilege (Hall, 2002; Lenskyj, 2003; Love & Kelly, 2011; Travers, 2013).

The underlying assumption of sex-segregated sporting spaces is that someone who is born male naturally has an "unfair advantage" when competing against women in sport (Sykes, 2006). This assumption of athletic superiority has been refuted by a number of scholars (see, for example, Dowling, 2000; Kane, 1995; McDonagh & Pappano, 2008; Ring, 2008); however, assumptions about male athletic superiority continue to characterize and structure mainstream sporting policies in spite of documented overlaps between male and female athletic performance. While sport at the international level (and much of the world) is organized around binary notions of biological difference between males and females (Kirby & Huebner, 2002), queer feminist science and theory (for example, Butler, 1990, 2004; Fausto-Sterling, 2000; Halberstam, 1998) reveals the extent to which the taken-for-granted sex binary is as much constituted by assumptions about its existence as by the existence of distinctive and natural differences between only two sexes.

Concerns about transgender participation in sport tend to crystallize around transgender women claims that past exposure to (assumed) higher levels of testosterone should be considered a "performance-enhancing drug". As McArdle (2008) observes, for example, the Gender Recognition Act of 2004 in the United Kingdom granted sport an exception to the requirements for legal recognition of transgender persons on the basis of the fear that transgender women, by virtue of their past lives as (testosterone-saturated) men, would dominate women in sport. According to Teetzel (2006), however, comparisons between transgender women athletes and steroid use for the purpose of doping are misguided; past exposure to higher levels of testosterone produces no comparative advantage. But assumptions of unfair advantage lean heavily on a Western trope of white, female frailty (Dowling, 2000) to justify a long-reviled and scientifically unfounded practice of sex-verification testing (Sullivan, 2011). Assumptions of female inferiority rest on the ideology of the two-sex system and this ideology plays a significant cultural and economic role in the devaluation of women, gays and lesbians, and transgender people (Love, 2014; Sullivan, 2011).

With the exception of Griffin and Carroll's (2010) *On the Team's* recommendation for transgender participation in US high-school athletics, discussed below, there had been no policy debate, to my knowledge, on transgender participation in mainstream sport that has deviated from the assumption of unfair male advantage and the performance-enhancing effects of testosterone

until the Dutee Chand victory at CAS. Testosterone is coded as a male hormone despite its presence in varying degrees in all of our bodies (Fausto-Sterling, 2000).

The IOC and its affiliates finally discontinued the long-reviled, scientifically unfounded practice of sex-verification testing for *all* women competitors prior to the 2000 Olympic Games (Cavanagh & Sykes, 2006), but the IOC's hegemonic role in normalizing the two-sex system and male superiority continues via the provisions of the new consensus and ongoing but selective sex testing of women athletes. This was most dramatically evident in the recent case of the gender-troubling figure of South African runner Castor Semenya, whose "masculine" appearance became a subject of concern among competitors and sporting officials when she won the 800-metre race at the 2009 World Championship in Berlin (Nyong'o, 2009). For several months, discourses of race and sex difference characterized her treatment as a media spectacle. Semenya was forced by the IAAF to undergo invasive sex testing in order to continue competing. Policy stipulated that the results were to remain confidential but they were leaked to the media—as damage control, I believe, in that they reassured sporting bodies and audiences that gender-troubling figures were being contained. Zeigler (2012) observes that, 'Widespread speculation claims Semenya is intersex' but she was 'cleared to compete in track and field'. The policy allows for athletes who undergo hormonal regimes to normalize their levels to continue to compete. At the 2012 Olympics in London, Semenya performed superbly, coming second in her event.

This celebration of masculinity and masculine bias in the Olympic movement is neither merely historical nor accidental; it is instead foundational (Hall, 2002; Lenskyj, 2003). Highlighting this in an interview with Canadian Television (CTV) on 22 April 2009, Bruce Kidd of the University of Toronto drew a parallel between the struggle of women ski jumpers to compete in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games and that which women long-distance runners faced in the 1980s (Kidd, 2009). Judged by the IOC to be 'too frail for such a grueling competition', it was not until the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984 that a women's marathon event was included (Lovett, 1997, p. 132). In spite of public relations material that emphasizes its role as a champion of democracy and women's athletics, the Olympic movement has a long history of collusion with social injustice (Lenskyj, 2013; Robinson, 2009; Zirin, 2007). It is well recognized that the Olympics originated as a male-only event to provide national/heteronormative theatre (Hargreaves, 2002) and that the IOC's "new consensus" statement preserves rather than interrupts this legacy.

Thus, as Kane argues, the establishment of gender difference is a product of patriarchal social construction' (1995, p. 191); that a more accurate model for

sport reporting would portray this gender continuum. The institutionalization of the two-sex system as *natural* contributes to the cultural and economic marginalization of women, gays and lesbians, and transgender people in the world of sport and beyond.

Sex Segregation, Sex Differentiation and Transgender Athletes

Critical feminist sport scholars, for example, Messner (2007), Lenskyj (2003) and Kane (1995), focus on the role of sport in contributing to gender inequality by reinforcing orthodox masculinity and perpetuating sexism. Within this field is an emergent subset of research that views the sex segregation of amateur, elite and professional sport as deeply problematic (see, for example, Rothblatt, 1995; Dowling, 2000). McDonagh and Pappano (2008) identify “coercive” as opposed to “voluntary” sex segregation for girls and women as the cornerstone of sports’ contribution to gender inequality. The sex segregation of sport is a key obstacle to participation for transgender athletes of all ages.

The predominant sex segregation of sport and sex differentiation of activities within the same sport (for example, gymnastics and figure skating) or different rules (for example, in basketball, golf and volleyball) play an important role in normalizing gender inequality by packaging, showcasing and emphasizing differences between male and female bodies to celebrate masculine superiority and justify extensive opportunity structures and disproportionate patterns of remuneration for male athletes (Burstyn, 1999; Hall, 2002; Travers, 2013). Sport is simply assumed to be a male prerogative unless an exception is marked. Understood in this light, privileged networks for resource distribution associated with and enabled by mainstream sport depend on fierce patrol of its borders. The regulation of the bodies of women and transgender people reflects the extent to which we are interlopers.

Policy Changes Regarding Transgender Participation

Starting in 2004, at the international and many national levels, some transsexual women and men gained the right to inclusion at the highest levels of sport on the basis of their abilities to obtain medical-legal identities.² The IOC arrived at the Stockholm Consensus in 2004 to allow fully (hormonally and surgically) transitioned athletes with correctly gendered legal identities to

compete in their reassigned sex category (Sykes, 2006). This policy required transsexual athletes to undergo complete hormonal transition at least two years prior to competing in an Olympic event, to undergo genital reassignment surgery, and to have documents proving legal recognition of their new sex by their home governments. In a testament to the pre-eminence of the IOC in making sport policy, many international and national sporting bodies followed the IOC's lead in developing identical policies. The Stockholm Consensus was widely criticized by critical sport scholars (Cavanagh & Sykes, 2006; Love, 2014; Sykes, 2006), however, on the grounds that genitals are irrelevant to athletic performance, that the expense and/or invasiveness of surgery is a barrier for many athletes, and that many governments refuse to supply legal documents designating the appropriate legal sex identity (Cavanagh & Sykes, 2006). In their influential 2010 report 'On the team: Equal Opportunity for Transgender Student Athletes', Griffin and Carroll deemed the Stockholm Consensus requirement of hormonal and surgical treatment inappropriate for high-school athletes. At least for this age group (13–17), they refute the discourse of unfair male advantage by acknowledging the considerable overlap in athletic ability across sex categories. Instead, they place a higher priority on the benefits of participation than competition, arguing,

A transgender student athlete at the high school level shall be allowed to participate in a sports activity in accordance with his or her gender identity irrespective of the gender listed on the student's birth certificate or other student records, and regardless of whether the student has undergone any medical treatment. (2010, p. 25)

Finding a broad overlap between male and female adolescent athletic performance, the report recommends that transgender high-school students should be eligible to compete on whatever team they choose without medicalized "sex change". At the college level, however, the report recommends that participation by transgender athletes require a formal diagnosis of "gender identity disorder" by a licensed professional. Nevertheless, provisions are less invasive than that of the Stockholm Consensus. The report urges that early-transitioning athletes who used hormone blockers during adolescence and who currently take "cross-sex" hormones should be immediately eligible to participate in college sports, and athletes who transition after puberty should be required to undergo only one year of cross-hormone therapy prior to participation. This protocol for participation in college-level athletics was adopted by the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) in 2011 and the Canadian University Athletics Association in 2012.

The new IOC Consensus Statement on sex reassignment and hyperandrogenism responds to critics of the Stockholm Consensus by duplicating 'On the Team's recommendations (for college-level participation) and NCAA and CSA policy. While the new *statement* is an improvement in comparison to the stipulations of the Stockholm Consensus and its spawn, it continues to reflect an ideological commitment to a two-sex system (albeit a more complicated one) and an unquestioning belief in male athletic superiority. Designated male at birth (DMAB) transgender women are required to follow a hormone regime that negates the "performance-enhancing" effects of testosterone while DFAB transgender men are not required to submit to any hormonal regime in order to participate as men in men's sports. Speaking about the NCAA policy upon which the new Consensus is modelled, Love observed that while such policies on transgender participation are less restrictive than the Stockholm Consensus, 'they embrace, perhaps even more explicitly...the language of female physical inferiority, as it allows male to female transsexuals to continue their participation on men's teams, but does not grant similar rights to female to male transsexuals to continue participating on women's teams' (2014, p. 380). The Consensus Statement is expected to take effect by the 2016 Summer Games, but questions remain. Chris Mosier, a transgender man and a duathlete and triathlete, has been considered a good bet to be the first transgender person to compete in the Olympics but this appears unlikely at present. Mosier earned a spot at the world duathlon championships, scheduled for June 2016, but was barred from competing at this event because he had not completed sex-reassignment surgery. His challenge to this provision played a role in sparking the IOC to develop its new Consensus Statement but the International Triathlon Association has yet to approve his participation.

I argue that the limited nature of inclusion permitted by the new IOC Consensus Statement continues to reinforce binary-based understandings of sex difference and is consistent with *gender-conforming* as opposed to *gender-transforming* transgender inclusion (Travers, 2006). Gender-conforming policies of inclusion tend to be conservative in that they reify rather than challenge the sex binary that is instrumental in gender inequality, homophobia and transphobia. Transgender people of all ages who do not conform to binary understandings of sex difference and resist identities grounded in male or female categories or who do not successfully "pass" as boys or girls or men or women are typically left out in the cold when it comes to sport participation, whether at amateur or elite levels. While some North American lesbian softball leagues have adopted transgender-inclusive policies that resist a simple sex binary (Travers & Deri, 2010), gay and lesbian sporting spaces challenge heterosexism and traditional gender roles but they have tended to organize

inclusion and participation around binary sex difference. In many “mixed-sex” leagues, for example, sex-based criteria for the purposes of registration and/or to ensure various proportions of women and men on teams have persisted, based on the assumption of male athletic superiority. Even the Gay Games—one of the premier international sporting event for gays and lesbians—fails to fully depart from binary-based notions of sex identity (Love, 2014; Symons & Hemphill, 2006).

Transgender Children and Youth and Sport and Leisure Participation

Sex-segregated sport and leisure facilities create a crisis situation for transgender and gender-nonconforming kids. ‘On the Team’ has been the most influential report in shaping intercollegiate policies in the USA and Canada, but other reports have also developed measures for transgender inclusion in North American child and youth sport. The US Transgender Law and Policy Institute’s ‘Guidelines for Creating Policies for Transgender Children in Recreational Sports’ (2009) emphasizes the importance of students being able to participate in sport on the basis of their affirmed gender. This report disputes assumptions of male athletic advantage among pre-adolescent children, stating that no ‘hormonally-based advantage or disadvantage between girls and boys exists’ prior to adolescence, that ‘gender segregation in children’s sports is purely social’ and that ‘individual variation with respect to athletic ability within each gender is much more significant than any group differences between boys and girls’ (2–3). In ‘Sport in transition: making sport in Canada more responsible for gender inclusivity’, the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport speaks out against sex-verification testing, acknowledging that the science of sex difference is flawed science and therefore not a basis for organizing sport. It states: ‘Where feasible, transitioning sport will aim for the widest and easiest possible inclusion by supporting integrated sport activities’ (2012, p. 29). In a report published by the Canadian Teachers’ Federation, ‘Supporting transgender and transsexual students in K-12 schools: a guide for educators’ (2012), educators and administrators are instructed to enable transgender and/or gender-nonconforming kids to participate fully in all activities, including physical education and sport, in a manner consistent with their affirmed and consistent gender identity, with no requirement for medical treatment. They are explicit that this includes locker room, change room, and bathroom access for transgender students but, importantly, that private facilities should be made available to any student who requires them for any reason. In *Questions*

and Answers: gender identity in schools, the Public Health Agency of Canada states that ‘school policies that segregate students by gender ignore and stigmatize individuals who challenge the typical “male” or “female” notions and can cause emotional, and psychological distress for students’ (2010, p. 9) and that ‘gender variant youth should be allowed to join sports teams according to their self-identified gender as opposed to requiring them to join based on their biological sex’ (9). Future research on the obstacles to implementation of such policies and the impact of such policies where implemented is clearly necessary.

In spite of these recommendations, most transgender and gender-nonconforming kids in North America are still running into significant barriers as policies for transgender inclusion have been adopted unevenly by school boards and sport and recreation providers. Human rights discourse has been effective in achieving changes in policy in a handful of school districts³ and the state of California,⁴ which stipulate that transgender kids be treated according to their affirmed gender. However, recommendations for transgender inclusion in high school at the national level in either the United States or Canada have yet to be adopted and it is too soon to tell how recently introduced policies will work in practice.

Messner (2011) characterizes youth sports in the United States as reproducing ‘soft essentialism’, which normalizes and reinforces hegemonic gender ideologies and gender inequality. The pressure and constraint that kids feel to act in ‘gender-appropriate’ ways, depending on their racial and class location (Pascoe, 2007), occurs because of the way that gender is structured into existing institutions, like families and school (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011). Nowhere is this more evident than the dilemmas experienced by transgender and gender-nonconforming kids and youth in sport and physical recreation. As Meyer observes,

most traditional extracurricular activities have subtexts that subtly and overtly teach that certain forms of masculinity and femininity are valued over others. The clearest example of such an activity is that of elite amateur and professional athletic teams and the cheerleaders and dance squads that accompany them. (2010, p. 9)

Although many sport and leisure activities/programmes for children and youth are formally integrated, sex-differentiated activities remain problematic for children and youth, albeit in more insidious ways, and sex-segregated changing/locker-room facilities are the norm. Within integrated sports, formal and informal rules differentiate different activities and uniforms for boys and girls. These rules pose problems for trans kids. In gymnastics and dance,

for example, boys and girls wear different uniforms and are required to train their bodies to perform in different ways that reflect and reassert widespread cultural beliefs in gender essentialism and male superiority. Consequently, sports that are ostensibly sex integrated continue to perpetuate binary differences. Even in integrated sport programmes in many local community centres in North America, for example, it is often impossible to register children without sharing information about their sex (Travers, 2016).

As Hellen (2009) observes, the majority of transgender and gender-nonconforming children and youth are 'non-apparent', meaning that the lack of acceptance of gender diversity in their environments leads them to choose invisibility rather than risk. It seems likely that most trans kids who lack access to parental support and/or appropriate health care either adapt to pressure or have their gender diversity driven underground—thus contributing to the self-perpetuating logic of the Thomas Theorem whereby 'situations that are defined as real become real in their consequences' (Macionis & Gerber, 2011). Kids and young people like these are disproportionately at risk of self-harm and suicide.

The institutionalization of sex-segregated facilities/locker rooms and sex-segregated and/or sex-differentiated sporting and physical recreation activities operate as points of crisis for transgender and gender-nonconforming kids. This is a major barrier to participation. So too are uniforms that reveal bodies that either don't "fit" gender expectations or that children and youth are having incredible difficulty living in. Because of these factors, many drop out or avoid physical activity. Those for whom sport participation is a priority must find ways to conform.

According to Diane Ehrensaft, author of *Gender born, gender made: Raising healthy gender-nonconforming children* and a psychologist with a clinical practice in the San Francisco Bay area specializing in children, youth and gender, the desire to participate in sport is a major factor driving kids who are more gender liminal to undergo binary transition (pers. comm., 2012).

Targeting gender systems and their intersections with other systems of oppression is the most effective way to improve the quality of life and life chances of transgender and gender-nonconforming adults, youth and kids and has the required effect of opening space for gender self-determination for everyone. This places a target for correction squarely on the majority of sport and physical recreation programmes and spaces that normalize the gender binary and female inferiority in conjunction with systems of privilege based on race and class. Love urges that we embrace a shift 'away from the sex segregated two-sex system as much as possible... not only for the inclusion of transgender athletes but also as a means of promoting gender equity more broadly' (2014, p. 382). I echo this recommendation in the strongest possible way. And yet

how do we increase transgender inclusion without completely eliminating spaces for girls and young women to develop skills and confidence? In a previous work (2008), I argued that we need to eliminate male-only sport and physical recreation teams and spaces while maintaining optional segregated spaces for girls and women as an interim measure, so long as the latter have trans-inclusive boundaries. This is an issue that needs a lot of thought and attention, lest we undo much of the progress that has been made in increasing the participation of girls and women in sport.

I suggest that children's sport and physical recreation is a key location for eliminating or reducing sex segregation and sex differentiation, thereby reducing the stress transgender children and youth experience as well as some of the 'soft essentialism' such arenas promote. For example, in the USA and Canada, gymnastics clubs require children to wear sex-differentiated uniforms and participate in sex-differentiated programmes using different apparatuses. Given that 99% of kids who participate in gymnastics will not reach the elite heights of the sport, I suggest that children wear non-gendered uniforms and be required to take instruction on all the equipment. There would be at least two benefits under such a system. First, children's bodies would not be subjected to the gendered muscle development and physical differentiation that makes it appear as if resulting differences are natural, and transgender and gender-nonconforming kids would be spared some of the crises of sex segregation and differentiation, at least in this arena.

Issues relating to transgender inclusion in sport are fertile ground for critical feminist research. There has yet to be an openly transgender competitor at any Olympic Games but we can expect to see one in the near future. We can also expect to see exponential growth in the relatively recent and small body of scholarship focusing on media analyses of elite transgender athletes and field research relating to the impact of transgender-inclusive policies at all levels of sport, in countries all over the world. I also hope to see more critical feminist scholarship relating to issues of sex segregation/differentiation of children's sport and physical recreation programmes.

Notes

1. cisgender refers to the sex/gender identity of a person whose gender identity correlates with the reproductive organs that marked them as their birth sex (Aultman, 2014)
2. For an overview of transgender participation policies, by sport and country, see TRANS*ATHLETE resource.

3. For example, transgender 11-year old Tracey Wilson's parents launched (and won) a human rights complaint on her behalf against the Vancouver area Catholic diocese and achieved the desired policy change to recognize transgender girls and boys as their affirmed sex (Canadian Press, 2014). Similarly, Maine's highest court ruled in 2014 that a transgender student's rights were violated when her school forced her to use a staff bathroom rather than the girls' bathroom (Byrne, 2014). The recent passage of AB 1266 into law in California, signed by the Governor on 12 August 2013 allows children 'to participate in sex-segregated programmes, activities and facilities' based on their affirmed gender rather than their birth sex. The law allows students to use bathrooms and locker rooms that correspond to their affirmed rather than assigned gender. Also see, San Francisco Unified School District, 2004; Toronto School Board, year; Edmonton School Board, 2011; Vancouver School Board, 2014 update of policy adopted in 2004.
4. Taking effect on 1 January 2016, a California statute ensures that students in grades K-12 have the right to participate in sex-segregated activities and spaces in a manner consistent with their affirmed rather than assigned gender.

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Representations of the Sporting Female: Queering Paralympic Barbie

Hayley Fitzgerald, Scarlett Drury, and Annette Stride

Introduction

It is not unusual for a young person to get excited about opening their birthday presents and when Emma Bennett unwrapped hers, she was thrilled to discover she had been given a doll with a prosthetic leg.

‘You’ve got to be kidding She’s got a leg like me.’

The excitement and joy of receiving this new doll was recorded and later became a Facebook phenomenon with over six million views. For us this brief glimpse into a family’s birthday celebration raises a range of interesting questions, not least, why is it so unexpected for a girl to imagine having a doll with a disability, just like her. The recent Rio 2016 Paralympics have also prompted us to think about the representation of disabled female athletes. We have seen multi-medalists at the top of their game. There are a handful of iconic female athletes that we would place on the roll call of honour including Hannah Cockroft (Great Britain) and Tatyana McFadden (USA), both wheelchair racers, and Marlou van Rhijn (Netherlands), a blade-running sprinter. Yet we recognize that beyond the circles of disability sport these prolific athletes will be relatively unknown. We can confidentially speculate that young people like Emma will not have heard of these athletes, seen them on the television, or

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read about them in magazines and newspapers. In our view young people like Emma and her non-disabled friends need to experience playing with different kinds of dolls (and other toys) and also feel inspired to participate in sport by different kinds of women, including those that happen to have a disability. In drawing together our concerns about the lack of disabled toys available and the limited awareness and recognition given to disabled female athletes, this chapter takes as a central focus Barbie Becky Paralympic Champion (1999). Becky is one of the many Barbie dolls produced by the toy manufacturer Mattel and is a wheelchair user. Like Hannah, Tatyana and Marlou, she achieved Paralympic success. In relation to Becky this chapter considers how this doll disrupts and reproduces unified representations of the sporting female.

We begin by considering why Barbie matters. Barbie is not just a doll, she is a multi-million dollar enterprise. Barbie also powerfully evokes particular messages about what it is (or is not) to be a woman. Following this, consideration is given to disabled women in sport and the utility of drawing on queer theory to better understand representations of Becky. By drawing on this thinking we then explore how Becky disrupts and reproduces unified representations of the sporting female. In concluding, we argue that we need more Becky-like characters visible in society and sport. These characters need to extend beyond what Becky currently embodies. More broadly, there is also a need to re-imagine what the possibilities could be for girls (such as Emma) who, like their friends, may aspire to a physically active lifestyle that includes sport.

Next we offer an overview of why Barbie matters. In doing this we recognize some of you may have played with Barbie and already hold memories and have views about this doll. As youngsters our favoured dolls were the Six-Million Dollar Man (Hayley), E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial (Scarlett) and Action Man (Annette), so entering the world of Barbie is a relatively new encounter for us.

Why Does Barbie Matter?

Barbie is a three-dimensional dress-up doll with a young woman's figure created in the 1950s by a couple that founded the international toy company Mattel. She is an iconic product that sells globally, accounting for 40% of all toy sales internationally (Sim, 2015). Barbie is a former model with an impressive CV. According to the Barbie website she has broken the "plastic ceiling" by becoming an astronaut and a rock star, and running as a presidential candidate. Barbie has her own Facebook page with over 13.5 million likes. The official Barbie website features games such as the 'Great Puppy Treasure

Hunt'; you can also explore a variety of videos including 'Life in the Dreamhouse', and of course there are opportunities to shop. The website has the strapline 'You can be ...', which is accompanied with an endless list of occupations girls can aspire to including a doctor, fairy princess, explorer and pilot. Other social media outlets include a Barbie Twitter account, Instagram and numerous YouTube videos. Barbie's reach extends beyond those who purchase or follow her on social media. For example, the cultural and symbolic significance of Barbie is reflected through her recognition on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Andy Warhol painted and exhibited the Barbie portrait in 1985, fashion designers have been inspired to base their collections on Barbie, and for a number of years an Annual Altered Barbie Show has taken place in San Francisco. Here Barbie dolls are re-imagined and depicted in ways that divert from the more traditional views of this iconic character. This includes a Barbie on a crucifix with her breasts hanging over her ripped bodice, and Barbie looking rather unkempt with her head down the toilet and empty bottles of alcohol scattered around her.

These alternative representations of Barbie are counter to those prominent in the branding and global marketing of Barbie where there is a preoccupation with a particular kind of appearance and prettiness, all of which has traditionally been defined through a white, slim, affluent, heterosexual and non-disabled doll. Barbie has become an icon that young people look up to and many aspire to be like. However the extent to which such aspirations are achievable is questionable. Kuther and McDonald (2004, p. 43) claim that Barbie is 'too perfect' but at the same time recognize she remains an important barometer for defining physical beauty. Other scholars have also pointed to the limitations of Barbie's perfect physique by highlighting how her bodily dimensions are unhealthy (see for example: Brownell & Napolitano, 1995; Jarman, 2016). Garland-Thomson (2002) takes this argument further, suggesting that some of her deficiencies could in fact categorize her as disabled. Barbie has also been charged with performing excessive femininity in her restrictive sequined gowns, crowns and push-up bras (Garland-Thomson, 2002). It is interesting to note that, perhaps in response to these growing criticisms, a number of new lines were added to the Barbie range in 2016 that reflect tall, petite and curvy body types. Mattel's campaign slogan for these new dolls is 'Imagination comes in all shapes and sizes. That's why the world of Barbie is evolving', which is accompanied with the hashtag '#TheDollEvolves'. Even with these new lines there continues to be debate about the extent to which Barbie moves away from the traditions and normative ideals associated with the original doll (Jarman, 2016).

As part of the Barbie brand, there are also a number of different family members including Ken (Barbie's long-term boyfriend), Skipper (Barbie's

younger sister), Todd and Tutti (youngest siblings to Barbie) and Francie Fairchild (cousin). Barbie also has a range of friends including Stacey, PJ, Christie, Steffie and Becky. Unlike Barbie's other family and friends, Becky is disabled and uses a wheelchair. The first version of Becky appeared in 1997 and was called Share a Smile Becky. Unlike Barbie, this version of Becky had no specific role (e.g., nurse, astronaut) but her appearance conformed rigidly to dominant discourses of femininity with her make-up, earrings, long blonde hair, and even her bright pink and purple wheelchair with silver glittery wheels. A proportion of the sales from this doll were donated to disability charities. In 1998 the next version of Becky was launched, with the tag line 'I'm the school photographer'. Notable changes to this version included having designated role, casual clothes and shorter hair. Becky Paralympic Champion was launched in 2000 just before the Sydney Paralympics. This Becky was a Paralympic wheelchair racer and, as the box she is packaged in proclaims, 'going for gold'. It is this final version of Becky that this chapter focuses on. Next we situate this doll within wider understandings of disability within society. We do this by drawing on representations of disabled women in sport and queer theory.

Representations of Disabled Women in Sport

In considering representations of disabled women in sport we recognize these will be influenced by wider understandings of disability within society. Whilst there are varied definitions and understandings of disability, two models dominate, the medical and social models of disability. From a medical model perspective an individual's impairment is considered to cause disability by restricting their ability to undertake activities that are viewed as 'normal' (Oliver, 2009). Individuals are usually defined according to their physical (paralysis), learning (Down's syndrome) or sensory (visual or hearing) impairments. The negative connotations associated with disability tend to lead to negative views being associated with disabled people. The focus is often on what disabled people cannot do rather than what they can (Barnes & Mercer, 2003). For disabled women this has resulted in a number of cultural stereotypes circulating which position them as asexual, unfit to reproduce, unattractive and dependent (Garland-Thomson, 2002). Similarly, research focusing on media representations of disabled women in sport demonstrates that they continue to be depicted in marginal and negative terms (Schell & Rodriguez, 2001; Zitzelsberger, 2005). The social model of disability emerged as an alternative to challenge the medical model. Advocates of the social model argue that it is society that

disables people through imposing restrictions and barriers and through attitudes which exclude disabled people from full participation in society (Barnes & Mercer, 2003). The social model shifts the focus from impairment to disabling environments within society. For disabled women in sport the social model would point to working to ensure programmes and opportunities are available to women and that coaches and other participants (disabled and non-disabled) have more inclusive views towards disabled women actively participating in sport. Useful though this binary between impairment and disability is, there has been a concern, particularly within the critical disability studies movement, that it gives insufficient attention to the specific context of individuals who are also defined by class, gender, ethnicity and other characteristics (Goodley, 2013).

Queer theory provides another useful theoretical lens to help make sense of representations of disabled women in sport. Whilst gender and sexuality are understood to be the central focus of queer theory, its principles are not restricted to exploring only these issues. Indeed, this perspective has been used by a number of critical disability studies scholars (see for example: McRuer, 2006; Sherry, 2004; Shildrick, 2012; Tremain, 2000). It is claimed that by drawing on queer theory 'the "disabled" body signals not some exceptional lack or failure, but simply one mode among multiple ways of becoming' (Shildrick, 2012, p. 39). Sherry (2004) identifies a number of important overlaps between queer theory and critical disability studies. Like critical disability studies, queer approaches towards understanding gender-based oppressions insist on a separation between biology and social construction. Where critical disability studies highlights a distinction between impairment and disability, queer theory focuses attention on the separation of gender from sex. This distinction is important to both theoretical positions as it allows the social constructedness of bodily norms to be challenged. In turn, this enables the binary logic that sustains these bodily norms to be deconstructed. Sherry (2004) believes that from both theoretical perspectives, processes of othering are exposed through an interrogation of the often unremarked part of the binary. For critical disability studies, this involves problematizing taken-for-granted notions of ability, what McRuer (2006) describes as compulsory able-bodiedness, in order for the status of disability to be destabilized and therefore weakened as a ground for exclusion. Similarly, in queer theory, questioning the normative and dominant status of heterosexuality—i.e., challenging heteronormativity—is paramount in the project of liberating sexual minorities and challenging gender norms (King, 2008).

Heteronormativity is not only about reasserting the dominance of heterosexuality, but with it a whole set of norms that result in some representations

of *gender* being positioned as dominant over others (Pronger, 2000). Importantly, these gender norms reproduced through heteronormativity have significant consequences for disabled bodies. Successful performances of gender are reliant upon appropriate adherence to bodily norms. That is, the gendered body is expected to look, move and perform in gendered ways (Sykes, 2006). For example, the heteronormative male body should be strong, powerful, athletic and physically competent in ways that are often defined through mainstream sports. The female body is also expected to be able to move in certain ways, although these expectations are often less about demonstrating physical prowess in relation to sport and more concerned with performing femininity for the male gaze (Webb, McCaughtry, & MacDonald, 2004). As such, the disabled body, as defined through the medical model, is incompatible with heteronormativity. Therefore the queer project of challenging heteronormativity is also highly important for challenging the exclusion and oppression of disabled people.

Another significant commonality shared by critical disability studies and queer theory concerns the desire to challenge unitary and essentialist notions of identity that assume it to be fixed and rooted in biology (Sherry, 2004). The poststructural approach to identity, adopted by both queer theorists and those involved in critical disability studies, presents opposition to the assimilationist identity politics that characterize many liberation movements. This offers a more productive means for challenging broader societal norms, rather than reproducing them. Queer critiques of assimilationist identity politics demonstrate that societal acceptance of non-normative identities is often contingent upon marginalized individuals otherwise appropriating the norms associated with other identity markers (otherwise being perceived in every other way as normative). Lesbian and gay liberation movements, for instance, are often premised on the principle that gay and lesbian identities are simply a 'minor variation on an essential sameness' (Pronger, 2000, p. 223). This is what Duggan (2003) refers to as the politics of homonormativity; the context in which 'lesbian and gay comes to mean "just like everyone else": accepted, integrated, and above all, normal' (King, 2008, p. 427). In this context, success in relation to LGBT rights is only measured in relation to the 'acceptance of the most assimilated, gender-appropriate, politically mainstream portions of the gay population' (Duggan, 2003, p. 44). This is problematic because this approach reproduces rather than challenges exclusionary boundaries and closes off the possibility for what Shildrick (2012, p. 39) described earlier as 'multiple ways of becoming'.

Similar critiques associated with assimilation can also be applied to disability. Gard and Fitzgerald's (2008) analysis of the documentary *Murderball*, for

example, provides an important commentary on the ways in which the identities of a team of male wheelchair rugby players are normalized and legitimized through the projection of a hyper-masculine, and more importantly, heterosexual, representation of masculinity. Sparkes, Brighton, and Inckle's (2014) study of males with spinal cord injuries also illustrates how lived experiences are framed by heteronormativity, compulsory heterosexuality and able-bodiedness. In both these contexts it seems that normative, almost exaggerated, performances of gender serve to compensate for the embodiment of otherness. With the exceptions of Apelmo (2017) and Richard, Joncheray, and Dugas (2015) it is interesting to note that less is known about links between normalizing disability through hyper-femininity. This omission is perhaps even more pertinent in the context of sport, which is widely acknowledged to be one of the most significant institutions involved in the reproduction of dominant gender norms (Hargreaves, 1994, 2000) as well as narrow concepts of ability (Fitzgerald & Hay, 2015). Having outlined the utility of drawing on queer theory to better understand representations of disabled women in sport we now use this thinking to (re)consider how Becky disrupts and reproduces unified representations of the sporting female.

Disrupting and Reproducing Unified Representations of the Disabled Sporting Female

In (re)considering how Becky disrupts and reproduces unified representations of the sporting female we want to stress that our analysis is just that and should not be considered in any way as a definitive account of what Becky really represents. She is different things to different people; that is, what Mattel want her to represent, what those who play with her understand her to be, and what the exhibitors at the Annual Altered Barbie Show may make of her. In offering our analysis we have simply attempted to connect with existing conversations about disability and queer theory.

In many respects Becky represents a sporting and "able" female athlete. It could be argued that in this sense she disrupts dominant and normative assumptions about disability, femininity and sport. This reading of Becky is counter to the essentialist medical model-orientated view that positions disabled women as dependent and vulnerable. Becky is sporty, go-getting and a woman who challenges McRuer's (2006) notion of compulsory able-bodiedness in sport. Interestingly, this extends beyond merely what she symbolizes in an ideological sense. On closer inspection of Becky's physical body, it could be argued that she is in fact *more* rather than less able than Barbie. Unlike Barbie, Becky

has fully functioning knee joints which enable her to sit comfortably. Her elbows are also able to bend, allowing her to propel her wheelchair, and her ankles, rather than being fixed into an unnatural position to enable her feet to slide into a pair of high heels, are able to flex, giving her a far greater range of movement than Barbie herself. Perhaps somewhat ironically, this is tacitly acknowledged by Mattel in the small print on the back of Share a Smile Becky's original box; at the bottom of a picture of Becky posing with her friends, a disclaimer reads 'Barbie and Christie dolls cannot stand alone'.

We believe that Becky serves as an important example of a disabled woman who is 'visible' rather than 'invisible' in sport (DePauw, 1997). In our view it is important that disabled women are visible in sport—their absence only offers a continued justification for policy makers and providers to not consider their needs and this perpetuates their marginalization. After all, if disabled women do not participate in sport there is no need to offer opportunities. Of course, Becky also represents a disabled woman who is capable of participating in elite-level sport and because of this she could become an important role model for Emma Bennett and other girls and young women. Becky's passion for sport, desire to win and physical prowess could also arguably signify a disruption of dominant gender logic. Her athleticism challenges the dominant form of emphasized femininity characterized by popular representations of Barbie dolls. Indeed, Garland-Thomson (2002) claims that Becky has agency that liberates her from the oppressive scripts of the Barbie brand. Here, though, we would be concerned that Becky could be read as not having access to excessive femininities. That is, sporty disabled women cannot perform femininity like Barbie.

In outlining the possibilities that Becky brings for disrupting unified representations of disability and sport we are also cognisant that this kind of representation raises a number of important associated issues. The first is that Becky's desire to "go for gold" conforms to normative ideals surrounding the practice of sport, that is, winners get medals and it is competition that is valued in sport. In one respect it may be useful to highlight how disabled women can be part of this competitive sporting culture—the visibility of a disabled woman as a successful competitive athlete helps to trouble prevailing notions of disability as inferior, weak and fragile. But at the same time this does not disrupt dominant discourses about what is valued in sport. Here we are not suggesting disabled women in sport should be used as a means of destabilizing these kinds of ideals, but rather pointing out that these women become part of the processes that reinforce such sporting discourses. It seems that for a disabled sportswoman to be positioned as a viable

(and marketable) role model, she must exceed the expectations placed on her non-disabled counterparts by being not just a participant, but one who is at the “top of her game”.

Another related issue concerns the nature of the visibility in sport that Becky achieves. We are aware that Becky is visible within the dedicated disability-sport setting of the Paralympics, just like the three Rio 2016 stars mentioned earlier. This kind of positioning of disabled sportswomen could perpetuate a view that disabled people must follow a separate pathway rather than a more inclusive route with different people (including those who are disabled and non-disabled). This situation does not bring into question the normative and ableist assumptions underpinning the structure and organization of sport (Barton, 1993), and thereby continues to support a society, and sports system, that is premised on the separation of disabled and non-disabled people. We are left wondering why Mattel felt it was important to position Becky as a Paralympic athlete rather than someone engaging in sport at a recreational level. We believe further thought needed to be given to the potential gains and losses of situating Becky in either of these positions.

When considering Becky's image, there is also reason to question the extent to which she might support, rather than challenge, heteronormative bodily ideals (Howe, 2008). After all, although Becky is a wheelchair user she seems to have appropriated many of the other norms associated with femininity. In this sense, it could be argued that Becky is positioned as a viable identity precisely because, despite her disability, she otherwise conforms to normative bodily ideals of heteronormative femininity—she is white, feminine, slim, is conventionally (hetero)sexually attractive, she wears make-up and jewellery, and she is successful. We would also argue that Becky, in part, represents the reproduction of a hierarchy of acceptability of disability. Some forms of disability are considered more acceptable than others (Gard & Fitzgerald, 2008) and in the case of Mattel we could speculate that they believed a wheelchair-using Becky would be more marketable than someone with a learning disability, a double amputee or a doll with profound and multiple disabilities. Commercial efficiency counters any real concerns of Mattel to represent disability in all its various guises. However what the manufacturing of Becky illustrates is counter to Barton's (1993) assertion that disabled people cannot be part of a commodified culture. To some extent Becky challenges this assumption and demonstrates how business can embrace disability for commercial purposes, as long as their depiction of disability does little to disrupt other societal norms.

Concluding Remarks: Playing with Becky

Whilst in some quarters people may think our concerns to play with Barbie and Becky are trivial, we would argue that as an iconic mass-produced commodity for young people we should afford Barbie and Becky serious attention. After all, for many young people these dolls can hold significant currency that contributes towards defining the ways in which they embody femininity (and/or masculinity). More importantly, along with other popular cultural resources that surround young people, dolls are influential in how they position themselves and others within society. In this sense, Barbie and Becky do matter.

Becky also matters because she is one of only a few examples of a toy that a manufacturer has made with a disability, and more uniquely she is associated with sport. We do need more Becky-like characters visible in society and sport. However these characters perhaps need to extend beyond what Becky currently embodies. The messages they convey also need to translate practically into wider spheres of sport so that PE teachers, coaches, advertisers and television recognize and value disabled women in sport like others engaging in sport—although we recognize this is not an insignificant aspiration or task.

As we have already demonstrated, there is a need to be cautious in uncritically lauding (celebrating/praising) the presence of dolls like Becky. The existence of Becky could be interpreted as a positive and forward-thinking attempt by Mattel to diversify the range of identities available to young people who play with these dolls. However, a more critical engagement with Becky demonstrates that she is nonetheless a product of a neo-liberal industry that reproduces patterns of inequality. The fictional world of Barbie is one of unlimited and excessive consumption, where money is not considered, and where the boundaries of normative notions of ability and gender are not challenged. As aspirational as the ‘You can be ...’ rhetoric of the Barbie brand may be, the reality is that it does not reflect the existence of many disabled people. The reality for many disabled people is that their ability to negotiate their position within society is limited by the multiple structural and societal constraints that do not permit their inclusion. Ironically, this is exemplified most clearly by some of the criticisms levelled at Mattel since the launch of Share a Smile Becky (Blue Badge Style, 2013). For example, it became quickly apparent that whilst Becky was marketed as one of Barbie’s new friends, she was in fact unable to access and occupy much of the “dream world” due to physical barriers such as the lack of appropriate wheelchair access to Barbie’s Dreamhouse. Rather than address these concerns, Mattel opted to discontinue Becky following her third incarnation as Paralympic Champion. Her inability to adapt to the

non-disabled norms of the Barbie “dream world” meant that she was silently erased out of the Barbie brand. In this sense, Becky occupies a paradoxical position in which she is both an affirmative and welcoming diversification of doll identities, yet at the same time, a telling metaphor for the ways in which disability is dealt with in broader society.

In 1994 and 2000 Jennifer Hargreaves alerted us to the need to contemplate the position and place of disabled women in sport. We would argue, 20 years after her first invitation, that there is still a need to more adequately explore these kinds of experiences, and indeed, how these are constituted when other intersections of identity are brought to bear. Just as there is a need to re-imagine the world of Becky, there is also a need to re-imagine what the possibilities could be for disabled girls who aspire to a physically active lifestyle that includes sport.

On completing our analysis of Becky, we were left wondering what happened to her after the Sydney Paralympics. Did she compete in other Paralympics? After retiring from competitive sport did she go into coaching? Does she still play sport? And how would Becky’s experiences of sport compare with those of athletes like Hannah, Tatyana and Marlou that we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter? Becky seems to have disappeared a few years after the Sydney Paralympics so these questions remain unanswered. We do wonder why she is no longer part of the Barbie range. From a commercial perspective we cannot help thinking that Mattel have missed an opportunity to take advantage of the growth in popularity of the Paralympics and release new versions of Becky. At the same time, though, we are mindful that dolls like Becky may do more harm than good as they do not serve as a catalyst for changes in popular notions of disability. Our new familiarity with Barbie’s online presence led us to contact Barbie to ask what happened to Becky. We tweeted her to ask if she had seen anything of Becky recently. We have yet to receive a response.

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Sport Tourism and Feminism

Heather J. Gibson and Mona Mirehie

Introduction

The scholarly focus on sport tourism began in earnest in the mid-1990s, although some early work in the UK by Sue Glyptis from Loughborough University and Joy Standeven and Alan Tomlinson at what was then Brighton Polytechnic dates back to the 1980s (e.g., Glyptis, 1982, 1991) and early 1990s (Standeven & Tomlinson, 1994). Prior to this in the USA, Schreiber (1976) presented a conference paper on the need to recognize and also define travel for sport. For the tourism industry generally, the 1990s were marked by a growing number of specialized travel niches with such segments as eco-tourism, heritage tourism as well as sport tourism emerging into the vernacular. This trend was marked by such books as Betty Weiler and Michael Hall's (1992) text *Special Interest Tourism* which incidentally included a chapter combining sport tourism with health and adventure tourism. The author of that chapter, Michael Hall, postulated that the growth in the popularity of outdoor pursuits was attributable to a desire to improve quality of life and a reaction to increasingly urban lifestyles. Several authors writing about the same time (De Knop, 1990; Redmond, 1990; Redmond, 1991) concurred with these observations that the 1990s was a period of growth in physical activity combined with travel, whether it was travel to take part in golf or skiing (Hall, 1992), Club Med-style holidays (e.g., De Knop, 1990), visits to

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a sports museum or hall of fame (Redmond, 1991) or to watch a sports event (Hall, 1992). Interestingly, these early writings on sport tourism were frequently located in Leisure Studies, either at conferences (Redmond, 1990—1988 Leisure Studies Association Conference), leisure journals (De Knop, 1990—*World Leisure and Recreation*) or invoked concepts such as serious leisure (Hall, 1992). Indeed, Redmond (1991, p. 118) observed that ‘sports [sic] tourism is a vast and growing enterprise whose significance is not yet matched in the related literature of tourism, or sport’.

Twenty-five years later, while the literature addressing sport tourism has grown and there have been various industry initiatives, and although some of Glyptis’ (1991) early observations about the lack of a relationship between sport and tourism agencies is still there to some degree (Kennelly & Toohey, 2014), there are a number of surprising gaps. One is that the forums that have facilitated and encouraged sport tourism-related work have largely been Leisure Studies and Sport Management, and not Tourism Studies. While there was some early engagement from the tourism industry with World Tourism Organization and International Olympic Committee co-sponsored conferences in the early 2000s, scholars in Tourism Studies, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Higham, 1999; Lamont, 2014; Nogawa, Yamaguchi, & Hagi, 1996; Weed, 2009), have tended to focus on the mega events such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup (Gibson et al., 2014) or on specific sports such as skiing (e.g., Hudson, 1998) or golf (Petrick, 2002), but largely without reference to the concept of sport tourism. The second gap, of particular relevance to this book, is the surprising invisibility of women, girls and gender in sport tourism work, let alone feminist approaches; notable exceptions here include Louise Mansfield’s (2007) paper, lamenting this very fact, Chris Green and Laurence Chalip’s (1998) study of women’s flag football, Heather Gibson’s early work on the sport tourist from a gender-differences perspective (e.g., Gibson, Attle, & Yiannakis, 1998; Gibson & Yiannakis, 1994), and work on the constraints to winter sports participation by women (e.g., Hudson, 2000; Williams & Lattey, 1994).

The Early Days in Sport Tourism: The Absence of Feminism

Much of the focus in the late 1990s and early 2000s was on defining sport tourism. There was a general consensus that this type of tourism had both active (i.e., travel to be physically active) and passive (i.e., travel to watch sport) varieties (e.g., Delpy, 1998; Hall, 1992; Hinch & Higham, 2004;

Standeven & Knop, 1998), but there remain even today debates over the third form of sport tourism—that of nostalgia, which harks back to Redmond's (1990; Redmond, 1991) observation about travel to visit sports museums and halls of fame. In a comprehensive review of the related literature, Gibson (1998a) proposed a definition of sport tourism that identified three types: (1) active sport tourism; (2) event sport tourism; and (3) nostalgia sport tourism. She also framed tourism as leisure-based travel and advocated for use of the term “sport”, without the “s” as a nod to the conceptualization of sport as a social institution with greater influence than specific sports by themselves. This stands in contrast to Weed and Bull's (2004, p. xv) use of the term “sports”, with the “s” which they explain thus: ‘[o]ne of the unique aspects of sports tourism is that the interaction of people and place with the activities in question expands rather than limits heterogeneity [of scope and analysis] ... the term sports tourism is used, along with the focus on diverse and heterogeneous activities that the term implies’.

In the meantime, what has happened is that both terms are used and some scholars regard sport tourism as having two primary forms (passive and active) and others recognize the third form and have indeed, focused their research efforts on investigating various aspects of nostalgia sport tourism (e.g., Fairley, 2003; Ramshaw, Gammon, & Huang, 2013). Various specialist books (e.g., Hinch & Higham, 2004; ed. Higham, 2005; ed. Ritchie & Adair, 2004; Weed & Bull, 2004), special issues of journals (e.g., *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 1998 4(1); *Journal of Sport Management* 2003 17(2)), reviews (e.g., Gibson, 1998a; Gibson, Gammon, & Kutzman, 2002; Weed, 2006, 2009), and the specialist *Journal of Sport Tourism* (initially published online and edited by Joseph Kurtzman) and its reformulation into the *Journal of Sport & Tourism* exist that readers can access to find out more about this period in the development of the body of knowledge around sport tourism, but with a few exceptions, one omission was the invisibility of gender, and for that matter race and social class, in the discussion of this tourism form (Gibson, 1998b).

Another concern in these formative days was the concern over the lack of a theoretical foundation in much of the early work (Gibson, 2004; Weed, 2006). In addition to the ongoing debate over creating an accepted definition (outlined briefly above), much of the work was descriptive and did not attempt to provide any explanation or interpretation of the particular sport tourism phenomenon under study. While we can defend this and say it is symptomatic of the state of development of this area of study that you need to describe before you can explain (Babbie, 1995), it was also felt that if the growing focus on sport tourism was to provide valuable insights into this form of tourism and also to be accepted as a legitimate academic and research focus

(Gammon, 2003), then work in this area needed scientific rigour and a theoretical foundation. Yet, in line with the focus of this chapter, I would suggest we were also in what Henderson (1994) described in relation to the progression of Leisure Studies as the invisible (womanless) scholarship phase, in fact, in the majority of sport tourism-related writing during this era, gender was invisible altogether and tended to be atheoretical/descriptive, let alone engaging with any particular feminist theories.

Since there were no prescribed theories or disciplinary perspectives, as Gammon (2003) suggested akin to Leisure Studies, Sport Studies and Tourism Studies, the area of sport tourism was best conceptualized as interdisciplinary. This period, however, did give rise to a number of interesting projects; one was the special issue of the *Journal of Sport Management* (2003, vol. 17, issue 2), another was the special issue of the *European Sport Management Quarterly* (2005, vol. 5, issue 3) and an edited collection that was first published in the journal *Sport & Society* and later became a book called *Sport Tourism: Concepts and Theories* (ed. Gibson, 2006), all of which focused on drawing upon different theories and concepts to interpret sport tourism. Yet, apart from a few exceptions (which are discussed below) a focus on gender or advocating for feminist analyses of sport tourism was again largely absent from this debate.

Women, Gender and Feminism in Sport Tourism: Early Days

As noted earlier, female academics have always played a major role as pioneers. The early advocates of sport tourism Sue Glyptis, Joy Standeven, Lisa Delpy, Chris Green and Heather Gibson have been joined by Sheranne Fairley (nostalgia and volunteering), Kiki Kaplanidou (event image Olympic legacies), Marijke Taks (economic impact and recently legacies of smaller-scale events), Laura Miesener (events and urban contexts, and more recently disability sport and Paralympics), Aggie Weighil (women's master's-level hockey tournament travel), Seohee Chang (relationship between leisure behaviour and active sport tourism), Catherine Palmer writing about golf tourism and more recently Laura Fendt and her work on women's surf tourism, and Millie Kennelly and her work on endurance sports, among others. So while women were part of and continue to actively conduct research, and teach in this area, why then has gender and feminism as a lens for studying sport tourism been so absent?

In the narrative above, we refer to a few notable exceptions and it is time to examine those. If we put some of the earliest writings (Glyptis, 1982; Standeven & Tomlinson, 1994) in the context of their original intent, these studies were management oriented with the goal of maximizing use by

encouraging tourists to use local sports facilities and developing policy to encourage working relationships between sport and tourism agencies. Most of the attention of feminists in related fields at this time was on girls' and women's access to and participation in sport, leisure and tourism (e.g., Hargreaves, 1994; Henderson, 1994; Swain, 1995), using a range of different feminist approaches from Marxist and socialist feminisms in early UK leisure research, to a liberal feminist approach adopted by scholars in the USA (see Wearing, 1998). Likewise in sport sociology a range of feminisms were apparent and mirrored somewhat what was going on in Leisure Studies, although the use of radical feminism was more apparent among sport scholars (see Hargreaves, 1994). Tourism lagged behind sport and leisure in a call for a gender-aware framework (Swain, 1995) and became increasingly influenced by the rise in poststructuralism and social-cultural geography in the late 1990s (see Gibson, 2004). Thus, as noted above, the focus on developing a definition of sport tourism, delimiting the area of study and management and later marketing foci, is perhaps one reason why feminist analyses were not present. The lack of feminist theories was probably part of the scarcity of theoretical approaches in sport tourism work in general at this time.

In mid-1990s Tourism Studies there was a growing focus on the gendered nature of tourism (e.g., Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Swain, 1995) and there was evidence of concern over women as workers in tourism and the related management implications (e.g., Jordan, 1997; Sinclair, 1997); however, this focus was not evident in sport and leisure management until more recently (e.g., Anderson & Shiness, 2001; Dixon & Bruening, 2007). While in sport tourism, mirroring the focus on gender in sport and leisure participation, two early studies stand out in this regard. Chris Green and Laurence Chalip (1998) examined women's participation in a flag football tournament using subcultural theory as the lens for their analysis. While this study did not adopt any particular feminist perspective, the focus on women's experiences in a sport tourism context is noteworthy. Heather Gibson, on the other hand (please indulge the self-reflection), with a background in sport sociology initially which morphed into leisure studies and tourism, adopted a gender-aware/gender-differences approach to her study of the sport-lover as a tourist role and how preferences changed for both men and women over the life course (Gibson & Yiannakis, 1994; Gibson et al., 1998). If we reflect back on Henderson's (1994) framework of the stages gender scholarship went through in Leisure Studies here, this work could be best classified as focusing on the dichotomous differences between men and women's sport tourism choices, but with an awareness of the power relations behind gender which was informed by a background in sport sociology and sociology more generally as to the gendering of society and social relations. This work was not quite at

what Henderson (1994) called feminist (women-centred) scholarship but it was on its way. In a paper originally presented at the Leisure Studies Association Conference in 1997, (Gibson, 1998b) critiqued active sport tourism as overly male, white and middle class and advocated for a critical sociological analysis of sport tourism participation in future work. She followed this up with a discussion on the question ‘Who is likely to be a sport tourist? The influence of age, gender, class, race and disability?’ in Higham’s (ed. 2005) book. Having just completed a study on elite female wheelchair basketball athletes with Candy Ashton (Ashton-Shaeffer, Gibson, Holt, & Willming, 2001), she added a call to focus on sport tourists with disabilities. This layering (intersecting) of social statuses was informed by scholars such as Patricia Hill-Collins (1990) who in *Black Feminist Thought* advocated for the need to view social position from a viewpoint of the intersectionality of race, class and gender and other positions such as ability/disability and age. Higham (ed. 2005, p. 287), contemplating the future of sport tourism, noted a need to focus on the ‘values and experiences of female sport’; this call remains largely undeveloped. This is actually quite curious given the rapid development of feminist analyses in sport sociology and Leisure Studies in the 1980s and 1990s and somewhat in tourism from the mid-1990s into the early 2000s.

Somewhat in reaction to the absence of an overt presence of feminist analyses in sport tourism, Louise Mansfield (2007) proffered a potential feminist framework for sport tourism, drawing upon Elias’ (1956) concepts of involvement and detachment, and some researchers that have framed their work under the sport tourism umbrella (not all studies on sport-related travel “claim” the term sport tourism) have addressed gender differences (e.g., Chen, 2010; Gibson & Chang, 2012; Jarvis & Blank, 2011; Lamont & Kennelly, 2012) or more recently have focused on women’s sport travel (e.g., Fendt & Wilson, 2012), but this type of work tends to be the exception rather than the norm. We do not claim to have the answer to this mystery other than the growing focus on sport events from a leveraging, management and/or marketing point of view under the sport tourism umbrella, but we will discuss some developments in the feminist analyses of tourism that, together with similar work in sport studies (reviewed by most authors of chapters in this book), can help us frame future work in sport tourism to help alleviate this gap.

Women, Gender and Feminism in Tourism

The 1990s were also a time when the issue of the invisibility of women in tourism was raised. Four works in particular brought attention to the lack of an appreciation of the gendered nature of tourism and the lack of attention on

women as tourists or hosts (residents of tourist-receiving communities likely to work in the tourism industry or interact with the tourists through everyday lives). Norris and Wall (1994) published a chapter on 'Gender and Tourism'; Kinnaird and Hall (1994) published their book *Tourism: A gender analysis*; a special issue of the *Annals of Tourism Research* was edited by Margaret Swain (1995, Vol. 22) and Sinclair (1997) published the book *Gender, Work and Tourism*. Norris and Wall (1994) point out that the field of Leisure Studies had taken the lead in advocating for and developing a gender-aware framework for feminist analyses of leisure generally, of which tourism (and sport) can be construed as a special form (Cohen, 1974) and could provide direction for feminist analyses of tourism. What followed in tourism was a flurry of work examining women's experiences as tourists, workers or producers in tourism and the portrayal of women and other individuals from minority backgrounds in the marketing and images used in tourism (Gibson, 2001; Gibson, Jordan, & Berdychevsky, 2013), all of which could have relevance for understanding gender in the context of sport tourism. Some of this work was pioneered by feminist scholars from within Leisure Studies and a fair share of it was published in the leisure journals (e.g., Aitchison, 1999; Deem, 1996; Jordan, 1997; Wearing & Wearing, 1996).

Akin to sport, in tourism it is recognized that there is both an industry/business-focused orientation and a perspective that views tourism as a social phenomenon (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). Certainly, viewing tourism as a social phenomenon is inherently related to understanding individuals' experiences as tourists and also should generate an awareness that as such preferences, experiences and behaviours are shaped by wider social forces, of which gender and the gendered nature of tourism becomes apparent. From this focus, studies on, for example, travelling solo as a woman (e.g., Heimtun, 2012; Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wilson & Little, 2008), with groups of female friends (e.g., Berdychevsky, Gibson, & Bell, 2013; Heimtun & Jordan, 2011; Khoo-Lattimore & Gibson, 2015) or in the context of families (e.g., Davidson, 1996; Small, 2005) shed light on the ways in which gender shapes tourism and how women experience travel. Likewise, research on women and tourism employment has tackled topics such as gender inequities in tourism work contexts (e.g., Burgess, 2000; Jordan, 1997; Thrane, 2008) and the empowerment of women through crafts and running their own businesses (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994; Iakovidou & Turner, 1995), although as some of these studies show, while women may gain economic independence through tourism, it may cause social conflict as women strive for new gender roles and identities (Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015). Again this work could also provide a foundation for examining work within the realm of sport tourism as the hospitality and events sector becomes more prominent in the provision of

sport tourism as well as new directions in sport for development and the rise of volunteer tourism associated with many of these sport-related projects.

In addition and perhaps more importantly, the studies in tourism that have adopted feminist perspectives can provide theoretical guidance for future work in sport tourism addressing women's experiences in sport tourism as advocated by Higham (ed. 2005), but also some of the pressing social issues associated with hosting mega sporting events, such as a growing awareness of the human trafficking and prostitution occurring in conjunction with these mega events. Starting with theoretical insights, from the 1990s the influence of social-cultural geography (Aitchison, 1999), poststructural analyses (Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wearing & Wearing, 1996) and post-colonial theory (Aitchison, 2001) have helped to bring attention to both the constraints on women's travel in terms of the often cited "geography of fear" (Valentine, 1989) and the empowering nature of such travel (e.g., Jordan & Gibson, 2005; Wearing & Wearing, 1996), with insights on confronting the legacies of colonial power when travelling (Enloe, 1989).

Fendt and Wilson (2012), in a paper on the growing academic study of surf tourism, focused on the experiences of female surf tourists using a constraints and motivations framework. While no overt feminist theoretical framework was used, this study brought to light the potential of surfing as a contested site for female empowerment. The authors conclude by arguing that future research might adopt a perspective on constraint negotiation that takes into account the power and agency involved in this process and as such may provide a more critical analysis of the gendered power relations at work in the surfing world, which would be consistent with poststructural approaches to women's travel (Jordan & Gibson, 2005) and women's sport participation (Markula, 2003). Harking back to the early days of research in this area when sport and adventure tourism were often combined, Myers (2010) explored the adventure tourism experiences of women travellers participating in organized day trips in New Zealand. She concluded that the perceived risks associated with the adventure activities provided an opportunity for personal challenge that led to a sense of achievement, pride and increased confidence among the female participants. The women described conscious efforts to overcome their fears (e.g., fear of heights), develop an enhanced sense of self, improve confidence in their physical abilities and experience an overall feeling of empowerment.

In addition to these studies that have examined the travel experience in relation to women's participation in sport, there have been a number of recent studies that add to our understanding of women's participation in the increasingly pervasive mass-participation sport events (Crofts, Schofield, & Dickson, 2012) or sports that have typically been outside the realm of sport sociologists, such as snowboarding (Anderson, 1999; Sisjord, 2009) or adventure sports (Dilley &

Scraton, 2010; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). While the majority of these studies explored the gendered nature of these sports, either in terms of relations between male and female participants (Sisjord, 2009) or participation as resistance to gendered expectations (Dilley & Scraton, 2010), taking part in these types of sport likely necessitated travel away from home but the sport tourism experience was not explored. Thus, as Fendt and Wilson (2012) and Myers (2010) showed, the travel context of participation is often a significant part of the overall experience and warrants exploration from a gendered perspective.

In the domain of spectating sport, while not framed within sport tourism, there have been some recent studies on female sports fans. Hoeber and Kerwin (2013) conducted collaborative self-ethnography of their experiences attending Major League baseball games. They identified a series of ways in which women are marginalized at the games, labelling these experiences as 'feeling like an outsider'; they even felt that they had to develop a definition of and an identity of being a baseball fan. This was not an automatic identity for them as it would have been if they were male. While Hoeber and Kerwin did engage in critical feminist analyses, they did not address the travel components associated with their experiences. However, the method of self- or auto-ethnography holds promise for future work in sport tourism associated with being a sports fan. For example, Fairley's (2003) study of Australian Rules football fans used ethnographic methods as she travelled with the fans to attend a notable match. However, unlike Hoeber and Kerwin she did not engage in any analysis of gender, instead focusing on the social construction of nostalgia. Fairley's study marks the first supposition in the sport tourism literature that nostalgia could be located in the social interactions among group members reminiscing about past trips and team feats. In another recent study Hallmann (2012) examined attendance at matches associated with the Women's 2011 FIFA World Cup. She focused her examination on factors likely to underpin attendance at such matches, including the images associated with women's football. Interestingly she did not identify the gender of the soccer fan as being influential in decisions to attend such matches. However, Hallman's work did confirm that the image of women's football is still less favourable than that associated with the World Cup (football) itself and that the older respondents tend to have a less positive image of women's football. Again, while this study was not conceived from a feminist framework, the findings and approach used could provide directions for future work in sport tourism associated with a feminist analysis of attending these mega sporting events and attitudes towards women's participation in male-dominated sports in general.

Over the past five years or so, the dark side of mega sporting events such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup has started to emerge. While sport sociologists have long discussed the impacts of hosting these events in

terms of economics, that is, the money poured into them (e.g., Whitson & Macintosh, 1993), or the displacement of residents from their homes to make way for the new facilities (Hiller, 1998), with reference in particular to the recent and the upcoming Olympics and FIFA World Cup with the host nations of Russia, Brazil and Qatar the conditions of workers employed to build the sports facilities or the environmental and social impacts on the host communities is being brought to light and has been showcased on major broadcast networks such as the BBC, CNN and ESPN. If we look back at the development of the disciplines of Leisure Studies, Sport Sociology and Tourism Studies, it has typically been the feminist scholars that have led the way in using critical analyses to examine these major issues. So as noted before, while scholars in sport management, sport tourism and others have put a lot of focus on various aspects associated with mega events over the past ten years, there has yet to be much academic attention given to the major violations of human rights associated with hosting these sporting spectacles.

Another area where Tourism Studies has taken the lead and could frame future work on mega sport events is in the domain of sex tourism, and the prostitution and trafficking associated with these events. In Tourism Studies the study of sex tourism is quite well developed (e.g., Herold, Garcia, & DeMoya, 2001; Leheny, 1995; Oppermann, 1999); however, besides the work of Jeffreys (1999), a critical feminist lens has been missing. Perhaps, taking a lead from some of this work, feminist scholars could undertake studies on the prostitution and trafficking associated with these mega events and raise the awareness of this issue to effect change. The work that does exist comes from health researchers, where the focus has been on the health of sex workers (Deering et al., 2012) and from law scholars with both articles documenting the fear over the potential rise in sex trafficking associated with both the Olympics (Hayes, 2010) and the FIFA World Cup (Tavella, 2007) and articles suggesting that such predictions do not come to fruition (Loewenberg, 2006; Richter, Luchters, Ndlovu, Temmerman, & Chersich, 2012). Yet, as yet there has been little attention given to either sex trafficking or sex tourism by scholars within sport tourism.

Conclusion

While we proffer no definitive answer as to the invisibility of feminist approaches in the majority of scholarly studies of sport tourism, as noted from our discussion on developments in Tourism Studies, Leisure Studies and Sport Studies, the growing focus on mass-participation sport events such as triathlons,

marathons and the alternative sport forms like mud runs provide notable directions for future work in all realms of sport tourism. Do these alternative sports provide women with different experiences than the sports that are more institutionalized and likely to be shaped by gendered notions? In the realm of spectator-based sport tourism, do women plan “girlfriend getaways” around sport, or even solo travel? In nostalgia sport tourism, where the father–son relationship has often been noted (Snyder, 1991), what about the mother’s role in facilitating sport participation for their families today (Trussell & Shaw, 2012) or planning vacations to visit sport halls of fame? As the study of sport tourism reaches a crossroads and scholars are asking what the big questions are, are feminist analyses of sport tourism the next frontier for work in this area?

In mentoring and working with PhD students, a focus has been on women-centred studies of women’s sport tourism experiences in dragon boating (Bell, 2014) and most recently with Mona Mirehie examining women’s experiences in the realm of snow sports. These studies have been conceived from a gender-aware framework and conducted using feminist research principles with a focus on the women’s voices. Their work and a project we have been conducting on all-women travel groups and their sport participation (co-researchers Liza Berdychevsky and Heather Bell) is framed by a poststructuralist feminist philosophy where power is located throughout and not conceived of as top down such that women become the ‘squashed ants’ of research projects (Wearing & Wearing, 1988). Unlike some earlier work on women’s sport experiences (e.g., Ashton-Shaeffer et al., 2001) we have not articulated this theoretical stance in our writing. Yet, the driving principles remain the socio-cultural nexus of gender relations in the context of leisure, tourism and sport (Aitchison, 1999). Is this an attempt to make such work accessible to readers who are not sociologists, or does it reflect a maturity we have reached in our work whereby we do not feel the need to consistently restate a theoretical position? The question remains.

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Feminist Views of Action Sports

Holly Thorpe

An Introduction to the Women of Action Sports

Many of the activities under the umbrella of action sports (also known as lifestyle, extreme, alternative sports) came into existence during the 1960s and 1970s at a critical juncture when increasing female participation challenged organized sports (as well as many other social institutions, such as education and the workforce) as an exclusive male bastion (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013). Unlike in modern sports, women actively participated in the early forms of many action sports. Although fewer in number than men, women often participated alongside men, and thus action sports were not as burdened by the years of entrenched sexism that plagues most other sports. Arguably, action sports offered the potential for alternative gender relations because the activities developed in a different context to traditional sports and thus were not so entrenched in traditional gender rules and norms (Beal, 1996; Thorpe, 2007; Thorpe & Olive, 2016; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998).

Despite the potential for more equitable spaces for women's participation, young white males have long constituted the dominant force at the core of most action sport cultures (Beal, 1996; Kusz, 2007; Wheaton, 2000) and there remains a widespread celebration of youthful, hedonistic, fraternal masculinities, with the marginalizing of women and "other" men in most action sports cultures (Kusz, 2007; Thorpe, 2013; Wheaton, 2000). Yet not

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all women accept their marginalization, with some adopting proactive roles in the action sports culture and industry, as instructors, athletes, journalists, photographers, CEOs and manufacturers, and committed recreational participants (Pomerantz, Currie, & Kelly, 2004; Thorpe, 2005, 2007; Young & Dallaire, 2008). While still fewer in number than men, women are successfully negotiating space in these male-dominated sporting cultures and industries via active participation and demonstrations of physical prowess and commitment (Beal, 1996; Thorpe, 2009; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998). In so doing, some have developed an array of unique strategies to negotiate spaces for women within male-dominated sporting cultures and industries. Whereas some of these strategies are inspired by various strands of feminist thought (i.e., radical, liberal, poststructural, and post-colonial feminism), others are more informed by neo-liberal discourses of individualism and entrepreneurialism, with many also portraying signs of what Gill (2007) has referred to as a postfeminist 'sensibility' (also see Gill & Scharff, 2011; Toffoletti, 2016; Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017) that suggests the aims of feminism have been achieved, and thus neither collective or individual gender politics continue to have relevance. While this chapter focuses primarily on the various forms of feminist engagement by women in action sport cultures, the growing disavowal or 'repudiation' (Scharff, 2012) of feminism is also an important feature of the contemporary action sports landscape that will be considered.

As Thorpe and Olive (2016) explain in the introduction to their edited collection, *Women in Action Sport Cultures*, the increasingly visible roles of committed women in local action sport communities as well as highly competent action sportswomen in broader society, have further contributed to the popularity of these sports among girls and women. The inclusion of women in globally televised events including the X-Games and Olympics (skiing, mountain-biking, kayaking, snowboarding, BMX), blockbuster movies focusing on female surfers and inline skaters such as *Blue Crush* (2002) and *Brink* (1998), and the representation of female action sport athletes in the mass media (e.g., *Vogue*, *Seventeen*, *Glamour*, *Sports Illustrated for Women*), have all added to the visibility and legitimization of women in action sport. Yet, women's participation in some action sports is more visible in popular culture than others. For example, female snowboarders have been included in the X-Games since its inception in 1997, whereas female skateboarders and freestyle skiers were excluded until 2002 and 2005 respectively; women continue to be barred from all motorbike and snowmobile events. Thus, while the number of female participants has exploded in some action sports, others remain the exclusive domain of males.

As a result of the increasing visibility of (some) women in (some) action sports, expanding female niche markets, and opportunities for female-only lessons, camps and competitions, the female action sport demographic has

grown over the past three decades. Accurate statistics on participation numbers are limited; however, it has been reported that snowboarding, kayaking and skateboarding were among the fastest-growing sports for American women in the early 2000s (NSGA, 2003). In 2004 female skateboarders constituted approximately 25.3% (or 2.6 million) of the 10.3 million skateboarders in the United States, up from just 7.5% in 2001 (Darrow, 2006; McLaughlin, 2004), and the number of American women who surf every day grew 280% between 1999 and 2003 (Darrow, 2006; Women a Focus, 2003). The athleticism of committed female participants is now highly visible on the mountains, in the waves, rivers and lakes, and in particular forms of media, and there is some evidence to suggest that boys and men are adjusting, and in some cases, radically altering, their perceptions of women's abilities and capabilities, recognizing, even celebrating, their skills, strength, courage and commitment (Olive, 2013; Thorpe, 2007; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998). In part due to these changes in access, opportunity and perception, action sports are increasingly attracting female participants from varying age groups, sexualities, abilities and levels of commitment, and from different cultures and ethnicities (Comer, 2010; Roy, 2013; Thorpe, 2014; Wheaton, 2013). Thus it is important to note that, with such growth, girls and women in action sport cultures do not constitute a homogeneous category. Of course, the recognition of such difference and diversity among women is a hallmark of recent feminist theorizing (Weedon, 1999).

A variety of competing femininities exist within most action sport cultures, some of which actively challenge the maleness of these sporting cultures at local, national and international scales, while others passively accept, support, even reinforce, male hegemony. Girls and women experience action sports in diverse ways and this diversity nurtures various identities among women. For some women, participation is a gratifying experience and an important site for the creation and negotiation of cultural identity, in which they earn status as committed participants. Many "core" participants continue to be assessed by male standards of sporting prowess and commitment, and those who accept such standards and demonstrate the appropriate skills can gain symbolic and cultural capital from their performances (Thorpe, 2009; Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998). Although such women vary in ages, ethnicities and sexualities, it is the young, white, heterosexual, slim and able-bodied woman that continues to be the most visible in media representations of action sports.

For other women, their passivity in action sport cultural spaces conforms to more traditional gender roles. The fashion seekers, poseurs, "pro hos" and "girlies" are often less committed participants. Many of this group negotiate an identity in the mixed-sex environment by emphasizing their heterosexual

femininity, particularly through their clothing and feminized appearance. Arguably, some of these women set out to accommodate the interests and desires of men rather than involve themselves in the action sport culture; Connell (1987) calls this compliance with subordination ‘emphasized femininity’ (p. 183). Connell has observed a range of femininities in the broader social gender order and emphasized the complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation amongst the different forms. She notes that the interplay among femininities is a ‘major part of the dynamics of change in the gender order as a whole’ (p. 183). This is certainly the case in action sport cultures.

Feminist Theorizing of Action Sports

Since the mid-1990s, researchers have dedicated considerable attention to identity politics in action sport cultures, with many focusing on gender relations and the experiences of women in male-dominated sporting cultures. Sociologists have investigated the multiple (and often contradictory) ways women negotiate space within male-dominated action sport cultures such as adventure racing (Kay & Laberge, 2004), skateboarding (Pomerantz et al., 2004; Young & Dallaire, 2008), sky-diving and snowboarding (Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008), snowboarding (Thorpe, 2006, 2008a), surfing (Comer, 2010; Booth, 2001; Heywood, 2008; Knijnik, Horton, & Cruz, 2010; Olive, McCuaig, & Phillips, 2015; Spowart, Burrows, & Shaw, 2010) and windsurfing (Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998). Some scholars have explored the relations between different groups of women in action sport cultures, particularly Wheaton’s groundbreaking work on women in windsurfing cultures (Wheaton & Tomlinson, 1998), Thorpe’s (2005, 2009) research into various snowboarding femininities, and more recently, Olive’s (2016) work on the multiple and intersecting subjectivities among women in surfing. Others have focused on particular groups within action sport cultures, such as surfing and snowboarding mothers (Spowart, Hughson, & Shaw, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010), lesbian surfers (Roy, 2013) and recreational surfers (Olive et al., 2015), to reveal the nuances within women’s lived experiences and everyday politics. Arguably, however, more work is needed on the relations between women (and men) with different levels of commitment and ability, age groups, sexualities, class and ethnic backgrounds, nationalities, and those utilizing varying strategies for access to symbolic and cultural capital within their respective action sport cultures. Moreover, while much of the earlier research has focused on the experiences of privileged white women in the “One-Third World”, a few

scholars are exploring the growing popularity of such activities among women in the “Two-Thirds World” (Thorpe, 2014; Thorpe & Chawansky, 2016; Wheaton, 2016) and non-white participants (Knijnik et al., 2010; Nemani & Thorpe, 2016; Wheaton, 2013).

To facilitate their analyses of the complex gender practices, performances and politics operating within action sport cultures, researchers have engaged an array of theoretical perspectives, including hegemonic masculinity, various strands of feminism (i.e., liberal, radical and third-wave feminism) and, more recently, some poststructural feminist engagements with the work of Bourdieu (Thorpe, 2009), Deleuze and Guattari (Knijnik et al., 2010), and Foucault (Spowart et al., 2010; Thorpe, 2008b), and post-colonial feminisms (Thorpe & Chawansky, 2016). With distinct understandings of power, structure, agency and resistance, the various theoretical perspectives have facilitated different insights into the place of action sport bodies in the reproduction of gendered social structures, as well as the various forms of agency and activism available to some female action sport participants within existing social, economic and cultural structures. In the remainder of this chapter I draw upon this body of literature to illustrate the various feminist strategies that are employed by women in action sport cultures to forge new space for themselves and others in both sport and wider society, and the contributions of an array of strands of feminist theory.

Radical Feminisms: Women-Only Events and Organizations

In response to the maleness of many action sport cultures, some women seek to create spaces for girls and women to learn, train, compete and communicate, in supportive environments away from the male gaze. Such separatist approaches are aligned with a radical feminist philosophy that argues that women should not emulate the hierarchical, competitive and aggressive nature of men’s sports, but that they should build alternative models (Hargreaves, 1994). Indeed, some of the early female-only events, organizations and media (i.e., women-focused magazines, films, blogs, websites) emerged as a political response to feelings of powerlessness and frustration within the male-dominated action sport cultures of the 1990s and early 2000s. For example, world champion snowboarder and industry renegade Greta Gaines launched the first women-only snowboard camps in 1992. Gaines’ experiences of competing against men in Alaska inspired her Wild Women Camps. In her words, ‘it was lonely, and I wanted more women to ride with, so I decided to teach them how!’ (cited in Reynolds, 1999, para. 5). Across the One-Third World,

women-only surf, skate, snowboarding, climbing and mountain-biking clinics, events and competitions have become increasingly popular. Many such initiatives utilize girl-power rhetoric in their marketing materials, and are driven by economic motives (Comer, 2010). Whatever the motivation, women-only ventures are perceived by participants to have positive aspects. They claim to provide women of all ages and ability levels with space for female bonding, free from discrimination and sexism, and they give them a sense of control and autonomy.

Others, however, acknowledge that separatist approaches are not without limitations (Hall, 1996). Paradoxically, sex segregation can make gender concerns 'appear to disappear' (Messner, 2002, p. 11). When women congregate around female-specific media and sporting alternatives, male-dominated institutions remain unchallenged; they stand above gender and assume a naturally superior position. For example, when a group of women surfers establish a female-specific niche surfing magazine (i.e., *Curl*) it allows the major production houses to continue focusing almost entirely on men without defining themselves as a "male" magazine. Some radical feminists argue that separatism does not improve the status of women within the sporting culture, and that separatism involves further complexities, contradictions and problems by recreating gender divisions. As noted previously, women are not a homogeneous group and while some women enjoy female-only sporting spaces, others prefer to participate in mixed-sex settings where they can share the experience with their male and female peers, and in some cases, challenge male perceptions/essentialist assumptions of what the female body can do. Working at the intersection of such debates, Donnelly (2011) has critically examined the production (and naturalization) of women-onlyness in flat-track roller derby and women's home DIY clinics. While Donnelly (2011) reveals the 'ways that women participants are active in the production of women onlyness gender regimes' (p. iii), she is careful to note that 'women participants' social agency exists in a dialectic relationship with social structures' (p. 316), and thus further research is needed on how women-only action sport events, clinics, competitions and media are enabled, constrained and influenced by the broader social structures within action sport cultures and industries, and society more broadly.

Poststructural Feminisms: Local Lives and Everyday Politics

Broadly located in the poststructural turn in critical thinking that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s and continues to be (re)appropriated and developed for the contemporary context, poststructural feminism emphasizes 'the contingent

and discursive nature of all identities', and particularly how gendered identities are embodied, practised, performed and resisted in everyday contexts (Randall, 2010, p. 165). Engaging with various strands of poststructuralist thought, some scholars have illustrated the ways women who participate in action sports in their local communities are subtly performing their agency through their active participation and relationships with other participants. A particularly noteworthy example here is the work by Olive (2013) and Olive, McCuaig, and Phillips (2015) in which recreational women surfers are revealed to be challenging gender norms through their everyday performances, but always within the ongoing constraints of the male-dominated structures of surfing culture and industry. Engaging more with queer feminist theory than post-structuralism, Roy and Caudwell (2014) have examined lesbian women's experiences of surfing in Newquay and how they negotiate space in this often hyper-masculine and hetero-normative sporting culture (also see Roy, 2011, 2016). Adopting a feminist Bourdieuan perspective, Thorpe (2009) examined some of the complex, nuanced and often contradictory ways in which gender is practised, embodied, reinforced, challenged and negotiated by women and men in snowboarding spaces. More specifically, Thorpe (2009) develops a feminist reading of Bourdieu's concepts of (gender) capital, habitus, field and practice, to illustrate how women in different groups—"poseur", novice, committed lifestyle participant, athlete—and styles of participation—e.g., freestyle, back-country—engage in an array of embodied practices in their attempts to preserve, negotiate and transform the legitimate tastes, styles and allocation of capital, and meanings of the female snowboarding body. She employs a post-structuralist feminist interpretation of Bourdieu's habitus–field nexus to highlight agency and reflexivity as central to understanding both young women's capital accumulating strategies, and how they negotiate their gendered habitus across different social and sporting fields.

Feminist Media Studies: Representations of Femininity in Action Sports Media

Drawing largely from cultural studies approaches that revealed the operations of power in the "circuit of culture" and representation since the 1970s, feminist media studies scholars are interested in the (re)production, circulation and consumption of gendered discourses across various forms of media and communication (Bruce, 2013). Building upon and extending such approaches, a number of action sport scholars have focused on the treatment of women across an array of mass, niche and social media sources (see Thorpe, 2017). Despite their early and continuing presence in action sport cultures, women

have long been subjected to various processes of exclusion and marginalization in relation to media coverage (see Thorpe, 2008). 'In the 1980s,' said US professional snowboarder Michele Taggart, 'women were only included in the magazines because of their cuteness and their beautiful hair flowing down the mountain' (cited in Howe, 1998, p. 64). Henderson (2001) made similar observations, arguing that *Tracks* surfing magazine celebrates the 'pleasure[s], dreams and nostalgia' of 'patriarchal ideology and masculine symbolic identities', while simultaneously creating a 'necessary illusion of some openness to women's advancement in surfing' (p. 320). Contextualizing changes in the representations of female surfers over a 30-year period, Henderson (2001) observes contemporary female surfers as 'experiencing the most extreme forms of objectification' (p. 329). Rinehart (2005) also observed the explicit sexualization of women in skateboarding magazines, with very little space for female skateboarders as competent cultural participants.

Following many years of exclusion from the media, today a plethora of media forms cover women's participation in action sports. Yet the mass media (i.e., television, newspapers, mainstream magazines), niche media (i.e., action sport magazines, films, websites), and social media (i.e., Facebook, Instragram, Youtube) cater for different audiences and have different consequences and 'markedly different cultural connotations' (Thornton, 1996, p. 122) for women in action sport cultures. The mass media tend to be produced by non-participant journalists and producers for a mass audience often with little knowledge of action sports cultures, whereas niche media tend to be created by journalists, editors, photographers and filmmakers who are, or were, active participants. A number of sport and physical cultural scholars have critically discussed differences in mass and niche media representations of women in action sport cultures (Thorpe, 2011; Wheaton, 2003), as well as acknowledging the ways female action sport athletes are represented differently to female models in niche magazines and films (Thorpe, 2011; Wheaton, 2003; Wheaton and Beal, 2003).

In contrast to the mass media, which typically portray women in action sports as a hetero-sexy style or activity to be consumed, the discourses of women in the niche media are diverse. Discursive constructions of femininity in the action sport niche media range from women as respected athletes and cultural participants to female models in sexually suggestive poses. Indeed, the niche media is not a homogeneous category; various forms of niche media exist within and across action sport cultures. While the majority target young "core" male and female participants committed to the action sport lifestyle (e.g., *Transworld Surfing*, *Skateboarder*, *New Zealand Snowboarder*), others cater to smaller niches, including female participants (e.g., *Curl*, *Sunshine*

Surf Girls; www.longboardgirlscrew.com), or more mature audiences (e.g., *Snowboard Life*, *Surfers Journal*). The representations of women vary considerably across (and within) such niche media. For example, while many niche magazines are increasingly including (some) women in photos, story-lines, editorials and main articles, and are offering an alternative discourse of femininity based on active participation and cultural commitment, the same sources also reinforce traditional discourses of heterosexual femininity by including advertisements that feature female models (as distinct from female athletes) in sexually suggestive poses (also see Rinehart, 2005; Wheaton, 2003). In contrast, the sexual status of men or male action sport participants is almost never compromised.

Yet women are not passive to such media portrayals. As Thorpe (2008b) explains in her Foucauldian analysis of snowboarding media, some women are aware of the limitations of discursive femininity in society and snowboarding culture more specifically, and consciously negotiate their own subjectivity within these discourses. For some, critique of hyper-sexualized representations of women in action sports media can prompt political response: some women write to editors to express their concerns, others invest their energies in creating or contributing to media that offer alternative representations of female action sport participants, such as female-focused magazines, websites, videos and blogs (MacKay & Dallaire, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Olive, 2013; Thorpe, 2008b). Other women use social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and their own personal blogs, to critique problematic media representations of women and/or create space for more positive images of women in action sports (see MacKay & Dallaire, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014b; Thorpe and Olive, 2014). In their critical analysis of the all-female 'Skirtboarders' blog, for example, MacKay and Dallaire (2014), identify online niche media as an important space 'where crew members attempt to reflexively start a movement and, in so doing, construct and circulate a wider collective identity' (p. 548). Olive (2015) has revealed how recreational female surfers use the social media photo-based platform of Instagram to offer their self-selected representations of particular lifestyles and relationships to place and people in Byron Bay, Australia. As the examples of female-produced media illustrate, women are not simply "victims" of media discourses in action sport cultures. Rather, some women in action sports have engaged in the 'double act' of critique and self-stylization (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 152), to shape and reshape cultural images and meanings of women's participation in action sports.

Neo-liberal Feminisms: Women as Self-Entrepreneurs in Action Sports

While hyper-sexual images of female models have always been a feature of niche action sports magazines, the appearance of professional action sports women as athletes in male magazines such as *Maxim*, *Sports Illustrated* and *FHM* is a more recent phenomenon. Like many other contemporary female athletes (e.g., Amanda Beard, Danica Patrick, Gabrielle Reece, Maria Sharapova), these women proclaim to be aware of their commodity value and have no qualms about marketing their sexuality to boost their public profile and image, and reaping the financial benefits (see Thorpe, 2006, 2008; also see Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). Images that promote athletes' heterosexual femininity, however, tend to be interpreted differently by women (and men) from different social and cultural backgrounds and in different historical contexts. In my previous work I have found the distinction between second- and third-wave feminism to be useful for explaining the different attitudes held by women (and men) towards the hyper-sexual representations of women action sports athletes (Thorpe, 2008a, 2008b). Here, however, I suggest that neo-liberal feminism may be more valuable than third-wave feminism for explaining the influence of broader economic and cultural forces on women's feminist politics, proclamations and decisions around self-subjectification (see Prügl, 2015; Rottenberg, 2014).

I see considerable potential for “neo-liberal feminism” or the “neo-liberalizing of feminism” to encourage new lines of critique of a ‘particular machinery of governing women in global markets’ (Prügl, 2015, p. 627). In contrast to third-wave (a celebration of female bodies, sexualities and individual empowerment as political) and postfeminism (a critique of female empowerment discourses as considered no longer necessary), neo-liberal feminism places the emphasis on the market, and considers how women are increasingly encouraged to become entrepreneurial agents in control of their own destinies via careful economic, and very much individualized, strategizing. More importantly, however, neo-liberal feminism is the manifestation of a new kind of mainstream feminism, where gender inequality is being called out (rather than repudiated) but responses and reactions to such inequalities are framed by neo-liberal discourses of individual entrepreneurialism and economic independence only. Simply, women who are able to individually overcome structural inequalities and obtain economic independence and success are celebrated as feminist subjects. Yet Rottenberg (2014) is rightly concerned that such individualist and economically motivated neo-liberal discourses may be damaging for women more widely. She identifies neo-liberal feminism as so intensely focused

on self-responsibility and a feminist subject without need for state or male support that any sense of collective feminist action is negated (Rottenberg, 2014).

Discourses of neo-liberal feminism are increasingly observable in action sport cultures, particularly with the growth of the self-representational and self-sexualized and subjectifying social media portrayals of action sports women (see Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017). For example, American professional surfer and model Alana Blanchard is a highly competent surfer, and although no longer competing on the World Surfing Tour, at the time of writing she remained the highest-paid female surfer, earning more than US\$1.8 million in 2014 from her various sponsorships, including Rip Curl, Sony and T-Mobile ('The Stab List', 2014). Very aware of the economic potential of her hyper-sexualized blonde, tanned, toned "surfer-girl" image in the current market, Blanchard strategically uses an array of online and social media platforms to promote her bikini-clad physique and surfing lifestyle. As a result, she has gained over 1.4 million Instagram followers, almost 2 million Facebook "likes", and 180,000 Twitter followers, many of whom are young men from around the world. Her social media fame has led to Blanchard becoming a significant figure in contemporary popular culture, regularly featuring on the "world's hottest athletes" lists and appearing in *Sports Illustrated*; in 2014 *Forbes* magazine identified Blanchard as one of the 30 most influential sports stars in the world under 30.

Many other action sportswomen are following similar self-marketing strategies to Blanchard. As such examples illustrate, we are increasingly seeing hegemonic discourses of individualism and entrepreneurialism being touted by many of those who opt to pose in these ways, and often with the support and encouragement of their transnational sponsors (i.e., Roxy, Rip Curl) who encourage the use of social media for building the athlete's personal "brand" worth (see Prügl, 2015; Rottenberg, 2014). Despite arguments for their individual agency, entrepreneurialism and economic independence, however, it seems that fewer women posing in such ways appear to do so with a critical consciousness of the broader impacts of their actions for the positions of women in action sports more broadly, or the ongoing lack of opportunities for women who do not meet such strict criteria of the heterosexual feminine ideal, or do not want to use their bodies to make a profit in such ways. To paraphrase Prügl (2015), the economic justifications for self-subjectification by a growing number of sportswomen in action sport cultures might be considered yet another example of the 'way in which feminism has gone to bed with neoliberal capitalism' (p. 614). Arguably, the neo-liberalizing of feminism is also evident in the recent growth of action sports projects (also often supported by transnational corporations) aimed at girls' and women's development (Prügl, 2015).

The Girl Effect in ASDP: The Need for Post-colonial Feminisms

Over the past decade, we have seen the emergence of informal and formal action sport for development and peace building (ASDP) programmes being established across the Two-Thirds World (see Thorpe, 2014, 2015), with a growing number focused on girls' and women's empowerment in contexts of poverty, conflict and systemic disadvantage. For example, Waves of Freedom proclaims to use surfing as 'a tool for gender engagement and gender equity across cultures' and to create 'self-empowered individuals who are active agents of change in their communities and beyond'. Easkey Britton, an Irish professional big-wave surfer, founded this female-focused ASDP after she became the first woman to surf in Iran. In her own words, 'I see surfing as a great leveller, a sport that Iranian women could claim as their own and use to empower themselves' (Britton, 2014, para. 18). Another such example is the Bangladesh Surfer Girls Project which provides scholarships to orphaned and disabled girls selected from women-headed households in Bangladesh, and offers 'child friendly quality education and sports and cultural training opportunities' to help 'prepare the girls for a better life as independent women' (Huq, n.d., para. 2). In 2013, the organization offered 54 scholarships, with three surfing trips included in their curriculum. However, to critically understand the growth of, and operations within, such initiatives, we need to locate them within the broader context of the Girl Effect in development.

Since the mid-2000s, there has been a "turn to girls" and a "girl powering" of development (Koffman & Gill, 2013). Originally coined by the Nike Foundation in 2008, the Girl Effect has become a key development discourse taken up by a wide range of governmental organizations, charities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Underpinning this movement is the belief—endorsed by an alliance of multi-national corporations, charity and non-governmental organization leaders and governmental representatives—that 'when given the opportunity, women and girls are more effective at lifting themselves and their families out of poverty, thereby having a multiplier effect within their villages, cities, and nations' (Shain, 2013, p. 2). Adopting a post-structuralist, post-colonial and feminist critique, Koffman and Gill (2013) illustrate the ways in which the Girl Effect discourse 'articulates notions of girlhood, empowerment, development and the Global North/South divide' (p. 84). In so doing, they reveal its 'selective uptake of feminism and how it yokes discourses of girl power, individualism, entrepreneurial subjectivity and consumerism' together with 'rhetorics of "revolution" in a way that—perhaps paradoxically—renders invisible the inequalities, uneven power relations and

structural features of neo-liberal capitalism that produce the very global injustices that the Girl Effect purports to challenge' (p. 86). In the subtle shift from women to girls, Sensoy and Marshall (2010) refer to the 'newly emergent discursive strategies that construct first world girls as the saviours of their "Third World" sisters' as 'missionary girl power' (p. 296).

As various Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) scholars have explained, many SDP initiatives are including girl-focused programmes to latch onto this current cultural moment (Chawansky & Hayhurst, 2015; Hayhurst et al. this volume) and many of the sensibilities of the Girl Effect are evident in such projects (Hayhurst 2011, 2013, 2014). As McDonald (2015) argues, too many "sport for girls development" programmes assume a 'taken-for-granted liberatory character', focusing on 'sport's allegedly progressive role in supporting gender equality' without considering the complexities of creating long-term, sustainable changes for the lives of girls and women in local contexts (p. 1). Continuing, she cites the work of Wilson (2011), who suggests that the focus on girls' agency and 'women's ability to make decisions and choices' has had the result of 'largely shift[ing] attention away from both material structures of power and gendered ideologies (p. 317)' (McDonald, 2015, p. 9).

Arguably, many of these critiques apply to ASDP initiatives aimed at "empowering" girls and young women in the Two-Thirds World through surfing, skateboarding, snowboarding and other action sports, often with little consideration of the broader forms of religious, cultural, national and international power relations operating on and through girls' and women's bodies, or local girls' and women's own culturally specific forms of agency and resilience. Despite the best of intentions, as Sensoy and Marshall (2010) remind us in their citation from Farrell and McDermott (2005, p. 45), the processes and results of such activism 'can be tangled, complex, and reinforce the very power relations that these groups had meant to challenge' (Sensoy & Marshall, 2010, p. 308). In sum, the politics of girl-focused ASDP programmes, and media coverage of their activities, demand a 'close examination of who represents whom, for what purposes and with what results' (Sensoy & Marshall, 2010, p. 309).

Some women involved in such projects are highly reflexive of their involvement, and critical of how their initiatives may be interpreted, consumed, even co-opted, by the One-Third World (see Thorpe & Chawansky, 2017; Thorpe, Hayhurst & Chawansky, *In Press*). For example, Farhana Huq, co-founder of the Bangladesh Surfer Girls Project and the Brown Girl Surf organization, demonstrates an acute awareness of the problematic tendency for those from the One-Third World to uncritically (re)produce images of girls of the Two-Thirds World participating in action sports that offer culturally complex, and thus somewhat intriguing, images. However, they are essentially presenting these 'brown girls' as the 'exotic other[s]' (Said, 1979) on boards, as Huq notes:

There's always a lot of hype when people discover girls are surfing in such a poor region. All of a sudden, the western world wants to come in and help everyone. While well intended, sometimes surfing is confused with being an answer to helping people overcome systemic poverty. ... So it's great there are pictures of under-resourced girls popping up on surfboards, but we have to ask, then what? (cited in Carmel, 2014)

Here Huq demonstrates a critical understanding of the power relations and ethics involved in the representation of girls and young women from the Two-Thirds World and the challenges of creating long-lasting social change in local contexts.

Yet such a level of awareness is not apparent across all female-focused ASDP initiatives, many of which continue to utilize potent imagery of “brown” girls ‘popping up on surfboards’ (or other action sport equipment) to help garner international attention and support for their organizations, while simultaneously raising their own public profiles as passionate activist philanthropists (Wilson, 2011). As Sensoy and Marshall (2010) suggest, if we view such initiatives and representations as ‘a political text mired in its social context and tied to historically bound colonial discourses and material power relations, then we can ask a different set of questions around “whom do activists represent and how far the right to represent extends” (Ignatieff 2001, p. 10)’ (p. 309). Building upon the work of critical development and SDP scholars (i.e., Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011), and particularly those engaging with feminist post-colonial theory (i.e., Hayhurst, 2016), I argue that there is important work to be done that revisits the implicit assumption that One-Third World women providing access for girls and women from the Two-Thirds World to participate in action sports can lead to improved gender relations, female empowerment, and to healthier and happier lives (see Thorpe & Chawansky, 2017).

Looking Forward: Future Feminisms in Action Sports

Over the past 20 years, feminist researchers have made many valuable contributions to understanding the gender relations in action sport cultures, and the multiple forms of power operating on and through women's bodies in the various physical and mediated spaces of action sporting cultures. However, there is a need for more research that works at the intersections of our own and others' multiple axes of identity and subjectivities, and more critical analysis of the many dimensions of power and privilege—i.e., race, ethnicity,

class, sexuality, age, ability, nationality—that enable and constrain women’s experiences within and across local, national and global contexts.

Despite many ongoing structural and ideological inequalities in action sport cultures, there are signs of hope that feminist theorizing and politics are evolving and responding to the challenges facing girls and women in the twenty-first century. Indeed, there are some exciting developments with action sport scholars and practitioners working together. For example, three-time world champion long-boarder Cori Schumacher has been working with English professor and author of *Surfer Girls in the New World Order*, Krista Comer, to establish The Inspire Initiative to ‘unpack the complex forces at work within ourselves and our surf culture in order to initiate a grassroots effort to shift the current tide of sexualization’ in surfing culture (www.theinspireinitiative.org). At the time of writing, Schumacher and Comer were continuing to work together and with others on a series of initiatives such as the Summer Institute for Women Surfers, a political education initiative, and a ‘fully developed History of Women’s Surfing’ that will ‘serve to create an appreciation for the paths our grandmothers and mothers have tread before us’ (‘About’, no date). Schumacher in particular is an advocate for what she has termed ‘surf-feminism’, and is an outspoken feminist cultural commentator in surfing culture. Other such collaborations include the Surfing for Social Good Summit, with the inaugural event, held in Bali in 2015, organized by big-wave surfer Easkey Britton, and the second event, held in Raglan, New Zealand in 2016, collaboratively organized by surfing academics lisahunter, Belinda Wheaton and Rebecca Olive with Easkey Britton. With such collaborations between feminist scholars, athletes, activists, educators and local communities, we should anticipate exciting new directions for feminist theorizing and practice in action sport cultures in the coming years.

It is important to note, however, that at the same time as new forms of feminist thinking and politics are developing in action sport cultures, a growing number of (particularly younger) female action sport participants are either oblivious to, or refuse to see and respond to, ongoing and new forms of structural inequality and marginalization. In so doing, they proclaim with confidence the rejection, or rather “repudiation”, of feminism (Scharff, 2012), often with very little consideration for the broader impact of their own and others’ practices on gender relations within their sporting communities, or for women’s position in action sports more broadly. While this chapter has focused on the feminist strands of thought and activism that have developed in action sport cultures and scholarship over the past three decades, I argue that there is a need for further research that draws upon media studies, cultural studies and girl studies (e.g., Gill, 2007, 2008; Gill & Scharff, 2012;

Harris & Shields Dobson, 2015; Toffoletti, 2016), to examine the emergence and proliferation of a “postfeminist sensibility” among many young women in action sport cultures (see Thorpe, Toffoletti & Bruce, 2017). Moreover, research that examines how different strands of feminist thought are being learned, embodied, practised and challenged within and across different action sport settings (i.e., local communities, spaces of physical and cultural participation, competitions, social media), and particularly points where different strands of feminism intersect, also promises to offer valuable insights into the diverse ways women are engaging with feminism in action sports today.

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Theme 5

**Feminist Praxis in Sport, Leisure
and Physical Education**

Feminist Praxis in Sport, Leisure and Physical Education

Jayne Caudwell, Louise Mansfield,
Beccy Watson, and Belinda Wheaton

In the UK in 1989 Joan Smith, the acclaimed feminist journalist, novelist and human rights activist wrote her book *Misogynies*. Some 25 years later women activists and journalists continue to make public the level and depth of everyday sexism and misogyny in many of the world's societies. More recently, Laurie Penny (2014), UK columnist and editor, writes powerfully about sexual freedoms and social justice for women and girls around the world. Both women offer texts that appeal to a readership beyond the confines of academia. As such they provide modes of feminist political intervention into popular culture. In this theme of the handbook, we aim to provide similar contributions through a focus on feminist activism and feminist praxis as opposed to explicit feminist theorizing and conceptualizing.

Often academic feminist accounts dominate the literatures available to sport, leisure and physical education (PE) scholars. These accounts are prized and valued by students and academics. Feminist contributions that are not

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explicitly from within the academy and/or do not adopt an overt academic style are often missing from the scholarly literatures. In this theme, we include chapters that rely less on theory and more on describing the practices of feminist intervention in a range of policy and practice contexts. This aim has not been straightforward because feminists who do not reside in academic institutions and who are not journalists have fewer resources (of many types) to draw on. As with other themes in this handbook, we have not been able to include all that we hoped for.

We invited a number of feminist activists to write for this theme; many were keen, but some were unable to do so. For example, Rimla Aktar, who has contributed significantly to the development of the Muslim Women's Sport Association was not in a position to write and we were unable to offer her sufficient support to do so. Yet, we value her work enormously. Similarly, Charlotte Cooper, a renowned scholar and activist in fat studies could not make a contribution at the time we approached her, yet her work is significant to feminist understandings of corporeality. Finding time was also difficult for Louise Englefield, founder of Pride Sports in the UK. After discussion we decided an interview would mean that Louise's voice was included in the book. This was an important resolution because she did not have the time or inclination to communicate her work through formal written text. She was too busy working on the ground, planning and promoting physical activity opportunities to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) individuals and communities.

The interview was conducted by Jayne Caudwell and lasted over 70 minutes. The first chapter in this theme is an abridged version of this interview. It is structured to provide the details of the organization Pride Sports, Louise's long-term role in the development of Pride Sports, her views on feminism and activism, the challenges and successes of Pride Sports initiatives and campaigns, and Louise's connections with LGBT and sport organizations in Eastern and Central Europe. It ends with a note on enjoyment as it relates to activism and making a difference in the real worlds of people's lives.

The second chapter, written by Julia Lynch on the Global Girls Project, is similar in focus and emphasis. Julia, like Louise, set up what we might describe as an NGO. Julie writes of how her personal biography, feminism and spirituality have contributed to her involvement with utilizing sport to make a difference in the lives of girls living in communities that lack opportunities for ongoing physical activity. Remarking on her own sense of marginalization—white British mother, black Jamaican father, brought up in a predominantly white small town in Canada—Julia shows how this helped inspire her work in Brazil, Haiti and India. Through on-the-ground engagement, student exchanges

and initiatives designed to develop girls' confidence and leadership skills, Global Girls seeks to support local transformations that allow girls more freedom and less constraint.

In a very different context, but with a similar ethos of intervention, empowerment and transformation, Pinar Öztürk, writing in her second language, illustrates the ways a small group of Turkish feminist activists have challenged the tradition of sport science in Turkey. Pinar explains her position as activist and PhD student concerned with fighting for equality and social justice. She shows how her worlds of education and activism come together through her active involvement with Kadınlar için Spor ve Fiziksel Aktivite Derneği, (KASFAD) (Turkish Association of Sport and Physical Activity for Women). She explains the work of KASFAD since its inception in 2012. Feminist sport activists in Turkey face widespread male domination of sport and physical activity. This means that organizing events such as Women are Walking and Running for the 8 March International Working Women's Day, and publicly challenging the Turkish Football Federation's (TFF) refusal to recognize Lale Orta (first listed FIFA female referee in Europe) as a legitimate TFF referee are important acts of intervention. Pinar provides a number of examples including symposiums, conference sessions and the publication of the book *Sporun Toplumsal Cinsiyet Halleri* (2016) (Gender Issues in Sport).

Remaining mindful of how and who makes feminist intervention in the lives of women and girls, Laura Richards offers a feminist critique of Sport England's This Girl Can campaign. Laura locates her critique within her personal/feminist journey. In 2014, Laura returned from working for an NGO in Battambang, Cambodia, and enrolled for an MA in media and communication. Troubled by the so-called success of the This Girl Can campaign, she decided to study on-line responses for her MA dissertation. The on-line campaign was heralded as a success due to the massive on-line engagement. Laura examines the details of this virtual engagement to reveal the ways the campaign reinforced existing feminine identities for women.

In the next chapter, Lucy Aphramor identifies a need to radically re-orientate embodied narratives of wellbeing for girls and women through her work as a feminist dietician. In her Well Now approach, she promotes a unique alternative to traditional weight loss models of diet and physical activity promotion. Lucy argues for, and delivers, nutrition and movement programmes focused on feminist sensibilities of wellbeing, movement and knowledge creation. She emphasizes the power and place of women's stories in building a meaningful knowledge base for dietetics and physical activity.

Easley Britton's contribution is similarly radical, but through a focus on using surfing as a creative bluespace for women's empowerment and social

change. Blending her sporting acumen and academic expertise with activist approaches, Easkey explores the development of her non-profit initiative Like Water (formerly Waves of Freedom) as a medium for learning and promoting health and wellbeing with women in Iran. For Easkey, this project provides multiple possibilities for challenging and transforming traditional gendered lifestyles in particular cultural contexts.

Liz Pike and Anita White examine developments in women's sport by returning us to a topic first considered in theme one, which is the development of the women's sport movement. They do so with Jordan Matthews, Samuel Southon and Lucy Piggott in a chapter that examines the International Working Group for Women and Sport report (IWG, 2014). They consider global developments in the women-and-sport movement in the 20 years since the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport (1994). Working in association with the Anita White Foundation (AWF) and Females Achieving Brilliance (FAB), the authors focus on the recent development of a Women's Sport Leadership Academy (WSLA). Engaging women who are in middle-management positions but aspire to senior leadership positions, the WSLA seeks to develop critical approaches to the gendered culture of employment in which women leaders do their work. The project advocates that women-specific initiatives, consciousness raising and enhanced inter-cultural understanding are central to the global increase in senior women leaders in sport.

Philippa Velija, working with Louise Mansfield, presents a critical examination of the Parliamentary Women and Sport Report (2014–2015). The report represents the written element of an inquiry into women in sport led by the UK parliamentary Culture, Media and Sport Committee. It raises awareness about the complex exclusionary structures and processes that girls and women face in their opportunities to take part in sport, provision of facilities, media representation, sponsorship and funding, and leadership, workforce and coaching. Velija and Mansfield illustrate that the report represents a significant attempt to develop evidence-based policy by drawing on the expert knowledge of a range of key stakeholders. Yet, the evidence remains partial. There are a number of unanswered questions, specifically the impact of the report's recommendations—beyond the policy-making context—for diverse groups of girls and women in a range of sport, leisure and PE settings that are complex.

Carrie Dunn focuses on the particular role of the media in continuing to marginalize and trivialize women's sport. She offers important examples when she reflects on how women's sport is reported. Dunn draws on her extensive experience as a journalist to examine the institutionalized sexist practices in media sport. Clearly articulated are Dunn's dilemmas and struggles to negotiate

her female journalist identity in a work environment dominated by narrow views of women in sport.

Against this prevailing oppressive culture in media sport, the final chapter in this theme focuses on ways in which feminist praxis can work to challenge and transform traditions of gender in PE. Annette Stride and Anne Flintoff reflect on their own past and current research and its contribution to making a difference to teacher education and to girls' experiences of PE. They argue that feminist praxis is essential to changing gendered practices and cultures within the profession in the UK. Central to this argument is a feminist concern with both shared inequalities and difference. They describe this as 'middle-ground' theorizing and apply it to their research with black and ethnic minority student teachers and South Asian, Muslim secondary school girls to demonstrate how feminist praxis has the potential to change the—gendered, raced and embodied—traditions of physical education.

The ten chapters in this theme focus implicitly and explicitly on feminist praxis. This is not to say that the previous chapters in the handbook do not contribute to feminist praxis, but it is to acknowledge that we—as editors—are keen to include work from feminist advocates and activists who might not reside within academic institutions and/or who do not necessarily produce knowledge for academic audiences. Additionally, we acknowledge that feminists within academic institutions are engaging with feminist praxis to help change, for example, sport science, PE and sport media.

Pride Sports and Lou Englefield

Interview Date: 31 March 2016

Jayne Caudwell and Louise Englefield

On Pride Sports

Low: We set up Pride Sports almost exactly 10 years ago in 2006. To start with there was me and a guy called Trevor. I was looking on our website yesterday and it says ‘we were sports enthusiasts’, and I think that’s probably the right way to describe us. At that point, I wasn’t actually a sports activist. I could see that there were real issues to deal with around the LGBT community. One example was in my job prior to setting up Pride Sports, I had tried to book a youth hostel for a project we were doing with HIV+ gay men. I tried to book the venue. I said it was a group of gay men when I spoke with the hostel manager. But, he was nervous about hiring us the venue because there were children on site that weekend; he didn’t think that was appropriate. That was 11 years ago. Needless to say, we didn’t hire the venue.

The previous year, my colleague Trevor had run a whole weekend, a multi-sport event of different competitions (Pride Games). I got my charity involved and did some taster events, which was more my passion than competition. Afterwards, we realized we need some sort of constituted organization to carry these events forward. So to start with, we were an event management company. At the time, there was no money. We were vaguely entrepreneurial. We didn’t want to be a charity, we wanted the flexibility to make decisions

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and approach things in a whole range of different ways; to work with a wider community if we needed to. We decided we wouldn't take any money out of the organization; we wouldn't be able to pay ourselves anything for at least a couple of years. That year, I sold a house [laughs] and released some equity to invest in a new house, but actually I ended up living off some of the equity for the first year [laughs]. First five years, I didn't earn anything from Pride Sports. In 2011, I started earning a bit of money. I'm self-employed. People we work with are on associates; everybody is self-employed. One colleague has adapted her work to meet the needs of Pride Sports. She's a graphic designer in reality, but does loads of admin. For Pride Sports.

Jayne: Is it a big organization?

Lou: No, we're not a large organization. Interestingly, yesterday I was having a conversation with a journalist who said to me 'how many people work on the Football v Homophobia campaign?' Which is an example of one of our projects. I said: 'Well, during the month of action, there's me, I work full time and there's so and so and she works a couple of days a week and then there's so and so who rolls out the campaign in Wales.' The guy was like: 'What?' People are really surprised, particularly with the Football v Homophobia campaign, with what we are able to achieve with limited resources.

To answer the question, we punch above our weight. When I talk about the size of the organization, I talk about what we are achieving now compared with what we were achieving then. It means I work unpaid for long times; I do pay myself when there is money there to deliver projects, but there's often no money. Recently, I've got more people involved in delivering the work. We've just finished some work for an organization, a survey; a piece of insight work. There were five of us working on that. It often feels bigger because more people are involved, but on a sporadic basis.

On Lou Englefield

Jayne: Could you talk about your personal politics? Have they changed over time? Would you describe yourself as a sports activist now?

Lou: When we started we were sport enthusiasts and then I became very passionate very quickly after encountering barriers and seeing a broader picture of discrimination and exclusion in sport. I became a sport activist. In a way, it is a bit of a joke isn't it? Because I work with people, for example, who are activists in Eastern Europe and regularly receive death threats. I think I've received one threat, once, in all the work I've done. That was when I was the co-president of the European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation and I got bombarded with emails from football fans pleading with me not to take action against José Mourinho (who had made homophobic comments on camera), which was hilarious, but there were a couple of threats. That's the

extent of it. I work with people who are unable to deliver projects because of the safety issues, who speak out as queer activists and are bombarded with death threats and are frightened for their own personal safety. I sit here in the UK delivering stuff. I feel reticent to call myself an activist in that sense. In the UK, it is easier to work with the system.

If I envisaged an ideal world of what sport would look like, it would look very different to what sport looks like now. I also understand that change can be incremental. You need some people on the outside chucking bombs in. That's really important, but I suppose I've chosen a path of trying to work with people on the inside and trying to educate those people. It can be really frustrating and doesn't always work.

On Feminism

Jayne: Activism is a tricky descriptor. What about feminist, would you call yourself a feminist?

Low: YEAH. Oh god yeah. Yes, of course I would. I've always been a feminist since I can remember. For me being a feminist feels as integral as being a lesbian. Feminism has been with me a really long time. Within Pride Sports, it's only really been within the last five years that I've really understood the correlation of the patriarchal establishment of modern sport in the nineteenth century and its relationship with sexism, or the intersection of sexism and homophobia. I think I'm more feminist in the work I do now than I was for the first five years when we set up the organization.

Jayne: So, you've lived with feminism, then the sport and now you are more aware of the structures of sport as patriarchal. Is that because you are dealing with certain institutions? Were there certain moments, or is it ongoing?

Low: I don't know, there must be particular moments. I can remember things like when we first took over the Football v Homophobia campaign in 2012. We started joint working with the Justin Campaign, we were running the social media account, specifically for FvH. All the inquiries we'd get would be 'Mate, can you blah, blah' and whilst "mate" isn't necessarily gender specific, there was an assumption that it would be men running the campaign. There's a huge assumption that men are interested in football and the people taking action around homophobia would be men.

I remember, donkeys' years ago, when I was coming out. I was 21, that seems like an old age now I have a 21-year-old daughter, but at the time I feel like I was a child. I remember this lesbian who was older than me who had been involved in the feminist movement. I said to her: 'Why are there so many lesbians who are leaders in organizations?' She said, 'Well, of course there are.' She explained that a lot of lesbians don't have children, lesbians aren't held

back by heterosexual norms, and norms around femininity and gender roles, and that they feel they can achieve. That was influential to me when I was younger. I'm surrounded by lesbians, who are leaders.

There's terrible homophobia in women's sport. One of the things that frustrates me, it's that irony, here I am as a woman as a lesbian, campaigning mainly about homophobia in men's sport. Occasionally, I'll get something in there about women's sport. Isn't it ironic that the way sport is structured devalues gay men, devalues women, devalues lesbians. And yet, what gets all the attention is gay men. Women getting devalued and lesbians getting devalued, no one gives a toss and yet we're victims of the same oppression, the same power dynamics, and the same hegemony. There are huge celebrations every time a gay man comes out, does anyone give a toss when a lesbian comes out? No. Because they're expected to be lesbians in the first place, and because they're expected to be lesbians in the first place, there's a huge pressure to stay in the closet so they don't give women's sport a bad name and confirm the stereotypes.

Jayne: What you've just talked about, we could say it was happening 10–20 years ago in terms of attitudes. There're still the same issues in mainstream, grass-roots, popular sport?

Low: I think so. I was talking to a female coach recently. She was saying, 'I don't feel like I'm experiencing loads of homophobia, but I do feel like I'm being sidelined within my club and I don't know if that's because I'm a woman or because I'm gay.'

Last year, I was contacted—Football v Homophobia was contacted—by a woman in a fairly low-league women's club. In her email she said she wanted her team to get behind the campaign because of her personal experiences of homophobia in the game.

There's still a huge amount of work to be done.

On Opposition

Jayne: There's been some opposition in terms of these messages you sometimes get. Is there any face-to-face opposition? You talked about the guys you wanted to take to the youth hostel; you know, real blatant opposition?

Low: It depends what you mean by opposition. Opposition comes on loads of different levels. For example, whilst the Sport Councils in England have national partners to cover race and religion, gender and disability, they've never appointed a national partner around sexual orientation and gender identity. For me, that's huge opposition. That's blatant opposition. There's been none of that investment at all.

One of the things that we've done over the years is we sometimes get asked to deliver things to the broader community. In those environments

when I haven't been delivering LGBT sport, but sport more generally, I've got into conversations about Pride Sports, who we are. On one occasion, I was told by a sports development professional, he was concerned because one of his young athletes who was one of the better athletes, had come out as gay. He told me he was concerned that other young athletes would think that to be good and excel at his sport you had to be gay and that they would therefore all turn gay, or something like that. He was paid to do his job by a national governing body. When you get out into community sport, these can be the people who are there in sport, who are paid to work in sport. That wasn't opposition to Pride Sports per se, but opposition to LGBT inclusion.

On Successes

Jayne: Any major successes for Pride Sports? We could say Football v Homophobia?

Low: A major success for us ... it's difficult isn't it? We've done an all-right care-taking job, that's how I feel about it. I think there's so much of the Justin Campaign, the success of it, which was in the conceiving of it. The reason why the Football v Homophobia campaign has been so successful is because of the name of it: Football v Homophobia. As Kick it Out used to be Let's Kick Racism Out of Football, you can't argue with that. What was happening around the time of the launch of FvH was that we had the introduction of the Equality Act in the UK. All of a sudden, people were like 'Oh, flipping heck, we've got to deal with all these other strands as well. So what we'll do is we'll talk about "diversity", and we'll talk about "equality strands" generally, and we'll talk about "inclusion".' And so, what was happening around that time, more broadly, was that sexual orientation and gender identity were not being named and were getting completely marginalized. This was within a wider equalities framework. We knew that. There were a group of activists doing stuff at the time and I had this affinity with the people at the Justin Campaign and then they came up with a brilliant campaign that named the issue. We've done some stuff on the back of that really brilliant idea. I feel a large part of the success of Football v Homophobia was the Justin Campaign and how they conceived the issue. We've included a lot of education work. Well, I know you were doing a lot of that work. I suppose we've broadened that out a bit more. Work with primary and secondary school kids, we do assemblies and work with community foundation staff. I feel like we've expanded something that was already there. We've been quite successful at doing that, but I don't want to take any credit for the campaign; it was like a tag team, we just took the baton. The person that ran the first 100 metres gave us a massive advantage. I've plodded along. Maybe someone else will come along and smash the last leg [both laugh].

Other things we've done that I'm pleased with are we've worked for a number of years for an organization called: LGBT Youth North West, which is now called the Proud Trust, to run something called Pride Youth Games. We've run it three times as a national event and four times as a local event. Last year it was run in Cumbria with other partners, including LEAP Sports Scotland. For me, it has been positive work. A hundred young people exposed to sport last year. A large number of trans young people and non-binary young people engaging with sport, which is hideously gendered and very policed in the mainstream. Over that weekend we created some inclusive opportunities and enthused some of those young people about taking part. For me, that's really valuable.

Jayne: I wonder about the LGBT, and the T gets forgotten about

Lou: Yes. Totally.

Jayne: I wonder in your experience with Pride Sport what's happened over the last 10 years?

Lou: Some of the things we've done. I suppose, one of the problems with Pride Sports is that sometimes it's been difficult to be strategic. This applies to all levels of our work. For example, in Australia they've just created an LGBTI benchmarking system for sport. That's something I was talking about doing five years ago and I've never got round to it because I've been so busy doing other things, including to earn a living [laughs], or a bit of a living! There are whole bits of work we've ended up not doing. In terms of trans inclusion work on a local level we've tried to support other trans initiatives. A couple of trans activists wanted to set up a swimming club in Newcastle, we gave them a starter grant to get going. We fund, on a very paltry level, the trans swimming club in Manchester, which means it carries on every year because they would find it difficult to get that five to six hundred quid from other sources. Who wants to fund ongoing work like that? Apart from Brighton and Hove City Council who have totally mainstreamed their trans swimming, but that's a different story. We got together with a trans organization in Manchester and asked what do you want to do and how can we support you? There was a big vote to do 5-a-side football. For the last couple of years we've been running a mixed trans football session. That's been really slow in going, and we've done a review. We've got a volunteer from the group who is working with us. The sessions are only being advertised through a closed Facebook group and only certain people can access. It's not really working. We're going to have a front-facing page anybody can access.

On a local level, in Manchester, we're about to fund another couple of initiatives. But, I spoke at an event recently about Football v Homophobia, about how the campaign was initially Football v Homophobia, Football v Biphobia and Football v Transphobia. I suppose to some extent by the time we'd taken over the campaign there was a massive focus on Football v

Homophobia. We do things like we have Football v Transphobia T-shirts. We try to mention transphobia and biphobia in the work we do. For the forthcoming season, we need to mainstream the messages around biphobia and transphobia much more. We need to give examples of it and show the link between homophobia and transphobia more than we have been doing.

Whenever we run conferences we always hold a workshop or panel around trans issues to make sure trans voices are heard in the work we are doing. But, we could do more, totally.

On Eastern and Central Europe

Jayne: I don't know much about your work in Eastern or Central Europe, or Russia. I know you've mentioned it and I've seen bits and pieces.

Low: My involvement came from being involved with the European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation—EGLSF. I got involved on the board in 2010. It was hilarious, I was so like, so British. I had so little awareness of how British I was and how we live on this tiny island off the north-west of mainland Europe and assume everything is done in a particular way because that's how it is done in Britain. It was such an eye-opener.

On a personal level, I felt real affinity to the people in the organization who were from Central and Eastern Europe. It might have been a personality thing, but those people were human rights activists. Not everybody involved with EGLSF is because the EGLSF is basically a sport body that is the licensing body of the European sports event, EuroGames; it's an umbrella organization for 100 LGB, in brackets T, organizations. What I was drawn to in those activists was the way that LGBT human rights was part of a much bigger campaign and concern for human rights in general, a much greater understanding of intersectionality. So people were concerned about anti-semitism in Eastern Europe, which is still a big issue, and the plight of Roma and discrimination against Roma. I could totally relate, because for me LGBT rights and issues are one thing I'm concerned about. I'm also concerned about a whole range of other injustices.

Jayne: You had these connections, did you go to....

Low: Yeah. There were a couple of things happening. In 2009, the EGLSF had licensed the Euro Games in Budapest. When the Games were licensed there was quite a liberal, Western-leaning government. Then in the following year [2010], the Fidesz government, which is a right-wing government, was voted in. There were stories of people being sacked because they were Jewish or gay. I think the head of the national theatre in Hungary was suddenly dismissed from his job. There were real concerns around "our" event. On a practical level, I had to spend quite a lot of time in Budapest.

We got involved with a project for the Council of Europe. We were writing around LGBT inclusion. I had to go to an event in Macedonia and talk about LGBT inclusion in sport to a load of people at a Council of Europe event. When they advertised that one of the speakers would be speaking about LGBT inclusion people withdrew and refused to come. When I spoke, I didn't feel like anyone was going to come and punch me, but I remember getting up and hearing 'we will now hear from Louise Englefield from the European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation'. I started speaking and I was just sweating. There was silence, absolute silence in the room. When I finished, I can't quite remember what happened, I was delirious with the stress of the whole thing [laughs].

In 2010, there was a board member of EGLSF, she lived in Budapest, she said: 'It's Budapest Pride. It's a really big deal, we've had loads of hassle. It would be great if people could come.' I said 'I'll come.' We went together. It was the first year she'd been to Pride I think. She had felt frightened about going previously. Because I was there, she felt she needed to come with me. We carried the EGLSF banner together in the Pride event, which was amazing. We'd got the Euro Games coming up a couple of years after that [2012]. Then, as a member of EGLSF, I got asked to speak so I got up and gave this speech about being a lesbian and being a mother. How things were different in UK, but that we had gone through a struggle. We were in this great big, beautiful avenue in Budapest, which was cordoned off three blocks either side with loads of jeering fascists on the other side of the cordons. We walked down the main street to a row of fences, behind the fences were some police and behind them were a load of very frightening, jeering fascists who were shouting stuff about wanting to kill us. We were marched down there and then turned round and marched back again. We were then funnelled down into the subway. There was real danger associated, you know, you couldn't just walk away from a Pride march. There were fascists waiting all round the area to pick people off. Basically, the police funnelled us down. I looked up and realized there was plain-clothed security next to me and it was a guy from the US embassy, a massive bloke with a shaved head and an earpiece. I'm sure he was carrying; I imagine he was. Basically, the train took off from the station, went to the next tube stop. We were all sweating, it was really hot, and there was a sense of anxiety. We thought the train was going to slow down at the next stop and it didn't. It took off again. This happened several times. My colleagues I was with found that whole experience incredibly difficult. That was all done for our safety. In the end, we were chucked out, not chucked out, but the tram stopped and we spewed out into the street opposite the US embassy.

It was an incredible experience and that's the thing about my reticence to talk about activism when for some people those kinds of events are their daily lives. You know, you can go to Manchester Pride and there are six people holding signs that say: 'Jesus hates fags', and that's it. I have to say, I'm old

enough to remember Pride events in London that were a bit edgy. I remember there being loads of National Front in one area, but I don't have the same experience as colleagues in Budapest.

On Enjoyment

Lou: The things I enjoy the most are when things work. When you know that you've achieved something. Last year, we ran a sports activation programme in Manchester for a month, called Sports May. It was one of our volunteers' idea and it was really, really hard work. It felt like a thankless task. Lots of things didn't happen, but I'm aware of the personal stories of two people, who have become regularly active as a result of it and would never have done if it hadn't been for that. It wasn't me who made that happen, it was because they came to the opening night, they met some nice people and those people really welcomed them. We let those people know that that opportunity was there and we exposed them to people who are inclusive and encouraging and really brilliant people. Volunteers. I know some people got active, and some people felt less isolated as a result of Sports May. Those things are massively important. When you know you've made a positive impact those are the highlights.

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Global Girl Project

Julia Lynch

In 1970, a young white Englishwoman and a black Jamaican man five years her senior decided to leave London and do what was still considered taboo in those days—get married. Even though it may not have been the intention of my parents back then, their move influenced my comfort within different cultures and the desire to live outside the societal box: to be different. From a very young age I knew that I was unlike those around me. Living in a small, suburban white town in Southern Ontario, Canada—when you are one of maybe only ten people of colour—can make that difference difficult to ignore. It was also during these very young, formative years that my parents took me to England to visit my grandparents for the summer. My grandparents were upper-class, white Brits who may or may not have been overly excited at the prospect of their only daughter marrying a divorced Jamaican man. However, I didn't learn about their possible discontent until much later in life. I always enjoyed our visits to the UK. Looking back, they were the first exposure I had to different cultures and ways of being.

As the eldest and only daughter of a traditional Jamaican man I had my work cut out for me if I ever wanted to be treated the same as my younger and less wilful brother. One thing that I learned from an early age was the reality that varying cultural norms largely influenced gender inequality. This experience and knowledge helped build me into a determined and headstrong young woman who never adhered to societal and cultural expectations of a

J. Lynch (✉)

Founder of global girls, London, UK

Founder of global girls, Los Angeles, USA

mixed race, small-town girl. Growing up as one of very few people of colour in a small town also taught me what it felt like to stand out, to not fit in. Often I would be out at the market with my white mother and the cashier would assume that at the age of 7 or 8 I was shopping alone because the white woman standing next to me at the register couldn't possibly be my mother. While not fitting in was a challenge at times, it also taught me how to feel comfortable living as an "outsider". It is this experience, of seeing yourself as who you are and not what society expects of you, that I seek to pass on to the young women with whom I work.

Later in life I also came out as a lesbian. It was something I was always aware of but it was one more difference that I was not ready to acknowledge or accept as a teenager. Once I came out to myself, and others, I quickly realized that being gay gave me another licence to live my life outside societal expectations as a woman. During the early 1990s we didn't see very many examples of how to live as a gay person and so it gave us the freedom to make it up. Create our own reality. This freedom also meant that, as a girl and a young woman, I played whatever sports I pleased. From the age of five my mother enrolled me in soccer, and in middle and high school I ran track, played basketball and volleyball. When puberty hit and most of my female peers were more interested in boys, I continued to express my difference through sport. My continued self-expression as a strong, passionate woman through sport has continued to this day in attaining a second-degree black belt in karate and the equivalent of a first-degree black belt in capoeira.

When one is considered different and does not fit in, then the rules don't apply. I know that my membership in many different groups, whether it's as a woman, a lesbian, or someone of mixed race has paved my current path of cultural and global exploration. It is from this place of difference that I have travelled the world and been welcomed as a family member into many different cultures. We all want to be loved and to be safe. It is from this place of knowing and empathy that I have given birth to the Global Girl Project (GGP).

I graduated with a degree in social work from Ryerson University in Toronto in 1998 and since that time I have always worked with young people in one fashion or another. I have worked both clinically as a therapist and also in community-based organizations in Toronto, London and Los Angeles. Therefore, it was natural for me to work with young women who lived in poverty in Brazil and Haiti. I am what most would consider a world traveller, although I do not like the word "traveller", as it doesn't quite describe me. I have enjoyed being part of a community when I visit another country as opposed to being a tourist. I always prefer sitting down at a family dinner with a stranger to visiting a well-known tourist attraction.

In 2012, I started to think about how I could marry two very important parts of myself—the community worker and the cultural explorer. It was from this reflection that Global Girl Project began to emerge. What started as a tiny seed slowly grew into a definite possibility, and then blossomed into a project that is intent on effecting change in the lives of a small number of inspiring young women.

Also in 2012, a young woman from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro named Dhanya was living in poverty; surrounded daily by guns, gangs and drugs. Dhanya was a vibrant and energetic young woman who always knew that she wanted more for herself, but she did not have a blueprint to lead her towards a different path. Fast-forward to February 2015: Dhanya was on her first flight ever to a foreign land that spoke a different language. Dhanya was the first young woman chosen to participate in a new non-profit called Global Girl Project. Dhanya was coming to the United States to participate in a two-month exchange programme, with the aim to help her shift her life perspective and become an agent of change in her own community back in Brazil.

In the year leading up to her first trip outside Brazil, Dhanya had just graduated from high school and was playing soccer with a local team called the Favela Street Girls. This team had been developed a few years prior to help direct the energies and attitudes of the girls living in and around the Penha favela towards a positive and strength-building activity: soccer. Soccer (football) is the nation's sport in Brazil, and yet very few women play it. This is due mainly to the levels of discrimination that are based on gender, which are widely accepted in Brazil as well as many other countries.

Prior to Favela Street Girls, the girls within this very large and considerably dangerous favela had little to occupy their time outside school. Invariably, a number of the young women who began to play with Favela Street Girls were on the street, living lives that were taking them down dangerous paths. As a natural leader, Dhanya was automatically drawn to the Favela Street Girls project and she was able to encourage and influence a number of her peers from the area to join the team. For the majority of these girls this was the only opportunity for them to play soccer. Dhanya has shared that many of the boys and men in her community would laugh at, and ridicule, any woman that wanted to play the nation's beloved sport. Additionally, homophobia often came into play during these interactions. Girls were often called a number of homophobic names by passers-by as they tried to train in the favela. It would seem that in Brazil, men are still very reluctant to share soccer with their female counterparts.

During her time playing with Favela Street Girls, Dhanya was given the responsibility of being one of three trainers, becoming a role model and leader

to her younger peers in the community. Dhanya rose to this challenge and was able to support her teammates in attending practices twice a week, working hard and ignoring the taunts of ignorant passers-by. Prior to the World Cup in Brazil (2014), Street Child World Cup approached Favela Street Girls because they had a young men's team to represent Brazil in the upcoming Street Child World Cup, but could not find an appropriate young women's team. Favela Street and its captain Dhanya accepted this challenge with open arms and determination. They trained even harder than in previous months.

The Street Child World Cup runs alongside the main World Cup in an effort to address the issue of what happens to homeless street children when the World Cup comes to a country. Most often this population is forced out of their communities in order to make space for soccer stadiums, parking lots and associated infrastructure. The Street Child World Cup is a way to empower and give space to a largely displaced, demonized and ignored population both in Brazil and around the world. As the tournament progressed the Favela Street Girls, representing Brazil, played hard and won sufficient matches to make it to the final. These amazing young women from the favelas of Rio had managed to make it to the final of the Street Child World Cup, a feat that their professional male counterparts were unable to match. In a first for their country, the Favela Street Girls won the Street Child World Cup final, bringing home the championship with sweat, determination and a willingness to push the gender-based boundaries of Brazilian society.

Dhanya was chosen from a whole soccer team of disadvantaged young women to be the first exchange scholar with Global Girl Project. The Global Girl Project mobilizes young women from around the globe to become agents of social change in their home communities. Since 2013, the Global Girl Project has been working to empower, educate and motivate disadvantaged young women from developing countries to realize their own power to create a better community. At the same time GGP aims to broaden the global perspectives of high-school students in Los Angeles. We catalyze change through two-month scholarships that bring 15–18-year-old women to Los Angeles to live with host families and immerse themselves in the language, the schools and the culture of Los Angeles. Young women from places such as Rio de Janeiro and Port-au-Prince participate in twice-weekly community development workshops and create projects that they will use to support their own neighbourhoods. This is achieved through working collaboratively with North American high-school students as a way to grow their global awareness and understanding. When Global Girl scholars return home, GGP works on site in home countries through each girl's own local community organizations, to support the girls in implementing their sustainable service projects.

Global Girls Project has chosen to focus on young women because we know that educating and empowering young women is one of the most effective ways to address the issue, and conditions, of poverty. Numerous studies have demonstrated the positive impact of girls' education on child and maternal mortality, health, fertility rates, poverty and economic growth. Despite these well-documented conditions, adolescent girls do not benefit proportionally from development programmes designed for women; simply because they are often invisible in their communities, adolescent girls might be among the hardest-to-reach populations in the developing world.

Since real change comes from within communities, Global Girl Project partners with respected local organizations that mentor young women to become GGP scholars and match GGP's investment of time and responsibility. Currently, we work with Foundation TOYA, a youth organization in Port-au-Prince, Haiti and through Soccer Girls Inc. in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Their ongoing education-based financial support in their home country helps ensure that our scholars can realize and work to sustain change. In Los Angeles, we work with Star Prep Academy Middle/High School to create innovative curricula and environments that allow our community to both support and grow with our scholars.

Some people may ask: why start another non-profit organization? Or why work with people from a country other than your own? The idea of Global Girl Project came from a lengthy and in-depth process of self-investigation and questioning. I wanted to use my life to be of service to other people in a meaningful, deep and effective way. This approach fits with my broader personal spirituality. I believe that we are all on this earth to be of service to others, regardless of our position in life. After completing research into the issue of poverty around the world it became clear that if I wanted to make a lasting change I needed to use my strength as a woman to empower and motivate other women.

In addition to Dhanya, the young woman who is changing the lives of other young women living in poverty in Rio through soccer, three other rising leaders are set to embark on the adventure of a lifetime and leave their families in both Brazil and Haiti. The effects of both systematic sexism and poverty on all four of these Global Girl Project scholars are immeasurable. All four young women live or have lived in levels of poverty that may never be experienced by the majority of Westerners. Within this context of poverty there are so many other realities that help to create these strong, visionary and determined young women.

Global Girl Project's next exchange student from Brazil lives in the Vidigal favela in Rio. Theresa lives with her mother who works long hours to take care

of the needs of her daughter and her siblings. Theresa's father is not really in the picture and lives in a different area further up in the mountains. In Brazil, those that live in extreme poverty mainly live in the favelas, which are almost always situated in the mountains overlooking the more well-off areas of the city. These favelas are the subject of much controversy due to the activities of large gangs that rule many aspects of the communities. Many of the children that live in the favelas struggle with daily life, including attending school beyond elementary level. Moreover, the young women that live in these communities often leave school early, either to help look after their families, to support a boyfriend, or due to teen pregnancy. Brazilian culture can be very patriarchal and so the expectation for young women to be successful in school and become leaders in their communities is fairly low. When Theresa asked her father to sign her passport application in order to participate in the Global Girl Project, he refused to cooperate. Nevertheless, with a lot of persuasion and perseverance Theresa was able to get her passport application signed and is ready to jump off the proverbial cliff and see what she, as a young woman living in poverty, can do.

When we think about poverty in the developing world, any number of countries in Africa spring to mind. We often forget about the devastating levels of poverty that exist in and close to the Americas. This past year Global Girl Project made the important decision to expand its reach and began a partnership with an organization in Haiti. Haiti is considered by many to be the poorest country in the northern hemisphere. In Haiti approximately 1% of the population has wealth, while the other 99% live in considerable poverty. In many developing nations women are hardest hit by the effects of poverty, often having sole responsibility for the welfare of their young families. Not unlike a number of other developing countries young women's education is sometimes put on the back burner in order to support the needs of their families. Haiti is a country where the power and strength of women as leaders is an emerging trend. This reality has had an immeasurable influence on the self-image of Global Girl Project's two first Haitian exchange students. Both Jessica and Stacey live in very poor conditions in Port-au-Prince, Haiti and are young women who want to do better for themselves and their communities. Stacey lost both her parents at a young age and is looked after by her godfather. When approached about participating in the Global Girl Project exchange both young women could not believe that this was an opportunity available to them. As young women in Haiti, they are expected to finish school, get married and have children. Neither young woman had seen herself as a potential leader and role model in her community, but both have said 'yes' to the challenge without knowing what to expect. Regardless, they are excited about what may come.

Since the time of Global Girl Project's inception, we have experienced a number of triumphs and an equal number of stumbling blocks. Fast-forward to the spring of 2016: Global Girl Project has experienced considerable growth and with that come growing pains, which are necessary and a great opportunity for learning. Prior to our second exchange programme, which included Theresa from Brazil and Jessica and Stacey from Haiti, we ran up against a political wall that proved very difficult to climb. Our first step, once a student is selected, is to secure her passport. While this may sound like a simple task if you live somewhere like America or Great Britain, the process can become rather convoluted in a place like Haiti. With our first attempt at Stacey's passport application we learned that Stacey's godfather, who had looked after her since both her parents died a number of years ago, did not have legal guardianship. This translated into many visits to lawyers and dollars spent to allow the godfather to sign Stacey's passport application. Her application was submitted to the passport agency; however, Stacey has still not received her passport. Unfortunately, in Haiti there is no recourse to pursue the issue. Everyone has given up hope that Stacey will receive her passport. Jessica, on the other hand, received her passport and attended her visa interviews hopefully. What we did not know, but is now very clear, is that the US government does not look kindly upon poor black girls from the poorest country in the northern hemisphere who want to visit their country to engage in a programme of esteem building and community development. After two unsuccessful attempts at her visa interviews Jessica was denied a US tourist visa because the authorities were not convinced that she would return home to Haiti. This is part of a larger discussion on US immigration policies as well as the plight of poor brown girls from the developing world being seen to have value for something more than their sexuality. Needless to say, Global Girl Project is dedicated to teaching girls how to think outside the box and to solve problems that seem unmanageable.

In February/March 2016 Theresa, from the favelas of Brazil, travelled to Los Angeles to participate in our second exchange programme, but without the camaraderie of her Haitian counterparts Jessica and Stacey. Global Girl Project's second exchange was a success and Theresa went back home to Vidigal with a community project plan that aims at mobilizing young women from her community to engage other children in weekly community service projects. These will include such things as waste collection, elderly support and monthly reading circles. Just two short weeks after Theresa's return home to Brazil, I travelled to Haiti to work with Jessica and Stacey delivering the community development workshops in which they were meant to participate back in Los Angeles. The trip was intense. The girls showed obvious surprise and gratitude

for my presence back in their home town. Both Stacey and Jessica worked very hard each evening. They worked with our Haitian partner (Foundation TOYA) and me to learn how to develop a community project that truly addresses the needs of their respective communities. The girls were overwhelmed at the mountain of issues that they felt existed in their country, but with guidance they were able to choose two issues to address that are close to their hearts. Jessica feels passionately about the lack of opportunity and encouragement for children in Haiti to express themselves through the arts. So Jessica has developed a project that will galvanize a group of 15-to-20-year-olds in her community to develop and paint a mural on one of the many broken-down and dirty grey cinderblock walls that are meant to serve to keep people safe. Stacey feels that the issue of gender inequality within her community and her country is one that needs an open format for discussion. So Stacey will gather a group of both boys and girls who will meet twice a week to talk about how gender roles and expectations are affecting their daily lives, and how they want to change them.

In spite of Global Girl Project's serious lack of dependable funding and our reliance on a team of volunteers, including myself as the founding Director, we are growing and expanding our reach. In January/February 2017 we are adding the Indian NGO Kranti to our collaborative team of international change makers. Kranti works with the daughters of sex workers in Mumbai's red light district to help mobilize them to become agents of change within their own communities. We want to reach more girls and provide an environment here in the USA where American, Brazilian, Haitian and now Indian girl students can connect and learn from each other.

Given my blend of feminism and spirituality, I wake up each day and express my gratitude, through my meditation, to the universe that has shown me a way forward. To be of service to others through Global Girl Project is my biggest blessing, and I am so humbled and excited to be part of changing this world, one girl at a time.

Julia Lynch has worked as a community social worker and therapist in Canada, Great Britain and the United States. She has also worked on a volunteer basis in Tanzania and Jamaica providing community and health services to local at-risk communities. She is the founder of Global Girl Project, which is a grassroots initiative working in partnership with non-profit organizations in Brazil, Haiti and India to offer two-month cultural exchange scholarships to girls who show leadership in their own communities. The aim of Global Girl Project is to empower young women to become agents of social change within their own communities.

Feminist Interventions in Physical Activity and Sport Science in Turkey

Pinar Öztürk

In November 2016, the 14th International Sport Sciences Congress was held in Antalya, Turkey. For me, and for “us”, this congress was exceptional compared with the previous Sport Science Congresses held in Turkey. It was exceptional for two interrelated reasons. First, Kadınlar için Spor ve Fiziksel Aktivite Derneği, which is the Turkish Association of Sport and Physical Activity for Women (KASFAD) launched our recently published book *Sporun Toplumsal Cinsiyet Halleri (Gender Issues in Sport)*. Second, for the first time in the history of the congress, ‘Gender and Sport’ and ‘Women and Football’, appeared as distinct sessions at the congress. These two additions were closely tied to the KASFAD, which I identify as “us” and which I discuss further in this chapter.

KASFAD is a nongovernmental organization and its story starts with the feminist-activist intentions of Canan Koca, a feminist and sport scientist who has long aspired to make a feminist intervention in the official spaces and discourses of sport science in Turkey. In 2012, Canan led a group of scholars studying social sciences in sport to convene and establish KASFAD. As a group of people, we established KASFAD to address the situation in Turkey, which was that feminists had ignored sport science and sport scientists had ignored feminism. For political feminists in Turkey sport was viewed as either an “opium for the masses” or a mechanism that exerts social and cultural pressure on women in terms of their bodies. In short, problematic issues such as participation of women and girls in physical activity and sport; gendered

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experiences of woman athletes, coaches or managers; girls standing aside in physical education classes; or boys who did not want to play football were missing from the agenda of feminists and sport scientists in Turkey.

In addition, men and particular gendered, masculine and sexist practices predominantly and disproportionately governed sport science cultures in Turkey. The women who helped set up KASFAD were exposed to these perspectives that led to marginalization and gendered inequalities in academia, in sport and in our lives more broadly. And so, we had lots to communicate! Particularly in sport sciences there was an urgent need for collective action to make feminist intervention and transform the cultures and practices of sport and sport science. Also, we wanted to draw attention to the dramatically lower participation rate of women and girls compared with men and boys in physical activity and sport. We aspired to deliver academic and social projects in order to develop and implement policies regarding the gendered issues in sport in Turkey. Currently, KASFAD serves as a channel for these desired outcomes. In this way, the feminist opposition to the gendered and sexist assumptions that shape women's and girls' experiences of and participation in physical activity and sport has formed the basis for the foundation and actions of KASFAD.

The shadow of KASFAD is larger than its body! We started off with 20 people and now there are more than a hundred of us. Aside from the members, we are in communication with many women-and-sport organizations in Turkey and we have volunteers such as Asli Tanrikulu who prepare all KASFAD's visual materials. During the last four years, we have led various projects with the aim of increasing the participation of women and girls in physical activity and sport; raised awareness about discrimination in sport; informed sport institutions and media about the issues at stake; and contributed to the emerging field of gender studies in sport sciences in Turkey.

All our projects are designed to create an egalitarian and secure sport environment for women and girls, and to expand the implementation of gender perspectives in sport policies. The projects start from the premise that there is a need to combine theory and practice in order to promote emancipatory transformations in the field of sport. We see our projects as contributing to the viewpoints of feminist and political movements in Turkey that have largely ignored sport and physical activity as an important social domain for feminism, resistance, empowerment and emancipation. One of KASFAD's first achievements on its establishment in 2012 was to prepare a report on 'Women's participation in physical activity and sport'. I remember that we were very excited while preparing this report because it was the first official report in Turkey to examine sport in terms of gender. Our purpose was to provide a detailed and extensive account from a feminist perspective for the policies that

would be developed to increase women's and girls' participation rates. We wanted to show that it is absolutely essential to read physical activity and sport through a gender lens. From the outset we were well aware that this report was our claim to the public and to the sport science community that we/KASFAD take a view from a feminist political standpoint.

Since 2012, some of our members have provided training to sport federations and institutions about topics including sexual abuse, gendered inequalities, violence in sport, woman and performance, and empowerment of women and girls through sport participation. Members have been invited, as consultants, to meet with organizations such as UNESCO's Civil Society Information Sharing and Cooperation Workshop. While sexual abuse in sport has been widely covered up, reports of the victimization of women have recently increased. By conducting projects, organizing activities or making interventions that challenge the mainstream understandings surrounding sexual abuse, trivialization and subordination of women in sport, our members are seeking to further increase awareness of these issues. We know that there are many gender-based injustices, inequalities and instances of discrimination in sport and we are trying to do what we can notwithstanding the limited possibilities of engaging in every single case.

An example of gender-based discrimination which we followed closely in 2013 concerned KASFAD board member Lale Orta, the first listed FIFA female referee in Europe. Lale applied for membership of the Turkish Football Federation (TFF). But TFF rejected her application, claiming that she had not refereed any matches in the (Men's) Champions League. Her application was regarded as invalid in the eyes of TFF despite the fact that she had refereed matches in the Women's Champion League. KASFAD published an official public statement declaring that TFF must overturn their decision and should reform its discriminatory policy. Our public statement was not enough at the time, but we believe that we ignited a range of debates about the issue in sport, in the press and in social media leading to increased public awareness.

In 2015, KASFAD members were invited to give a session on 'Sport and Homophobia' at the 10th International Anti-Homophobia Meeting in Ankara coordinated by Kaos GL and in association with International Day against Homophobia and Transphobia. This invitation gave KASFAD the opportunity to show their support for the fight against homophobia and homophobia-based discrimination, which is embedded in Turkish sport. It was a very important opportunity to share our views about sport and homophobia with different groups and to collaborate with other anti-discrimination NGOs. Some of the members of KASFAD play football in alternative football leagues, such as Sportif Lezbon. They engage with activism to point out that there is

homophobia in football and they seek to increase the visibility of lesbians in sports. In addition, some KASFAD academic members have organized events at university campuses to raise awareness about homophobic attitudes and behaviours in sport. In a Turkish context, all these efforts are to speak the unspeakable, to make the invisible visible and to ask what has not been asked before.

In 2014, in another intervention in the masculine culture of sport sciences in Turkey, we organized the IAPESGW Regional Symposium 'International Gender Issues and Sport'. More than 200 people from 16 countries shared their invaluable studies, which examined the overlapping relationship between sport/physical activity/physical education and gender, class, ethnicity, religion, race and sexual orientation. One of the aims of the symposium was to develop a national and international dialogue about women's and girls' participation in sport and physical activity. The closing statement of the symposium, 'to reaffirm the right of all girls and women to health and wellbeing through participation in physical education, sport, physical activity and dance; to encourage further scientific research at the forefront of our fields; to continue striving to accept and respect the voices and choices of girls and women in our fields', was shared with the world public via social media as well as various bodies within Turkey via national media.

The symposium was an intervention into sport science in Turkey for two reasons; both are based on my personal experiences during the symposium and the distinction of this symposium from any other symposium in Turkey. First, the symposium process generated high levels of discussion and the exchange of ideas with other scholars concerning gender studies in sport, especially discussions with academics from exercise science and sport physiology. Some of these scholars asked if men were allowed to participate in the symposium. I remember we had lengthy discussions on gender issues and sport. These one-to-one personal talks can be viewed as a kind of personal intervention or awareness raising. Second, for some people, the symposium was an event in which 150 women gathered together to talk about gender and there was disbelief that this was an actual symposium. This lack of belief that women, gender and sport linked together to form a legitimate scholarly endeavour came from scholars from within the field of sport science. Therefore, the symposium was a strong statement that knowledge is not something that is produced only by men and positivist paradigms, but knowledge was also something that is produced by 150 women and anti-positivist paradigms. It demonstrated that gender studies and sport is a serious issue in sport studies in Turkey.

Using the positive energy we had created during the symposium, we wanted sportspeople and scholars to continue to speak about their experiences and

stories of being athletes, coaches, managers and referees. With this in mind, in 2016, we organized the first Sport and Women Workshop in cooperation with Başkent University in Ankara. Workshop groups included professional sport, physical education, and recreation and sport management. More than 150 participants from different professional backgrounds presented their own experiences of problems regarding gender, women and sport. Delegates discussed collaboratively how to cope with these problems and we came up with potential solutions. Furthermore, we wanted to challenge the mainstream understanding evident in sport in Turkey that trivializes women's success, but publicly celebrates men's successes. Typically, women's success stories are silenced while men are praised as role models. We therefore organized a panel in which three inspiring sportswomen shared their own experiences and stories. One of the panellists was KASFAD member Nesrin Olgun, the first Turkish woman swimmer to swim the English Channel. She completed the crossing in 1979. An inspiring role model for many delegates, she shared her remarkable story with passion and shared her experience of having to fight against gender discrimination.

KASFAD not only conducts educational studies and holds educational forums, it also organizes workshops and events for and with different sport-related organizations. For instance, in recent years we have organized a workshop with women football players to produce and share non-sexist slogans. Another example is our aim to demonstrate how sport and physical activity participation can help prevent girls becoming child brides. In cooperation with other women's organizations and in conjunction with the 8 March International Working Women's Day, we organized talks, forums and other activities to promote the benefits of sport and physical activity participation for women and girls. Hundreds of women aged between 7 and 70 took part in our 2015 8 March event, 'Women are Walking and Running'. Notably, many of them were inactive in their daily lives! Additionally, some of our members participated in national/international running events (e.g., Istanbul marathon) wearing KASFAD t-shirts of and carrying posters promoting gender equality in sport. The aim is to draw more attention to the fact that participation in physical activity and sport is a basic human right for women and girls. As we say, we run, we walk or we pedal against discrimination, sexism, and gendered inequalities in sport and in life.

One of KASFAD's key objectives was to prepare a 'Gender-Neutral Language Guide' and to disseminate the printed version to Turkish sport federations, sport departments in universities, sport scholars and students. We also shared the guide with sport media and we actively used social media to make the guide available to more people. We turned this dissemination

process into a campaign with the aim of increasing gender-neutral language usage in sporting contexts. We explained many times, and we keep explaining to as many people as possible, why the term “woman” should be used instead of “lady”, and why performance should not be described using phrases such as “play like a man”.

As I stated earlier, every step we have made to challenge gender stereotypes and discrimination brings more responsibility for KASFAD. Despite this increased responsibility, we continue to challenge heteronormative and homophobic practices and cultures in sport science and other spheres of public life in Turkey. In short, the activities and campaigns we have done, and aspire to do, emphasize over and over that women and girls exist in sport and sport science as either athletes, referees, coaches, managers, scholars or knowledge producers. This intention may be open to criticism since it is premised on the “category woman”. However, rather than a liberal agenda or essentialist understanding, our focus is deeply related to the fact that we have a responsibility to create public awareness based on basic human rights, and to improve the position of women and girls in sport and in society. In Turkey, society and culture often define women through notions of motherhood. Additionally, there are increased levels of reported violence against women, including murder, sexual abuse and hate crimes against LGBTI. Under these conditions, we see initiatives and campaigns aimed at empowering women and girls through sport and physical activity as necessary and requisite.

Similar to other woman in Turkey, I experience the difficulties of gendered relations and this has inspired me to play an active part in the collective KASFAD. My involvement with KASFAD reflects my background and my participation in physical activity and in political theory. At the age of 8–9 I played football, basketball, marbles, and rode my bicycle with boys in my neighbourhood. I used to think that I was the only girl interested in these activities. After playing on the streets, I played basketball regularly for a licensed team. At this time, it was impossible for women to play football in a team at school or at a club. For most of my adult life, my sport participation has been mostly recreational. But, I am a long-term and enthusiastic football fan of Beşiktaş J.K.

As an undergraduate student I studied psychology and at the time I read a lot of Marxist theory, which made me see society and power in terms of class relations. I affiliate with this approach and I view the struggle for equality and freedom as a major part of my life. When I studied for my MA in developmental psychology, I read about the relationship between sex typing development and sex stereotyping levels of school-age children. These approaches to sex, sexuality and gender in psychology seemed to me very categorical and

determined. It struck me that my political and activist beliefs were in conflict with the arguments presented in development psychology and its positivist paradigms. On completion of my MA, I worked as a psychologist in a hospital and after seven years' work I decided to return to study and do an MA in Women's Studies. This period of study reshaped my academic interests; in particular I became very interested in poststructural feminist literature. I was in my thirties and I still played basketball or football informally. Then, one day, I read an email group post by Canan Koca calling for applications for 'an open position for a PhD student and research assistant to a conduct a research project in gender and sport'. I submitted my application without a second thought. In 2011, I was accepted onto the PhD programme and got an assistantship. I resigned from my job. My recreational relationship with sport was about to be transformed into being a scholar activist in sport science. I met with Canan who defines herself as a feminist and is recognized as a feminist sport scientist in Turkey. Canan played a crucial role in my active involvement in establishing KASFAD.

During the last five years and with the guidance of Canan and other sport feminist scholars, I have been examining sport in terms of gender relations as well as my existing class-based analyses. My aspirations for equality and freedom have extended and grown into the domain of sport. On reflection, I have always been in conflict with the categories of feminine and masculine, and with the social attributes ascribed to gender and sexuality since my childhood. This continuous conflict in my life with gendered issues, the introduction to poststructural feminism writings, and my efforts to understand the heterosexist aspects of sport as a football fan led me to write my PhD thesis on women's football. Football in Turkey is viewed as appropriate for men. As I make football and gender the centre of my studies, I become stronger in my challenge of football as a male-dominated sport. I see my study as a form of sport activism within Turkish sport science. To date, there are no studies, from a sociological and gendered approach, on women and football in Turkey.

Alongside my studies, I am very proud to be part of the collective KASFAD and what it has achieved over the last five years. Our activities are ongoing and we still have more to do and more to say! I have internalized the idea that an educated person is responsible to her surroundings and KASFAD is a mediator for me in my struggle against gender discrimination in society and in sport. I look back and think: I was a psychologist working in a hospital five years ago, today I am a member of KASFAD; I am a sport activist who takes part in different activisms. This shift is even more enjoyable when you are promoting the first book in Turkey on gender issues in sport.

Gender Issues in Sport, edited by Canan Koca, was published in 2016. It is made up of contributions from 16 authors. Ten of these authors are members of KASFAD. This ratio is worthy of attention since it shows the relativity of theory, politics and practice. The intent to produce a book about gender and sport started at the IAPESGW Regional Symposium (2014). The aim of the book was to address the invisibility of the topic in sport science in Turkey, to establish feminism in sport and sport feminism.

Studies by sport feminists from other countries who have produced academic work on sport and women since the 1980s have provided the basis for Turkish feminist sport activists and sport sociologists. The epistemological and ontological questioning by these scholars who embraced particular paradigms helped transform the acceptance of qualitative methodologies in sport science in Turkey. Through this legitimization, the number of critical gender studies of sport, physical education and exercise increased, albeit slowly, in Turkey. The few ingenious Turkish women scholars of ten years ago who set out to combine gender and feminist theory and conduct studies on sport and gender, are today educating young scholars on MA and PhD programmes related to women, gender, feminism, and sport and physical activity. Therefore, aside from the courses, research articles, the discussion groups, KASFAD forums and activities, the book *Gender Issues in Sport* was an urgent intervention into the scholarly, theoretical and academic field. It offers a book in Turkish for Turkish students to read during their undergraduate and post-graduate studies of sport.

For me, the book is positive in spreading the more complex epistemological, ontological and methodological issues of gender and sport, and it is a scholarly contribution to the transformation of traditional notions of sport science. Each chapter in the book serves the purpose of showing that sport is not made up of only physical performance and/or achieving medals; and that sporting practices and cultures can be viewed through the framework of critical sociological theory. Therefore, I will describe the book as a published manifesto and as a written form of feminist praxis against the dominant and traditional approaches in sport science. I will explain this more fully by describing the main structure of the book. The book consists of twelve chapters under four main themes: 'The Relationship Between Sport and Gender'; 'Women in Sport History'; 'Masculinity and Sport'; and 'Women's Experiences in Sport'. Each theme contains detailed theoretical, methodological and political discussions. The editor defines sport as a gender-biased social field and locates the body in the centre of her analyses. By doing so, she provides an infrastructure for all of the chapters. Topics include: the history of sport feminism; the relationship between women and sport in Olympics philosophy;

women in the Victorian era and early Turkish Republic period; masculinities in bodybuilding and newspaper representations; women's experiences in different contexts from mountain climbing to fandom; football and recreational physical activity as gender-biased spaces; and critical readings of the historical development of gender testing. There is no doubt that this content will lead to further challenge of the dominant paradigms and methodologies in sport science in Turkey.

Although each chapter in the book is unique and invaluable, the chapter called 'Amazons: the Paddlers of the Sisterhood Boat' is special for all authors and members of KASFAD. One of our group, Ayşen Çevik was the original author of this chapter. Ayşen lived her life with laughter while struggling with incurable cancer. She left us in 2015. In order to increase breast cancer awareness and draw attention to the importance of physical activity, Ayşen studied and wrote about the women who turned to physical activity during cancer treatment. She started to write her chapter about the Amazon paddlers' team. These women decided to go "against the waves" and compete in a Dragon Boat Festival. In doing so, they promoted the belief that a woman is an Amazon. Ayşen was unable to finish her study and chapter. A group of us finished the chapter for her.

As I was structuring my chapter entitled 'The Historical Process of Gender Studies in Sport', I aimed to show how theory and politics could be combined in order to use knowledge to transform the field of sport, to increase the visibility of gender studies and feminism in sport, and to empower women and girls in sport. Based on my feminist thinking, I aimed to demonstrate how oppressive gendered power relations and discrimination are (re)produced, *and* how challenge, resistance, struggle and negotiation exist simultaneously. In the other chapter I wrote together with Mustafa (KASFAD member), we wanted to bring into question the gender test issue to further challenge preconceived ideas about sex and sport performance, and to confront the arguments based on notions of fairness in sport. As a result of this chapter, KASFAD members and friends designed a leaflet, which offers feminist perspectives against the masculine and heterosexist discourses and practices in various sport fields.

No matter how conservative and male-dominated sport is in Turkey, we continue to challenge its basis. For us, each of the activities of KASFAD, the collaborations, the research projects, meetings, workshops and the book, represent a different way to purposely challenge and trouble, and to eventually alter and transform the masculine, sexist and unequal domain of Turkish sport and sport science.

Over the years, I/we know that it is tough to break normative values and attitudes, but we stay mindful of the aspirational adage 'be realistic, demand

the impossible!' I view, positively, the increasing awareness of gender-based discrimination and inequalities in my surroundings. I continue to work with the hope that sociological readings of sport can lead us to better and safer sporting opportunities for all and thus to perpetuate further challenge to the male domination in sport. We hope all these efforts as well as the book will be beneficial for all those interested in gender and sport in Turkey and for Turkish sport policy makers.

As KASFAD, we have many plans for 2017 and beyond. First, we want to prepare an official language guide to encourage anti-homophobia and anti-heterosexism and to share it with sport organizations, the public and governing bodies. Second, we recently submitted our project 'Sportswomen are Inspiring Children'. This project aims to introduce sportswomen to 2000 children from an economically disadvantaged neighbourhood in Ankara. We are awaiting approval to start this project. Third, we are planning a gender education programme at universities for 'today's students and tomorrow's sport and recreation experts, coaches and physical education teachers'. In short, in front of us we have more marathons to run, football matches to play in alternative leagues, slogans to produce, meetings against homophobia, and many presumptions to challenge in sport science. As the famous poet Nazım Hikmet said in 1925, referring to the masculine walls of sport science in Turkey: 'That wall, that wall of yours is nothing to us!'

Reference

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Can Girls Play Sport? Gender Performativity in Online Responses to Sport England's This Girl Can Campaign

Laura Richards

This chapter discusses research into gender performativity online using Sport England's 2015 This Girl Can campaign as a case study. As a feminist and academic I experienced a very visceral reaction to the adverts when I first viewed them, which became my rationale for looking at the campaign in detail for my MA dissertation. I combined several approaches to help develop a conceptual framework that could be applied to the online interactions surrounding This Girl Can.

The outcome of my study was that I was able to demonstrate that online identities are gendered and that gender performativity influenced how subjects positioned themselves in relation to Sport England's campaign. I was able to identify three distinct identities, which social media users discursively embodied when responding to the This Girl Can campaign. These were "this girl can", "the girl" and "sporting subjects". I introduce each of these identities below and provide a preliminary analysis. To conclude, I offer a critique of the campaign.

#ThisGirlCan and Me

I returned to the UK in 2014 after spending some time working for an NGO in Battambang, Cambodia. The organization used football (soccer) as a tool for teaching life skills, providing leadership and coaching development, access to education and safe housing for girls at risk of exploitation (domestic or sexual).

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Whilst there I was regularly engaged in conversation by the participants about sport in the UK, feminism and what it meant to play sport as a girl in Cambodia. On a near daily basis I was inspired by the determination of the “Mighty Girls” (the NGO’s core programme) to play football despite facing discrimination from both their families and wider society; many of the girl participants were actively trying to educate the rural communities in which they had grown up, to challenge long-held misconceptions of gender and sport. Several girls told the same story of how their families, or other people living in their villages, believed that they would no longer be able to have children if they played football. This was because they would physically turn into a boy.

After returning to the UK, I undertook an MA at Newcastle University, studying issues surrounding media and communication. A few months later, Sport England released the first of the This Girl Can adverts, which was aimed at getting more women and girls to participate in sport and exercise. While the adverts proved popular with many of my peers, for me something jarred. I had spent months working and living with young women who faced huge challenges in order to play football, risking social exclusion and physical assaults. Many had already overcome exploitation including child marriages, forced labour and trafficking by the time I met them. For these girls, they did not need permission to play sport; they fought for their right to do so, standing up to gender inequalities time and again. So, for me, there was a dissonance in experiencing a series of adverts that seemed to be offering women in England permission to participate in sport and exercise.

It was this dissonance and my personal reaction to the campaign that led to my three-month research project (my MA dissertation), which focused on how people were responding to the This Girl Can campaign. I wanted to understand why people appeared very enthusiastic about the adverts and to see if there was any evidence that this was actually encouraging more women and girls to play sport. In order to do so, I decided to research online responses to the campaign. This was because social media engagement played a big part in the campaign format, and I was studying media and communications. In all, I sought to understand if/how online interactions were influencing a change in gendered behaviour offline, in the physical world.

#ThisGirlCan: A Case Study

In January 2015 Sport England launched the This Girl Can campaign with the stated aim of encouraging more women and girls to participate in sports ‘no matter how well they do it, how they look or even how red their face gets’

(Sport England, 2015a, 2015b). This followed research that suggested that women were less likely to take up sport than men for fear of judgement (Sport England, 2014). The This Girl Can campaign targeted the two million 14–40-year-old women not taking part in sport (when compared with men's participation rates), 75% of whom said they wanted to be more active (Sport England, 2014).

Alongside a string of TV adverts and posters, the campaign generated a large amount of interaction on social media; social media users were asked to “join the conversation” on the platform Twitter and to discursively participate by using the hashtag #thisgirlcan. Industry professionals have since heralded the campaign as an example of best practice across advertising, marketing and communications (The Drum, 2015) because it achieved high levels of online engagement. For instance, the social reach of #thisgirlcan was estimated to be over 23 million, with over 13 million views online in the first three months alone (Digital Radish, 2015).

The Conceptual Framework

Deconstruction and Agency

I was interested in the responses of social media users who, as consumers of Sport England's campaign and producers of their own texts (i.e., their tweets), can be considered “prosumers” (producer-consumers). As consumers, a person views a piece of media and (often subconsciously) deconstructs it based on their personal framework of understanding and experiences. As producers, social media users construct meaning within each tweet that they create. Where a tweet refers to a specific event (such as viewing a This Girl Can advert) the meaning of what is represented by that event is deconstructed (in the viewing and interpretation of it) and reconstructed (in the production of a new, secondary text about it).

Futhermore as producers, social media users can be seen as having agency over the meaning constructed within their tweets because they choose what to write in each online statement or utterance. Thus if a person reproduces or challenges the dominant discourses constructed by the This Girl Can campaign within their own texts it can be taken to be a result of their individual deconstruction and reconstruction of the discourses constructed by the campaign. I believed that studying these responses allowed a better insight into the effects the campaign was having on social media users' engagement compared with simple statistics like viewing figures.

Disembodied Subjects

I was also interested in online interactions as a site to study gendered identities, as social media users have distinct selves: the offline self, which is attached to a physical body; and the online self, which is disembodied and constructed discursively.

An offline person's gendered identity is usually interpreted (deconstructed) as a result of and in part by their chromosomally sexed body; physically body parts are read as signifiers of gender. When studying gender online these physical signifiers are removed. The "online self" is disembodied as there is no physical body to be deconstructed. Instead, a person's identity is constructed discursively, through language, emojis, avatars, and so on. In this sense, any gendered identity is "embodied" by the disembodied subject; it is not something that is physically tangible, rather something that is interpreted by other social media users.

When studying gendered identities in disembodied subjects I took Sedgwick's definition of the distinction between sex and gender as axiomatic: 'while sex refers only to chromosomal make up, gender is socially-discursively constructed' (1990, p. 27–29). I therefore took the decision when collecting my research material to remove the names of online participants as well as their profile pictures and/or avatars in order to avoid subconsciously deconstructing their gendered identity based on signifiers of sex. By doing so I was able to study how social media users discursively constructed a gendered identity online, in relation to Sport England's campaign.

Gender Performativity

In my dissertation, I take gender performativity to mean that gender is socially-discursively constructed, rather than essentialist in nature (Richards, 2015). That is, gender is something that is "done" not something that someone "is" (Butler, 1990). As gender is "socially" constructed through the reproduction (or subversion) of gender norms, and "discursively" constructed through the repetition or rejection of specific discourses, it was possible to study how social media users were using the This Girl Can campaign in the construction of their own online gendered identity. Individuals could "choose" (as they have agency) to reproduce the dominant discourses of the campaign and the notions of girlhood embodied by the campaign, or "choose" to reject them.

Studying gender performativity in social media users' responses to the This Girl Can campaign therefore allowed me to examine whether individuals

were embodying a “girl identity” as constructed by the campaign, or if they were socially-discursively constructing an alternative, subversive performance of “girlhood”.

Furthermore, gendered identities are not constructed in isolation; they do not exist separately to other discourses. While individuals might draw on dominant discourses in constructing a gendered identity, this identity is also mediated by competing and alternative discourses. In the case of This Girl Can, these included discourses of sport, the active subject, and boy-as-ok/girl-as-not-ok. Gender performativity therefore allows a person to discursively construct herself as relatively more or less powerful, in any given interaction (Baxter, 2008).

The Research

Throughout my research I took gender to be a:

rigidly dichotomised social production and reproduction of male and female identities [which affects] many other binarisms whose apparent connection to chromosomal sex will often be exiguous or nonexistent. (Sedgwick, 1990, p. 27)

In terms of the #ThisGirlCan campaign I was interested in whether social media users engaging with the campaign were producing or reproducing gendered identities, which drew on the notional binary of male-as-good-at-sport/female-as-not-good-at-sport. I was keen to explore the extent the campaign enabled individuals to challenge gender norms. This exploration was shaped by my not knowing participants’ chromosomal sex since I had removed all signifiers of sex/gender.

While the campaign itself discursively constructed a very distinct “girl” identity (one which sweated, jiggled and did not care) I wanted to look at the different types of gendered identity that were being constructed and embodied by social media users who were choosing to respond to the campaign. For instance, were online participants embodying “a girl that can” and was this encouraging them to participate in sports and exercise in the offline, material world?

The research I undertook adopted a framework that combined Butler’s theory of performativity (1990) with postfeminist theories and theories of gender in sport. Additionally, I used Feminist Poststructural Discourse Analysis (FPDA) (Baxter, 2003, 2008) as a theoretical and methodological framework. By applying this approach to the case study of Sport England’s This Girl Can campaign, I was able to analyze the data in relation to Butler’s more abstract theory of performativity as well as in relation to empirically

based theories of gender in sport (cf. Fisher & Dennehy, 2015; Griffin, 2002; Hargreaves, 2000; McDonald, 2015; Meier, 2015).

As a methodological framework, FPDA combines two forms of analysis, a micro-analytical denotative analysis and a diachronic connotative analysis (Baxter, 2008). A micro-analytical denotative analysis looks in detail at *what* was written in individual tweets, while a diachronic connotative analysis focuses on the wider context in which the tweets were produced in order to understand meaning. Furthermore FPDA understands power to be relational: individuals are not powerful/powerless in isolation, rather they are more powerful or less powerful in any given interaction. Power should also be understood as a matrix—rather than interpreted linearly—with subjects sometimes holding multiple power positions simultaneously (Baxter, 2008). Thus by using FPDA when studying the embodiment of girlhood by disembodied subjects online, it was possible to understand how social media users positioned themselves as more or less powerful in relation to the This Girl Can campaign.

By applying FPDA as part of a pluralist framework to Twitter interactions I was able to identify distinct gendered identities embodied by online subjects in interactions surrounding the #thisgirlcan hashtag. These fell into three main identities: “this girl can”, “the girl” and “sporting subjects”. In regard to the former two identities, individuals embodied a feminine-female gender. In terms of the latter, individuals rejected feminine performativity and instead constructed a masculine identity.

The Findings: Briefly

This Girl Can Identity

The first most common identity that social media users constructed drew on the discourse of This Girl Can to articulate support for the campaign. These individuals responded positively to the adverts, reproducing discourses specific to the campaign (e.g., “I jiggle”, “I sweat”); they positioned themselves as part of the majority voice.

The *this girl can* identity discursively recontextualized non-normative female gender traits as now feminine, for example, sweating and feeling free from judgement. Individuals simultaneously drew on notions of “girl power”, previously seen in representations of female sporting role models in the Olympics (Chawansky, 2012). By performing a repeated rejection of normative girlhood such as being subject to judgement and affected by it (i.e., concerns with fashion, appearance), the *this girl can* identity becomes a subversive

performance of femininity. However as Chawansky (2012) identified, the notion of “girl power” is constructed within the limits of an “appropriate girlhood”; likewise, the *this girl can* identity in my research is a subversive performance within the limits of existing gender binaries.

Through the identification of dominant discourses it became apparent that discourses of ‘This Girl Can’ enabled individuals to position themselves as powerful female subjects. However this further reinforces a gender binary and by reproducing dichotomized genders the campaign reifies male-as-norm and female-as-other, both in sporting contexts and within hegemonic gender performativity. Most notable, however, were the discourses that were missing from these interactions: subjects that embodied the *this girl can* identity did not articulate participating in sport in the offline, corporeal world. While they expressed support for the campaign, there was no evidence in their online interactions that the campaign was influencing their physical activity behaviours offline.

Conversation 1

[S1] I jiggle therefore I am. What’s not to love about the sweaty joyful #thisgirlcan ad? [Link to advert] Well done @TGC!

Conversation 2

[S1] I’m not surprised the #thisgirlcan clip in at nearly a million views. Sweaty, joyful, brilliant [Link to Youtube advert]

Conversation 3

[S1] The #thisgirlcan campaign works bcos (*sic*) it celebrates women as they are instead of telling them they’re not good enough [Link to article]

From Unpublished MA Dissertation (Richards, 2015, p. 42)

The Girl Identity

Another distinct identity that subjects discursively constructed was *the girl* identity, which embodied postfeminist notions of girlhood such as caring about appearance and sartorial choices (Baumgardner & Richards, 2003, 2004) and an interest in self-development (Harzewski, 2011, p. 69). This discursive construction of *the girl* was evident in texts that related to subjects taking part in sport, or new sporting activities, in the offline corporeal world.

Conversation 54

[S6] @S5 didn't run, but it did encourage me to hit the gym despite all the kit that looks good on me being in the wash! #thisgirlcan

Conversation 95

[S119] Finished Oly Tri today in 3:08, PB run, 3rd in age group, 8th girl overall— Best of all I did it all in my D&G sunnies. #thisgirlcan

From Unpublished MA Dissertation (Richards, 2015, p. 45)

This suggests that *the girl* identity was being recontextualized by subjects within the traditionally masculine context of “sport” (Baumgardner & Richards, 2004; Griffin, 2002; Meier, 2015). *The girl* embodies a powerful (post)feminist position, despite reproducing hegemonic femininity.

Building on Butler’s *Bodies That Matter* (1993) I argue that it is because sport is a culturally recognized signifier of masculinity that subjects discursively construct *the girl* identity. As social media subjects are disembodied there is no physical body on which to attach gender signifiers, or to be deconstructed as assumed sex categories. This limits the gender signifiers available to people; they can therefore only be recognized as “female” by discursively reproducing and attaching signifiers of hegemonic femininity (i.e., girliness) to their disembodied person in order to detach masculine signifiers; individual women had to perform hyper-feminized identities online in order to position themselves as being both female subjects and sporting subjects (Fisher & Dennehy, 2015).

Sporting Subjects Identity

Finally, some participants discursively constructed a *sporting subject* identity. Social media users positioned themselves as having sporting capital in the offline, corporeal world (i.e., they tweeted about being good at sport) and appeared to actively reject hegemonic femininity.

Where individuals predominantly used the discourse of “sporting capital” (i.e., good at sport), female gender signifiers were noticeably absent from their tweets. Additionally, participants drew upon the discourse of ‘boy-as-ok/ girl-as-not-ok’ (Sunderland, 2004 cited in Castaneda-Pena, 2008, p. 266) and adopted typically masculine language. For instance, the use of insults and “comic banter” in peer-to-peer interactions has been identified as a masculine trait (Baxter, 2003). By doing so, participants were able to positively embody a masculine identity despite using the hashtag #thisgirlcan.

Conversation 67

[S85] Smashing my PB again tomorrow. Like last weekend. #ParkRun #RunningWanker #ThisGirlCan

[S86] wooooo

[S85] @S86 shrews parkrun is well harder then Telford. :-) (*sic*)

[S86] @S85 will be ... all those toothless banjo playing inbreds chasing you looking to kidnap and murder fresh meat—means you run quicker

From Unpublished MA Dissertation (Richards, 2015, p. 48)

This Girl Can: A Critique

Despite mainstream popularity, the impact of Sport England's This Girl Can campaign was limited. Whilst it received positive engagement online, these interactions were exclusively related to support for the campaign, drawing on a discourse of appreciation for the campaign, rather than an articulation of offline behavioural change.

I argue that participants constructed gendered identities that either positively embodied femininity or actively rejected femininity in order to construct a subjectively more powerful identity within online interactions. My research further highlighted that within sporting contexts, individuals construct themselves predominantly as either having sporting capital or embodying hegemonic femininity. These discourses often work in opposition to each other.

In interactions where subjects positively constructed a feminine-female identity there was a lack of intertextuality (Baxter, 2003) between discourses of “the girl” and “this girl can”. That these discourses are competing suggests a conflict between responses to the campaign and the campaign's objectives. By reproducing hegemonic femininity “the girl” is the construction of a gender performance that does care how it looks, rather than ‘feeling free from judgment’ (Sport England, 2015a, 2015b).

Ultimately my analysis (Richards, 2015) demonstrated that in order to establish sporting capital and construct a powerful sporting subject identity, women perform a rejection of femininity and reject discourses of girlhood, including This Girl Can. I argue that Sport England's This Girl Can campaign has been unsuccessful in challenging normative, hegemonic gendered identities in the context of sports, as online participants' gender performativity did not discursively align sporting capital with femininity.

While the campaign's aims were well meaning, in practice the campaign reinforced existing gender norms and ultimately failed to effect the behavioural

change it set out to achieve, which was to create an empowered sporting identity for women and girls.

In January 2016, Sport England announced a reduction in the gender gap in participation rates from 1.78 million fewer women to 1.73 million fewer women participating compared with men (Price, 2016 cited in Bold, 2016). Quantitatively, this change in behaviour of 50,000 women does not reflect the millions who engaged with the campaign online. It is the online participants and their discursive contributions that provide greater insights into how we might understand more fully contemporary physically active gendered identities.

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Feminism, Dietetics and Realistic Fitness: Can They Be Team Players?

Lucy Aphramor

Introduction

Nutrition and PE are not miles apart as disciplines and are clearly bridged by feminist concerns around embodiment, gender and health discourse. I enter this shared territory by reflecting on my work advocating body respect and health equity as a contour in the map this chapter surveys. I write as a (privileged, thin, white, queer) feminist and a dietitian. I am also a performance poet, and a runner. I have belonged to running clubs almost continuously for nearly 40 years. My involvement with the sport started at school via cross-country and middle-distance track events. Then came the 10ks, marathons and a dabble in ultra-running. Now I train, and turn up for the less brutal races, on the fells: a happy consequence of a move to the countryside. These days I can be lucky and place among the prizes in my age-group; I have been more competitive in the past. The identity, structure and purpose, friendship, affect management, belonging, support, status, escape, hope, money (from four marathons), pleasure, satisfaction and fitness afforded by running have meant different things to me at different times. I am profoundly grateful that I discovered the sport. My life would have been a lot tougher without it.

The feminist writer Gloria Steinem is credited with popularizing the maxim “we teach what we need to learn”. If we believe this, then it follows that any writing is always a work in progress and this is no exception. In particular, this

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chapter is written at a time when I am exploring the role of the tacit in knowledge creation, and also figuring out how to more explicitly flag up personal experiential learning, and use performance, in my work as a dietitian. This agenda places me outside the perimeters of a traditional dietetic role. For our professional education disavows the body as a source of knowledge (Gingras & Brady, 2010) and rejects personal experience as relevant on the grounds it is not objective (Aphramor, 2011). I am yet to meet other dietitians experimenting with performance. However, the growth of the Critical Dietetics movement, and within this Dietitian as Artist, continues to make this more possible.

In taking stock of what I'm up to as a dietitian I am also reflecting on how to be most effective as an intellectual. While I am not an academic, it is important to me that I can theorize why I do what I do. At an individual level this provides context and rigour that better enables me to share what I've learnt with people who come for support. At a meta-narrative level this process of iteration between theory and practice is known as praxis. Praxis helps ensure theory has real-life practicality, and means that action is conceptualized within a multi-dimensional system integrating values, philosophy, evidence, context and goals. Praxis has been central to my developing a socio-politically aware dietetic practice, which evolved in tandem with my own awakening. This questioning and testing keeps us accountable and it can help to surface ideologies and expediencies we have previously not been conscious of. It helps us gain new perspectives on things which have become so commonplace for us that they are perpetuated by habit, immune from the closer scrutiny they deserve. In particular, it was theory that made me aware of how health discourse normalizes inequality. Reading others' work stops me from unwittingly accepting the marketization of our lives as beneficial and inevitable. I strive to be an intellectual because I believe praxis supports health activism and helps break silences:

To be an intellectual is to speak a truth that allows suffering to speak. That is, it creates a vision of the world that puts into the limelight the social misery that is usually hidden or concealed by the dominant viewpoint of society. Cornel West (1999, p. 551)

One way of describing what I'm up to is saying that "I am exploring dietetic performativity". The gender theorist Judith Butler describes the concept of performativity wherein an identity is constructed through repeated acts assigned to that identity (it's just a co-incidence I also mention performance; performativity is something different). These acts could concern language, dress, behaviours and other formal and informal communications about what

it means to hold, and enact, a particular identity. Thus, where traditional dietetics involves taking a diet history, giving advice, weighing people, working in clinical spaces, relying on healthist views, keeping to the “party line”, these acts reiteratively come to define what it means to be a (good) dietitian. Within this framework physical activity is overwhelming conceptualized as a calorie-burning enterprise. Hence, all other of physical activity, sports and leisure fall outside the radar of what is deemed meaningful. So too, embodiment is of limited interest and appears only where it is of service in a mechanistic understanding of health, food and fitness (Gingras & Brady, 2010), for example, where mindfulness practice is encouraged as a route to weight control. My view, one shared by colleagues in Critical Dietetics, is that the current dietetic performative stymies criticality and creativity in the profession and that continued deference to this historical construction of what being a dietitian entails has detrimental consequences for those entering the profession and those impacted by dietetic narratives. It is so much part of the essential fabric of my work, that I forgot to comment on the bit about being feminist. Again, I have been glad to meet other feminist dietitians in Critical Dietetics. Yet in so far as mainstream professional rhetoric espouses a belief in neutrality, with a legacy in positivism and a poor track record when it comes to championing critically aware practice, in identifying as feminist we disrupt, rather than define, what it means to “perform dietitian”.

Theorizing a Feminist Dietetics the Well Now Way

The philosophy I draw on, Well Now (Aphramor, 2016a–e) was developed through my dietetic work in clinical and community settings (Aphramor 2004a, 2004b, 2012). It is influenced by people’s stories, and also by research, teaching, advocacy, training, conversation and, of course, my own situatedness and history. It embraces the feminist truism “the personal is the political” and extends this to acknowledge the circularity between our health, embodiment and circumstances in the maxim ‘the personal is the political is the physiological and psychological—and the planet matters’ (Aphramor, 2015).

Well Now is an embodied, relational and intentionally political approach. My hope is that in sharing perspectives on practice and professional knowledge creation, others may enter the conversation so that the twin drivers of addressing shame and preventing inequity become centrifugal forces in any food work or body management agenda. Its allegiance to a critical pedagogy is evident in the novel ways dietetic discourse is framed, and several diagrams are included that illustrate this shift. “Realistic fitness”, one of the concepts

introduced, has an obvious link to one unifying theme of this *Handbook*. There are other, less immediately obvious links made to this theme, as Well Now is rooted in concern with reorienting narratives on wellbeing, gender, bodies and body awareness. So my expectation is that the theory illustrated will prove transferable and relevant to work in PE, sports and leisure. Moreover, as mentioned, the work breaks with dietetic performativity by being self-consciously feminist. The feminist theorists whose work has most strongly shaped my own over the last decade have been those in eco-feminism. While writing this chapter I stumbled across feminist theologians and this very recent influence is also seen. If I were to choose one overarching feminist driver it is that my work should be justice enhancing (a term used by Tatman, 2001) and therefore peace building.

The chapter is structured so that the reader first has an understanding of a traditional dietetic approach. I use public health as an example, and within this, later focus in on weight. I consider where physical activity fits into this traditional role, and what we can glean about the profession's traditional political compass (for its politics are never made explicit, and moreover, the presence of any political stance is very likely to be affrontedly disavowed). Then I discuss some of the inherent problems in this traditional approach and suggest an alternative model. I explore how this alternative, Well Now, reflects feminist sensibilities focusing on those related to wellbeing, movement and knowledge creation. The chapter finishes by (pro)claiming the power and place of our stories in building a meaningful knowledge base for dietetics.

Mapping Mainstream Dietetics

Dietitians are not alone in pushing a health rhetoric centred on lifestyle change. But our claims to be uniquely qualified nutrition experts (BDA, 2016) and the authority vested in us means our errors are less innocent than those of other speakers entering the food arena. As I will demonstrate, though widely regarded as “truth”, health practice that emphasizes lifestyle change is significantly flawed, morally, ethically, philosophically and scientifically. This is because lifestyle is not the primary determinant of health. Focusing in on lifestyle endorses a particular worldview, and hence a particular political position, that misses other factors linked to social status (the so-called body politic), that are highly significant to health.

Health messages that focus on lifestyle fail, by omission of the body politic, to give a full and accurate reading of the science. Presenting health as a function

of what we (don't) eat and drink in conjunction with calories "burned" in exercise is a concept described as "lifestylism". Lifestylism eclipses eco-psychosocial determinants of health. This conventional model entwines health and moral virtue, and by presenting health as equally on offer to all but-for-a-bit-of-willpower, it feeds into mindsets characterized by complacency, self-righteousness and/or victim blaming among the privileged and healthy. It constructs parallel narratives that evoke emotions of shame, guilt and blame among those in poorer health, whether privileged or not.

I use "the body politic" as a shorthand referring to the fact that our life opportunities, our sense of self and our access to power are always influenced by eco-psychosocial factors. This matters for human rights and dignity. It matters to health talk because the cumulative effect of these factors has more bearing on our health outcomes than does any influence of lifestyle factors, even though it's also true to say that in unequal societies people have unequal chances when it comes to "lifestyle factors" too. Ignoring the body politic works well for those of us who benefit from the status quo, whose sense of self-worth is strongly invested in being an expert, or who want to avoid conflict with our professional organization or colleagues. It's not a viable option if we're serious about improving rights and health.

The Conventional Dietetic Public Health Model

The established dietetic model for public health perpetuates ideas that health is largely explained by lifestyle and holds that:

Much of the world's disease burden results from a few largely preventable risk factors, most of which are related to diet and lifestyle (Thomas & Bishop, 2013, p. 2)

and

Mortality and morbidity from chronic diseases are greatest in those who are least advantaged, much of it attributable to adverse diet and lifestyle influences. (Thomas & Bishop, 2013, p. 4)

This model adopts conventional views on health promotion that focus on information exchange and skills building, and is intent on changing health behaviours. In its pedagogical approach (teaching framework) it sees knowledge as consisting of abstract facts to be imparted by experts. This leads to a didactic, often coercive, teaching style aiming for fact transfer. Here, what matters has already been decided by the health professional and is found only

within the narrow confines of lifestylism. Knowledge, including science, gets presented as if it is created in a value-free vacuum. In reality, and as feminism shows, knowledge is shaped by human vision and values—it is never neutral. The conventional model of health promotion also assumes that everyone has the capacity to change behaviours if they try hard enough. This is another undergirding belief that is way off the mark. Firstly, there can be material constraints of finance, safe spaces, time, disability, and so on that influence diet and physical activity. Second, someone's capacity to look after themselves, including through eating and activity behaviours, can be complicated by a host of psychological issues and a mish-mash of misinformation.

Scientific truth telling is not abstracted from real life. The point is that as health professionals we are inserted into existing power relationships in ways that amplify our power, whether this is warranted or requested or not. We use or abuse this power every time we contribute to dietetic ideologies. This is important: what we say and don't say seriously impacts people's lives.

Social Determinants of Health

There is a vast amount of data that strongly refutes the claim that diet and lifestyle make a significant contribution to population health outcomes (Chandola, Brunner, & Marmot, 2006; Krieger & Davey Smith, 2004; Marmot, 2004; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010; Raphael et al., 2010). Non-lifestyle factors that shape our health include maternal wellbeing, attachment and early life events. There are metabolic consequences from living with chronic stress as a result of poverty, oppression (disrespect), trauma and so on. These metabolic consequences are seen in high blood pressure, insulin resistance and damage to the arteries. The aetiology is via pathways mediated by the hormone cortisol which occur independently of health behaviours. In other words, even if everyone in a deprived area enjoyed a tasty, nutritious diet and was able to be as active as is recommended, inequalities would remain between the deprived area and a neighbouring more affluent area with similar lifestyles. This social gradient will persist so long as we continue to live in societies that accord us different degrees of respect depending on gender, size, ethnicity, age, wealth, disability and other identity markers. Gender inequity, intersecting with other axes of oppression, thrives in societies constructed to uphold patriarchal ideology. In such a society, social mores normalize shame, devalue the feminine and nature (so teaching body-mind-Other-planet disconnect) and reward aggressive competition. It is the embodied impact of these dynamics that I describe as relational determinants of health. Relational

determinants of health strongly impact non-communicable diseases (NCDs). NCDs are usually seen as nutrition sensitive and/or weight related, and lifestyle remains the main focus of treatment and prevention work. But shining the torch on power, rather than lifestyle, better highlights the pathways that account for the social gradient (Aphramor, 2005).

Oppression is bad for our health.

The Politics of Health Narratives: Neo-liberalism and Lifestylism

Dietetics' dominant lifestyle mantra is reckless in disregarding this evidence. After reviewing what the approach values we can say that it champions a neo-liberal politics. Of course many of those advocating the lifestyle mantra, and so neo-liberalism, won't even have heard of the term neo-liberal and would vigorously deny they had any political agenda at all. Such protestations confirm an assimilatory political ignorance; they do not bolster the speakers' claims to be non-political. Being unaware of the impact of my actions (including speech acts and silences) does not annul their impact, and being unaware of how the politics I espouse are named does not stop me from occupying a political position. A neo-liberal worldview holds that we live in a world where all individuals are born with equal chances into systems that give us equal opportunity to thrive. Thriving is measured in individual terms largely around finance and health. Social standing is also seen as important and these factors interlink and together contribute to happiness. That thriving has something to do with how closely an individual's values and identity align with dominant ideals shows there is a flaw in the belief that we are all born with equal chances. Neo-liberal politics has no time or space or theory for the fact that racist, sexist, ageist, patriarchal, heterosexist, transphobic practices and attitudes, and all their bedfellows, and histories, exist. Therefore, neo-liberalism disregards the data showing how these attitudes and practices unequally impact health. There is no childhood abuse, pollution, rape or bad luck to contend with. Neo-liberalism talks about the nanny state and its ethics is one of efficient marketization. Feminism talks about social welfare and its ethics is one of justice.

Because a neo-liberal agenda constructs poor health as a function of greed, lack of home cooking and moral degeneration, and because fatness is so mindlessly stereotyped, anti-obesity campaigns give full rein to the very worst features of neo-liberalism, as we will see later.

Meanwhile, I will now turn to an alternative model for guiding the work of the public health dietitian.

Well Now: Rethinking The Role of the Dietitian in Promoting Public Health

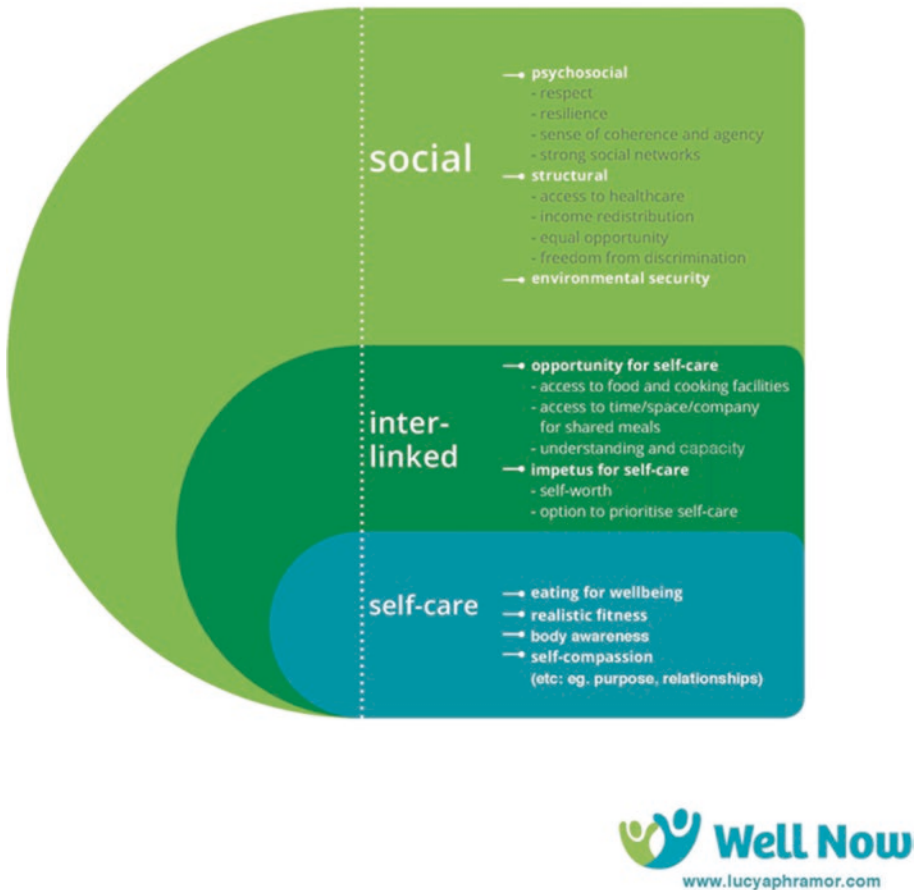


Fig. 1 Rethinking the role of the dietitian in public health

Rethinking the Role of the Public Health Dietitian

An alternative vision entails looking at health through a lens that brings into view injustice and then offers meaningful ways to redress the embodied, relational and material consequences of power imbalances. Figure 1 is provided by way of example to show how this translates to practice. According to UK figures, the relative contributions of each section to health outcomes would be around 5–25% for self-care and 75–95% for social factors (Chandola et al., 2006; Marmot, 2004).

This model reflects eco-feminist theory. Eco-feminism is a social movement driven by activist and academic activity that explicitly integrates ecological and feminist concerns. As with any social movement worth its salt, an agreement on values does not necessarily equate with consensus elsewhere. It follows that the points that count for me may not be everyone's idea of what eco-feminism stands for. Eco-feminist theory is important to Well Now for several reasons. One is for its critique of dualism which includes the "culture versus nature" dualism. This critique is given historical context by a gendered analysis of how it has been used to "justify" the denigration of women and nature. A second important point is the eco-feminist stance on deep ecology: that is, recognizing the need to travel some distance from the manifestation of a problem to find the root cause. Eco-feminism's commitment to situatedness, embodiment, language that matters, relationality, rigorous theory, inclusive knowledge co-creation and more, are also found in feminist theology, and align both with Well Now.

This model can be read through the lens of eco-feminism because it (1) integrates attention to power, including gendered power dynamics, (2) within a larger matrix that also incorporates the environment. It also invites a more nuanced feminist reading. Thus, rather than framing health inequalities as arising from ignorance or a lack of willpower, the lower segment of the diagram reflects a feminist ethics of care linked to relationality and embodiment. This stance recognizes the central role of self-compassion, strongly tied with self-worth, as an impetus for someone taking care of themselves. So too, self-care extends far beyond diet and physical activity. "Healthy behaviour" is not a moral obligation, and moreover, is something of a misnomer anyway, accounting for a relatively low percentage of health outcomes.

Within a reductionist agenda "self-care" might be construed as the suggestion that everyone has a duty to be healthy, and so to commit to self-care and "eat well, keep active". This is not what I'm saying. The freedom to set our own life agenda is central to good health and to feminism. This freedom, or sense of agency, impacts health because it reflects our positioning within power relations. As I have shown, power, and its lack, or abuses, can be thought of as a social determinant of health. Lack of power may be experienced as chronic stress, persistent anxiety and discrimination, for example. To reiterate, living with these experiences over time alters metabolism in ways that predispose someone to poorer health. Again, as mentioned previously, power imbalances can also be seen in material discrepancies such as damp housing, proximity to pollution, lack of opportunity to be safely active or eat preferred foods. Like any threat to human dignity this needs addressing. Material injustice is certainly relevant to health. It does not, by

itself, account for social inequalities in health: we need to keep power relations in the frame for this.

From a panoramic perspective, naming gender is important because patriarchal attitudes impact health. A study that examined the relation between levels of patriarchy and male health compared female homicide rates with male mortality within 51 countries. Researchers found that the higher the rate of female homicide, taken as an indicator of patriarchy, the higher the rate of male mortality. A country's gross domestic product explained a smaller percentage of the variance in male mortality rates between countries. (Stanistreet, Bambra, & Scott-Samuel, 2005). Patriarchy kills: researchers concluded that patriarchy is detrimental to health of oppressor and oppressed.

It becomes apparent that health narratives that ignore the body politic are premised on pseudo-science. Because they ignore power hierarchies they shore up the status quo through the impact of the stories they tell and the silences they foster. This means traditional health promotion is part of the problem of domination and health inequity, not the solution.

A Word on Fat Rights and Weight Science

There are many problems with mainstream fat talk, more correctly termed anti-fat talk. Chief among these is that these narratives overwhelmingly position fatness as a health issue. The act of pathologizing fatness, and the ideology this act emerges from, fuel fat stigma, body shame and internalized oppression. Stigma is a human rights issue. Anti-fat talk stereotypes fat people as less worthy than thin people. That the medicalized discourse on fat seeks "justification" for valorizing thinness on health grounds does not stop it from being stigmatizing. I go on to outline the flaws in weight science later but the take-home message is this: that anti-fat talk is always oppressive, and this holds independently of any pros or cons of dieting.

Fat stigma disproportionately disadvantages already marginalized groups who count more fat people among their communities, including women of colour, disabled people and people living in poverty. Wage penalties from fat stigma disproportionately disadvantage women, with some women faring worse than others (Aphramor, 2006). Fat stigma rests on stereotyping and incorporates fat/thin mind/body oppositions. In this way it circularly perpetuates the deep structures of dualism and invigorates body-shaming responses. Mainstream fat narratives detract from critical thinking, align with healthism and its corollary lifestyleism, and so ably serve neo-liberalism. These narratives do not embrace the agentic fat person, fat activism or the tacit knowledge of the fat body.

Fat is a feminist issue because righting fat discourse requires that we challenge neo-liberalism, reclaim the silenced stories of the body and disrupt binaries, all of which advance attitudes, beliefs, actions and structures that dismantle patriarchy.

Twinned with the myth that diet and exercise largely determine health is the belief that “thin equals healthy and fat equals unhealthy”. This is another engrained claim that falls down when we look at the data. We have already seen how the relational dimensions of poverty had more impact on diabetes than did the combined effect of fatness (measured as body mass index, BMI) and physical activity (Raphael et al., 2010). This is consistently borne out in the data. It is also true that for the vast majority of people, our self-care behaviours are more meaningful indicators of health than is BMI. And above and beyond BMI and self-care, social status overwhelmingly determines health. Using fatness, and hence BMI, as a reliable health indicator is premised on the political belief that “there is no such thing as society”: BMI does not allow for the embodied (metabolic) consequences of living with racism, stigma, privilege, nepotism, job insecurity and the non-material impact of poverty. Diet-related diseases like heart disease, hypertension and type 2 diabetes are also, and are more strongly, status-related diseases. Lifestyle and/or weight-focused approaches, like the sugar tax, or any anti-obesity campaign, or any (diet or non-diet) approach that erases the body politic, privilege the privileged, demonize the disadvantaged and disappear the socio-political routes of ill health at the same time as they foster body shame, size stigma and troubled eating.

I have said that it is a myth that fatness and thinness are reliable indicators of health status. This is not the same as saying there are no links between weight and health. Links between weight and health do exist: thinness and bone disease, type 2 diabetes and fatness are examples. In keeping with critical feminist sensibilities it is important we interrogate the links, distinguishing correlation from causation. For example, that fatness is linked with type 2 diabetes doesn't mean fatness causes type 2 diabetes. This criticality is vital if we are to avoid entrenching the attitudes of the fat-phobic society we live in and end up endorsing neo-liberal ideas and concretizing an oppressive, dualistic “fat is bad/thin is good” mindset.

I have also said that diet and exercise do not make much difference to population health outcomes when compared with the impact of relational factors. Again, this is not the same as saying diet and exercise make no difference to wellbeing. Instead, it places lifestyle in perspective in the bigger picture of health. Regardless of whether diet and exercise will significantly impact my experience of health and disease, I am glad of the opportunity to start most days with a scenic run and choose what I want to eat. Thus, the

role of food and activity in impacting someone's quality of life can be highly significant, even if it doesn't touch statistics on health outcomes. For people in difficult circumstances, self-care may especially impact quality of life through effecting immediate physiological and psychological wellbeing, and thus resilience.

There are two more inter-twined myths bolstering the thinness imperative of dietetics' public-health narratives. These are (1) that calorie reduction leads to sustained weight loss, and (2) that intentional weight loss has been shown to enhance health. In other words, dieting works. In fact, the message "just eat less, move more" is scientifically redundant: there is no study demonstrating calorie control as a reliable intervention for long-term weight loss. It is possible to write weight management guidelines by citing research that uses short-term studies as if short-term weight loss can be extrapolated to prove long-term weight loss is possible. But it is fraudulent and unethical (Aphramor, 2011, 2012; Bacon & Aphramor, 2011). Similarly, we realize the claims that dieting improves long-term health are fabricated as there are no groups who can be studied to provide the data. Nevertheless, pseudo-scientific studies purporting such benefits abound (Aphramor, 2011).

Weight is not a behaviour but a physical characteristic. As with other physical characteristics, like height, weight is very strongly influenced by genetics and also influenced by life circumstances. Weight and height show normal (Gaussian) distribution curves in a population. The research shows that when people eat to embodied signals and are realistically active they will stabilize at their set-point weight which may fall in or out of the BMI range considered "ideal". That people stabilize at any number of weights from across a wide spectrum on the body mass index (BMI) chart, including but not limited to those seen as "ideal", contradicts the belief that everyone will be thin if they just eat properly. Instead, it suggests a strong case for size bias to be framed as a diversity issue and for health narratives that challenge dieting beliefs. It also shows the tenacity of the body's homeostatic regulation. Set-point weight is linked to body fat regulation. In the same way that we have homeostatic mechanisms that regulate temperature, blood pressure and blood pH through neuroendocrine and behavioural pathways, we also have a mechanism for regulating percentage body fat. This mechanism works to return us to a certain body composition which is reflected in a more or less stable weight known as our set-point weight. Set-point can alter, notably upwards through repeated dieting. This is because the mechanism registers starvation and works to ameliorate our imminent demise, favouring fatness over thinness for survival and recalibrating set-point. Factors other than the physical property of a food

influence how two people might metabolize the same foods differently, and how the same person can metabolize similar foods differently at different times. Personal susceptibility to allergens is an obvious example; less well known are the data that dieters and non-dieters have different anticipatory hormonal responses to eating. In fact, high dietary restraint scores are associated with higher levels of urinary cortisol, a biological marker of stress (McLean, Barr, & Prior, 2001).

Moving from Reductionism to Relationality

If we navigate our food cupboard, and our way of being in the world, in a mechanistic way, we close down possibilities for the open-minded curiosity that fosters connection, compassion and criticality. The “shoulds” and “mustn’ts” that characterize diet mentality thinking spill over to frame everyday thought, including the internal monologues that powerfully influence our sense of self-worth. Attention to language can thus have far-reaching ramifications. We can consider how this speaker’s day might pan out differently with her newfound self-talk:

It’s the words you use, isn’t it? Like the trousers don’t suit me, not I’m too fat for the trousers. (Aphramor & Khasestgan, 2016)

Abdicating our embodied knowledge in favour of restrained eating is a symptom of the disconnect and judgement that underlie oppressive thinking; at its core is the corrosive nugget of shame. These quotes from two participants on a Well Now course show how valuing our embodied self is linked with a reduction in self-blame/increased self-worth (Aphramor & Khasestgan, 2016):

This course really helped me to realise it’s not only my silliness that I can’t stop eating, it’s lots of different things [...] and probably [allowed me] to know where it’s begun and find a way to deal with that.

I’ve come from a place of hating my body actually, and so ignoring it and just operating from the neck up. And so it’s about a whole new way of [connected] eating... I used to see it as food to keep me alive, to keep me going, I was very negative about how I looked at it and I treated my body as a machine.... So I never used to really respect it and ran it into the ground... Although it’s been focused around the food ... [Well Now] has sort of like impacted me on other levels as well.

Using Theories of Embodiment in Well Now

The drive to explicate and honour wordless knowledge held in and by the body—the tacit—so that it can be made meaningful has shaped my dietetic work. The tacit has enabled me to surface misgivings and subsequently dissonance or discontent and reset the rudder for Well Now. And Well Now teaches people the value of their body wisdom and the knowledge held in collectives and histories. Insisting on embodiment like this has at the same time challenged the established practice of dietetics and so required new theories. So much so that I named this divergence to encourage others to join in, coining the title Dietetic Theorist.

So, embodiment, context, language. I have said that to disrupt the hold of neo-liberalism and patriarchy dietitians need to use an approach that embraces each of these. In this next section I show how the Well Now approach puts this politics into practice when exploring fitness.

Realistic Fitness

When Deb Burgard and Pat Lyons published *Great Shape: The First Fitness Guide for Larger Women* in 1988 it was a trailblazer. For the first time, it was OK to be fat and not want to be thin, being fit was not a moral obligation, and your body could be listened to, not fought. Since then a burgeoning range of options for fat people from curvy yoga through to running and pole dancing (DePatie, 2016; Chastain, 2016) are available if you know (where) to look for them. As the websites show, these have created opportunity and shifted the discourse from one of health accountability to one of access and enjoyment. They have also raised awareness of the extent of verbal violence enacted against fat people exercising (Atchka, 2013).

I have impressed the need to move away from a focus on lifestyle (health-behaviour change), and also said that diet and exercise impact quality of life. How then can we work in a way that helps people discover new ways of thinking about self-care?

The Well Now concept of realistic fitness (Fig. 2), ‘advocates the advantages of intuitive movement alongside compassionate enquiry’. (Aphramor, 2016c) An aim is to help people to reframe movement as self-care. This means getting away from the imperative to consider being active “because it’s good for me” and instead asking the question “what will I feel better for?” There are several common challenges to work through when helping people make this shift. Encouraging people to give themselves permission to meet their own needs is



The Well Now Realistic Fitness Sequence

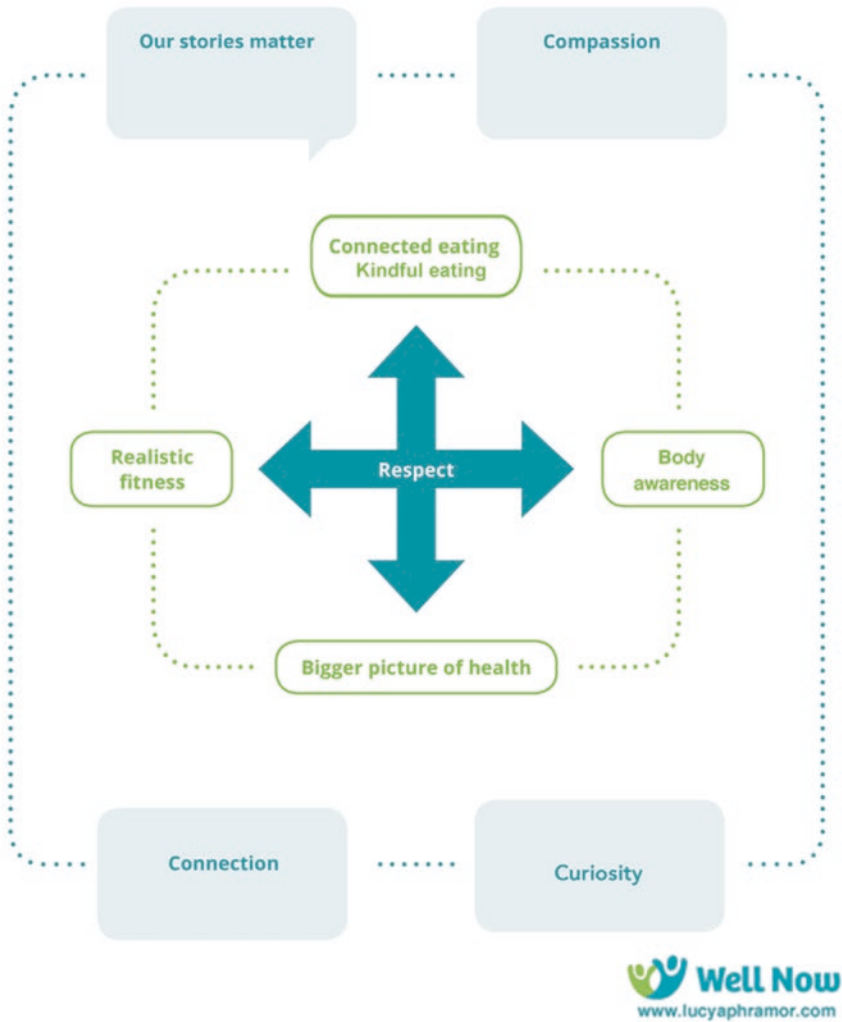


Fig. 2 Well Now realistic fitness

one, and is compounded by the (gendered) hurdle of feeling selfish for having/meeting needs. It can seriously detract from enjoyment when the chief purpose of exercise is to burn calories or work hard/sweat profusely for health reasons. This narrative can be interrupted by exploring an altogether gentler approach that underscores pleasure, whether this is through solitude, company, fun, goals, being outside or so on. Context is provided by exploring other “feel-good factors”, expanding a vocabulary and theory of wellbeing beyond diet and exercise to include social capital, reciprocity, networks, hobbies and suchlike (Aphramor, 2015). Figure 3 shows how realistic fitness sits within Well Now.

Waymarkers for Well Now

Well Now - joining the dots between **self-care** and **social justice**



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Fig. 3 Waymarkers of Well Now

You'll also see that the Well Now philosophy names body awareness as one of the four stand-alone pieces of the health puzzle. In health schemas rooted in neo-liberalism, and those that valorize rationality and the masculine over the rational (embodied knowledge—the tacit, the erotic, emotions, sensations, etc.) and the feminine, body awareness is more often noted for its absence. I discuss eating and movement within a framework that is embodied, relational and intentionally political but it would be easy enough to crunch this into a health-behaviour change imperative given the right measure of naivety. It is a lot harder to impose an instrumental discursive shape on the concept of body awareness. Asserting body awareness as integral to wellbeing is important for eco-feminist theorizing. This is because it explicitly disrupts the hegemonic patriarchal belief that the mind is divisible from, and vastly superior to, corporal and collective (non-rational) knowledge. Keeping bodies in sight encourages us to dismantle the hold of “neutral” reductionist science and its mechanistic mindset. At a personal level, being grounded in our bodies helps us take care of ourselves; at a social level, it favours interconnectedness and peace building (Lin, Oxford, & Brantmeier, 2013).

Connected Eating

Well Now teaches the concept of connected eating as a way of thinking about food and eating that makes sense of body-mind-social (including nutrition science) variables and the links between them. Because it relies on body cues, values our experiences and the context of our lives, it can be described as embodied, relational and intentionally political. It sits within an overarching vision that keeps both self-care and social justice in view. As such, it aligns with the foundational presupposition of Well Now, that our work must build peace, be justice enhancing. This is achieved in several ways. An explicit focus on situated eaters, together with naming the embodied and behavioural sequelae of oppression and trauma, keeps social determinants in view and help people link the personal and political and health. So too, the connected-eating framework is built around a core belief in human worth: it teaches that our dignity and our right to respect are innate, that they are not dependent on our eating behaviours, health status, intent to change or any other condition (Aphramor, 2016d). Rather than pursue any goal of health-behaviour change, or conversion to a particular way of thinking about eating or weight or health, we can instead meet the other in a place of mutual respect, one where we respond to their struggles and resiliencies with outrage and compassion and where they are, perhaps, unburdened of any self-blame experienced because of

poor health or eating issues. Witnessing one woman's "aha" moment as she learnt that diabetes was not mainly explained by lifestyle and was strongly influenced by psycho-social circumstances springs to mind.

The connected-eating framework also offers us a more appropriate way to respond to people with gut problems related to the sequelae of trauma. There is a strong link between functional gut disease, such as irritable bowel syndrome, and abuse (in Aphramor, 2016d). Narratives that contain this awareness support a sense of coherence as people are better able to make sense of their experiences and so better able to meet needs and manage. Further, in breaking the silence on trauma and embodiment we commit to a socio-politically engaged nutrition practice.

'Connected eating starts out curiously' reads the personal Think Paper. Ensuing paragraphs lead someone through pathways that help them figure out if they are turning to food to meet a mainly physical, or a mainly emotional, hunger (need) (Fig. 4). It then offers suggestions for helping them make links between what they eat and how feel, including by naming body sensations and feelings and using hunger and appetite to guide eating choices.

What's different about this course is it helps you to tune in. It gives you the tools and techniques to tune in to how you feel about, when you've eaten certain foods, how does it make you feel...

The stuffs [children's biscuits] all there, it's just the same ... and if I want one, I'll have it, but I don't think about it on a daily basis. Whereas before ... especially when I was tired or emotional, that would be the first thing I'd turn to. But I think what I learned is it won't solve whatever the issue is ... if you're emotional I'd go for a walk really. I'd take the dog and stomp across the field or whatever. And you know I find that, that's really helped.

I think it just kind of wiped your slate clear of everything that you'd been brought up with food-wise, silly things that seemed to take over your life without you realising.

It's about emotions, how you think, how you feel, how you deal with it everyday life, and then how food comes into that. (Aphramor & Khasteganan, under review)

For people who structure their lives around food rules, the idea of allowing in knowledge that is contingent and potentially messy can be both liberating and terrifying. Binary thinking can be hard to give up not least because of the spurious certainty it offers. The promise is that if we stick to the rules, eat the good foods, keep fit, work hard, that we will be rewarded with health, thinness, happiness and promotion. Here, in the heady grounds of the just-world ideology, life is a level playing field and everyone has an equal chance of

The Well Now Connected Eating Flowchart

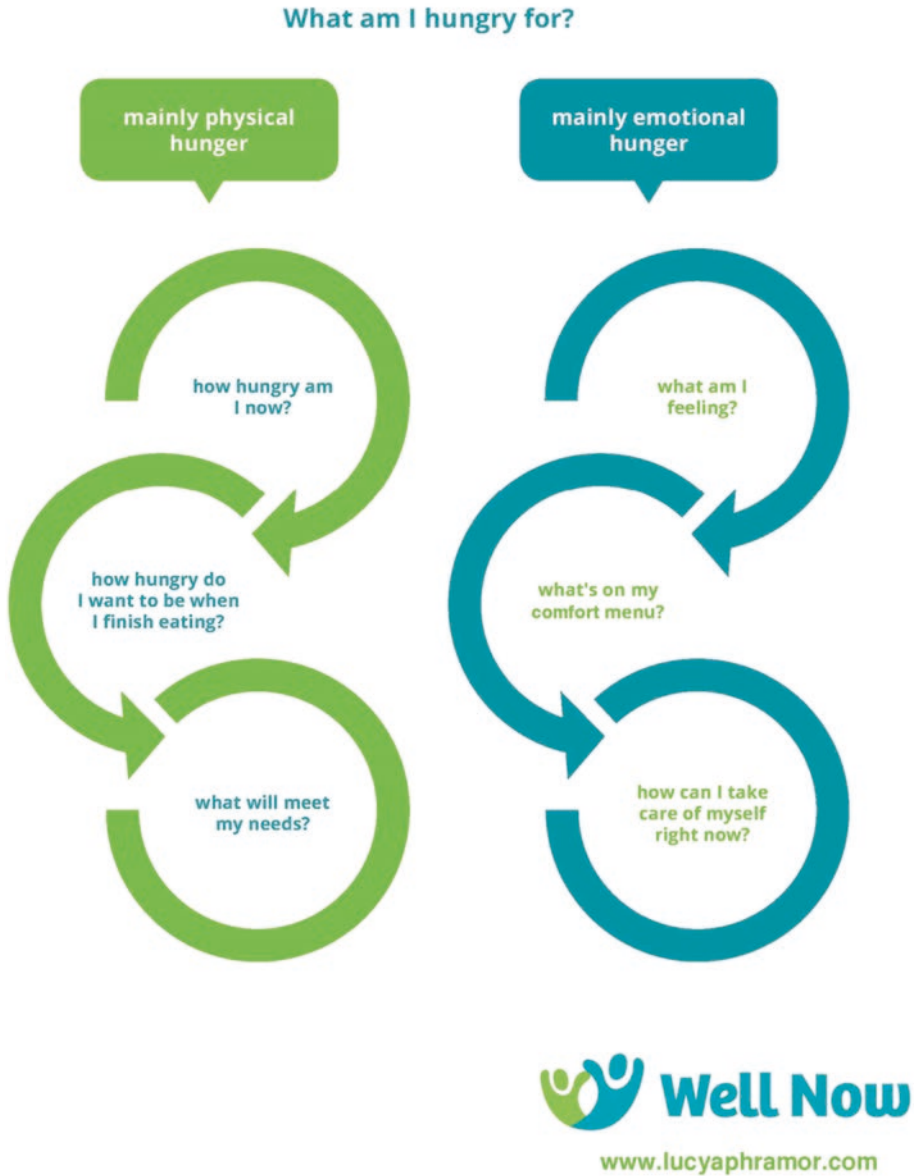


Fig. 4 Well Now connected-eating flowchart

getting to the top and being healthy. Here, patriarchy, heteronormativity, racism, gender prescription, shame and power imbalances leading to chronic stress do not exist. Registering body knowledge can be a difficult negotiation for other reasons when someone has learnt to live in disconnect because of trauma.

Praxis: A Life in Theory

By now you'll have a picture, literally and metaphorically, that framing and reframing ideas is a device integral to Well Now. A range of lists, acronyms, concepts and activities comprise Well Now to affirm my strong belief that helping people make sense of things is a vital step in therapeutic work. The theory supporting this practice comes from the researcher Antonovsky who posed the question: why are people well? His theory derived from work that explored how and why women who had survived the Holocaust went on to thrive. He found that improved health was linked with being able to make sense of things, feeling able to cope, and valuing ourselves (Antonovsky, 1996). What's notable is that there is no mention of health behaviours. Contrary to ascendant healthist beliefs, Antonovsky's work reiterates the fact that our wellbeing resides in relationships, self-worth and context. It also flags up the necessity for sound knowledge creation (which means not ignoring context, social factors, trauma), described by Antonovsky as comprehensibility, in supporting wellbeing.

Coming across Antonovsky's work put another piece of the puzzle in place for me. I realized that in developing Well Now I was retrospectively setting my own journey to words, that the lesson plans and background reading I had written named and structured the concepts that had proved useful for me in stumbling through from disconnect and shame, to connection and self-worth. If I can share what I learnt then I have redeemed something from the lost years, made meaning from the pain. The process started with acceptance and compassion, and involved figuring out how to make sense of things (which needed a new body awareness), and then learning how to manage or change them. In other words, it is what Antonovsky refers to as finding a sense of coherence. When people comment on the enthusiasm I bring to my work I suspect they sense a passion for sharing something that, from first-hand knowledge, I know has transformational potential. That, and wanting to share what I learnt as a measure of gratitude at coming through and to bear witness for those who do not make it.

It was only when I began to starve myself second time round in my late twenties that I went for help. The first episode of anorexia came to a halt when I ended up in hospital with complications. That was during my first year at university. I had excelled academically and in athletics and was in deep trouble emotionally: 'Body of trophies and atrophied spirit, when we were thin there were egg shells for treading on everywhere' is how I would much later recall that time in a poem. It was in hospital that 'I realised I was killing myself. And it was never intentionally meant as suicide. So I ate. One brave dollop of chaos after the next.' But this second time round eating disorders were more recognized; I knew I was in trouble and I had managed to ask for help from a feminist sports psychologist. Then I moved and realized I had to find an eating disorders counsellor; "therapist" was still a very alien term to me. I remember not knowing the unwritten rules about arriving dead on time, not knowing what to expect and not ever having it explained, but mostly I remember a conversation after my first appointment with the friend I was staying with. It went like this: 'What did she say?' And my reply: 'She said that starving myself was the least of my problems.' I mention this because while establishing equanimity around food and eating was a relief of course, and healing, and liberating, it was only one part of what would turn out to be a much longer journey. While intent on being thin, I'm not sure that I over-exercised significantly more than any of my non-anorexic team mates, but I can now see how running functioned to keep me in mind-body disconnect and out of relationship. I stopped starving myself decades ago. I have run with no agenda beyond wanting to be out running for umpteen years. But this didn't mean that I was fully occupying my body or at peace with myself. These shifts came later, and continue. It behoves us to remember this as practitioners: that it is quite possible to overcome severe eating problems and still be living with body shame and disconnect. And it was years before I would benefit from the theory or practice of self-compassion and self-acceptance. This is why Well Now is so concerned with finding space for the tacit and our stories and compassion. Why is it the practitioner's role to encourage critical engagement, to help people value their experiences and to prompt folk to discover things for themselves, at their own pace? Because I know, in all senses, just how powerful this approach is in facilitating movement from stuckness and despair to growth.

What matters is now. Is that I got to this place, among you today, where my past has a face and is named What I came here to say is These are my truths. I'm through with the old ways, the hate. Tell me your story. These are my truths. Tell me your story. These are my truths. Tell me your story. And bring on the Body

in dialogue! Count on this: not calories, judgement, shame. Some day whoever you are, however you are battling with fat thin feelings food, your haywire moods, already craving your next hit, hoodwinked by gender prescriptions, half-living cooped in the cave of the too real fears of being yourself in a world that clips the wings of difference with invalidation, ridicule, a brick Drum us, dance us, draw us Your story. I'm telling you mine because its narrative is a drive is a strong hand out-stretched to reach you when you're casting around for an extra thread for your weft—take it—The thing that prevails is lovewe are and always were perfect-imperfect enoughand each of us deserving of needs, kindness, feelings, dreams ~

Finally, I get desire, presence, connection—can report back that what the lived-in body offers is worth the screaming free-fall risking all for it. Oh yes. It absolutely is.Come, Body, behold this awesomeness, this dawnAs it stuns us from our slumber.

(Walker, 2015)

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Lucy Aphramor is a radical dietitian who is internationally recognised for her contributions to developing socially aware nutrition practise through her innovative Well Now approach. Her work is concerned with dismantling the deep roots of injustice as it manifests in knowledge creation and power relations and impacts our embodied biographies and thus shapes our health and opportunity. She works in practise, training and consultancy and is also a critically acclaimed spoken word artist, performing as The Naked Dietitian.

'Be Like Water': Reflections on Strategies Developing Cross-Cultural Programmes for Women, Surfing and Social Good

Easkey Britton

Introduction

As momentum around surfing builds with over 35 million surfers globally and the sport rapidly growing in developing countries, how can we better understand the benefits of surfing and acknowledge its differential effect on minority participants, in particular for females, in diverse cultural and economic settings? Female voices especially from emerging surf cultures in developing countries are largely absent from current discourse on surf culture and development in mainstream media, academic work and funded development programmes. And yet, surfing is proving to be a powerful force for social change. Through the delivery of a surf initiative in Iran with young pioneering sportswomen, surfing has become a sport initiated by women and a medium to connect across gender, class, ethnic and religious divides within the country. This is set within the context of a growing number of "surf social good" (SSG) strategies and initiatives, which are representative of a women's movement in surfing that envisions surfing as a vehicle for social change.

The chapter draws from my experience facilitating a cross-cultural surf programme in Iran since 2013 through my role as a surfer and founder of the voluntary-led initiative Like Water, and explores some of the opportunities and challenges for the potential of surfing as a medium for social impact. Like Water was born from a realization of the need to deepen my understanding of what I'd

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experienced through the initiation of surfing in Iran and its ability to connect in the most unexpected ways. The turning point for me was sharing the surfing experience with other like-minded young women in Iran, who became the first surfers in their country. It has inspired a shift in my relationship with surfing and how it could be used, as a vehicle or platform, for creating connection and addressing deeper social and ecological issues. At the core of my work is understanding the impact of surfing and the sea, especially for women and girls, and its transformative and creative potential. Although our collaboration with the fledgling surf community in Iran is ongoing, the role of Like Water has expanded beyond Iran to work with other people, institutes and organizations around the world, a growing “surf for social good” tribe.

In Iran, female millennials (also known as the millennial generation) in particular are playing an important change-making role in surfing, an emerging trend visible in many other lifestyle and extreme sports globally (Thorpe, 2014). However, the issue of contested space (Britton, Olive, & Wheaton, *in press*), the impact of shifting values and power dynamics as a lifestyle sport emerges and is formalized (Wheaton, 2013), and the potential of social media to disrupt dominant (mis)representations of women who surf (Olive, 2015) are all factors that influence how this change happens and the uneven impacts/benefits experienced by various social groups of “women who surf”, too often represented as a homogeneous whole in mainstream surf media (Olive, 2016).

This is a self-reflective account. I begin by first exploring my own position, bias and the multiple identities I occupy as surfer, scholar and activist and how this influences my work and interpretation of these experiences. Drawing from a rich case study and my direct experiences in Iran, the chapter discusses the role SSG initiatives can play in bridging socio-cultural divides and addressing the challenges of “coming ashore” again where rules and norms have been built and protected for centuries if not millennia. How the more sensuous qualities of surfing are used to create alternative and transformative ways of learning and doing surfing that challenge dominant surfing identities and practices are discussed. In conclusion, the impact of opening up to and creating accessibility to other possibilities through a lifestyle sport like surfing as a way to challenge social and gender barriers are outlined.

Who Am I? Researcher Position and Methodology

Being invited to contribute this chapter about my experience firstly as an “activist” and someone who is “doing” social good raised some interesting questions for me about my role and position as surfer, activist and scholar.

There has been a shift in my position both as surfer and scholar as the depth of my experiences has grown year on year through my relationship with others, especially since my first visit to Iran in 2010. This brings to mind the concept of "betweenness" described by feminist scholar/geographer Rose (1997, p. 313) as, "between the 'field' and the 'not-field', (...) between researcher and researched." My deep involvement with the process of the co-production of a 'surf space' in Iran and being culturally immersed are similar to the experiences of other researchers/scholars in sports culture, including surfing (Olive, 2013; Wheaton, 2013; Roy, 2013; lisa-hunter, 2012; Evers, 2009), which influence interpretations of our experience. Taking an auto-ethnographic and participatory activist approach (lisa-hunter et al., 2013) I began to see below the surface of my experiences as both surfer/participant and researcher/observer, and the interplay and inherent dynamic tensions of these multiple identities, not unlike the movement of waves through the surface tension or 'skin' of the ocean itself.

Other feminist sport scholars speak of their own participatory endeavours in making sense of sport and leisure and working towards some kind of praxis. For Mansfield (2007) the experience is one of 'involved-detachment' in fitness cultures and for Thorpe (chapter in this book) it is one defined by a form of 'field-crossing' of action sports enthusiasts in activism; moving 'across fields with different social rules, norms and values'. Bourdieu's (1994) notion of 'habitus' has also been useful for understanding the disposition of my own mind and how it has been shaped by the social constructs of my world. Tim Ingold's notion of 'meshwork' of how we move through the world (Ingold, 2008, 2011) has allowed me to reflexively explore my own process of self-awareness and positionality through the complex social and cultural weave of my life history and heritage and how it has shaped my habitus. For example: being born to a pioneering surfing father and a mother dedicated to addressing the issue of violence against women in her psychotherapeutic work; raised in a remote coastal region in Ireland on the border of Northern Ireland, and exposed in my youth to the political conflict of the so-called Troubles between Protestants and Catholics (McKittrick & McVea, 2002); coming from a place with a centuries-old history of colonial oppression under British rule and, after becoming an independent Republic, the oppressive rule of the Catholic Church in all affairs of life (Kennedy, 1996). The not dissimilar parallels with the Middle East and Iran's own recent history with the birth of the Islamic Republic after a people's revolution in 1979 and the subsequent rule of Islam in all aspects of life are not lost on me. Furthermore, an added complexity is the veneer of Christianity that overlaid an ancient pre-Christian belief system

and worldview in Ireland and how that mirrors Iran's own rich pre-Islamic culture and heritage.

In Bourdieu's terms, my habitus has been 'malleable' throughout this journey and has influenced how I've experienced and understood my environment. For example, my shift from competitive surfer to one more interested in the potential for surfing to create connection and even allow for a more collaborative process through which to effect change within surfing (I revisit this later in the chapter). The shift from full-time scholar to one more actively engaged in the processes I was observing, although being considered a "social activist" has been an uneasy fit. Similar to Hargreaves (2000), I'm aware of the tension between my position as part of a privileged female group acting as a "voice" for women of different cultures. Igantieff's question, 'Whom do activists represent and how far the right to represent extends' (2001, p. 10 as in: Thorpe, chapter in this book) led me to consider how we might create space to enable other voices to be heard, to navigate and reconcile these inner and outer tensions and to consider what is meant by "activist". Lisahunter describes an activist as, 'a participant working within a collective for shared values, understandings and action (...) working deliberately for change' (lisahunter et al., 2013, p. 8). What then are the 'shared values' that exist within surfing and how might they be realized?

My own approach has evolved from an open-ended and organic rather than determined process (see also: Ally, 2010), following an unexpected series of insights and awakenings that comes from taking myself out of my comfort zone, and cultivating a more self-reflective practice. It's hard to distil what has become an ever-evolving journey; a meshwork of relationships, a diversity of interwoven perspectives, breaking barriers, creating new ways of knowing, doing and learning. At the core is a focus on understanding the impact of surfing and the sea, especially for women and girls and its potential to empower. I use here a feminist conception of "empowerment" to mean not power-over but power-to, or in other words, 'the capacity to transform oneself and others' (Allen, 2014, n.a.), whilst acknowledging the complexities of inherent power dynamics at play in a patriarchal and male-dominated society.

In the following section I draw upon the grassroots emergence of surfing in Iran, a process that highlights an informal mode of doing and learning surfing challenging dominant, contemporary surfing practice and culture. I discuss the impact of its initiation in a very misunderstood part of the world through women and the opportunities and challenges this presents. The chapter concludes by suggesting that seemingly fragmented initiatives and moments within surf for development/social good are building into a social change movement, evidenced by recent events such as the independently organized

Surf + Social Good Summit in Bali, Indonesia in 2015, an action-focused conference that brought together a diverse mix from across sectors (enterprise, non-profit, academia, civil society) to facilitate open dialogue, debate and collaborative, creative processes for how surfing might be used as a tool or medium to 'connect and bring about positive impact' and new ways of knowing and doing surfing. I suggest that although there is great potential for positive change through surfing, it is merely the tool not the antidote to the pressing social issues of our age (disconnect, inequality, lack of understanding leading to conflict, etc.). How it is used as a tool for social good is also based on the assumption that surfing is inherently "good" or beneficial. I argue for a more self-reflective and critical approach such as that taken by the Surfing Social conference hosted by the University of Waikato in New Zealand in early 2016, that built upon some of the outcomes of the Surf + Social Summit, seeking to challenge dominant surfer identities as masculine, white, Western, heterosexual, competitive/non-recreational, shortboard surfer and the 'processes of exclusionary power' at play within surfing spaces and places (Evers, 2009; Olive, 2013; Olive, McCuaig, & Phillips, 2015, p. 258; Waitt, 2008).

Iran: New Ways of Doing/Learning Surfing

'What was the initial motivation for it all?' and 'Why Iran?' are the most common questions I am asked when others learn about surfing in Iran as a sport started by women. I was coming out of an intense period of professional competitive surfing and initially it was simply the sense of adventure at the invitation of a surf photographer through a mutual friend who proposed the trip, combined with my shock at how little I knew about the region. My then sponsors (a surf industry brand) weren't supportive; doubtful of the ability to "find waves", fearful of Iran's portrayal as the "axis of evil" in Western media and seeing little brand relevance in a country that required me to be fully covered in public. Were we perpetuating the surf travel myth of the "discovery" of empty, unexplored waves? Perhaps. And yet, in the end we were two women (myself and French filmmaker, Marion Poizeau), one with her surfboard and one with a small film camera, who made it to Iran for that first trip in 2010. It became an opportunity to confront my own assumptions about a very misunderstood part of the world, where certain "freedoms" are visibly restricted for women. Surfing in a way became the vehicle or lens offering me the "freedom" or privilege of travel. Since then I've been on an unexpected journey woven tightly into the story of how surfing was initiated and continues to develop in the country. In a way, as the comment below illustrates, the cata-

lyst was social media as a storytelling platform and medium to connect with other like-minded young women in lifestyle and boardsports in Iran.

In Oct 2012, I was searching on google to find somewhere around Iran for surfing, and unexpectedly, I saw BBC's article: 'Irishwoman Easkey Britton makes surf waves in Iran'. It was a dream come true, especially when you have a chance to do something you have always loved in your own country.—female snowboarder, Tehran.

Iran is distinct from its Middle Eastern neighbours in that the culture is largely Persian, not Arabic. The society is made up of a complex weave or intersection of gender, class, ethnicity, religion, history and geopolitics, and even geography and climate. The region where an informal surfing space is now emerging is in the Sistan-Baluchistan province, in the south-eastern part of the country—a highly conservative border region considered one of the most marginalized, socially deprived areas. That said, the coastal city of Chabahar, the main “gateway” to the surfing beaches to the east, is a “free-trade zone” and an area of considerable, if mixed, wealth with increasing investment to develop the sea-trade port. However, it remains an area considered dangerous due to its proximity to the border of Pakistan, tribal conflict and its notoriety as a smuggling route.

Those who participate in surfing represent a diverse and gendered mix with both middle-class Iranians from urban areas and local, low-income coastal Baluch (an ethnic minority in Iran) participating together. As noted in Britton, Wheaton, and Olive ([in press](#)), it is too early to say if the non-traditional, informal qualities of surfing will continue to support this diversity and inclusivity, especially in light of recent moves to formalize the sport by nationally (ISA, 2016), and that is beyond the scope of this paper. However, I do want to highlight how this social mixing impacts women and more so, who these women are who are able to participate in surfing and the importance of considering the intersection of class, ethnicity and religion with gender. This section will briefly consider youth culture and identities more generally, in particular how visual identities and representations are portrayed in social media as well as the role of the *hijab* (veil), before presenting a specific surf/water-based programme aimed at engaging women from mixed backgrounds in Chabahar, representing an alternative way of doing and learning surfing.

For the majority of Iran's population born after the 1979 revolution there is an active urban youth culture in the country. Action sports are starting to have an impact amongst Iran's youth, especially the urban middle-to-upper classes. The appeal lies in representations of a counter-culture through lifestyle

sports that offers a form of escapism synonymous with freedom and self-expression. In Iran as with lifestyle sports in other countries (Evers, 2015; Olive, 2015; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014; Thorpe, 2008, 2016; Wheaton & Beal, 2003), social media, despite much of it being blocked and regulated, is an important tool for how young Iranians access and share information about popular board sports like snowboarding, wakeboarding, skateboarding and other lifestyle sports, even hip-hop dance (the first hip-hop dance competition was sanctioned by the authorities in 2013). Meier (2005) argued that it is from exposure to counter-stereotypical images and the delinking of negative associations with these images that change can happen and gender and social inequalities can be challenged and even transformed. That said, the challenges a young Baluch woman from a traditional and conservative low-income family faces are vastly different to those of a young woman from a more wealthy and liberal background in Tehran. It is typically women from wealthier, urban backgrounds who actively participate in lifestyle and board sports in Iran, including surfing. And yet, these women have an important role to play in showing other possibilities that exist and creating a new visual identity and wider acceptance for others to follow. Instagram is the most visual of social media platforms and is also the only international social media platform that is not officially blocked with an estimated 10 million users in the country in 2014. It is significant in allowing young people independence in promoting these activities and representations of their own experiences (Olive, 2015). According to social marketing scholar Layton (2014), social media can enhance the evolution of behaviours and ideas. In surfing, it has led to the creation of informal, grassroots groups on Instagram such as We Surf in Iran and Borders of Hope, both founded by some of the first female surfers of Iran.

The award-winning documentary on Iran's first female surfers, *Into the Sea* (directed by Marion Poizeau), highlights how the "surf hijab" (full covering of the female body, including the head) is a key factor for the acceptance of women in surfing and their ability to actively participate. The veil or hijab is often the centre of discussions that arise when people first learn about the story of women surfing in Iran. The debate centres around the veil as a symbol of oppression. Although I do not feel in a position to speak to the complexity of what the veil represents, I do feel it necessary to address this binary/dualistic and over-simplistic view of the veil-as-oppression and de-veiling-as-liberation that dominates in Western feminism, literature and mainstream media. Middle Eastern feminist scholars have written in depth on the topic and how the veil is used as a political and socio-economic tool at times of rapid social change (Bullock, 2002; Hoodfar, 1992; Jafri, 1998). In Western media the issue of veiling is framed largely as a hegemonic symbol of oppression of all

Muslim women, and de-veiling as a symbol of women's liberation (BBC, 2016; Dimond, 2016; *Huffington Post*, 2016; *The Guardian*, 2016). However, de-veiling, Iranian scholar Hoodfar (1992, p. 10) argues, does not bring with it liberation for women without other legal and social-economic strategies, and in some circumstances can make the situation of women in society even more difficult. Hoodfar highlights the importance of understanding the intersectionality of Iranian women living in Iran, using the period of forced de-veiling to show how traditional, urban, working-class women suffered the most, losing their independence and sociability (1992, p. 10) or risking harassment from police on the street for choosing to wear the hijab. Today, it remains a complex issue in the Islamic Republic of Iran where veiling for women has been compulsory by law since the 1979 revolution.

The 'Be Like Water' Programme

In the film *Into the Sea*, a Haji (Islamic religious leader) commented on the importance of the connection to nature especially water, as outlined in the Quran, for the health, physical activity and mental and spiritual wellbeing of both men and women. This section highlights a surf programme developed by Like Water aimed at tapping into these more sensuous, therapeutic or healing qualities of the sea, similar to studies in the emerging field of 'blue space' (Depledge & Bird, 2009; White et al., 2010). Foley and Kistemann (2015, p. 157) define blue space as, 'health-enabling places and spaces, where water is at the centre of a range of environments with identifiable potential for the promotion of human wellbeing'.

Since 2013, there has been a rapid uptake of surfing in the country with the co-organizing of cross-cultural surfing and skill-share workshops where my role was as facilitator. This has happened every summer from 2013 to 2016 during the surf season in Ramin, a small fishing port and beach 6 km to the east of the region's main coastal city, Chabahar. I have worked in collaboration with members of the board sports community in Tehran and the water sports community of Chabahar, often co-led by some of Iran's first female surfers, and the local community of Ramin. In 2014, the first five-day surf workshop had just under 40 participants. By 2015, two three-day workshops were organized back to back with over 80 participants, mostly from Tehran and other major cities, and members of the local Baluch community. These workshops are mixed gender and approximately 60% of beginners and 40% of intermediates¹ were female in 2015. However, the majority were from higher-income, urban backgrounds and well educated. Encouraging/enabling the participa-

tion of local women and girls from the ethnic Baluch community has been almost impossible until recently.

The co-production of a surf space at Ramin has been shaped by new modes of “doing/learning” surfing that focus on the process of play. A shift from individualistic and competitive modes of surfing to a more collaborative approach creates greater opportunities for engaging female participants. For example, beginner lessons were taught by those who first learned to surf in 2013/14 and every beginner learned to surf with a “mentor”, someone who had learned to surf the previous year. This allowed new female participants to learn from other females who were able to develop their teaching and leadership capabilities. Building on this, a pilot programme for women and girls learning to surf for the first time was co-developed with myself and Iran’s first female triathlete, Shirin Gerami, and initiated in 2015 and 2016 as a way to begin to address some of the barriers to female participation, such as the issue of participation in physical activity in mixed gender and public spaces like the beach at Ramin for those from conservative families, and the sense of being both overwhelmed and distracted when experiencing a new and challenging activity in a public space with many onlookers.

The Be Like Water programme was created as an approach for women and girls to experience surfing for the first time in a safe and trusting space, focusing on the feeling and relationship with water and waves. The idea is to challenge the dominant modes by which surfing is learned (typically in large group settings, focusing on the more technical aspects and “steps” of riding a surfboard, first demonstrated and practised on land through instruction, before ever entering the sea/water). This programme aims to break down the process of learning to surf by facilitating a greater body-self-nature connection, challenging dualistic notions of otherness and separateness. The focus is on exploring the relationships with our body, breath and water in a more relational, sensuous and sensorial way (Iisahunter & Emerald, 2016). It began with a private session for women only at the local swimming pool arranged through contacts with local Baluch women. This also made it possible to engage more easily with women and girls locally. In 2015, the group represented a social mix of 10–12 women from various backgrounds and professions, with mixed ethnicity from both the local Baluch community and other Persian cities, and varying ages (most were in their 20s and 30s, along with a young teenage girl and her mother). First, we got immersed and became intimate with still water, before moving to the sea to “meet” the waves, embodying their movement and energy by engaging all the senses, and finally introducing a surfboard to the mix. As participants explained, this process-

oriented and engaged learning experience helped build self-confidence among women and girls before being introduced to waves;

When you get in the water, you go to another world. I think surfing is like having two worlds at the same time, it's amazing! (female surfer/snowboarder, Tehran, 2015)

When you are in the ocean you can feel the power of something stronger than you, and when you get your first wave, it feels like you can do anything. (female surfer, Chabahar, 2015)

This immersive experience of different patterns and textures of water, wave and wind led to a language of the senses, or an ability to express what is felt and what is known beyond words. There are similarities between this approach and dance movement therapy, where the importance of creating a safe, supportive and accepting space is emphasized as well as the development of perceptiveness and body awareness for the dancer and a renewed relationship with his/her environment (Samaritter, 2009). It is as Samaritter describes the therapeutic process of dance, 'to experience holistically the situation in all our fibres and senses'. (2009, p. 36) Rather than trying to assert control or dominance, *Be Like Water* teaches participants how to develop their own way of moving their bodies with water and the movement of waves, like water dancing rather than surfing. This programme embodies Humberstone's notion of an 'ethnography of mind-body-environment' (Humberstone, 2013, p. 568), and highlights how that might lead to a more relational way of being and becoming within our watery (marine) ecosystems that seeks to dissolve the divide between body, self, senses and nature (Alaimo, 2012; Neimanis, 2012, 2013).

In 2016, the programme again successfully engaged eight participants in a private pool session. The majority were women and girls living locally including two women from the Baluch minority group. These two women (aged in their early 20s) were volunteers with the Red Crescent (Red Cross equivalent in the Middle East) who had never been in the water before. The other participants included two mothers with their two teenage daughters who lived and worked in Chabahar and two women from Tehran. Before the session the group shared what water means to them:

Being in the water makes me feel calm.
Water is life, it cleanses.
(water) takes away my tiredness.

After each exercise participants were invited to share how they felt and if they noticed any changes:

I notice I feel lighter and calmer.

It's easier when I relax my body, I feel more relaxed.

At first I was afraid. Now I've done what I thought I couldn't do.

One of the young women from the Red Crescent, after experiencing difficulty having water cover her ears, tried again with the guidance and support of her peers and a facilitator in the water with her. When she resurfaced she remarked how different and beautiful sounds are under water. Through this experience she overcame her fear of water, and learned how her experience of her whole body changes when in water. Some of the women chose to go surfing that evening, and were asked, what does the sea mean to them? The response from one of the "surfing mothers" highlights the depth and richness of her connection to the sea as well as how it can act as a powerful living metaphor for the values we seek in everyday life:

It's purity. The sea is honest. It is truth, without discrimination. It may be vicious, it may be calm but it's always honest about how it is.—(female, Chabahar, 2016)

The accessibility and entry into something like surfing is different for males and females, with greater limitations for female participants in terms of clothing, creating a "safe space", and social acceptance especially for Baluch women and girls from more conservative backgrounds. However, this also raises the question around masculinities, and how male participants cope with fears. How they conform to social and cultural norms and how that differs between social and ethnic classes, is an area for further consideration and study.

Conclusion

As a tool for social good, surfing by itself does not create social change. Rather, it opens a space of possibility, a space that didn't exist before. This disruption of space (Nolin, 2006) can lead to a shift in identities and relationships or what Georgina Roy calls a 'social rupture' (as cited in Wheaton, 2013, p. 58) that challenges existing social norms and relations and creates opportunities for an alternative process of being in relationship with our bodies, selves, others and our environment. The case study of women's surfing in Iran highlights the importance of understanding the process of how

and for whom. One of the factors critical for “success” has been a more values-based approach to delivering surfing that emphasizes play, collaboration, self-expression, sensory perception and sensuous experience over the more dominant individualistic, masculine and competitive or technical-based approach to learning how to surf. This has allowed for a greater sense of freedom for minority participants in particular, as well as a greater sense of autonomy and leadership.

Another critical factor is connection and how we create spaces that allow for connection across different cultures, spaces and sectors: a way of breaking out of silos. These are spaces that allow not only for self-exploration, but also challenge and critique why we do what we do, how we do it, and perhaps most importantly, reflecting on who “we” represents. There are many examples of this happening already with a coming together of fragmented moments into a real movement in the Surf for Social Good space (see also: Britton, 2015a). For example, in addition to Like Water, female-initiated and -led events such as the Surfing Social Hui conference in New Zealand early 2016, the second Institute for Women Surfers in California, November 2015, the Surf + Social Good Summit in Indonesia, May 2015, Girls Make Waves events (Indonesia and Sri Lanka) in 2015 and the Surfing Association of Papua New Guinea’s grassroots initiative, Pink Nose Revolution, have used surfing as a platform for women’s rights and to end violence against women (Britton, 2015b). Alongside these initiatives are organizations challenging female representation and identities in surfing, such as Beyond the Surface International, The Inspire Initiative, Brown Girl Surf, The Wahine Project and the History of Women’s Surfing Museum.

The energy, excitement and even enthusiasm can’t be denied but rapid acceleration without foundational knowledge and dot-connecting can lead to new problems. We must recognize that surfing is a tool not the solution. In order to better understand the impact of surfing, it comes down to the most fundamental questions of self-awareness and transparency of purpose—asking ourselves; what difference does surfing make, if any, and for whom? Who is privileged in surfing and who is excluded (Iisahunter, 2012; Wheaton, 2013)? As evidenced in this case study, how we are in relationship with each other and the sea and how we both impact and are shaped by the sea (Brown & Humberstone, 2015) is so important to understand. Similar to women in ecotherapy and nature immersion activities, when we overcome an ‘assumption of separateness’ through a shared and immersive experience (surfing) we can experience a greater relational connection (Holloway, Murray, Okada, & Emmons, 2014, p. 148). When learned or experienced in this way, surfing, by its fluid nature, has the potential to expose participants to a more relational process in an environment that challenges dualistic notions of otherness and separateness.

Note

1. Intermediate is understood here as proficient at standing up, progressing to “green” waves.

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Women and Sport Leadership: A Case Study of a Development Programme

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In 2014, the International Working Group for Women and Sport (IWG) published the results of a study investigating the global progress made within the women-and-sport movement in the 20 years since the publication of the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport in 1994. The Brighton Declaration was one outcome of the first World Conference on Women and Sport which aimed to redress the imbalances women faced in sport, with the Declaration itself providing a statement of principles about equality for women in sports. One of these key principles related to the need to develop policies, programmes and structures to increase the number of women in leadership positions in sport. The underrepresentation of women in leadership and decision making in sport has been a recurrent theme in all progress reports completed quadrennially for the IWG since the Brighton Conference. The 2014 progress report

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identified that the areas where fewest actions have been taken in the previous 20 years include the development of policies and programmes to recruit, retain and enhance female sports leaders; in particular women coaches and referees, game officials, judges and umpires (Fasting, Sand, Pike, & Matthews, 2014). This chapter addresses a recommendation from this report that priority is given to increasing women's leadership opportunities and enhancing women's leadership experiences in sport by focusing on one particular type of intervention: the development of women's sport leadership programmes.

There is extensive evidence for the underrepresentation of women in all areas of leadership at all levels of sport across all continents (see, for example, Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Adriaanse & Schofield, 2014; Burton, Barr, Fink, & Bruening, 2009; Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Hovden, 2010; Pfister, 2010; Shaw, 2006). Furthermore, where women do work in sport leadership, they tend to be located in gender-appropriate sub-roles (see Burton et al., 2009). Roles associated with femininity tend to be supporting and peripheral roles, for example working as administrators, secretaries and personal assistants, and focusing on sport development (Shaw & Hoerber, 2003), or developing personnel, child safety and equity (Shaw, 2006). In contrast, men dominate in sub-roles associated with senior leadership, resource management, performance and strategic decision-making roles (see Adriaanse & Schofield, 2013; Velija, Ratna, & Flintoff, 2014). Examples of this include the underrepresentation of women in: senior positions of intercollegiate sport in the USA (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014); senior leadership of national governing bodies of sport in the UK (Women in Sport, 2015); executive committees of National Olympic Committees (Henry et al., 2004); and international sports federations (Women on Boards, 2014). In effect, there are two components to addressing this issue: first, the empowerment of individual women; and second the challenge to organizational cultures. While there is evidence of an increase in the number of women appointed to senior roles in sports governance (Braund, 2014; Women in Sport, 2015), it remains the case that sport leadership is male dominated. Claringbould and Knoppers (2008, 2012) also found that both male and female members of boards that have an uneven representation of men and women normalize this gender imbalance, with many women expressing a reluctance to take on membership of a board if it might be perceived that this was the result of affirmative action rather than that they had been appointed on merit.

The male dominance of sport leadership is variously explained by suggestions that women are marginalized in unequal recruitment processes (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Hovden, 2000), lack ambition and competence (Hovden, 2010), and that where women adopt masculine leadership styles they often experience social exclusion and stigmatization (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010; White & Brackenridge, 1985). A key feature of this male dominance is the access to informal

social networks, which are influential in recruitment and success in post (Mazerolle, 2015). While men often form homophilous, or same-sex networks (the “old boys’ club”), which provide them with access to considerable social capital in the workplace, women are less likely to have such powerful networks (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2015; Ibarra, 1992; McGuire, 2002).

There are a number of arguments in favour of increasing the number of women on sport boards. There is some evidence that gender diversity on boards leads to improved organizational performance including in terms of finance and social responsibility (Desvaux, Devillard, & Sancier-Sultan, 2009; Krishnan & Park, 2005; Seto-Pamies, 2013); that working toward gender equality provides access to the widest talent pool; that women leaders use more effective leadership styles (Brown & Light, 2012); a gender-diverse board allows a better response to the market and better governance (Women on Boards UK, 2011); that girls are more likely to participate in sport when led by a female coach or instructor (Sharkey & Gaskill, 2006); and that having more women on boards provides role models for other female sport leaders (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

Attempts to address the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership illustrate different feminist philosophies and approaches. For example, the setting of quotas/targets for women’s representation on boards at national and international levels is indicative of a liberal feminist approach to increasing gender equality through policies that give equal opportunities to women within a male-dominated environment (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2014; Pfister, 2010). For example, the International Olympic Committee both sets targets for women’s representation in leadership roles, and also offers seminars to support women leaders in sport. However, unintended consequences of such rational interventions include assumptions of tokenism that women are “given” a position without merit. The approach aims to get women to the *same* level as men. A more radical feminist approach is to challenge the structure and practice of a culture to allow women to *start* at the same level as men. Examples include the implementation of gender equity processes and policies to ensure good governance, and challenging the dominant culture of sport organizations such that gender equity initiatives are embedded throughout the organization. In this chapter, we will focus on one initiative, which is the development of women’s sport leadership programmes that aim to increase the confidence and competence of different women to understand and address gendered organizational culture, progress to more senior leadership positions in sport, and to develop networks of women working in sport-related leadership. This kind of initiative is illustrative of a feminist approach which aims to change the culture of sport to one that is more equitable rather than focusing on equality, and the specific call from post-colonial feminists to give voice to all women grounded in an awareness of difference and the need to avoid homogenization.

Women's Sport Leadership Academy

There have been several leadership development programmes for women in sport in different parts of the world since the issue was identified in the 1980s and 1990s. This chapter will focus on a recently established programme, the Women's Sport Leadership Academy (WSLA), co-delivered by the Anita White Foundation (AWF) and Females Achieving Brilliance (FAB). The AWF is based at the University of Chichester which also hosts WSLA, and consists of an archive and a fund. It aims to be a central point of reference for scholars and activists involved with women and sport, and to support the education and development of women leaders from countries where women face particular challenges. FAB is a network of women in sport who hold leadership positions or have the aspiration to do so. These two bodies jointly aim to support women leaders, but have different expertise including scholarship and activism (the AWF) and delivering development opportunities for sport leaders (FAB), which provides a unique partnership. WSLA itself is an international network of women sport leaders with the aim of increasing the confidence and competence of women working in sport in a range of leadership behaviours. The distinctive features of WSLA are its focus on women in middle-management positions who aspire to more senior roles, the mix of women working in sport organizations and sport-for-development organizations, and the creation of a network of women who contribute to the development of other women and, in turn, to the development of the women-and-sport movement. The main component of the Academy is a week-long residential held annually at the University of Chichester, which combines self-critical learning, personal development planning, national and international support groups, and physical activities. In June 2014, 36 women from 12 countries and five continents gathered for the first residential programme. They represented national and international sports federations, Olympic and Paralympic Committees, and sport-for-development organizations.

In exploring the principles and outcomes of this first WSLA residential, this study addresses a gap in the literature, which is that the majority of previous research has tended to homogenize women and focus on those who are white, middle class and heterosexual (Shaw & Frisby, 2006). The profile of participants at WSLA included more than 25% who were non-white and, while social class and sexuality were not explicitly stated, it was evident from discussions that many came from working-class backgrounds, living and working in relatively poor regions of the world, and some openly identified as lesbian.

Method

We drew on the Kirkpatrick Evaluation Framework (1994) as a guide for the data collection and analysis for this study. The Kirkpatrick model has four levels. The first level is “reaction” to the learning experience, which includes data recorded “in the moment”, in this case data that was collected during the residential week through the completion of feedback cards by the WSLA participants. The second level assesses the “learning” from the programme, which is an immediate reflection at the end of the programme, and we collected data through feedback cards, self-reflective posters and video statements. Level three evaluates “behaviour” change when returning to the workplace and involves the collection of data from six to nine months after the event. We sent each participant a questionnaire asking them to reflect on the residential week, and any perceived impact of this programme on their own career. In particular, the questionnaire asked them about their expectations of the programme and whether they had been met, their experiences of a female-only environment which included women from around the globe, their main areas of learning, and the impact of the programme on their work and lives after the residential week. Level four focuses on the “results”, or the impact of the training on the company or organization of the participant. We have been unable to collect much of this data as some of the employers of the WSLA participants did not complete the evaluations sent to them, several WSLA graduates left their post soon after completion of the residential week, and some only partially completed the questionnaire, but we have 18 fully completed questionnaires which inform the discussion in this chapter.

The research received ethical approval from the University of Chichester Ethics Committee, and WSLA participants signed an agreement form prior to taking part in the residential week that they would be involved in monitoring and evaluation research activities. However, in order to protect the identity of the respondents, most of the information was requested anonymously and, where the source of the information was clear, we have not allocated any names, nationalities or any other identifying features to the information provided in this chapter.

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011), coding emergent data against theoretical concepts, and then re-reading the responses to ensure they supported the given codes in order to refine the themes. This analysis led to two key emergent themes: the significance of social networks; and the development of leadership competencies. Each of these will be discussed in what follows.

The Significance of Social Networks

The women on the programme were based in 12 different countries, each occupying middle-to-senior management or board positions on national and regional sport federations, sport-for-development or women-and-sport advocacy organizations. When asked why they had applied to join the WSLA programme, the most common reason related to “networking opportunities”. For example, one participant stated that ‘I wanted to ... make a network of friends/colleagues around the world’, while others wanted to ‘broaden my international professional networks’, and ‘improve my networking skills’. Following Sisjord (2012), networking is a key tool for success in senior management, particularly when addressing a shared problem such as marginalization on the basis of gender.

WSLA is a women-only programme (although there were male staff supporting some activities), which inevitably directs attention toward the gendered dynamics of work-related social networks. Many of the participants identified the single-sex environment as creating a ‘Great, safe and secure environment, competitive in the right way, non-threatening’, that a primary reason for joining the programme was to be involved with ‘a great network of successful females’, and a key focus following the residential programme was ‘establishing and using female network’. In particular, several women ‘found it easier to come out of my shell than I have done in other environments where there was a mix of genders’, and enjoyed being away from ‘working in a male-dominated arena’ and ‘constantly being compared with male colleagues’. Such separatist approaches have long been promoted by radical sport feminists but have been critiqued for heightening dichotomous relationships and (re-)creating divisions with men and between women (Hargreaves, 1994). Indeed, several participants argued that, for WSLA to provide women with the social networks required for success in the workplace, they ‘would have preferred for there to be a small number of males in attendance’. One participant explained: ‘I personally felt that males should be involved. Males play a big part in the work environment and have influence and insight that would have added value to the course.’

For many participants, it was clear that a particular challenge was to recognize and challenge gender stereotyping that had become normalized in their own lives (Kristiansen, Broch, & Pedersen, 2014), whether this was an assumption that men were needed in the social network because of their inherent power, or because women who step outside normal gendered patterns of behaviour are themselves problematized (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010;

White & Brackenridge, 1985). One participant described her experience of being in a female-only environment as ‘It was something new and different, but you can realize that there’s all kinds of woman, some of them look like men’. This statement demonstrates the significance of gender ideology. Coakley and Pike (2014) claim that, while gender ideology can vary from culture to culture, in societies where men hold positions of power it is based on a simple binary classification model. Gender ideology classifies people into one of two sex categories, male or female, which informs the thoughts, actions and even appearance of people in each category. This binary also overlooks the fact that those permutations of gender which do not neatly fit the binary are just as much a part of gender as the most normative display (Butler, 2004). This participant is illustrative of a group of people who resist seeing gender in new ways, leading them to feel uncomfortable when people do not fit definitively into one of the categories. Nyong’o (2010) has argued that it is important that the expression of strength (whether physical—“looking like a man”—mental or social) is disentangled from gendered notions, allowing individuals to be appreciated for their talent without this being considered in the context of their “gender”. As one participant explained, her main learning from the residential week was ‘the strengths that women bring to leadership’. The comments from these women also highlight a longstanding argument from many sport feminists of the need to understand, acknowledge and represent “difference” (Hargreaves, 2000; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002). This is a central tenet of post-colonial feminism which informs our understanding of the experiences of WSLA. Drawing on Caudwell (2012), post-colonial feminism has rarely been utilized to make sense of issues in sport, and yet it seems crucial here to make sense of the issues which arise when women are homogenized.

In addition to the gendered aspect of the social network, the WSLA participants discussed the significance of the cultural diversity of the environment, including women from various nationalities and a mix of cultures, which is often seen as a learning tool itself (D’Almeida, 2007). Several participants stated that this was one of the best features of the Academy, enabling them to share problems and experiences within and across geographical and cultural boundaries. Despite many cultural differences, the women were able to learn about and from each other, and recognize that they ‘all shared common challenges’ and ‘were very similar in what we did’ in relation to women in sport leadership. For example, one participant explained, ‘I think it was an excellent idea to bring so many different cultures and backgrounds to one arena. It certainly highlighted the variance in issues and hopefully we all brought something to the table which was beneficial.’

Traditional approaches to addressing challenges for women and sport have tended to draw from liberal feminist approaches which derive from the experiences of women in Western cultures, but fail to recognize the experiences of women in the Global South where positive change for women's development can be more challenging and may take longer (Hargreaves, 1994; Hayhurst, MacNeill, & Frisby, 2011). Our understanding of the experiences of WSLA draws on post-colonial feminism which argues that women are often homogenized and their experiences and cultures can be repressed by dominant Western discourse unless there is an enhanced awareness of difference and marginality (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007; Matthews, 2014; Mohanty, 1995; Spivak, 1999; Young, 2001). For example, while there was a sense that the problems for women sport leaders 'are all the same all over the world', those from Western nations also learned that 'in other parts of the world, it is somewhat more complicated', and 'the issues facing some of the women from other continents (outside Europe) was far more severe'. The evidence from our research found that the problems experienced by the women from Western countries often related to specific leadership competences and job opportunities, whereas the women from countries in the Global South identified challenges related to gender stereotyping and discrimination, as illustrated by one participant who explained that 'we (in the Global South) have a situation where the man but also woman see in a capable woman a threat'. The value of developing a diverse social network is that it gives equal primacy to the experiences and voices of women from the Global South, such that they inform, as well as learn from, the programme and network. This is consistent with post-colonial feminist arguments that Western groups should pay greater attention to, and learn from, non-Western groups' experiences and ideas (Ashcroft, 2001; Spivak, 1999).

The perceived value of the social network is also evident beyond the residential programme. Level 4 of the Kirkpatrick model considers the impact of learning on the workplace environment, but many participants indicated a lack of support or interest from senior managers in their organization and that there was 'not much discussion with line manager', 'a quick debrief chat but otherwise it's all self-driven', and 'my line manager didn't read any of the materials or information I sent her about WSLA'. In some cases, line managers were deemed to be the most constraining factor on developing their learning: 'My boss—unfortunately an individual lacking an open mindset'. Following Mazerolle (2015), the development of the professional network enables women to address such constraints and develop their learning and careers in spite of a lack of support. However, the findings from our research demonstrated that almost half of all participants are no longer in contact with any of the other participants. When asked what contact they have made with

other WSLA graduates, several indicated that ‘we have not stayed in touch’, with one participant stating ‘very little disappointingly, but I need to make more of an effort’ and another that ‘I wanted to keep in touch with my network for further learning, peer support, etc., but I have been particularly poor at doing so’. Indeed, in the self-evaluation of the facilitators of WSLA, there was awareness that the networking following the residential week needed formalizing and development, as the participants were largely left to do this themselves through social media, and that this will be a strategic aim for future cohorts. Visser (2011) believes that networking is a crucially important tool in leadership and management, but also claims that it is much easier to lose networks than it is to make them.

The Development of Leadership Competencies

The second main goal for participants when applying to the programme was ‘to learn some of the leadership behaviour and competencies expected of a senior post holder and put them into practice’. According to Brown and Light (2012), women and men have very different styles of leadership, with women often appearing to adopt a more democratic style. Many indicated that they appreciated the time to focus fully on themselves and their personal career development. For example, one participant stated ‘I can see my career ahead of me and I am comfortable I can get what I want and feel free to know where I am on my journey’.

The most common word used in relation to learning aspirations and achievements on the residential week was “confidence”. This related to ‘managing up’, ‘managing conflict’, and ‘dealing with difficult situations’; but more generally to a confidence that ‘I deserved it’ (the leadership position), feel ‘more confident in myself’, and ‘more assertive in making decisions’. Here we see evidence of former self-limiting behaviour (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007) which is explained as a way that many females in sport organizations may fail to view themselves as adequate and appropriate leaders as a result of the lower levels of societal power and status afforded to women. And where women do display confidence and strength, they know that they then enter a negotiation between the desirable (masculine) characteristics of a leader and characteristics that are seen as undesirable for a female (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010)—a complex process that male leaders do not experience. Once again, there is evidence of the need to include “difference” such that, rather than feeling constrained by gender binaries, women (and men) might disrupt gender norms in ways that are positive and meaningful. Indeed, the International

Working Group on Women and Sport, which was also formed at the Brighton Conference in 1994, has itself deliberately adopted feminist styles of leadership with an emphasis on mentoring, cooperation, networking, sharing, openness and informality (White, 2016).

Following this, another related, key area of development at WSLA was peer mentoring, with many women implementing this in their organizations on return to work. Peer mentoring is identified as a particularly important process for females, who find that working with peers increases their morale and confidence (Miller, 2002; World Bank, 2013). Sahay (1998) argues that this form of collective and mutual working is a distinctly liberal feminist approach, which involves women working with men, rather than challenging their practices, as a basis for empowerment.

At Level 3 of the Kirkpatrick model, the women were asked to identify their reflections on the residential programme and its impact on them six months after the Academy. All of the participants indicated that they have continued to engage in learning practices, including attending internal workshops, conferences, breakfast seminars, networking sessions, 'worked closely with my mentor' and 'attended another leadership programme'. These development activities were often undertaken in order to inform better practice. For example, one participant explained 'I have participated in the changing of my sport code's national coaching policy. And the improvement of the level coaching manual. I have delivered motivational speeches to schools as a guest of honour.' Such continuing professional development is identified as key to successful leadership, particularly for women who have to negotiate the challenges of working in sport leadership, prove themselves at least as capable as men and negotiate the constantly changing landscape of sport governance (Branam, Ruminski, & Whalen, 2012; Madsen, 2000). For some women, the focus of their work several months after the residential week was explicitly related to developmental activities for women. As one participant explained, 'It's an opportunity now to put learning into practice and an opportunity to create more opportunities for women in the role of coaching', while one participant indicated her focus on 'Ensuring that there is a 50% ratio in female:male coaching scholars and that everyone has the same opportunities to gain further qualifications and gain experience'. Both of these examples are illustrative of a liberal feminist approach: to ensure that females have the same opportunities as males, rather than challenging the overall structure of sport leadership (Brake, 2010), a point that we will pick up in what follows.

Reflections on Women's Leadership Programmes

In a study of women's leadership programmes in business, Ely, Ibarra, and Kolb (2011) argue that many of these programmes adopt a liberal feminist style which is either a 'fix the woman' approach, or an 'add women and stir' approach, both of which try to provide developmental opportunities to raise women to the same standard as men, rather than addressing the problematic organizational culture that provides the basis of gender inequity in leadership. While WSLA attempts to offer women a greater understanding of the culture in which they work, opportunities for self-reflection and awareness, and a range of leadership styles to evaluate and consider for their own development, it remains the case that the majority of participants displayed evidence of maintaining a liberal feminist approach of working toward equality rather than equity. This is indicative of proposals in many countries to work toward gender quotas in sport leadership, rather than the more radical suggestion to restructure sport (Anderson, 2009). Indeed, as Matthews (2014) has argued, it may be inevitable that more liberal gender equity policies have to be implemented before more radical changes can take place, as more women (and feminist men) are needed in leadership positions in sports organizations before there can be a realistic challenge to the organizational culture. Of course, this also requires that these women recognize the need for cultural change and have not themselves become enculturated into a male model of leadership. Recommendations for future practice would therefore be to increase women's awareness of the broader organizational challenges that impact on the development of leadership behaviours, offering them a framework to help diagnose and intervene in problematic organizational culture (Ely et al., 2011); to further develop inter-cultural learning (grounded in post-colonial feminism); and to undertake longitudinal research to explore the long-term effects of programmes such as WSLA on participants and the wider global women-and-sport movement.

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The UK House of Commons Women and Sport Report 2014–2015: Policy, Evidence and Impact

Philippa Velija and Louise Mansfield

Introduction

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the UK Women and Sport Report 2014–2015 published on 25 July 2014 by the authority of the UK House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport select committee (House of Commons, 2014). The purpose of select committees is to scrutinize the policies, administration and spending of each government department, in this case the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. The committees are responsible for leading the inquiries whose purpose is to gather evidence and publish reports that make recommendations to the government. The government must publish a response within two months of publication. The select committee therefore has a considerable role in identifying key areas of inquiry and providing an analysis of a current issue with powers to recommend and influence government spending and policy. The Women and Sport 2014–2015 report is the written element of an inquiry into women in sport led by the Culture, Media and Sport committee. This represents a significant shift from explaining different levels of engagement in sport by a lack of interest on the part of women and girls to a detailed report raising awareness of the participation rates and experiences of girls and women in sport. The committee must also make recommendations

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to support future policy developments and funding decisions. Given the policy relevance and potential impact of the report for women's sport it is both important and timely that this chapter examines the context, evidence and recommendations included in this report. An overview of the content of the report is provided, including an outline of recommendations and government response. The chapter concludes by discussing the key strengths and limitations of the report, positioning the discussion in relation to issues of evidence and policy development, policy enactment and impact.

UK Women and Sport Report 2014–15: Context and Content

The inquiry and publication of the Women and Sport Report took place after the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. This was perhaps a significant moment in the status of female participation in elite sport. The Games continue to be referred to as “the Women's Games”, due partly to the success of British female athletes at the Games, as well as recognizing that 44.3% of all athletes at the Games were female. This represents an ongoing trend towards greater participation and for the first time every country participating had a female athlete (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013). The number of female athletes increased again at Rio to 45% (International Olympic Committee, 2016). Of course, the issue of gender and female participation is not new for those working in sport development, sport feminism or in sport advocacy in the UK and international contexts. Low participation rates of girls and women both in absolute terms and when compared to rates of participation for boys and men reflect issues in engaging, supporting and retaining females in sport which continue to prevail in contemporary societies. This is highlighted in the introduction to the report where the gap between men and women's participation is discussed drawing on evidence from the 2015–2016 Active People Survey data which noted that 40.7% of men play sport once a week compared to 31.7% of women (Sport England, 2014). Given that a participation gap still exists for women and girls in sport, the report is a timely and high-profile attempt to identify the reasons for, and make recommendations to address such inequality.

The inquiry was led by the select committee, the membership of which at the time of the report included 11 MPs representing three established political parties in the UK: Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat. The inquiry drew on evidence from oral statements given in four sessions with representatives from The Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, The Muslim Women's

Sport Foundation and StreetGames (session 1); BBC, BT Sport, Channel 4, Sky news, BskyB, *The Sunday Times* newspaper and The Sport Journalist Association (session 2); The FA, RFU, England Netball, British Cycling and LTA (session 3); and Sport England, UKSport and the then Minister for Sport, Mrs Helen Grant, MP (session 4). These oral testimonies were also supplemented by 41 written statements which people were invited to submit, which include statements from the FA, BBC, LTA, British Cycling, England Golf, Nike, BT, RFU, Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, Youth Sport Trust, ECB, Premier League, BskyB, Women in Racing, Stonewall, and athletes such as Lottie Birdsall-Strong, Gwenda Ward, Diana Egerton-Warbuton, Christine Wellington and academic Carrie Dunn. These testimonies alongside participation data from national surveys are used as evidence for discussion on three themes in the 53-page report: attracting new participants, inspiring women and sport governing bodies. The report makes recommendations against each theme. Before a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the report is presented, a brief overview of the content and recommendations for each theme is provided.

Attracting New Female Participants

This section examines some of the well-known barriers that females face in their sporting engagement. Issues identified include the limited range of sports on offer, poor experiences of physical education (PE) and narrow options for after-school sport, a lack of suitable and available facilities, and inequitable access to such facilities. Alongside evidence from the oral testimonies and written statements from those mentioned above, the report draws out a comprehensive list of key recommendations, including measuring children's levels of physical activity, raising the quality of PE training, encouraging diverse provision of sport and physical activity in education settings, forging stronger connections for girls between schools and clubs, ensuring equitable spending on boys' and girls' sport programmes in school, allying sport facility development with public health, encouraging community use of school facilities, engaging communities, particularly diverse groups of girls and women, in decision making, and funded provision of sport and physical activity for females. The recommendations also include an emphasis on a national strategy for small-grant funding to be operated by Sport England and a high level cross-government report for Parliament produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Department of Education and the Department of Health on school

sport, participation levels, and availability of different types of sport, partnerships and training for teachers.

Inspiring Women

Notwithstanding the increased media coverage for women's elite sport through sports mega events like the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the report emphasizes that the media constructs a number of challenges for female participation in sport more broadly. The issues relate to inequitable media coverage of women's sports compared to men's and the associated reduced opportunities for and scale of sponsorship deals for women. In this section of the report, recommendations for resolving such issues include: an emphasis on ethical journalism that focuses on positive aspects of women's performances and avoids reducing reporting to commentary on appearance; raising the profile of women's sport via increased coverage; the promotion of good practice examples of women's sports who have successful media attention; supporting more women in senior roles in NGBs or coaching environments who may be able to challenge the sexualization and trivialization of reporting on women's sport; and encouraging reviews of funding for female athletes.

Sport Governing Bodies

The report includes significant reflection on the role of national governing bodies (NGBs) of sport in raising participation for women and girls. NGBs remain the central organizing agents for participation and elite performance in sport in the UK. NGBs in the UK are responsible for strategic planning and managing their sport in terms of administration, coaching and playing from grassroots to international level (Trimble, Buraimo, Grecic, & Minten, 2010). NGBs are increasingly accountable and have to meet targets based on key performance indicators which are linked to their funding and accountability of their spending (Trimble et al., 2010). The report emphasizes the importance of good governance in the funding of NGBs, including the need for funding to be linked to the achievement of set targets for participation. Also noted here is the role of other delivery partners, for example StreetGames, who might be better placed and committed to delivering physical activity for girls and women, and there is evidence of success. In short, the recommendations are twofold: (1) the imposition of an additional target in the then Youth and Community Strategy 2012–2017 of increasing the participation of women and girls for

those NGBs that are not seriously addressing the potential for growing women's participation in sport; and (2) Sport England should actively seek out further opportunities beyond sport governing bodies to work with whichever groups know best how to reach and engage people locally.

UK Government Response to the Report

The UK government provided a response to the report, as required, on 14 October 2014, and on 21 October 2014 the Committee agreed to publish the government's response (House of Commons, 2015). The response can be found on the parliament.uk website. Four key issues are identified in the response in different headings than the original report: (1) increasing women's and girls' participation in sport; (2) provision of sport facilities; (3) women's media profile and commercial sponsorship; and (4) leadership workforce and coaching.

Increasing Women's and Girls' Participation in Sport

Responding to the need for a new measure for young activity, for the UK government existing population-level surveys (Active People Survey, Taking Part) provide adequate indicators of participation in sport by women and girls in the UK. At the time of writing such data illustrated upward trajectories in female participation. Therefore, the idea for a joint report from DCMS, DfE and Department of Health (DH) is rejected. Moreover, there is a rejection of the recommendation to set NGB targets for female participation. There is support in the response for a payment-for-results scheme to reward NGBs who can increase participation and support for extending provision for girls and women to local providers. Notwithstanding some evidence of innovative teacher training focusing on PE specialists, and the success of programmes like Sportivate and Schools Games which have higher levels of girls' participation than boys', the report accepts that more could be done to engage girls in sport. One of the suggestions is to extend the satellite club system so that by 2017 every secondary school will be offered a satellite club with a direct link to NGBs. The recommendation to consider legislation to ensure equal funding of girls' sports in schools and a change to the public-sector equality duty to ensure this is rejected.

Provision of Facilities

The use of flexible facilities is recognized as necessary to attract women and girls to sport. The response supports schemes such as Primary Spaces Fund, the Community Shares Unit and the Community Right to Bid programme as an ongoing commitment from government levels to support local communities to fund the development of existing and the building of new facilities. Supporting the report recommendations, the government response emphasizes that schools should be encouraged to open up their facilities to the community, monitored through Active Places Power, a mapping and reporting tool for community sport.

Media Profile and Commercial Sponsorship

The response to this section begins by recognizing that the coverage and profile of women's sport has increased although the government recognizes more can be done in this area. Highlighting the good example of the England & Wales Cricket Board (ECB) and their media-friendly marketing and sponsorship deal with Kia, the government accepts the issue of financial support for women's sport is needed and praises the use of central contracts.

Leadership, Workforce and Coaching

Considering the issue of female representation on boards, the government accepts this is an ongoing issue. £5 million is available to help sporting bodies improve their governance and leadership between 2013 and 2017. Other initiatives are discussed, including sharing best practice about diversity on boards. On the need to increase female coaches, the response recognizes the progress that Sport Coach UK investment has made in increasing numbers of female qualified coaches. However, there is an acceptance that there does need to be a focus on continuing to develop clear pathways for female coaches to develop their qualifications and opportunities to coach at all levels.

Overall the UK government response to the Women and Sport Report 2014–15 evidence and recommendations highlights four immediate priorities: (1) to continue to encourage greater participation in sport for girls and women using most up-to-date research insight and designing activities that appeal to female participants; (2) to continue to ensure women are represented at all levels in sporting bodies; (3) to upskill NGB's personnel in

marketing their sport to commercial investors; and (4) to work with media to increase their commitment to raising the profile of women's games.

In concluding their response the government outlines a commitment to ensuring change to increase participation for girls and women. This commitment seeks to address the issues and consider ways to increase participation amongst girls and women in sport and physical activity. The following section considers the strengths and weaknesses of the report in realizing this commitment.

What Are the Strengths of the Report?

The Women and Sport Report identifies some of the key areas that have been highlighted in research and advocacy and previous policies. The report identifies the need to take seriously the participation of girls and women in sport and consider how public money is utilized. The report gives weight to some of the key issues identified in the academic literature. In particular, evidence is provided to highlight how women from lower socio-economic groups across all ages are less likely to take part in sport. Cost and the local area are barriers identified in the evidence that suggests women in the most deprived areas play the least sport (only 27% of women in most deprived areas compared to 33% in wealthiest areas). The report emphasizes this is not because of a lack of interest in sport and fitness and provides evidence from the Women Sport and Fitness Foundation which highlights that the demand to participate amongst girls and women is high. The report highlights the complexity of the issues that girls and women face, and identifies the barriers they experience as broadly personal /lifestyle and personal/emotional. It is recognized that these are complex issues that cannot be solved in a simple approach through the statement that 'there are no simple solutions, and tackling the problem will require imaginative approaches and concerted effort by a number of bodies' (Women and Sport Report, 2014–2015, page 7). Due to the breadth and complexity of issues, then, the report recognizes that one approach will not solve all barriers to participation. One suggestion made in the report is that working with non-traditional partners (not just NGBs) to support girls' and women's involvement in sport can be successful. For example, partnerships with organizations such as StreetGames can offer a less formal way of providing opportunities for young women to be active. Another initiative mentioned is the "I Will if you Will" project launched in Bury, UK. Funded through Sport England with £2.3 million of public funds, the campaign aims to change the sporting habits of local girls and women. The holistic approach is

being led by Bury Council but includes input from the private and public sectors and also approaches the marketing differently by focusing on what women want and providing a range of different activities in different spaces. The project has also looked to update infrastructure and facilities, and included offering small grants of £1,000 to local clubs and private gym operators to support those working directly with women and girls. The activities offered are diverse and cover both traditional offerings such as netball, and also Belrobics, ballroom dancing and Mum Fitness classes. The target is to increase participation setting a measure of 45,000 women to participate. There are also targets to retain women and girls, such as keeping 10,000 of them involved in physical activity. The “I Will if you Will” approach addresses three of the barriers identified above, listening to what women want and providing it, developing facilities to make them user friendly for women, and thinking about sustainability and linking to health by offering an incentive for local sport providers to continue with the projects at a low cost. The programme is a pilot that rejects a one-size-fits-all approach in favour of different types of activities at different times, and supporting childcare and facility development. According to the website the pilot has shaped the This Girl Can Campaign and Sport England’s practical guide to helping girls and women get active (Sport England, 2015). Similar approaches to understanding the complexities of sport participation and the need to tailor programmes to the needs of participants, and to the skills, expertise and resources of delivery organizations, are gaining momentum through Sport England’s priorities for engaging inactive people (Mansfield, Anokye, Fox-Rushby, & Kay, 2015).

The sport in school section reinforces what has long been recognized in the academic literature on the barriers and experiences of girls’ involvement in physical education. Selecting evidence from the Women and Sport Fitness and Foundation report, ‘Changing the Game for Girls’ (2015) report highlights how 51% of girls are deterred from physical activity. The reasons are multiple and these include lack of choice, overly competitive games, lack of confidence, poor body image, and that many girls do not consider being good at PE as important as academic studies. These issues have long been identified as negatively influencing girls’ involvement in physical education (Penney, 2002). The need for teachers that are qualified in physical education is discussed as a priority, especially at primary school. One of the problems identified in the report is how changing policies around the school sport partnerships and temporary funding does not support a stable strategy across government departments. An example of this is the PE and sport premium policies which may limit schools in developing long-term plans. This highlights the concern raised in academic literature about the lack of strategic long-term funding in this area and how the

money is spent, as well as questioning how effective it has been (see for example Jones & Green, 2015). One key issue discussed in the report draws on evidence given to the committee around concerns that more was spent on boys' sport in schools. In considering ways to address this, the report looks to the Title IX Equality Opportunity Education Act in the USA. This legislation requires schools to distribute funds equitably and evidence suggests this legislation increased participation for females from 7% to 41%. The report recognizes this success but suggests that rather than replicate Title IX, a change to the current UK Public Sector Equality Duty Act could be made and the Youth Sport Trust could be utilized to organize and monitor funding in terms of gender equity and school spending. This recommendation is rejected in the government response, as it notes that schools have to comply with public-sector equality duty and the current legislation is considered sufficient.

These aspects of the report align with much of the academic literature in highlighting the barriers to women and girls, as well as recognizing the complexity of the issues that affect participation. They also recognize and critique some of the problematic aspects of policy development and implementation.

What Are the Limitations of the Report?

As mentioned at the start of this chapter it is evident that the Women and Sport Report adds to the legitimacy of the issue of women and sport and provides an indicative commitment to addressing and funding ways of resolving the barriers to girls' and women's participation in sport and physical activity. Despite these strengths there are a number of limitations that can be unpacked in exploring the adequacy of the report, its recommendations and response and then, the impact of the report.

One of the largest sections of the report is the 15 pages focused on media and sponsorship. This section identifies some of the ongoing issues of media, sponsor and corporate representation. The report critically notes how women have been largely ignored by large sections of the media which is well documented in academic research (Godoy-Pressland, 2014). The report discusses the issue in depth, criticizing large sections of the media for the lack of coverage of female athletes. The amount of coverage is, however, only one small aspect of the issue. Research in this area has noted concerns not just about the quantity of media coverage but also the structural marginalization of women's sport, the trivialization of women's sports achievements (Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013), and the sexualization of female athletes. These complex issues are not discussed in a way that would allow recommendations to link to

strategies for dealing with the issues of gender equity in media reporting. Therefore, other than raising the profile of the issue, little is achieved in relation to presenting appropriate recommendations to address the issues discussed. The issue of media representation of female athletes is important as it frames wider critical discussions about role models for young girls, and the status given to female athletes compared to male athletes. These in turn impact on a fan base and commercial opportunities for athletes. These are complex issues and the recommendations in the report do not fully outline the ways of challenging the masculine culture of sports journalism.

In comparison to the large section on media, the discussion of leadership and sport governing bodies only spans two pages, 28–30. The reason for such brevity is that the terms of reference for the report did not include exploring women as leaders. Despite this it is noted that in 2012 UK Sport and Sport England asked for all publicly funded NGBs to ensure that women make up at least 25% of their board members by 2017. To date this has had little impact and 22 out of 45 NGBs continue to fall short of this minimum requirement. This reflects the established male nature of sport governance which is resistant to change. The issue of female representation and governance is theorized by feminists who recognize the need to analyze gender relations in organizations. Adopting the framework presented by Rao, Stuart, and Kelleher (1999) in a sport organization setting, Sibson (2010) utilizes the concept of exclusionary power to explore how women can be excluded in sport organizations, sometimes in subtle ways, which can alienate their views and may result in them leaving organizations without citing gender equity as the reason for leaving. The agendas and policies and what issues are identified as important in an organization (and which are not) are part of understanding gender power and privilege and representation in organizations. Whilst many, including Sport England, identify the need to have female representation in sport governance, the way to achieve this is not without challenge (*Women on Boards*, 2014). Whilst quotas are sometimes critiqued as a way of addressing the issue, Adriaanse and Schofield (2014) argue that increasing female membership on boards can be a useful springboard for change although this alone will not increase representation. Quotas need to coincide with a broader organizational commitment to gender equity. Addressing the issue of underrepresentation in sport governance is important to ensure that issues of gender are prioritized within sports organizations, at board level and then through strategic approaches at all levels of the organization to support gender equity (Adriaanse & Schofield, 2014).

Another concern with the report is that the selection of barriers is identified. Cost and lack of facilities are unsurprisingly identified as real issues that

affect girls' and women's access and opportunities in sport and physical activities. There is some attention to lifestyle and practical barriers or personal/emotional barriers and a welcome commentary on socio-economic status. However, the more complex realities associated with the intersections of gender with age, race/ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation are not adequately recognized. Barriers associated with issues of racism, disability and sexuality are well documented in scholarly research, and this evidence is accessible as it is not just published in academic literature. For example, the recent Sport, Physical Activity & LGBT report (2016) from Pride Sports highlights that 56% of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) women were not active enough to maintain good health. Whilst published after the Women and Sport Report, it reflects the findings of previous research on sport, physical activity and sexual orientation, available prior to the report publication (see Mansfield, Kay, Meads, & Caudwell, 2014). Such evidence notes that notwithstanding the recent political and cultural shift towards more positive attitudes to LGBT communities in the UK, LGBT people experience marginalization and face discriminatory attitudes and practices in sport as they are dominated by structures and process of heteronormativity. Overall, then, the issue of participation amongst minority groups does not feature extensively in the report. By not acknowledging the complexity of issues or drawing on a range of evidence to make recommendations the experiences of some girls and women are invisible. This is problematic because recommendations, later policies or government priorities that emerge from the report may further exclude groups of girls and women from physical activity. There is a need to consider the complexity of issues around participation, inclusion and exclusion and the needs of diverse groups of girls and women to avoid the perception that a lack of participation is a simple, individual problem. In the report any detailed discussion about structural issues of power that render some groups of females invisible in policy and practice would have strengthened the report. The reason for these issues being overlooked may reflect the evidence used to support the recommendations in the report.

Evidence and Evidence-Based Policy Making on Sport

Evidence-based approaches to policy formulation in the UK have become increasingly established in setting priorities and informing service delivery and monitoring and evaluation strategies (Greenhalgh & Russell, 2009; Peticrew,

Whitehead, Macintyre, Graham, & Egan, 2004). This trend can also be seen in sport policy formation (Lindsey & Bacon, 2016). The Women and Sport Report (2014–2015) needs to be understood in this context as the inquiry draws on evidence gathered from national participation data, and a number of oral and written testimonies, some of which were specifically invited. These witness statements, alongside statistical data presenting evidence on participation, form the basis on which recommendations are made to the UK government in this report. This approach to evidence-based policy is not unproblematic. There are ongoing debates in the sport sector about what counts as evidence, hierarchies of evidence, how evidence can and should be produced, and the impact of evidence-based policy (Mansfield, 2016). To some extent the extensive use of qualitative oral testimonies in this report, given by those with experience of playing, managing, monitoring and coaching sport in the UK eschews the authority of objective and quantitative evidence in policy making and is a refreshing and positive development. Indeed, since Black (2001) argues that research evidence produced in academic spheres has little impact on policy and practice considering evidence from those who know and understand the contextualized experiences of women and girls might produce more significant and sustained impact on participation. The voices of women and girls are needed to understand the material and lived realities of their experiences which can support the development of policies and practice that can address these barriers and enable change. Thus, the use of qualitative testimonies is to be commended, but more consideration may be needed to ensure the inclusion of a diversity of voices and to critically consider the vested interests of some groups. One of the key issues in the quality and impact of evidence-based policy making may be related to the use of evidence which is not always representative of the most marginalized. The evidence in the Women in Sport report is selective indeed. Yet, evidence is always selective: what evidence is utilized, and what isn't, whose expertise is called upon and valued are not neutral decisions. The voices represented in the inquiry are not as broad-ranging as they could be and therefore the recommendations are not as judicious as perhaps we would expect. This is likely to have a significant impact on the enactment and impact of a report such as this.

Conclusion: What Impact Has the Report Had on Women in Sport?

Efforts to provide recommendations in the Women and Sport 2014–2015 report, which harness some of the views of key stakeholders in the women's sport sector, represent an attempt to develop evidence-based policy on female sport participation. Yet, the somewhat narrow nature of evidence used provides only a partial account of the complexities of participation by women and girls. In addition the enactment of such policy remains challenging as those charged with implementing it are likely to struggle to access the report contents and even if they do, interpreting it and employing relevant strategies to implement the recommendations is always difficult given varying resource capacities in service delivery. There are diverse and complex contextual factors that serve to shape the way that policy recommendations are interpreted and that influence the way policy is enacted (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012). The remaining questions surrounding the Women and Sport Report 2014–2015 concern whether or not it has worked to make recommendations that can be and have been used to effectively address the barriers for women and girls in sport and subsequently raise participation in appropriate and accessible programme delivery. There has certainly been a recent focus on investment, programming and promotion that recognizes the diverse needs of women and girls in sport in the UK. The StreetGames initiative 'UsGirls' serves as one illustration of a strategy which has harnessed the views of girls and women in developing programmes tailored to their needs and evaluation of the project indicated that over 30,000 girls engaged with USGirls in the first two years (Hills, Maitland, & Croston, 2013). The impact of high-profile mediated campaigns to support female participation in sport have been met with more mixed reviews about impact. The current Sport England 'This Girl Can' campaign, for example, has been seen as both a positive and successful approach, with 13 million people watching the campaign, and some argue it has broadened definitions of femininity and recognizing diversity in what women want in their physical activity experiences. According to Sport England 2.8 Million girls and women have been inspired to be active as a result of the campaign (Steven, 2016). On the other hand it has also been criticized for continuing to tie female participation to a bodily aesthetic of heterosexual attractiveness and the sexualization of women's bodies and for its neo-liberal message that ignores the material realities of women and girls (Fullagar & Francombe-Webb, 2015). How can we know that policy is enacted in a way that supports and develops female participation in sport? This is a question of impact;

understanding how policy has had an effect on stakeholder experiences beyond the boundaries of policy making. This is a complex agenda involving the need to understand who impact is for, what sort of impact is relevant and how impact is going to be achieved. In terms of evidencing the policy impact of the UK Women and Sport Report 2014–2015 there is a requirement to recognize and understand the views of a full range of stakeholders in the women-and-girls-sport sector (policy makers, commissioner/managers, service delivery groups, academics/scholars and public/citizen groups). Such an approach is likely to require evidence from a wide range of sources, collated and analyzed using an appropriate mix of methods that not only supports the generation of impact but enables effective translation, dissemination and mobilization of knowledge for the diverse audiences listening to issues connected to the participation of women and girls in sport and physical activity.

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Media Coverage of Women's Sport: Personal Reflections

Carrie Dunn

Introduction: The Dilemmas of the Long-Distance Journalist

When I was in Canada reporting on the Women's World Cup in the summer of 2015, it was difficult to cope with the time zones. Moncton, where England played their first two games, was four hours behind British Summer Time; Montreal and Ottawa, where they played next, were five hours behind. As they moved further west, the time difference increased; Edmonton was seven hours behind, Vancouver eight. Yet the kick-off times stayed resolutely late afternoon in Canada. That meant that a 4 p.m. kick-off in Montreal would finish very close to the final print deadline for newspapers back in the UK, meaning a desperate turnaround time. Anything later simply wasn't going to get into the morning's papers.

Newspapers are put together into the evening, but there is a cut-off point because they need to go to press and then be distributed to retailers before the shops open the following morning. When England played their quarter-final against Canada in Vancouver, it kicked off past midnight in the UK. The broadcasters did brilliantly to attract an audience of millions, but in the morning new fans of the team were disappointed not to see any reports in the newspapers. 'Why aren't they on the back pages—or even the front?' I was asked repeatedly. 'If the men got into a World Cup semi-final, they'd get wall-to-wall

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coverage.’ Being a sports journalist, a female sports fan and an academic who researches (primarily women’s experience of) sport, I find myself caught in a bind. I know very well that if a football match is finishing at 2.30 a.m. in the UK, it won’t make the morning’s papers, no matter who’s playing. Yet I agree that were it the men’s team competing, they probably wouldn’t be *asked* to play at hours so unhelpful for British media coverage; and I agree that women’s sport should have a much higher media profile. In this situation, however, there was not a single thing I—or my editors—could do about it. Newspapers need to get to the shops before sunrise—and it takes time to print them and package them and distribute them. My reports were available online (websites have no print deadlines) but even in our multimedia age, getting a story in print still carries weight; it still seems to be perceived as the ultimate accolade that a story or an achievement is newsworthy. England’s progress at the Women’s World Cup thus received less print coverage than they might have got had they been competing in Europe, but this was a necessity; the perception from these new fans was that it was a slight.

However, there were additional tensions around the coverage which were connected more to the way women are presented and discussed both in the media and society more broadly. A colleague of mine, knowing I was covering the Women’s World Cup, sent me a message on Facebook, saying he’d seen one of my pieces about the England squad printed on the news pages, but he felt it was strange to see a story about elite athletes next to a showbiz story. This was a commission I’d had out of the blue, with the express instruction to write about the most interesting England players—but not as athletes. These “human interest” stories take the focus away from athletic achievements and reiterate their status as relatable, non-threatening women. But they (the male editors) did not want to know about full-back Claire Rafferty’s recovery from three cruciate ligament injuries, just about her day job for a major global bank.

In this chapter I discuss some of my experiences as a sport journalist, researcher and fan negotiating some of these enduring issues for women in the sport media as athletes and fans.

Media Coverage of Women’s Sport During Major Events and the Impact of London 2012

Three years prior to the Women’s World Cup, the London 2012 Olympic Games had already provided an opportunity for the British media to showcase the best of women’s sport, particularly in sports that were typically not associated with women such as boxing and football (soccer). Here there were no

problems for the British press to meet print deadlines, nor difficulties in getting reporters to the locations. Team GB women's football team, although they did not win a medal, impressed the sports reporters; veteran football writer Henry Winter praised their win against Brazil and described them as 'great role models' not just for their on-pitch performance, but their conduct off the field (Winter, 2012). The Football Association (FA) immediately picked up on the positive impression that the footballers had made on the media and viewers, using the discourse of the role model in their promotional material for the second half of the FA Women's Super League domestic competition, which resumed in September after the close of the Olympics.

These developments inspired me to begin an academic research project, speaking to elite female athletes about the media coverage they had received, and how they felt about their representation particularly their position as role models to young people. I began by talking to a small group of footballers, all of whom were currently playing at domestic and international level, with some taking part in the 2012 Olympics, which had just concluded. I then went on to talk to an equivalent group of elite cricketers, all of whom were playing at international level and had participated in recent international tournaments.¹

As I began my work, research had indicated that just 2% of articles and 1% of images in the sports pages of British national newspapers are devoted to female athletes and women's sport (WSFF, 2008); a similar report from the same source three years later indicated that reports and features on women's sport made up just 5% of media coverage (WSFF, 2011). This has often been attributed to the fact that sport has traditionally been deemed a male and masculine domain (see, for example, Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000). As academic studies across national contexts have consistently concluded, the media shows far fewer women than men in a sporting context. Furthermore as Martin and McDonald (2012) point out, though women's participation in sport has grown, this has not been reflected in an equal expansion of media coverage. Even in the USA, where Title IX has ensured equal funding for women's sports in schools and colleges, research on the US sports media shows that only 3.2% of sports news in the USA is devoted to women's sports (Cooky, Messner, & Musto, 2015). Cooky et al. (2015, p. 15) found that none of the shows in their sample ever led their bulletin with a story about women's sport (also see Kearney, 2011); and coverage of women's sports is in fact declining, with the focus of what little coverage there is being on athletes' conventional heterosexual attractiveness, serving to trivialize their sporting accomplishments (Martin & McDonald, 2012).

The footballers I interviewed for my research tended to find the amount of interest in their sport during the Olympics positive but surprising. Liz said:

None of us really expected it, but we were all kind of extremely pleased and happy that the nation kind of took us under their wing, so to speak, and yeah, we were kind of overwhelmed with the amount of coverage that we did get, and hopefully that'll continue, really.

Her team-mate Cassie agreed:

In terms of the attendances and the newspaper coverage and television coverage, I don't think anybody expected it to be as big as what it was.

This level of media interest was new for the footballers, but Liz reported that it did not feel intrusive or overwhelming; instead, she welcomed the opportunity to speak to the media, and for women's football to gain a higher profile, and felt that her team-mates felt the same, saying: 'I think we were just really happy for the papers to be putting women's football in them, really, you don't see it very often so it was very nice to have, to have so many back pages.'

The Team GB football squad that competed at the Olympics was a one-off; usually the home nations (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) compete in international tournaments (although not the Olympics) separately. England are the most successful of the home nations, although since the FIFA relaunch of women's international tournaments they have not won either a World Cup or a European Championships. In contrast, the England women's cricket team has consistently been successful internationally, winning multiple Ashes series and world tournaments. TV coverage has been limited but has increased in recent years as the ECB has promoted them. The interviews I conducted with female cricketers came after England had successfully defended the Ashes in England in summer 2013. (It is worth noting here that England's continued success meant that in the summer of 2015, Sky Sports showed all of the Women's Ashes matches live on television.)

At the time these interviews took place, the players were evidently keen for more media coverage, not just to raise their own profiles but to serve as role models. For example, player Louise said:

I think the game is in a really good place, and I think hopefully that kind of media coverage is hopefully ... having an impact because you go into schools now and even just walking in here this morning, 'there's <Louise>', that's a young lad saying that, and you know you're kind of making a difference.

Indeed, it is significant to note that both the cricketers and the footballers positioned themselves not simply as role models to young women, demonstrating a potential career path for them, but as role models for all young

people—boys and girls. Players from both sports mentioned that all schoolchildren welcomed their visits, and they talked about this effort to “make a difference” to young people’s lives—not just as examples of elite sporting achievement but in terms of healthy living and contribution to the community. For example, footballer Liz said: ‘It’s just so nice to see kids being inspired by sport, really, and hopefully we can continue with that.’²

Although cricket was not played at London 2012, the cricketers identified the Olympic Games and its media coverage as key to promoting women’s sport. Louise said:

In the last two years, with most of our games now being on Sky and just an increased, I guess, exposure to women’s sport in general, I think the Olympics helped that, I certainly saw a big difference last summer, and then obviously we’ve had the knock-on effect with us playing out in the World Cup, and this summer winning the Ashes, yeah, it’s a great time to be involved certainly in cricket but in women’s sport in general.

It is clear that athletes felt that London 2012 had provided a great opportunity for women’s sport and had demonstrated the interest in it and the justification for future media coverage. Footballer Cassie was optimistic that the women’s football team’s success during the Olympics was now acting as a springboard for more media coverage of and more supporters attending the FA Women’s Super League, the domestic competition for elite women’s football, but admitted that although TV coverage was improving, the print media still lagged behind:

It’s a little bit disappointing, but to be honest you’re never really going to be able to compete with men’s football, I mean, the amount of money that they bring in, and that’s what sells the papers, isn’t it, really?

Cassie’s attitude is very pragmatic; indeed, Ian Prior, the sports editor of the traditionally liberal *Guardian* newspaper, admitted in 2013 that the coverage in his part of the newspaper would always be dominated by men’s football, describing women’s team sports as ‘expensive to cover and the level of interest makes it hard to justify’ (Harper, 2013). The same article pointed out that around half of the *Guardian*’s sports coverage was devoted to men’s football; and Prior claimed that figure would be even higher if editors were entirely governed by market forces, with about three-quarters of resources and coverage going to men’s football. This kind of attitude and assumption means that there is a vicious circle—there is an assumption that there is a minimal audience for coverage of women’s sport, so it is ignored, meaning public awareness

shrinks; and women's sport is continually presented in ways that will presumably appease the "market forces", i.e., a heterosexual male audience primarily interested in men's sport—by showing the sportswomen primarily as "women" rather than "athletes". Cassie was also honest about the downsides of the media coverage, and discussed some of the features that had been run which focused on players' looks rather than their sporting achievements:

I think that's what we're trying to change a bit ... we are actually professional athletes, we are trying to sway towards that instead of being dolled up. Yeah, I'm girly and I do shopping or get your hair done or stuff like that, but when I play football, I play football, I'm a footballer.

The *type* of media coverage of women's team sports—particularly those more usually associated with men—continues to be a frustration to me professionally, as a journalist and as a researcher of women's sport. I have observed that these British female athletes are presented as a very specific kind of celebrity or role model; the accessibility and "normalness" of the players is a characteristic played up in much of their mainstream media coverage; and indeed their official profile. For example, when the England football squad landed at Heathrow after the 2015 Women's World Cup, where they finished third, the FA's official international team Twitter account announced that the players would be returning to their lives as 'mothers, partners and daughters'—an equivalent tweet about male footballers is difficult to imagine. Although the vast majority of the England squad are now professional footballers, their similarity to their fans (almost a "girls next door" image) is important to emphasize—their schooling, their university education, their part-time jobs as teenagers, their closeness to their families. They need to be relatable as this makes them similar to their potential fans; and it makes them very different from male footballers. They are not icons to be admired and worshipped in the same way as male athletes; they may be exceptionally skilled, but they are normal, everyday people who put their families first, and their professionalism is glossed over as this fails to fit in to the narrative of plucky, amateurish underdogs, competing for pride. Thus they are not disturbingly ambitious or outside the traditional ideas of femininity, and other families can feel free to support them.

Make no mistake, though, the "normalness" of their media images is just as constructed and carefully presented as any other PR campaign. These players undergo media training, have access to a communications team and rarely speak out on anything controversial. They are abnormal in their very normalness; unrelatable in their absolute relatability.

Female Fans' Sport Media Consumption

While female athletes in predominantly male sports are sidelined or hyperfeminized or sexualized by the sports media, female fans of these predominantly male sports have historically been completely invisibilized (see Dunn, 2014). My earlier work on female fans of men's football (2014) was triggered by assessing much of the work available on football fans and realizing that they were invariably assumed to be male; these studies presented throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s as canon (see, for example, Marsh, Rosser, & Harre, 1978; also Clarke & Critcher, 1985; Marsh, 1978; Williams, Dunning, & Murphy, 1984, and many more), while valuable and significant, also ignored the existence of female fans. On a personal level, they also failed to reflect my own experience as a fan of football. Pope (2010) also highlights the dearth of work on women's fandom of men's sports and male-dominated sports, because previous studies have focused on sport's value in offering a space for the performance and reproduction of certain kinds of masculinity, typically working-class masculinity.

One of the aspects of fandom I researched was the consumption of sports media, and I found that female fans of football—both men's and women's—are unsurprisingly heavy consumers of sports media. 90% of respondents watched television highlights of matches they had attended; 86% watched television highlights of matches they had not attended; and 83% regularly watched live matches on television. Many respondents mentioned watching Sky Sports' *Soccer AM*, and mentioned the guest 'Soccerette', a woman who enters the set wearing a short skirt, high heels and the replica shirt of her favourite team, which she then strips off to reveal a tight-fitting white top with *Soccer AM*'s logo emblazoned across the chest. However, although respondents expressed some unease with this sexualized female figure on a football show, they also expressed some fascinating negotiations of coping with this problem. For example, Watford fan Laura talked about the show saying: 'They do the football fans, and a girl coming out in a football shirt.' She made a very clear distinction between "football fans" and the female model wearing a football shirt, which may be a traditional display of fandom and club allegiance but this in itself does not make her a fan. Tottenham fan Ellie dismissed it by saying: 'The Soccerettes, they wouldn't do it if they didn't want to, would they?' This is a common reaction to other arenas of female objectification by the male gaze, such as Page 3, lap-dancing and even pornography (see Whelehan, 2000, for a more detailed discussion of this). The argument in such "postfeminist" debates is that the decision to make oneself an object is a free one (ignoring that the choice is made in a patriarchal society, with societal and cultural pressures), and thus it cannot be criticized.

It seems that this presentation of the objectified Soccerette is not often perceived as the ‘abusive hypermasculinity’ described by Katharine Jones (2008), such as overt sexist or homophobic comments, which would require the female fan to assert her femininity in direct opposition in order to distance herself from it; it is simply a masculine practice of fandom that the female fan can either adopt or ignore. The female fan watching this programme is “neutral”; she has to be in order to avoid the ‘ideological dilemma’ (cf. McLean, 2012) of explicitly acknowledging the sexism on show and to consume the programme. The show does not intend to exclude her from watching, nor does it intend to offend her, but no special allowances are made for the female viewer. She can view—or gaze—along with her male counterpart and assume the active male role if she wishes; her femaleness is not considered or taken into account.

Other respondents highlighted negative media coverage of female football fans as a contributing factor to the continuing sexism in the game. Rotherham fan Lily said:

The Sun the other week, they had like a Girls’ Guide of how to get into football... It does a lot of the time treat women as though they only go because they fancy the players. That’s as much of a generalization as well... I get this as well, you know, when they have the cheerleaders at half-time at some grounds and all the men are chanting get your whatever’s out. If you ever said, they’d say, ‘Well, you’ve been looking at their legs all match.’

This extract indicates that Lily believes that the media’s predilection for treating women as a homogeneous group with no knowledge about football and emphasizing the opportunities to gaze at attractive young sportsmen has the knock-on effect of making it acceptable for male fans to behave in sexist ways, for example by directing chants at women, or by gazing at young female cheerleaders. The media’s creation of the stereotypical female who goes to football to look at men gives men at football the excuse to objectify women at football; men can argue that there is equality and equality of opportunity in objectification at football (heterosexual women can gaze at the players; heterosexual men can gaze at cheerleaders as well as the women in the crowd) and thus women cannot complain that the atmosphere at football is “sexist”.

Notts County fan Alison concluded that some men simply do not like women entering their specifically male domain, because they see it as an unwarranted invasion of their male bonding ritual and time, and that male fans guard their privileged role as spectators jealously. She was from a football-supporting family and attended matches with a close-knit community of fans, who had seen her grow up as a Notts County supporter. When she went to watch another

team with her brother-in-law, who does not support the same team as her, she felt very aware of the first impressions male fans got of her, saying:

It was especially noticeable when I went with my brother-in-law to see Forest. It was like, what's she doing? My brother-in-law had a spare ticket! You're having a drink with us? Do you know anything about football? I was like, oh God, it's like the Stone Age. I'm not going to stand there going, ooh, look at his legs, for crying out loud.

There is plenty of scope for further research assessing whether these same assumptions are made of female fans of other male team sports. Anecdotally, I would suspect that they are; I know a female cricket fan who has been subjected to sexual comments on social media and in real life simply because she expresses her fandom partially through taking selfies with players of her favourite team; a journalist colleague who specializes in cricket constantly has to bat away (no pun intended) comments questioning her knowledge and making lewd or critical comments about her appearance.

Conclusion: Institutionalized Sexism in Sport and the Dilemma of Negotiating Identity

Even though governing bodies have lifted bans on women's participation, sport remains institutionally sexist for participants and for fans in the ways I have outlined in this chapter, for example through the ways that female athletes are portrayed, the sexism seen in the media, or the heteronormative assumption that female fans watch sport solely to gaze at men. Women in sport have to position themselves as separate or distanced from the situation in some way, in order to remain connected with their sport and the identity they have already scoped out for themselves. It is clear from my respondents' narratives that whether they are athletes or fans, often they find themselves in a conflicted position: participating in sports which are institutionally sexist and thus (hetero)sexually objectify women, or characterize the female onlooker of male sport as heterosexual and not interested in sport itself. This links to previous research in the field: Imelda Whelehan argues that the woman who happily accepts the gender stereotypes portrayed in the media and participates in them (in this case simply by consumption) also accepts that 'women are primarily prized and displayed for their looks', and while women are depicted only in relation to men (as the heavily gendered *Soccer AM* does, and which has been seen throughout the coverage of sports that have been historically

dominated by men) then this undermines ‘contemporary female assurances that glamour and style are done “for myself” and not for male approbation’ (2000, p. 51).

Women’s sport in Britain, like many other national contexts, still has limited media coverage in its own right, although there have been inconsistent efforts to increase coverage across various channels. Athletes are very aware of the importance of promoting a positive image not just to secure their own media profiles and to attract more fans to the sport but from a desire to inspire young fans, particularly girls. Murray and Howat (2009) make the assumption that women may be uncomfortable playing sport because of the ‘dissonance’ between the ‘traditional feminine role’ and the ‘athletic role ... embedded in traditions of masculinity, competition and aggression’. I would argue that it is possible that sports editors feel the same way about seeing images and printing text about women playing sport, hence the low level of coverage, and the constant negative comparisons of male and female athletes; even journalists who were trying to praise the quality of competition at the 2015 Women’s World Cup made a point of emphasizing that men’s football would always simply be better (see Holt, 2015, for a prime example, which also managed to denigrate the achievements of Serena Williams, one of the greatest tennis players of all time, by comparing her unfavourably to Novak Djokovic). Even when reporters and fans were attempting to praise the England team, they often did it by using phrases such as, ‘They put the men to shame’, relying on comparisons rather than assessing the achievement in its own right.

Back in 2012, even while the Team GB footballers were revelling in their front pages, other successful sportswomen had their achievements and femininity brought into question; most memorably, journalist Andrew M. Brown (2012) wrote for the *Telegraph* that he felt uncomfortable watching British judo medallist Gemma Gibbons in action, and asked: ‘Is women fighting each other violently a perfectly wholesome spectator sport?’ He asked no such question about the male competitors, of course. I am still aware of sports desks where editorial guidance notes continue to advise staff to opt for illustrative pictures that include conventionally heterosexually attractive women, preferably with as much bosom as possible on display. One of the biggest problems women’s sport—team and individual—has to overcome, unfortunately, is the stereotypes still firmly clung to by the journalists who should be covering their competitions. Those of us who have an interest in women’s sport and continue to pitch to cover it still find ourselves having to justify its news value—and sometimes see it brushed aside, relegated to a few paragraphs while a large picture of one of the most conventionally attractive athletes dominates the page, with no context about her sporting ability or her match performance.

The British sports media remains intrinsically sexist, with the entire industry dominated by men. Darts players continue to be accompanied to the oche by “walk-on girls”; camera operators in almost all sports seek out the most “glamorous” female fans in the crowd during breaks in play; I have been given editorial guidelines myself that advise me that when I am selecting pictures to accompany news stories, it is a good idea to look for a scantily clad, well-endowed woman in the shot. It is perhaps no wonder that the West Indies cricketer Chris Gayle felt able to ask the TV reporter Melanie McLaughlin out for a drink while live on air,³ despite her obvious discomfort; the media coverage of women's sport and women in sport tends to encourage a prioritization of traditional femininity over professional achievement.

Notes

1. All have been pseudonymized, and any detail that could identify them specifically has been removed. There were in-depth qualitative interviews with three footballers and two cricketers, plus additional short conversations in person, by phone and by email.
2. More about this impact of elite athletes as role models to those at the grassroots can be found in my article (Dunn, 2015).
3. See the coverage of the incident and reaction; for example in the *Independent* (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/chris-gayle-says-asking-mel-mclaughlin-out-on-date-during-interview-was-a-simple-joke-blown-out-of-a6796901.html>) and *Metro* (<http://metro.co.uk/2016/01/04/chris-gayle-causes-outrage-with-sexual-remarks-towards-female-reporter-during-interview-5599599/>).

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Girls, Physical Education and Feminist Praxis

Annette Stride and Anne Flintoff

Introduction

Advocates for physical education (PE) point to the opportunities it offers to experience a range of physical activities and to develop physical skills and abilities. PE is also claimed to be important in helping to cultivate a lifelong relationship with physical activity, and for the health and social benefits that can be accrued through engagement (Green, 2012). However, not all students are actively engaged, nor appear to gain from these benefits. One group of students frequently singled out are girls, whose so-called ‘problematic’ relationship with PE has a long history (Kirk & Vertinskyj, 2016). Research has shifted from viewing girls as the “problem” to more sophisticated accounts that address how the structures and practices of PE create barriers and challenges for girls wishing to be active; or how girls demonstrate their agency by negotiating these to constitute a physical identity (Flintoff & Scraton, 2006; Garrett, 2004; Scraton, 2013). However, despite over four decades of research, many girls continue to have, at best an ambivalent, and at worst, a disinterested relationship with PE. Little seems to have changed for the better, and feminist knowledge appears to have had little impact upon the everyday practices of PE.

This chapter responds to Sheila Scraton’s call (2013; this volume) to retain a focus on feminist praxis as key to improving girls’ positioning and experiences

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within PE. Feminist praxis—where theory informs practice and practice informs theory—has always been central to feminism, and yet, it is this, Scraton argues, that has been eroded. Shifts towards poststructural theorizing with a focus on difference, identities and diversity, together with the powerful influence of postfeminist and neo-liberal discourses, have, she suggests, been at the expense of an analysis of shared experiences and inequalities. Acknowledging the challenges of working within contemporary educational contexts, Scraton points towards ways in which a feminist praxis might be retained, two of which we explore in this chapter. First, she calls for future feminist research in PE to more fully explore the contribution of “middle-ground” theorizing that addresses difference *and* inequalities—so that the ‘fluid construction of diverse identities can be explored, but within an acknowledgement of enduring oppression and material inequalities’ (Scraton, 2013, p. 65). Second, she calls for researchers to work more closely with teachers and students and to be more creative in how we produce new feminist knowledge, and in so doing, replicate the intentions of feminist praxis.

In this chapter we draw on examples from our own UK-based research to illustrate our attempts at engaging in feminist praxis, informed by Scraton’s work. We have, for example, both used middle-ground theorizing, drawing on mainstream feminism (see e.g., Skelton, Francis, & Smulyan, 2006) in order to capture nuanced understandings of individuals’ diverse identity constructions within specific sites and contexts—for Annette, the experiences of South Asian, Muslim girls of their secondary school PE and for Anne, black and minority ethnic (BME) student teachers’ experiences of their PE teacher education (PETE). We concur with Scraton that the creation of new feminist knowledge is an important constituent of feminist praxis since, for academics, the translation of theory is through our teaching and education of new practitioners. We also use Annette’s research to illustrate how creative methods can be used with girls in order to explore their physical identities as Muslim young women. Before we turn to our own research, we briefly consider how our understandings of girls and PE have been informed by feminism. We conclude the chapter by pointing towards areas where future feminist work might be productive.

Gender and Girls’ PE

Whilst the specific focus of this chapter is on girls, it is important to recognize that PE may not “work” very well for other groups of young people. Quantitative surveys of young people’s engagement in PE and sport highlight, for example, how disabled students, those from minority ethnic communities and from

lower socio-economic backgrounds are *also* less involved in PE and school sport (e.g. Quick, Simon, & Thornton, 2010; Wright & MacDonald, 2010). However, whilst useful for mapping broad trends, such “participation levels” research tells us little about the significance or place of physical activities in young people’s lives, or how they might ‘draw on discursive and material resources associated with broader aspects of physical culture to construct their identities in relation to physical activity’ (Wright et al., 2003, p. 18). Some time ago, Coakley and White (1992) argued that girls should not be seen as ‘dropping out’ of physical activity or sport but rather as actively negotiating when and where they will be active, depending upon changing circumstances in their lives. This is also the case for boys as well as girls, of course, and we should not assume that all boys have positive relationships with physical activity and PE simply because the figures suggest their levels of participation are higher than other groups of young people.

Developing a positive physical activity identity for girls (and boys) is very much linked to their negotiation of dominant discourses of gendered embodiment (Garrett, 2004). A further limitation of “participation levels” research that draws on quantitative data is that it homogenizes girls as the same and in this way, girls’ (and boys’) *multiple* identities get lost.

Young people’s gendered identities are always experienced through those of their ethnicity, religion, sexuality, social class and/or disability (Flintoff, Fitzgerald, & Scraton, 2008). Feminist research has been instrumental in highlighting that gender is best viewed as a social process rather than as a variable in survey data, thus it is constantly negotiated and “worked at” within different contexts, including PE. Connell (2008) terms this ‘gender work’; we are constantly ‘working at’ our gendered identities. The ‘rules’ and ‘expectations’ of ‘appropriate’ femininities will differ between different sites and contexts—as will the consequences for *not* performing or ‘doing’ gender in ‘acceptable’ ways (Paechter, 2003).

Importantly, feminist analyses point to the ways in which gendered identities are always hierarchical; roles, behaviours and attributes linked to masculinity are valued above those associated with femininity. Gender relations, including those that are evident within PE classrooms and gymnasias, are relations of *power*, although feminists differ about how best to explain and challenge/disrupt these (Flintoff, 2011). Thus in PE, hegemonic masculinity is reproduced through the ways in which particular attributes (such as physical toughness, aggression and muscularity) or sporting activities (team games) are celebrated (Hickey, 2008). In many ways, this should not be surprising: PE does not exist in a vacuum outside other powerful institutions such as the media, the family, or legal and political systems—all of which are enmeshed

within, and support, wider discourses of gender. However, with its emphasis on the body and performativity, PE plays a significant role in endorsing dominant discourses about gendered embodiment. It is for this reason that we argue, like Scraton, that PE remains an important context for feminist analysis and praxis. Scraton's (1992) pivotal text *Shaping Up To Womanhood* provided comprehensive insights into how teachers' beliefs and expectations about girls' abilities, their bodies, and their future roles as wives and mothers underpin and are reproduced through the curriculum and practices of PE in England. Her research revealed how the selection of curriculum activities for girls, teachers' emphasis on their behaviour and appearance, and their stereotypical attitudes about girls' abilities, each combined to narrow the nature of the learning environments, and limit the position of physical activity within their developing feminine (heterosexual) identities.

Continuities of these themes are evident, albeit in different ways, in more recent research on girls' PE. Scraton's text was instrumental amongst others in establishing a feminist research agenda for PE, stimulating the development of what is now a significant body of research (Flintoff & Scraton, 2006; Oliver & Kirk, 2015). Although theoretically and methodologically diverse (and arguably not all feminist), this work is united in its acknowledgement that girls and their commitment to being physically active should not be seen as the problem. Rather, it is the policies and practices of PE that contribute to the challenges many girls face in the subject. The nature of the curriculum, teachers' pedagogy and expectations, and the ways in which PE as a specific subject area within schools and universities is structured, continue to marginalize and exclude many girls and young women. The *enduring* nature of inequalities is also evident, with recent studies pointing to and confirming the continuing salience of issues identified by Scraton and others. As we go on to discuss below, these include the particular context of teacher education and the preparation of new PE teachers.

Feminist Praxis and PE Teacher Education

If girls' PE is to change, then an important context for feminist praxis is teacher education. How does initial teacher education (ITE) prepare prospective teachers to address gender (and other) inequalities through their teaching? Anne's doctoral research some years ago (Flintoff, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c) examined how ITE addressed issues of gender equality in two case-study institutions in England, each with very different gendered histories. Theoretically this research drew on structural feminist analyses to examine the nature of the

PETE curriculum, and teacher educators' practice across the different elements of the programme (e.g., practical PE activities; theoretical PE; professional and educational studies). The findings highlighted how gender knowledge was marginalized within students' professional preparation, with aspects often included in optional sessions, very much added onto rather than central to the mainstream curriculum. Nevertheless, the research also revealed how gender underpinned both the selection and teaching of physical activities as part of the PE curriculum.

Some years later, Anne's more recent research (Flintoff, 2012) has returned to focus on teacher education and, drawing upon the developments within mainstream feminism, foregrounded intersectional and middle-ground theorizing to focus on the experiences of black and minority ethnic (BME) student teachers' experiences of their PETE. This research explicitly sought to go beyond the earlier, "single-issue" focus on gender and PETE to specifically address how gender is interwoven with race and ethnicity (and other relations of power). How is PETE gendered *and* racialized at the level of the curriculum and pedagogy and specifically, how do BME students negotiate and develop their identities within such contexts?¹ The research draws on the work of Anthias (1998, 2001) in order to examine and map individual experience back to wider structures and inequalities. Anthias (1998) argues that race, ethnicity and gender are social divisions produced through the twin processes of differentiation (and identification) and positionality, and that to understand how these operate, analysis needs to be at four levels: the experiential, intersubjective, organizational and the representational, each interlinked. In this way, she suggests, difference can be accounted for at the level of individual experience *and* as patterns of enduring inequalities.

Anthias' (1998) research revealed how racialized and gender power relations worked to construct BME students as different to their white peers, albeit in complex and dynamic ways. Despite sharing similarities with many of their white peers (they tended to be young, physically able and had enjoyed PE at school, for example), gender and class, religion and ethnicity were interwoven in participants' experiences in complex and nuanced ways, which differed across the different spaces of PETE (for example within university spaces, or on teaching placement/practicum within schools). Skin colour and religious dress were central to the racial stereotyping experienced by some of the participants, and whilst the embodied nature of PE provides a unique context for educators to challenge racial, ethnic and religious stereotyping and discrimination, the opposite was found to be the case in this research (Flintoff, 2012). Stereotyping around embodied difference across race and gender was an everyday occurrence negotiated and managed by individual students in very different ways

(see Flintoff, 2012). Knowledge about race, ethnicity and racism was marginalized or non-existent (as with other social justice/equity issues) in both university and school “spaces” in students’ professional preparation for teaching, reflecting a generic “colour-blind” approach.

By adopting a middle-ground approach to analysis, this research was able to account for agency on the part of individuals, yet at the same time, show how students’ choices were made within a framework of constraints, ‘including interactions with others which themselves have organisational and representational components that cannot be reduced to individuals’ (Anthias, 1998, p. 513). The research acknowledges and explores difference at the level of experience (through the intersections of gender with other aspects of identity such as race, class, religion), but at the same time, ensures that the links with broader social relations and inequalities are not lost. As well as extending our understandings of how gender and race relations are experienced and resisted by individuals within particular educational contexts and spaces, the research also points to the significance of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) for supporting (or not) change in school PE practice. If new teachers are not being exposed to new feminist knowledge and/or pedagogy (and other critical perspectives) then it is difficult to see how innovative practice can be brought about in future PE.

Now, we move to consider Annette’s recent research with South Asian Muslim girls, and show how she has used creative methods to help understand their differing experiences of PE, physical activity and family.

Working *with* Girls in Feminist Research

Whilst PE has been somewhat slower to respond to those arguing for recognition of young people as legitimate knowers of their world, O’Sullivan and MacPhail (2010) and Azzarito and Kirk (2013) provide powerful examples of how researching *with* rather than *on* girls can contribute to enhanced understandings of their relationships with PE and physical activity. Feminist researchers have sought to do this in a variety of ways, including the use of participatory research methodologies and methods. Participatory methodologies have been used to help disrupt the power dynamics of the research process (Clark & Moss, 2011), provide alternative means for girls to communicate their experiences (Oliver, Hamzeh, & McCaughy, 2009), and for capturing diverse thoughts and opinions (Stride, 2014). Providing opportunities for students to have a voice within the research process can also enable them to take ownership

of their learning and develop meaningful PE curricula alongside researchers and teachers (Fisette, 2013; Oliver et al., 2009).

Annette's research with South Asian Muslim girls (Stride, 2014; Stride & Flintoff, 2016) used innovative and participatory methods to address concerns over the lacuna around minority ethnic girls' experiences of PE. Her choice of these kinds of approaches reflected her desire to move beyond research focusing on teachers' perceptions and attitudes and to work with minority ethnic girls, acknowledging and centralizing them as experts in their own lives. Using a middle-ground theoretical approach, her methodology included significant amounts of time observing girls' experiences of PE within a secondary school with a predominantly South Asian, Muslim intake, coupled with more intensive work with a smaller group of 23 self-selecting girls. As part of their weekly Personal, Social, Citizenship and Health Education lesson, Annette used a variety of innovative, participatory methods with four focus groups of girls to generate research findings that captured the diversity of their voices (Pain & Francis, 2003). The girls produced a number of research "artefacts" including posters depicting important aspects of their lives; maps plotting their movements away from school; PE "boxes" reflecting their likes and dislikes about the subject, and a seven-day physical activity diary. These were then used as stimuli to encourage rich conversations during individual and paired interviews with the girls.

Annette's findings trouble the crude, homogenizing stereotypes and assumptions that circulate about South Asian Muslim girls, such as their frailty, weakness, and general disinterest in PE and physical activity (e.g. Carrington, Chivers, & Williams, 1987; Carroll & Hollinshead, 1993; Lewis, 1979). On the contrary, the majority of the girls in her study were actively involved in PE, and were physically active in their lives away from school. They were also very diverse in how they negotiated and managed their involvement in PE based on their likes/dislikes of the subject. Similarly, their involvement in physical activity out of school was also very different—in terms of the kinds of activities engaged in, where and with whom they were physically active, and their frequency of involvement. Many of the girls showed ingenuity in finding or creating physically active contexts suitable for their multiple and diverse needs.

The research also showed how South Asian Muslim girls shared some similar experiences of PE and physical activity with white girls. This is a significant finding that problematizes previous research that has suggested South Asian Muslim girls are different and "other" to white girls. For example, some girls noted how their PE experiences were influenced by the actions of peers, and the competitive and competency-based focus of many lessons, findings also highlighted as significant to white girls' experiences (e.g. Hills, 2007). Annette's

research also demonstrates the continuing significance of gender (Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001; Scraton, 1992). The South Asian Muslim girls' narratives revealed ways in which, like white girls, they were also subject to gendered discourses that legitimized and sanctioned particular femininities, important across ethnicity, and how these influenced the ways in which they thought about themselves and physical activity.

However, the girls' positioning at the intersections of gendered, religious and cultural discourses also influenced their experiences in qualitatively different ways to their white peers. The girls discussed the expectations on them as young South Asian Muslim women to embody particular kinds of femininity which, in some cases, had important consequences for their physical activity experiences. For example, discourses associated with modesty and respect, alongside expectations to maintain familial honour, influenced the types of physical activity taken up, and with whom and where they were active. Although sharing a common religious identity as Muslim, the girls occupied different subject positions within fluid and intertwined Islamic, cultural and gendered discourses. The significance of locally specific cultural interpretations of religious requirements emerged as significant in constructing and regulating South Asian Muslim feminine identities, with important consequences for their physical activity opportunities. For example, some girls were physically active in mixed-sex contexts, whilst for others, different cultural interpretations of their faith deemed these spaces inappropriate.

Whilst these discourses served to position the girls in explicit ways, Annette's research revealed how they did not passively accept these positions. Rather they were active and resourceful in drawing upon different discourses to navigate conflicts, fashion their own identities and map out new possibilities. For example, some girls challenged gendered beliefs within their families and the wider community regarding the expectations of Muslim girls, drawing from wider equal-opportunity discourses. These were also used to help them critique the activities offered within PE. Despite this, the girls' narratives also reflected how their experiences were navigated and negotiated within the mutually interlocking systems of gender, religion and culture. For example, the girls' desire to see football and cricket offered on the curriculum was rebuffed by teachers with the ultimate power to decide the direction of PE. Others experienced similar types of resistance and reluctance to change from their local community and sport centre personnel. Change was easier for the girls to create in some spaces than others; for example, in physical activity opportunities not requiring formal, organized contexts, there were opportunities to create environments that served their needs. In contrast, gender, religion

and culture continued to structure the girls' everyday lives and physical activity experiences in contexts requiring a more formal, organized setting.

Annette's research is one example of more recent feminist scholarship that seeks to change the ways in which we do research with young people in order that we can better understand the diversity of girls' experiences; to produce different knowledge but also produce knowledge differently, as Enright and O'Sullivan (2012) suggest. Annette's research has done this, challenging both dominant conceptions of "femininity" as homogeneous, and simplistic and stereotypical views of Muslim girls' (dis)engagement in PE (see also others working within this field e.g. Knez, Macdonald, & Abbott, 2012). Others have used participatory action research methodologies (rather than just participatory methods) to engage girls and young women more fully in discussion, evaluation and analysis of gender constructions as part of a wider pedagogical process designed to support them to construct new PE curricula or experiences. Enright and O'Sullivan's (2010) participatory action research, Oliver and Lalik's (2004) critical inquiry work with young women, and Oliver & Kirk's (2015) activist research approach are examples of such work. Coupled with analytical approaches that seek to go beyond individual experience, this kind of research is much needed if contemporary PE is to become more meaningful for girls, and other students marginalized by its traditional practices.

Future Feminist Praxis

In concluding, we point towards areas where new feminist research and praxis in PE is still needed.

Physicality, (Hetero)Sexuality and Gender Power Relations

A key insight from Scraton (1992) was her identification of the link between gender, the physical aspects of male power and domination, and a politics of sexuality, which is often missed out or downplayed in more contemporary accounts of girls' PE. Importantly, there has been some valuable research that has explored physical power relations as central gender relations in critical analyses of masculinity. Connell (2008, 1987), for example, shows how the performance of masculinity is not only linked to an idealized male physicality centred around physical strength, dominance, and competition but also to a heterosexuality constructed around unequal power relations between men and women. Hickey and Fitzclarence (1999) are amongst a small group of

scholars that have documented the place of these physical power relations in the performance of masculinity, showing the significant and disturbing consequences of hyper-masculinity when left unchecked within schools and reinforced through PE and sporting practices. Given that violence against girls (and some boys²) remains disturbingly commonplace in their experiences of schooling (House of Commons Women's Committee, 2016), as well as for women in higher education settings (Phipps & Young, 2015), this, and further work on masculinity and PE, are important areas of future feminist analysis in PE.

Knowledge, Power and Gender

As noted above, the professional education of teachers in relation to gender (and other social relations) is vital if PE is to make a contribution to challenging educational inequalities. Whilst Anne's 1990s research showed how gender relations were reproduced through the lecturers' expectations, attitudes and their pedagogy, it also showed that some lecturers were active in challenging and resisting these. Future research needs to examine contemporary examples of good practice in relation to pedagogy for engaging prospective practitioners in critical, reflective work about inequality/ies.³ This could include, for example, the use of narrative and other creative forms of presenting research knowledge (Dowling & Flintoff, 2016; Dowling, Fitzgerald, & Flintoff, 2012; Dowling & Garrett, 2017; Garrett, 2006; Stride, 2014; Stride & Flintoff, 2016). At the same time, critical analyses of contemporary curricula in PE remain essential. We need more work such as the recent national study by Serra et al. (2016), which has examined the positioning of gender knowledge within the PE and sport undergraduate degree in Spain. Their findings point to the ongoing struggles that will be necessary to maintain, let alone extend, the space for feminist praxis within the realities of contemporary neo-liberal educational environments, characterized by accountability, self-regulation and performance outcomes (Dowling & Garrett, 2017).

Gender, Teachers, Physical Education

Finally, focusing on feminist praxis in this chapter necessarily returns us to our own positioning and identities as men and women teachers of PE (whether that be in schools or universities). Whether we do it consciously or not, we are all "teaching" gender in PE, not least because our own gendered identities/

embodiment are important ‘tools of our trade’ in our pedagogy (Braun, 2011; Burrows, 2010; Webb & Quennerstedt, 2010). Students learn the kinds of physical abilities and bodies that are valued in PE, not least through the nature of the curricula activities and pedagogical approaches we select. They learn the accepted discourse(s) about “healthy” and able bodies that circulate and we reproduce, but also, importantly, through the ways in which our teacher bodies “do” pedagogical work. Men and women teachers’ (gendered—and classed, racialized and able) bodies are “read” in different ways by students, other teachers or parents. They also have consequences for the ways in which individual teachers are positioned by, and negotiate a position within, particular gendered institutional regimes and hierarchies (e.g., Mooney & Hickey, 2012). Further research is needed on the ways in which men and women teachers are positioned within the hierarchies of PE and the consequences of this not only for their careers but also for the nature of contemporary pedagogies and practice.

Notes

1. Anne’s ongoing research (with Fiona Dowling) has drawn on the insights of critical race theory and whiteness studies to examine how PETE curricula and practices construct whiteness (Dowling & Flintoff, 2016; Flintoff, Dowling, & Fitzgerald, 2014).
2. Indeed as we write this chapter in December 2016, we are currently in the middle of a widespread investigation by the UK Football Association of child abuse within men’s football, after several high-profile players admitted to being abused by their male coaches during their adolescent years.
3. The ongoing work of Joane Hill and others is a useful example here.

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