

Women, Cricket and Gender Relations;
A Sociological Analysis of the Experiences of Female
Cricketers.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Philippa Velija
Brunel University

April 2007

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the people who have helped me reach this personal and academic milestone;

First and foremost I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family without whom it would not have been possible. Mum, Dad, Anne-Louise, Çimi, Yücel and Baby Eva thank you for the incredible support you have given me as a person and as an academic. I have been privileged to have devoted, conscientious, and generous parents and without their love, support and financial assistance this thesis would have not have been possible.

For my Grandad, a man of great honour and dignity.

For my husband Çimi –thank you for your endless patience and love.

With thanks to my first supervisor, Sue Capel for her continuous encouragement, fortitude and advice throughout every step of this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the commitment of my second supervisor, Dominic Malcolm, who joined this project late. His sociological knowledge has made this thesis a superior sociological thesis than it otherwise would have been. My recent move to York St John University has been an incredible opportunity and I would like to thank all my colleagues who welcomed me in my new role. I would specifically like to thank Karen and Peter for ensuring me the time to complete this thesis. I would also like to extend my Thanks my examiners, Professor Ken Green and Professor Celia Brackenridge for their encouraging, supportive and thorough comments on the thesis.

My sincerest thanks go to my other PhD colleagues, Aarti, Emma, Donna, Bryan and Natalie for their support and encouragement throughout the times when I felt uncertain about the process. Aarti is one of the few people who has read and commented on this thesis; her comments and advice have always been given in good time and good faith. I have found our friendship to be a constant source of inspiration and motivation.

All my friends have been pillars of support throughout the production of this thesis. For many people a PhD can be an isolating experience, I am incredibly fortunate to be able to say that as a result of our friendships, I have not found this to be the case. My sincerest gratitude extends to; Helen, Emma, Suwani, Charlotte, fi-fi, Aussie Em, Liz, Gaynor and Adele.

With thanks to other sociologists of sport, in particular Gavin Mellor, for setting me on a sociological pathway and planting the seeds of my 'sociological imagination'. I would also like to thank a sociologist who wisely informed me that a dissertation is nothing more than "1% inspiration, but 99% perspiration".

I have been honoured to have listened to the stories of numerous females who play cricket. Without them sharing their experiences with me this thesis would not have been possible. There are a number of people who give up their time and money to support cricket for females, for this relatively thankless task I would like to recognise the importance of their commitment and hard work.

Abstract

The sociological study of women and sport, thus far, has focused primarily on females' involvement in football. This can be seen in a variety of sociological studies that have emphasised the persistence of unequal gender relations in the context of football. The purpose of this thesis aims to make a contribution to the literature by providing the first sociological analysis of females' involvement in cricket through a case study involving females' cricketers in a UK county. A figurational framework is adopted throughout the thesis to explore female cricketers' position as outsiders within the context of cricket, which has been predominantly a male preserve. It is suggested within the thesis that female cricketers are a heterogeneous outsider group with internal power relations that affect their outsiders' status. Gender relations as a type of unequal power relation are an integral, enduring part of female cricketers' experiences of the cricket figuration. Furthermore, the testimonies of contemporary female cricketers demonstrate that they remain 'outsiders' in the cricket figuration. That is to say, through a variety of processes, they remain *on the margins of male cricket*.

Contents

Introduction	5
Chapter One Gender Matters: Towards an Eliasian Understanding of Gender Relations	11
Chapter Two Wickets and Women: A Developmental Approach to Understanding Women's Cricket	45
Chapter Three The 12 th Man: Methodology	79
Chapter Four A Maiden Over: A Figural Explanation of Females Socialisation and Progression in Cricket	96
Chapter Five The Theory of the Established and the Outsiders: Understanding Power, Identity and Difference in Women's Cricket	120
Chapter Six Playing the Game: The Manifestation of Power and Gender in Organisations	152
Chapter Seven To Empower or Not? That is the Question... Exploring Empowerment, Change and Continuity in Women's Cricket	180
Conclusion	203

Introduction

On the 12th September 2005 the England men's cricket team won the 'Ashes'¹ series against Australia. This victory led to unprecedented levels of public interest in cricket and even those with no interest could not escape the media elation of this success. On the 27th August, 19 days earlier, the England women's cricket team also won the Ashes series. Despite this, there were far fewer media articles about the women's victory compared to those about the men's.

After their victories the England teams were invited to a victory parade on an open top bus around Trafalgar Square. As evidence for the relative lack of awareness about women's cricket, a reporter at the event recalled how some spectators were confused about who the women were. Lawson (2005) recalls how after a lengthy conversation one group of spectators concluded that the women must be the wives and girlfriends of the men's team. This confusion begins to highlight the lack of public knowledge and understanding about the existence and success of the England women's team. A further example of the invisibility of women's cricket can be seen in a radio advertisement by ASDA² at the time of the Ashes series. In the advertisement, Michael Vaughan urges 'ASDA' mums to buy cricket teas for their husbands and sons at ASDA. The message in this advert is clear; boys and men play cricket, women make the teas. This message reinforces the image of cricket as a male appropriate, female inappropriate sport.

Clare Connor, England captain at the time that they won the Ashes expressed her support for the men's team by declaring, 'We've been watching the guys and been

¹ "In affectionate remembrance of English cricket which died at The Oval, 29th August, 1882. Deeply lamented by a large circle of sorrowing friends and acquaintances, RIP. NB The body will be cremated and the Ashes taken to Australia." Australia's first victory on English soil over the full strength of England, on August 29, 1882, inspired a young London journalist, Reginald Shirley Brooks, to write this mock "obituary". It appeared in the *Sporting Times*. Before England's defeat at The Oval, by seven runs, arrangements had already been made for the Hon. Ivo Bligh, afterwards Lord Darnley, to lead a team to Australia. Three weeks later they set out, now with the popular objective of recovering the Ashes. In the event, Australia won the first Test by nine wickets, but with England winning the next two it became generally accepted that they brought back the Ashes (www.cricInfo.com, 2006). Before this victory in 2005 England had not won the series for 19 years.

² A Major English Supermarket

inspired by their fight and the way they're playing'. Michael Vaughan, captain of the men's team, did not even mention the women's team's victory let alone express that their success was an inspiration for the men's team. Perhaps this is not so surprising given Hargreaves' (2000) assertion that male sporting heroism is more extensively celebrated than female heroism.

The examples given above lend support to the notion that cricket continues to be considered a male appropriate activity and may still be a 'male preserve' (Dunning, 1999). This may not be sociologically surprising given that many sociologists of sport have emphasised the various ways in which modern sport is a site for men to 'do gender' and play out their 'male sporting identities' (Dunning, 1999, Hargreaves, 2000, Hemphill and Symons, 2002). Other sport sociologists, notably, Burton Nelson (1999); Burstyn (1999); Castelnuovo and Guthrie (1998); Heywood and Dworkin (2003); Theberge (2000b), argue that the reason why gender differences are frequently debated in sport is because it is a space where gender differences are visible because of the perceived naturalness of men's strength versus women's weakness (Hargreaves, 1994; Messner, 1992; Strandbu and Hegna, 2006).

The sociological study of women and sport, thus far, has focused primarily on females' involvement in football. This can be seen in a variety of sociological studies such as those by Fasting and Pfister, (2000); Liston, (2006); Mennesson and Clement, (2003) and Scraton *et al.* (1999, 2005) that have emphasised the persistence of unequal gender relations in the context of football which continue to privilege male football identities over female football identities. On the other hand research on cricket has predominately provided establishment accounts of men's cricket or focused narrowly on the issue of race and cricket (see for example Birley, 1999; Brookes, 1978; Malcolm, 1997; MacDonald and Ugra, 1998). Therefore, this thesis aims to make a contribution to the literature by providing the first sociological analysis of females' involvement in cricket through a case study involving females cricketers in a UK county.

A figurational framework is adopted throughout the thesis. The embracing of a figurational approach to females' involvement in cricket may be surprising given Hargreaves' (1992:161) criticism that Elias, the founder of figurational sociology,

'marginalises females and says very little about gender relations'. In response to the criticisms presented by Hargreaves (1992), Dunning (1992, 1999), Colwell (1999), Liston (2006), Mansfield (2002) and Maguire and Mansfield (1998) have illuminated ways that Elias's work can provide an understanding of gender relations, particularly in sport. In addition to this, mainstream sociologists, Ernst (2003), Triebel (2001), and Brinkgreve (2004) have proposed ways that figural sociology can provide an understanding of gender relations. This thesis can be considered to be an extension of these recent studies.

The sociological problem at the heart of this thesis is an analysis of how gender relations impact on the experiences of female cricketers' experiences playing what is traditionally considered a male sport. These gender relations are of course part of the interdependent relationships in which female cricketers are enmeshed. Thus female cricketers cannot be understood solely by looking at their participation in cricket but also at their relationships with others within and outside the cricket figuration. The central questions that are being considered in this thesis are;

- How has the development of cricket as a 'male preserve' impacted on the development of women's cricket?
- How do females become involved in playing cricket?
- What power balances exist between men and women and between different groups of women in the cricket figuration?
- How do female cricketers construct a sporting identity in a traditional male sport?
- How do dominant gender relations impact on female cricketers within cricket organisations?
- What motivates females to play cricket?

The thesis aims to explore these research questions about female experiences of playing cricket. The thesis is, however, not an explanation of the structure of women's cricket nor is it a comparison of males and females experiences, the focus of the thesis is not on race relations. The thesis specifically addresses a gap in the sociological literature and is about females' experiences of playing cricket in the 21st century.

Thesis Structure

In Chapter One I examine the theoretical framework that underpins the thesis. In this chapter it is necessary to discuss the key concepts of a figurational approach to sociology and its application to gender relations. The chapter briefly discusses feminist theory because, to date, this is the theory that has provided the main body of literature and research on women and sport. The chapter starts with an overview of the development of sociology and seeks to place figurational sociology within that by discussing the key concepts the theory. Secondly, the possibility of a synthesis between figurational sociology and feminisms is discussed. In concluding this chapter I propose a framework for the figurational study of gender relations. Crucially this is not based on a synthesis between theories of sociology; instead a *figurational* approach to gender relations is appraised.

Chapter Two is a developmental overview of women's cricket. In this chapter The Civilising Process (Elias, 2000) and *The Quest for Excitement* (Elias and Dunning, 1986) are discussed. These aspects of the theory are discussed in Chapter Two, rather than Chapter One because of their relevance to understanding the development of social processes. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the processes that have impacted on the development of the women's game and to contextualise the position of women's cricket at present. It is concluded that a developmental approach puts this thesis in its historical context. This is considered vital in order to develop an adequate understanding of the current position of female cricketers.

Chapter Three is an explanation of the methods that were used to collect the data in the thesis. This chapter explores the complexities of the research process and discusses some the key issues involved in collecting qualitative data. Furthermore the chapter explores the figurational concept of involvement and detachment in relation to my own research experience. Chapters 4-7 utilise the data collected in the research to discuss a number of themes pertinent to an understanding of female experiences of playing cricket in the UK in the 21st century. Chapter Four is an exploration of gender relations and how these impact on females at the crucial time when girls and women initially get involved in cricket. In particular, I look at the interdependent relationships

between females, friends and parents as well as examining how these relationships impact on females' decisions to start and continue playing cricket.

Chapter Five continues to discuss the relationships between those involved in cricket and the issue of power balances within people's relationships. By adopting Elias's (1964/1994) theory of established and outsider relations I examine the extent to which women are outsiders within the cricket figuration and the processes involved in women remaining in this position. Within this discussion I explore females' sporting identities within cricket and how women explain their own cricketing abilities in relation to men's cricketing abilities. This chapter finishes with a discussion about issues relating to sexuality in relation to power balances and the extent to which there were divisions between females within the cricket figuration.

Chapter Six continues to explore power relations, specifically gender relations, between people who play cricket and cricket administrators. Through Elias' theory of game models I explore how gender relations are manifested by those working within the club, county and ECB cricketing structure. It is the females' experiences of playing within the club and the county as well as their interactions with those working within the structure of the ECB that are considered important throughout. In this chapter the theory of game models is reintroduced as a valuable way of understanding female cricket clubs position within the county.

Chapter Seven of the thesis is an exploratory chapter that explores the motivations of the females involved in playing cricket. This is an exploratory chapter because many feminists have indicated that sport provides an empowering experience for females. Dunning (1999), on the other hand, contends that females, like males, are likely to be motivated by the '*quest for excitement*' and this can help explain females increasing involvement in sport. Throughout this chapter I offer a figurational critique of the concept of empowerment through exploring females' experiences of playing cricket and begin to consider to what extent females can be said to be motivated by a *quest for excitement*.

The conclusion brings together the key aspects of figurational sociology that have been explored throughout the thesis. In particular the notion of a figurational

framework for the study of gender relations will be re-evaluated in light of the research findings.

This introduction has provided a rationale for the study and began by contextualising the current position of women's cricket with two contemporary examples of the position of women's cricket in the UK. It is contended that, despite an abundance of literature on women and sport, little is understood about women who play cricket and their experiences of this traditional male English sport.

The following chapter discusses the theoretical aspects of the thesis and notes how this underpins the rest of this thesis.

Chapter One

Gender Matters Towards an Eliasian Understanding of Gender Relations

'There are no random acts, we are all connected. You can no more separate one life from another than you can separate a breeze from the wind' (Albom, 2003:50)

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework that underpins the rest of this thesis. At present, the use of figurational sociology to explore gender relations in mainstream sociology and in the sociology sport is slim. Figurational sociologists, Mansfield (2002), Colwell (1999), as well as Liston (2006), have outlined ways in which figurational sociology may be synthesised with feminisms in order to provide a more adequate understanding, than we have at present, of gender relations. In light of these proposals and with reference to 'mainstream' sociologists such as Brinkgreve (2004), Ernst, (2003) and Triebel (2001) I intend to explore what aspects of Eliasian sociology might be applicable to the study of gender relations.

The structure of this chapter is firstly to outline some key issues within the area of sociology. This is done using Kilminster's (1998) developmental analysis of the three phases in sociology. Following on from this I explain the key concepts within figurational sociology, namely; the figuration, habitus, power, involvement and detachment, the theory of game models and the theory of established and outsider relations. *The Civilising Process* and *The Quest for Excitement*, which are linked to historical and culturally produced changes in power balances (and habitus), are explored in Chapter Two. One of the reasons for this separation is that *The Civilising Process* and *The Quest for Excitement* are empirically grounded examples of Elias's work. They could therefore, be proved false, although this would not necessarily invalidate the concepts discussed in this chapter. In order to explore figurational contributions to the study of gender recent work in this area is discussed and in light of these discussions, similar to Dunning (1999), I propose an Eliasian framework for the study of gender relations and make preliminary comments about how this framework might further our sociological understanding of gender relations in sport.

What is Sociology?

Within this section I explore what sociology is and move on to look at the development of sociology as a subject and where figurational sociology might be placed within the wider discipline.

Sociology is commonly defined in student text books as ‘the study of society’ (Elias, 1978). Such a simplistic definition is criticised by Elias for failing to elaborate on what is society, what function does society have and what is the relationship between societies and individuals? These are questions that have been debated by sociologists since the emergence of sociology as a subject and are not easily resolved. Frequently debated is also whether sociology can be relevant to people’s everyday lives. Goudsblom (1979), alongside Elias (1978), emphasises that sociology can be relevant because it can help people develop a better understanding of the social world in which they live. The authors point out that without such a basic understanding of the world it is not uncommon for people to seek ‘mythical’ or ‘spiritual’ explanations for social issues or personal problems. Elias (1978: 13) clearly states that, for him, sociology is ‘concerned with problems of society, and society is something formed by oneself and other people together’. This definition of sociology captures the essence of society as being made up of groups of individuals.

Sociology is considered a difficult subject to define because of its diversity and scope (Kilminster, 1998). In *The Sociological Revolution* Kilminster (1998) argues that there have been three key phases that can be identified in the development of sociology. These are, a) the monopoly phases, 1945-65; b) the conflict phase, 1954-80; and c) the concentration phase, 1980- present. Let us explore these in more detail.

The monopoly phase, according to Kilminster (1998), was dominated by the sociology of functionalists. Kilminster (1998) suggests that at this time, society was divided by greater divisions of power than at present. Such imbalances of power meant that people were less likely to question inequalities and therefore functionalism appeared to explain issues and inequalities as being part of a functional society (Kilminster, 1998).

The second phase, the conflict phase, refers to a time when there was a spurt in the development of a number of sociological perspectives. Perspectives such as Marxism, Feminisms, Symbolic Interactionisms and Neo-Marxisms developed at this time. According to Kilminster (1998), those using these perspectives often argued with one another in an attempt to have their perspective heard. Conflict between theories and theorists was strong. It was also during this phase that sociologists began to question notions of social science and the concept of truth. Positivistic ideas were challenged and one of the consequences of this is that notions of truth and knowledge were strongly contested. Debates seemed to be characterised by an “either /or perspective” and led to intense personal and sociological disputes about which perspective was ‘right’. These disputes were fuelled by political interests and a common perception about sociology at this time seemed to centre on the belief that it was a subject that breeds revolutionary ideas. An example of this is that those involved in Marxist sociology were interested in communist and capitalist politics as well as being interested in Marxism as a sociological theory. Another example is that many feminists considered sociology as a means to improve the position of women. Other sociologists saw the subject as providing justification for the ideologies and beliefs of those already in power. This led to the debate amongst sociologists about ‘whose side are we on’. In particular, sociologists such as Becker, (1966) argued for all sociologists to represent and speak up for those who he considered ‘powerless’.

The concentration phase is characterised by a greater understanding or appreciation of other theories. This phase saw an appreciation amongst sociologists of other sociological theories (Mennell, 1992). This is perhaps best described as a stage of ‘mutual identification’ (Mennell, 1992:138). As a result of this there has been an increase within sociology in theoretical synthesising. This means that sociologists use aspects of theories that they find useful to explain particular social phenomenon and dismiss the aspects with which they do not find useful. Perhaps an adequate example of theoretical synthesising can be seen in the work of Giddens, who structuration theory is an amalgamation of many other theories (Kilminster, 1998, Swingewood, 1999:66). Theorists who continue to disagree about their respective theories accept these disputes as it is widely acknowledged that sociological perspectives do not always have to agree. Such a change reflects a psychological change in people in present societies, whereby people are better able to live with perspectives and ideas

that differ from their own (Kilminster, 1998). People are able to understand the commonalities between themselves and others but they are also able to understand and accept the differences, even if they themselves disagree: 'people are better able generally, than in the previous two phases, to perceive what they have in common with others, or, at least, better able to live with the reality of mutual antipathy' (Kilminster, 1998:172). This has meant that sociologists have been able to put aside theoretical disputes and work more closely together.

By tracing the development of sociology, Kilminster (1998) is able to highlight how the subject has developed alongside other social processes, such as economic and political change. Sociology therefore is not a subject that just analyses and explores processes, sociology is a subject in process. Elias (1978) noted that as sociology developed it would inevitably be bound up in power struggles. This is because it is a subject that explores power and change and therefore is bound to be used for political purposes. Since sport developed late as an area considered worthy of sociological study, the three stages presented by Kilminster (1998) may have occurred later in the sociology of sport. Synthesising of theories is relatively new in this area and therefore it could be argued that the sociology of sport is just entering the third stage.

Sociology has not developed in a single linear or mono fashion and there continue to be many sociological theories that exist and emerge, for example theories of postmodernism and post structuralism (Giulianotti, 2004). Within sociology there continue to be certain debates that have been around since the emergence of the discipline. Due to the nature of these they have tended to develop in dichotomous ways (Jenks, 1998; Moghaddam, 2002). These debates are about issues such as objectivity and subjectivity, the individual and society, the micro or macro? These dichotomies have resulted in people adopting theories that gravitate towards arguing for one perspective at the expense of the other. These ideas are often pitted in opposition to one another and have resulted in continual irresolvable arguments between sociologists. These can be considered 'self perpetuating' debates (Quilley and Loyal, 2005:1). Figural sociology, as proposed by Norbert Elias, offers different ways to understand traditional sociological concepts e.g. individual vs. society, subjectivity vs. objectivity. Elias's approach to sociology will now be explored in greater detail.

What is Figural Sociology?

What is figurational sociology is not an easy question to answer. Figural sociology has been used in a variety of ways and was developed from the work of Norbert Elias. The following section looks at two aspects of Elias's work; the figuration and habitus.

The term figuration³ was used by Elias in an attempt to overcome one of the widely used but false dichotomies of sociology, that of the individual versus society (Elias, 1978, 1991). Elias, amongst others, e.g. Jenks (1998); Moghaddam (2002), expressed concern about the tendency of sociologists to stress either the importance of the individual over society or vice versa. Traditionally, sociologists who study macro structures, such as Marxists, have tended to be concerned with questions such as, 'how does society impact upon individuals?' In contrast to this are sociologists who ask questions such as 'how do individuals create social change?' These two sets of questions imply that a gap exists between societies and individuals (Elias, 1978). Such a dichotomy is considered fruitless by Elias. The figuration is presented as a way of understanding individuals *and* societies. Figurations are commonly defined as being 'networks of interdependent human beings with shifting asymmetrical power balances' (Mennell, 1992:252). The term can, 'serve as a simple conceptual tool to loosen the social constraint to speak and think as if the individual and society were antagonistic as well as different' (Elias, 1978:130). Therefore, since people live and interact with one another the concept of an asocial individual is a misconception. It is also a fallacy to consider a society without people. Society is, according to Elias, the 'network of the functions which people have for each other, it and nothing else, that we call society' (Elias, 1991:16). Another benefit of using the term figuration is that it

³ The term figurational sociology is derived from one of the central concepts of Elias's sociology, the figuration. Although it is reported by Mennell (1992) that Elias preferred the term 'process sociology', 'figurational sociology' had already emerged as a term to refer to those working within his theoretical framework. Mennell (1992) questions whether the term figurational sociology was counter to the development of Elias's ideas about sociology because of the way it became considered as yet another competing school within the discipline or wrongly considered as another grand narrative.

can apply equally to small groups, face-to-face contact, to individuals and larger groups, as well as 'nation-states, race and caste, and classes' (Quilley and Loyal, 2005:813). Elias uses the analogy of a dance to capture the nature of interdependent people within figurations. This is a useful conceptualisation of the figuration because it emphasises that 'dances can be danced by different people, but without plurality of reciprocally orientated and interdependent individuals, there is no dance' (Van Krieken, 1998:58)

Arguably the concept of the figuration is sociologically unique because, unlike the term 'pattern', 'system', or 'structure' it forces sociologists to consider structure *alongside* individual action (Dunning, 1992:241). Elias did not claim that the term would solve the dichotomous argument. He merely presented the concept as a more adequate way of understanding people and the interdependent relationships, ties and bonds that they form. In terms of answering the question, 'what is figurational sociology?' it is most adequately described as the study of people and their interdependent relationships.

Possessing the Amulet: The Figural Concept of Power

Power is a prominent concept in the majority of sociological theories, but figurational sociologists conceptualise power in a specific way. Within sociological theory, power is generally considered as something that one person has and another person does not (Dunning, 1999). According to Elias, power is considered part of all human relationships. Elias was critical of traditional sociological conceptions of power for two reasons; a) power is not something that you possess, b) power is not always negative. Elias notes,

One may say that somebody 'has' power and leave it at that, although such usage, which implies that power is a thing, leads down a blind alley. A more adequate solution to problems of power depends on power being understood unequivocally as a structural characteristic of a relationship, all-pervading and, as a structural characteristic, neither good nor bad. It may be both (Elias 1978:93).

This makes a clear distinction between understanding power as something that not only exists between two political states but also between friends (Elias, 1978), thus stressing that power is always present in relationships between people. If a person is dependent on another person be it for love, knowledge, food, then a power balance exists between those people. Power is not something that can be picked up and then lost again (Hughes, 1998). Even in the seemingly most unequal power balances if someone depends on you then you have relative power. Crucially power is always viewed as a balance, yet it is noted that some power balances are more unequal than others. Dunning (2003:233) draws on the words of Emerson (1970) to explain that power has no vehicle through which to exist, apart from through people's use of it;

To say 'X has power' is vacant, unless we specify 'over whom'. In making these necessary qualifications we force ourselves to face up to the obvious. Power is a property of the social relation: it is not an attribute of the actor.

Elias's conceptualisation of power is to some extent clarified in Elias's discussion of game models and the theory of established and outsiders.

Playing the Game: Elias's Game Models

Elias's game model is an analogy used to illustrate people's interdependent relationships. Elias emphasises 'the figurations of interdependent human beings cannot be explained if one studies human beings singularly' (Elias, 1978:72). The game models, according to Mennell (1992), are useful in exploring social processes, the nature of power and unintended social processes.

The first game proposed by Elias is a game between two people. In the first instance player one is much stronger than player two. Elias explains how player one is able, through a variety of strategies, to exert a certain amount of control over the game. Player one has greater knowledge about the game, is able to move the game forward and eventually can move the game to a position whereby they are able to win. Despite the relative strength of player one, Mennell (1992) emphasises that both players must have a degree of knowledge of the game. Without a shared knowledge of the game there would be no game. If player two becomes more skilled at the game and

therefore starts to equal player one, the power dynamics between the two begin to change. The ability of the stronger player to control all aspects of the game is diminished, and as a result, the ability of player two to control the stronger player increases (Roderick, 2003). In this instance power passes more frequently from player to player (Mennell, 1992). This makes predicting the moves of the game, say 10 or 15 moves ahead, more difficult because the number of possible outcomes has increased.

Elias presents a further game scenario in which there is one strong player against a group of weaker players. The weaker players, according to Elias, are at a disadvantage because they are a fragmented group. Being fragmented affects their ability to communicate effectively with one another. This is particularly the case if there are internal disagreements within the weaker group (Mennell, 1992). In another scenario in which groups of players play against each other there emerges a series of moves and countermoves. This makes predicting a series of moves difficult, if not impossible. It becomes evident in this scenario that it is not possible to understand the movement of one player without exploring the moves of other players and the context of the game as a whole.

In the next series of games Elias presents a game with more players, which is therefore more complex. These games express 'elaborate social processes'. In these models it is almost impossible for one person to control the game or to anticipate what might occur next. The game becomes disorganised and the players have to reorganise themselves. A possible outcome of the reorganisation is that smaller groups begin to coexist within the game. Elias calls these two-tier figurations. In these figurations not all people play the game with each other and the tiers are often spilt into hierarchies.

Quilley and Loyal (2005:821), who appraise the game models approach, suggest the strength of it is that it allows,

Elias to demonstrate how, as the number of players grows, the pattern of interdependency between individuals increases and power ratios between players tends to decline. This is the simplest theoretical expression of Elias' notion of functional democratization- that other things being equal, greater complexity in social and economic life leads to a lessening of power ratios.

The notion of interdependence is key in figurational sociology, according to Dunning (1999:16), 'interdependency chains vary in density, visibility and length, interdependence *per se* is a social universal'. People are interdependent with others from the moment they are born, 'each of us is born into the interdependency ties of some form of family. Our family is locked into the chains of interdependence of a 'survival unit' such as a nation-state and, in the modern world, into interdependency chains that are increasingly global in scope' (Dunning, 1999:18). From birth you learn languages and expression of languages that are historically located. Elias himself noted that all people are born into interdependency chains.

One of the benefits of Elias' game models is the way he is able to demonstrate the polyvalent nature of power. Unlike traditional concepts of power, these models demonstrate the complexity of power balances as they change and develop in a variety of situations. It also illuminates how it is not possible for one person to have power or to fully control the outcome of the 'game'. 'By using the image of people playing a game as a metaphor for people forming societies together, it is easier to rethink the static ideas which are associated with most of the current concepts used in this context' (Elias, 1978:92).

Figurational sociology includes many concepts such as the figuration and concepts of power that are essential when using the theory. In order to bring together aspects of the theory, Goudsblom (1977:6) originally outlined four principles that summarise figurational sociology. These have recently been updated and expanded by Quilley and Loyal (2005:815) are presented below;

1. Human beings are born into relationships of interdependency. The social figurations that they form with each other engender emergent dynamics, which cannot be reduced to individual actions or motivations. Such emergent dynamics fundamentally shape individual processes of growth and development, and the trajectory of their lives.
2. These figurations are in a state of flux and transformation, with interweaving processes of change occurring over different but interlocking time-frames.

3. Long-term transformations of human social figurations have been, and continue to be, largely unplanned and unforeseen.
4. The development of human knowledge (including sociological knowledge) takes place within such figurations and forms one aspect of their overall development: hence the inextricable link between Elias' theory of knowledge and the sociology of knowledge processes.

These four principles form the basis of figurational sociology. It is this framework that all figurational sociologists should adhere to when studying sociological issues. The justification for approaching sociological problems figurationally is that it is a more adequate study of some of the conceptual issues in sociology e.g. subjectivity and objectivity and agency and structure.

The above discussion of figurational sociology explores these key concepts and Elias's conceptualisation of power. The theory of established and outsider relations is also a discussion of power within relationships but it is an empirical study of power relations, from a figurational perspective, within a small community. The concept of the established and outsiders and the way this demonstrates Elias's view of power is discussed in the following section.

The Theory of Established – Outsider Relations

The figurational concept of power is illuminated above in the game models. However Elias expanded upon his ideas about power in the theory of established – outsider relations. This is first discussed in *The Civilising Process*, but is later developed by Elias with Scotson (1964/1994) in a book which explores the theory in the context of a small community in the UK. Elias and Scotson's research demonstrates how power exists in many forms and is not, for example, derived solely from sex as an economic position. There are differing levels of power that impact upon various groups who live within the same community. Within the community under study the authors identified three groups; Zone 1 which was made up of predominately middle class families, Zone 2 (the village) and 3 (the estate) were made up of predominantly working class families with similar income levels. Despite the similarity in incomes in zone 2 and 3 it became apparent to Elias and Scotson that the two groups viewed themselves

differently. The villagers considered all members of the estate to be rough, unclean, promiscuous and unable to control their children. In reality Elias and Scotson (1964/1994) noted that there was little or no difference between those living on the estate and the village. However, the estate people came to be viewed in terms of the 'minority of the worst', that is to say they were judged by the behaviour of a few which was considered socially unacceptable i.e. having unclean house, promiscuity, unruly children. On the other hand the villagers were judged by the 'minority of the best', that is to say they were judged by the behaviour of the best of that group i.e. being house proud, having well mannered children. The reasons for this seemed due to the length of residence, cohesiveness as a group and interdependency ties between people (Elias and Scotson 1964/1994).

Gossip was one of the tools used by the villagers to ensure that the estate members were viewed badly. Gossip was used, by members of the villagers, to spread rumours about the people on the estate,

the catchwords used for estate people, the stories about them, were all tilted so as to underline the exclusive superiority of one's conduct, values and way of life and the total inferiority of those of the estate people (Elias and Scotson, 1994:96).

Gossip was a particularly powerful part of a dual process whereby the villagers elevated their own social position while at the same time encouraged others to think badly about those living on the estate. Elias and Scotson (1994) refer to this as 'group disgrace' and 'group charisma'. Group charisma refers to the belief in the collective grace which a group attribute to themselves. Those who do not have these 'graces' are viewed differently and inferiorly. Thus, not only do the villagers think badly of the estate members but the estate members also begin to accept their own inferior status. Group charisma and group disgrace are interlinked as it is impossible to understand one without understanding the other; they are relative terms. The theory of established and outsider relations is particularly important because it illuminates the way in which, 'attaching the label of lower human value to another group is one of the weapons used in power struggles by superior groups as a means of maintaining their social superiority' (Elias and Scotson, 1994: XXi).

In developing the theory further, Dunning (1999) explores the power imbalances between blacks and whites in the USA utilising Elias and Scotson's research. As a result of this analysis he expands on Elias's theory by suggesting that there are four features common to all established-outsider relations:

- I. The tendency for members of established groups to perceive outsiders as law breakers;
- II. The tendency for the established to judge outsiders in terms of the minority of the worst;
- III. The tendency of outsiders to accept the established group's stigmatization of them, that is to internalise the 'group charisma' of the dominant group and their own group disgrace;
- IV. The tendency for the established to view the outsiders as in some way unclean.

The extent to which IV is always the case is debatable. For instance in gender relations it is difficult to see how this point is manifested in relations between males and females.

The theory of established and outsider relations and the game models emphasises Elias's view of power as being part of *all* relationships within a figuration or group of figurations.

Tilting the Scales: The Figurational Concept of Involvement and Detachment

One of the key sociological concerns of Elias's career was to explore the sociological nature of knowledge. Smith (2001:100) confirms that one of Elias's goals in this regard was, 'to work towards producing scientific knowledge of social processes and figurations so that some of the worst consequences for human beings could be avoided by rational action'. Thus by providing 'scientific' knowledge Elias was concerned about the ability of humans to understand the world in which they live and the relationships that people have with one another. By understanding these relationships Elias believed people could better understand their lives. The following section explores Elias's theoretical and practical concept of knowledge.

Elias's concept of involvement and detachment is an attempt to overcome another dichotomy in sociology, that of subjectivity versus objectivity. In the text *Involvement and Detachment*, Elias argues that within sociology there have traditionally been two main strands of thought; those adopting a strict positivist approach to research, and those adopting an interpretative framework of knowledge. Elias acknowledges that traditionally positivists utilise methods for the social sciences that mirror the natural sciences. In particular they emphasise the importance of theoretically-informed empirical research which can provide 'facts' about the phenomenon under study. Kilminster (1998:75) notes that those adopting positivism 'suggested that whatever area of investigation in the social and natural worlds, there was one kind of enquiry and explanation applicable to them all'. In opposition to this positivist standpoint, other sociologists work within the interpretative tradition of research. These researchers are primarily concerned with understanding human action and experience (O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994). Interpretative sociologists have been extremely critical of positivistic notions of 'truth'. Although the ideology of value/bias free sociology has been sufficiently challenged by the interpretative tradition, there are still those who insist on measures to minimise bias in research (May, 2001; Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). One question that has been debated is what does the term value free sociology mean? Gouldner (1973:8) in discussing the debate argues;

does the belief in a value free sociology mean that, in point of fact sociology is a discipline free of values that successfully excludes all non-scientific assumptions in selecting, studying and reporting a problem? Or does it mean that it should do?

Gouldner (1973) accepts that sociologists such as Weber were advocates of scientific objectivity for sociology but Gouldner (1973) argues that this was because Weber was against the use of sociology for political gain. This, Gouldner (1973) argues, is because at the time that Weber was writing the social context in Germany was fraught with political tension and sociology was a tool that could be used for political purposes. Gouldner (1973) highlights that it is important to locate a sociologists' ideas in the social and political context in which they were writing. It is also important to

recognise that with the development of 'new' research methods and the exploration of the diversity of qualitative research methods the interpretative tradition is well established (see for example Sparkes, 2002).

Elias proposes a different approach to the above debate about subjectivity versus objectivity in research. Elias's position is that research can never be entirely objective or subjective. Elias preferred objectivity and subjectivity to be seen along a continuum. It is this continuum that Elias labels involvement and detachment. Elias (1987a) illustrates that all behaviour lies on a continuum between involvement and detachment. He goes on to note that only babies or insane people are fully involved in what goes on around them. In research, all researchers are involved and detached to varying degrees. Both involvement and detachment are valued by Elias. Unlike those following a positivist tradition of research, Elias considers how involvement is beneficial to sociologists, because they live in the society that they are studying and they are part of the same processes and interdependencies that they research. Elias further noted how there are some situations which implore certain levels of involvement. One example that Elias draws upon is that the researchers' interest in a particular area is vital to help motivate them to initiate and continue their research.

Whilst Elias stressed that involvement was a necessary part of research, he was also concerned that too great a level of involvement would negatively impact on the ability of the researcher to create what he termed reality 'congruent' knowledge. This term refers to the degree to which the researcher reflects what is actually going on, as opposed to reflecting the biases of the group or individual being studied. The term reality congruent has the potential to be misunderstood as a desire on Elias's part to search for an ultimate truth (Murphy *et al.*, 2000). Yet, Elias did not consider issues in terms of ultimate truths. On the contrary, he suggests that research can only be more or less adequate than previous research. To emphasise this point van Krieken (1998:137) stresses that figurational sociologists reject,

both the concept of truth as absolutely distinct from falsity and the relativistic conception of knowledge in favour of a concept of greater or lesser object adequacy lying somewhere between involvement and detachment.

In order to achieve a balance between involvement and detachment in research Elias advised researchers to undergo a process of a 'detour via detachment'. This means that the researcher is expected to put aside personal and practical problems in the anticipation that the practical problem or issue can be researched in a more detached manner. The reason for this is that allows researchers to generate more reality congruent research (Waddington, 2000). According to Elias this ensures that processes can be studied in a relatively calm and reflective way. The term perhaps suggests that once the research is completed then the researcher can return to their original, more involved position.

Rojek (1992) suggests that although the concept of involvement and detachment appears useful, in reality, since Elias offers no practical advice to researchers about how to maintain appropriate levels of involvement and detachment, it cannot be considered a practical concept. In response to Rojek's claim, Dunning (1992:252) suggests the following points that can be surmised from Elias work;

- I. locate objects of research historically in wider systems of social interdependencies;
- II. explore connections and regularities in structures and processes for their own sake - always try to contribute to knowledge rather than achieve a short term goal;
- III. attempt to see yourself and your work through the eyes of others and relate your work to existing research in the area;
- IV. see theory and research as a two-way process- they continually inform one another;
- V. ensure you work in areas in which you have a personal interest.

These guidelines can be used by figurational researchers when conducting their research. Despite offering these guidelines, Dunning (1992) accepts that the concept of involvement and detachment may require greater consideration. In particular, Colwell (1999:230) in a paper exploring the synthesis of figurational and feminisms, agrees with Dunning (1992). She does go on to express concern that figurational sociologists have not been able to, 'outline how the goal of relatively high detachment can be reached'. A consequence of this is the extent to which figurational sociologists

are not aware of their biases in their work (Colwell, 1999). Colwell (1999) does not give any specific examples of where this might have occurred, and consequently it is not easy to be able to see if this has been the case.

Hargreaves (1992, 1994) has also been critical of the concept of involvement and detachment. Writing from a feminist perspective, Hargreaves (1992) is critical of the fact that figurational sociologists within sport have been virtually silent about female sporting experiences. The reason for this silence, according to Hargreaves (1992), stems from their use of the concept of involvement and detachment, which encourages a lack of critical analysis. It is worth quoting Hargreaves (1992:165) at length here;

In contradiction to Dunning's claim, such a position represents an alignment with the 'dominant values and models of thinking of western societies'. Because it claims to be objective and uncritical, in a subtle but fundamental manner it is supporting the popular idea that sport is more suited to men than to women and represents a celebration of the world of male bonding and male sport.

Hargreaves (1992) argues that rather than questioning or being critical about the inferior position of women in sport, figurational sociologists accept it. At the heart of Hargreaves (1992) argument is whether it is possible for anyone, including Elias and Dunning, to detach themselves from their own research. As a supporter of feminist research methods Hargreaves (2000) aligns herself with the argument that research should be 'passionately objective' and that involvement should be a valued part of research. She notes that researcher should not deny their personal involvement in research. The term however appears to be contradictory, is it possible to be passionate and objective simultaneously? Such a term appears to ignore the fact that research requires involvement and detachment; it is a blend of the two that is needed. In this regard Hargreaves (1992, 2000) has similar views to that of Devine and Heath (1999:9),

value free research is an impossibility, and research will inevitably be affected by the values of the researcher, regardless of whether their value position is made explicit.

Detachment is viewed by feminists as a male concept. It is a concept that supports science (and hence patriarchy). The irony is that the concept of objectivity, supposedly represents a neutral detached view of the world, yet it is according to Maynard and Purvis (1994) gendered and partial. In response to Hargreaves (1992), Dunning (1992), believes that Hargreaves' (1992) interpretation of detachment as a concept that supports objectivity is based on a misreading. On the contrary, Dunning (1992) emphasises that Elias did not argue that detachment in research should be prioritised over involvement. Neither involvement nor detachment are to be viewed as mutually exclusive categories.

Kilminster (2004) and van Krieken (1998) note that although Elias suggested that the terms exist on a continuum, in fact the terms are perhaps best considered as existing on two separate continuums. This means that the terms are not a zero sum. Therefore, as involvement increases, detachment will not necessarily decrease. Kilminster (2004) urges figurational sociologists to see figurational sociology, including the concept of involvement and detachment, as a process. Kilminster (2004) argues that it is only in societies at a specific stage of the civilising process that people are able to manage their emotions and interactions that make scientific detachment possible. The recent trend in sociology towards understanding the importance of reflexivity in research (Kilminster, 2004) demonstrates sociologists' increasing ability to distinguish between, and work with, fluctuating levels of involvement and detachment. Today's sociology exists in a different social context than in the 1960s. This means that young sociologists may be able to interpret the concept of detachment differently from previous, more rigid, definitions of it. Working with a less austere notion of detachment, Kilminster (2004) suggests, would not necessarily result in sociology becoming an entirely subjective subject. On the contrary, he suggests that sociologists are better able to juggle with the concepts and subsequent use of involvement and detachment in their own research.

Empirically, figurational sociologists have had little to say about the use of involvement and detachment in the context of their own research. One researcher that has considered this is Roderick (2004) who begins to explore some of the practical issues related to the concept of involvement and detachment. In his PhD thesis about the lives of professional football players he found that, as an ex-professional footballer himself, he experienced strong feelings of empathy for those he interviewed. In large part, this came from his own memories of the experiences that the players shared with him. Roderick (2004) explains that these shared experiences allowed him to develop a strong rapport with his interviewees. The question posed by Roderick (2004) is whether in this situation striving for detachment may have been detrimental to the research process. He states 'attempting to be involved to a relatively high degree would generate alternative, although no less relevant types of data' (2004:75). Roderick (2004) is arguing for the acknowledgement that involvement may generate useful, interesting data. Roderick (2004) does accept that different types of research require different levels of involvement and detachment and he echoes Elias's point that levels of involvement and detachment are likely to fluctuate throughout the different stages of the research process. Involvement is likely to be particularly high during the collection of data, yet in subsequent processes such as data analysis and the write up, levels of involvement are likely to decrease. Roderick (2004), in answer to some of the problems of deciding whether a suitable balance between involvement and detachment has been reached, asks the reader to decide whether he managed to do this. Whilst this might seem a feasible solution to the issue it might be questionable whether all readers are suitably equipped to be able to judge the sociological credibility of Roderick's (2004) research.

A further example of the practical use of involvement and detachment in research can be found in the work of Perry *et al.* (2004) about the lives of young homosexuals. The research involved a research team, the research leader (a homosexual) and two heterosexual researchers. The importance of involvement and detachment arose out of conversations where the lead researcher felt that, due to personal and painful experiences of being a young homosexual, she might prioritise certain experiences of the young people whilst missing out other vital issues that they expressed. To address this problem the research team held regular meetings and used these as a forum for discussions about involvement and detachment. The researchers all agreed that, rather

than ignoring the issue, the discussion sessions allowed a space for the lead researcher,

to articulate feelings in a supportive and constructive atmosphere... to develop an appropriate blend of involvement and detachment rather than seeking to ignore the emotional reactivity that was associated with the project (2004:141).

Perry *et al.* (2004) add to the involvement and detachment debate by conveying the importance of being reflective in research. Reflectiveness should be considered a key concept as it allows the researcher to explore their levels of involvement and detachment in a more open manner.

What these two examples illustrate is that involvement and detachment cannot be easily measured, nor is there a pinnacle point for researchers to strive towards. One issue that might be useful to consider is whether all researchers are working from a shared understanding of what involvement and detachment in research is. This would require a detailed discussion about what is meant by the terms involvement and detachment.

Secondly, despite the rhetoric that the idea of involvement and detachment is not to prioritise involvement over detachment, I feel in some figurational research that detachment is considered superior to involvement (e.g. Murphy *et al.*, 2000). Bloyce (2004), in a recent paper about involvement and detachment in research, claims that it is not possible to outline rules for figurational sociologists because;

It might be argued that it would be inappropriate to provide ground rules for sensitising concepts. The issue of 'involvement-detachment' is a sensitising concept for figurational sociology as such, sensitising the researcher to the issue. Being aware of the need to strive to remain as detached as possible is, specifically, enough to sensitise the researcher (2004:150).

Again Bloyce (2004) seems to be prioritising detachment over involvement, something that Elias himself did not advocate.

A further issue that seems to be lacking from the discussion of involvement and detachment is the recognition that *different types* of involvement and detachment maybe found in research. In light of this observation I suggest that it might be useful to distinguish between types of involvement and detachment. For instance, is it political or emotional detachment or both? I have identified four potential issues;

Firstly, one can be involved in the research in the sense that one has a political commitment to furthering a specific group, i.e. one might be committed to getting more women in sport.

Secondly, one might not necessarily hold strong political beliefs, however one might be involved in their research to a high level because of a personal desire to prove or establish a theory.

Thirdly, one might not have any particular political beliefs yet through the research process one may become emotionally attached to one's participants. This might result in the researcher strongly identifying with their participants and this may influence their research. Conversely one may end up disliking one's participants which would also affect the research.

Finally research with people may result in completely different levels of involvement and detachment than researching with historical texts in a library. For instance when doing interviews, interacting with people requires greater emotional involvement than when flicking through historical files and data.

These are important considerations because it is significant to understand how different levels of involvement and detachment might impact upon research differently. It is only possible to analyse this if people reflect on their own values. By addressing these values and discussing them they may become less influential in the research process. At the very least they become more noticeable to those reading and evaluating the research of others.

In summary, involvement and detachment is a more adequate concept than subjectivity and objectivity because it allows for an understanding of the complexity of values in research. Ultimately it is not useful to prioritise either involvement or detachment at the expense of the other, as it is a blend that is required. In many

respects involvement is useful when thinking about a research topic and framing questions and when interacting with interviewees, but at the analysis stage as Roderick (2003) notes detachment may be more desirable to interpret and understand data. Despite the criticisms of the concept of involvement and detachment by Rojek (1992) and Hargreaves (1992), Perry *et al* (2004) and Roderick (2004) demonstrate that the concept can be used as a practical guide to aid discussion and reflection in the research process. However, this remains a 'live' issue for figurational sociologists who continue to grapple with the complexities of this issue.

An Eliasian approach of Gender Relations

In this section I intend to consider previous research by figurational sociologists on gender. Firstly I explore the work of figurational sociologists Triebel (2001) and Brinkgreve (2003, 2004) on gender. Secondly Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) study on gender adopting the theory of established and outsiders will be discussed alongside Ernst's (2003) use of the theory.

Treibel (2001) contends that Elias did not have a great deal to say about gender. However, this is a common mistake made by sociologists. In fact Elias (1987b) produced a paper entitled, *The Changing Balance of Power between the Sexes in Ancient Rome*. In this paper he discusses changes to the Roman law which allowed women to own their own property, this suggests Elias, was crucial to allowing Roman woman relatively more power. In addition to this a whole manuscript on gender was accidentally destroyed and this paper about Ancient Rome is all that exists (Dunning, 1992). Treibel (2001) argues that despite this Elias's work can be used to explore gender relations as a form of unequal power relations. On the contrary, Hargreaves (1992:162) is extremely critical of the fact that Elias, 'when looking at concepts such as culture, civilisation and the state ignores the gender dimension'. Despite such criticisms, Elias's concept of functional democratisation, provides the 'tools' to enable such an analysis. Yet for feminists, such as Hargreaves (1992, 1994) this is not a comprehensive enough start for an analysis of gender relations.

Treibel (2001) is critical of the fact that, despite Elias's research on labour, he never acknowledges the importance of women's housework and unpaid labour. According to Treibel (2001:177) Elias falls into the trap that other male sociologists have fallen into and thus perpetrates the belief that, 'men have a function or at least do something, whereas women are something'. Despite this critique, Treibel (2001) has explored some areas in which she considers figurational sociology is useful. In particular she points to the fact that there has been a noticeable shift towards equalisation in gender relations. This shift, she suggests, can be understood as part of wider process of functional democratisation. Despite this shift towards equalisation in relations between the sexes there remain power imbalances. An example is that, within modern relationships between men and women, joint roles in child rearing and household duties are increasingly common. Another example is that women appear to have more opportunities to succeed in traditional male preserves such as politics and science. Despite the rhetoric of equalisation, Treibel (2001) emphasises that it is women who continue to do the majority of household tasks and are the primary care givers for children. Also, she maintains that there continue to be far fewer women in politics than there are men. This highlights that gender relations between men and women continue to be unequal.

Treibel (2001) questions whether Elias's concept of gender can be perceived as static and biologically unalterable. This does however, appear to be based on a misreading of Elias, as a figurational understanding of gender stresses that gender is neither an absolute biological or solely social category (Dunning, 1999).

The fact that power balances within gender relations between men and women have and continue to change is difficult to dispute. Figurational sociologist Brinkgreve (2003) emphasises this point when she explores the way that romantic relationships between men and women have changed. As evidence for this change within relationships she quotes from the personal advice column entitled, 'Margriet is here to help'. In her research Brinkgreve compares the advice given to women by Margriet over a 40 year period. Brinkgreave notes how relationships have changed;

earlier, people worried about how to make ends meet, about food and clothing. When problems concerned relationships, readers complained about clear

infringement of the rules, such as intoxication, adultery, physical violence and neglect. More recent complaints concern loneliness, mutual misunderstanding, the loss of conjugal unity: 'my husband doesn't understand me' (Brinkgreve, 2003:251).

Brinkgreve (2003) suggests that relationships between men and women are no longer expected to be hierarchical and are in fact much closer to equality. Brinkgreve (2003) suggests that this process is not just a social one, it is also psychological. For instance such a trend towards equality within relationships requires much greater communication between men and women as they arrange 'matters by joint consultation and by mutual agreement – which makes different emotional demands, complicated psychological demands' (Brinkgreve, 2003:258). Despite the changes described by Brinkgreve (2003) in modern romantic relationships new behavioural standards are no less constraining than previous ones. In fact, she suggests, the demands made in relationships are, if anything, equally, if not more, complex and demanding.

In a later paper, Brinkgreve (2004) examines gender relations starting, as does Dunning (1999), from the fact that men and women are dependent upon each other for reproductive purposes. This biological dependence, she maintains, should give women access to power, yet in almost all human societies it is men who dominate women. Goudsblom (cited in Brinkgreve, 2004) labels this as the riddle of male power. Both authors indicate that, in societies where physical dominance is highly valued, it is males who are likely to dominate. This is probably because of men's perceived greater, that is biologically determined, strength (Brinkgreve, 2004). It was during the industrialisation era that men's role of providing paid labour was reinforced. Similarly, at this time, women were assigned to the domestic sphere, especially childcare. Although the roles of males and females were specialised according to perceived 'biological' difference, these 'facts' became culturally and socially accepted. Men were in a relatively more powerful position (more males were physicians, politicians etc.) they had more power to define what was and what was not valued in society. Concomitantly, women seemed to internalise their 'group disgrace' and valued their position within the domestic sphere (Vertinsky, 2003).

The general resignation of women to their position is also found in the research of Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) and Ernst (2003) in their application of the theory of established and outsiders to the study of gender relations. Van Stolk and Wouters' (1987) study on gender relations is based on research with women who had recently left violent partners. The authors note that the women were at a time in their lives when they were balancing the decision to leave with one to return to their partners. Most of the women were, 'still ambivalent, poised between resignation and resistance, between submission and emancipation' (1987: 472). Many of the women had left home before but had subsequently returned to their partners. The reason why the women were ambivalent about their level of emancipation seemed to be linked to the fact the women identified strongly with their husbands. The women's identities were tied to the identities of their husbands. This was evident through the fact that the women were able to describe their husbands in detail, but their husbands' descriptions of their wives were vague. This was because the husband's self esteem was dependent upon what other men thought of them. When the women felt that something was not right in the relationship they tried to discuss it with their husbands. The men felt this was completely ridiculous: 'Their reactions to the first sign of rebellious behaviour were typical of the established: punishment and suppression' (Van Stolk and Wouters, 1987:480). The authors argue that power balances such as these result in a situation where the established simply dismiss the outsiders, thus forcing them to identify strongly with the established view of the world. This links into Elias's theory Elias' concept of the figuration and the fact the connection between agency and structure.

The authors recognise that their research is different from the empirical research of Elias and Scotson's (1994) *The Established and the Outsiders*, for two reasons;

1. Elias and Scotson (1964/1994) focus on the development of power between individual characteristics and personal problems, the relations Van Stolk & Wouters (1987) study are focused on personal problems.
2. The figurations studied by Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) are more dynamic than those in the community study as the women are undergoing a process of emancipation.

Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) consider that having a social function for an established group can result in greater power for outsiders. The authors show how organised groups of women have used moral arguments as a source of power e.g. the suffragettes. These moral arguments are linked to the idea that we live in societies which depend, 'on strong mutual identification and high level of mutual expected self-restraint' (1987:483).

Finally Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) consider how in relations between groups where the groups are dependent upon one another there tends to be harmonious inequality between groups. The authors explain that in gender relations, the authors note, men and women are dependent upon one another and therefore women are rewarded for behaving in particular ways. If women abide by a particular ideal they are rewarded with physical and material protection. It is this pattern of behaviour that the authors term, 'a figurational ideal of harmonious inequality' (1987:484). If women do not conform to these standards they may be subject to being made to feel their outsider status even more harshly. The extent to which these relations are harmonious for women could be questioned.

A more recent study of gender relations, also adopting the theory of established and outsider relations, is research by Ernst (2003). The research explores gender relations within work based organisations and investigates how women, despite being qualified, remain underrepresented in leadership positions particularly in business and scientific life. Ernst (2003) adopts the theory of established and outsider relations because it allows for an understanding of power balances between individuals and groups. Through analysing etiquette books Ernst (2003) notes how women have historically been in a position where they are not expected to engage in paid work. When women have been involved in paid work it was in jobs that were considered 'feminine', such as welfare, nursing and teaching. Women who did not conform and worked as scientists or doctors were criticised as being 'abnormal' and as a result were stigmatised. The common perception of women who worked, especially those who were in positions of power were characterised as unfeminine monsters, 'with gender problems and a risk to assumed stable identities' (2001:292).

Ernst (2003) documents a process of negotiation and constraint as more women have moved into the business and scientific world. In the world of work, women continue to be judged on their femininity and must continue their roles as wives, mothers, and workers. The debate about women's and men's leadership styles, she suggests, is evidence of power struggles within gender relations. In particular women who are perceived as being unfeminine leaders are criticised by those who argue that women managers should be caring and considerate. This is a paradox because women are expected to be caring leaders/managers, yet this style of leadership is viewed, in business, as weak. Ernst (2003) also notes that often procedures and practices require tradition and historical experience which query women's knowledge. This process allows people to question women's right to be involved in decision making positions. In addition to their inferior position within business, Ernst (2003) demonstrates that working mothers have come under increasing pressure and criticism from the German media. In particular they have been called 'selfish' for abandoning their families as well as being blamed as the root cause of social problems such as delinquency in young people. Ernst (2003) understands working women's position within business and their portrayal in the media as a type of 'blame gossip' which encourages female career women to accept their 'group disgrace'. Finally, Ernst (2003) questions whether the differences between men and women within the workforce are based on socially constructed ideas. Ernst notes that there are not likely to be unique leadership styles based on biological differences between men and women. Instead, she suggests that these beliefs are socially constructed. In conclusion, Ernst (2003) highlights a variety of procedures and processes that ensure women remain outsiders within their workplace.

Figurational sociologists do not deny that men and women are, of course, biologically different. What is of interest to sociologists is to consider how these differences manifest themselves in seemingly different gender habitus's. Habitus, a term used by Elias in the *Civilising Process*, refers to a person's second nature (Van Krieken, 1998). Mennell (1992:30) defines habitus as, 'the word in German which is usually translated into english as 'make-up' is *Habitus*. By 'social habitus', Elias means that level of personality characteristics which individuals share in common with fellow members of their social groups'. Habitus begins at birth, yet it is also subject to change and develops as a person grows older. Therefore, it can continually be

changed by our interactions with others. It is generally considered that one of the fundamental differences between Bourdieu's and Elias's concept of habitus is the fact that Elias considered both psychogenic and sociogenic factors in habitus. For Elias habitus was strongly linked to wider civilising processes, thus demonstrating how people's habitus is linked to factors such as refinement of manners and control of emotions. Elias noted that people have an individual and also collective habitus. Therefore, identity in figurational terms is not simply about individual choice. People's individual habituses are part of social networks that people are born into (Liston, 2006). McCaughey (1997), when discussing female habitus, notes that habitus is about learning a set of 'bodily dispositions' (1997:39). McCaughey (1997) indicates that female habitus is likely to differ from male habitus. One example she uses to illustrate her point is that generally females, unlike males, are not taught to use their body in powerful ways.

Dunning (1999) introduces the concept of male and female habituses when he suggests that sport is an important part of the identity formation of males. In particular, pressures from school teachers, fathers, and the media result in men believing that sport is something that they should take part in. Further, Dunning (1999:222) explains how;

males who, for whatever reasons, opt to follow an 'anti-sports' course are liable to be categorised as 'effeminate', perhaps even as 'homosexual', by their peers. This goes hand in hand with a parallel tendency for sportswomen to be categorised as 'lesbian' or 'butch' (Dunning, 1999:228).

The extent to which nature and nurture impact on gender habituses is imprecise and Dunning (1999) is careful to recognise that it is not clear which is more influential when impacting on a person's personality and behaviour. It is therefore important to consider the fact that gender relations are the product of both biological and social facts.

These studies on gender relations, from a figurational perspective, demonstrate the importance of two key considerations in figurational sociology and the study of gender relations. Firstly, that gender relations are the product of both biological and

social differences. Secondly, they illuminate multi faceted nature of the resistance of men in situations where gender relations are equalising, and the polymorphous nature of power.

Feminisms and Figurations

In light of papers written by Colwell (1999), Liston (2006) Maguire and Mansfield (1998) and Mansfield (2002) exploring a possible synthesis between feminism and figuration sociology this section discusses the arguments presented by these authors on what a feminist figuration framework might emphasise.

Mansfield (2002) begins by stating that synthesising the two theories will challenge those theorists working within both paradigms. Mansfield's interpretation of feminisms is that they are theories which critically explore men's power. Mansfield (2002:322) suggests four main ways one can understand gender relations in sport using a *feminist figuration* perspective. These are;

1. Use the framework to develop an understanding of the relative empowerment of females in a male preserve and analyse the way that females challenge existing male structures.
2. To investigate the meaning of sport in women's lives.
3. Encourage women to speak for themselves about their experiences, allowing them a public place to voice their experiences.
4. A feminist figuration perspective should recognise feminist political commitment to identifying social encounters and unequal gender relations.

Whilst such statements are undoubtedly feminist, their figuration logic is less clear. An example of this can be found in point four where Mansfield alludes to the importance of recognising feminist political commitments. More traditionally, figuration sociologists would have stressed the importance of understanding these issues without passing judgement on them.

In another discussion about the possibility of synthesising figuration sociology and feminisms Mansfield and Maguire (1998) adopt what they term a feminist figuration

approach to understanding the aerobics figuration. The premise of their study is to produce research which can be used as a, 'knowledge base for political action' (1998:115). The authors identify the use of power, the theory of established and outsider relations and civilised bodies as useful figurational concepts in their analysis of the aerobic figuration. In our current society, the authors conclude aerobics normalises the 'embodiment of feminine values' (1998:134). This analysis offers an interesting exploration of the aerobics figuration and demonstrates power imbalances in the aerobics figuration.

Colwell (1999) is particularly critical of the synthesis suggested by Maguire and Mansfield (1998). The key issues according to Colwell (1999) are the notion of values. Colwell (1999) criticises the authors for not addressing the key differences between feminist and figurational ideas about the roles of values in research and the nature of involvement and detachment. Colwell (1999:236) states that the term feminist-figurational is a contradiction in terms. Instead she proposes that it is possible to be a feminist informed figurational sociologist:

This may seem pedantic but it is argued that these are in fact significant differences. Given that evaluation is such a central feature of feminist accounts and it is strongly rejected in figurational accounts, it is suggested that this is perhaps the limit to which feminist and figurational approaches can be reconciled (1999:236).

Within her paper Colwell (1999) includes a brief discussion about the many disagreements between Dunning (1992) and Hargreaves (1992) related to the appropriateness of figurational sociology as a theory to study gender relations. What Colwell (1999) does not consider in this discussion is that one of the key problems of focusing solely on the disagreements between Dunning (1992) and Hargreaves (1992) is that these theorists are just two people working within wider sociological fields. Furthermore, with both theorists claiming that the other misunderstood their theory and/or criticism, the debate is not advanced in a constructive manner.

Colwell (1999) is also critical of feminist research such as Hargreaves (1994) Scraton (1992), Lenskyj (1986, 1991) and Vertinsky (1990) who, she maintains, produce

ideological versions of how sport for females should be. In contrast, she suggests that a figurational approach to gender issues in sport would refrain from making these value judgements. When studying gender relations in sport, Colwell (1999) argues that it is not necessary to evaluate whether these relations have been right or wrong. In concluding her paper Colwell (1999) decides that it is not possible to synthesise figurational sociology and feminisms. She considers that Maguire and Mansfield (1998) make too many value judgements in their work without addressing what she understands as the key stumbling blocks between the two theories.

Colwell (1999) seems to present feminism (and indeed figurational sociology) as one theory. As mentioned before feminisms are not a monolithic theory, in fact Ahmed et al. (2000:1) claim, 'feminism is not one set of struggles, it has mobilised different women.....but (women) who are not necessarily seeking the same thing, not necessarily responding to the same situation'. When discussing a synthesis between the theories serious consideration needs to be given to which aspects of feminisms might be synthesised with which aspects of figurational sociology. Future attempts to synthesis these two theories need to discuss this at length.

This supposed problem can however be approached somewhat differently. Is a synthesis between figurational and feminist sociology necessary for the figurational study of gender relations? Although Hargreaves (1998) is correct to assert that Elias did not say a lot about gender relations, her point is not entirely relevant. Elias was writing at a time when issues of gender relations remained 'blind' but figurational sociology is not bereft of a framework for the study of gender relations. The term feminist-figurational or feminist informed figurational sociologist seems to indicate that figurational sociology cannot offer a suitable framework for the analysis of gender relations. Yet, figurational sociologists who study class do not argue that they are Marxist informed figurational sociologists. This study proposes, therefore, that there is no need to prefix the term feminist to figurational to demonstrate a commitment to the study of gender relations. It is my contention that figurational sociology does offer an adequate understanding of gender relations and that the construction of terms like 'feminist-figurational' approach implies a limitation to figurational sociology which is not apparent.

The approach in this thesis has more in common with that of Dunning (1999) than of Colwell (1999), and Maguire and Mansfield. Dunning (1999:226) proposes an outline of how figurational sociology might explore gender relations in sport. He states four core assumptions that figurational sociologists apply to gender relations. He claims that these are;

1. relations between males and females are affected by the society in which they live;
2. males and females are radically interdependent because they need each other for reproductive purposes;
3. interdependencies between men and women are best conceptualised in terms of a balance;
4. power balances between men and women entail the relative capacities of males and females to control economic, political and symbolic resources.

I am now going to explain these in greater detail.

The first assumption rests on the notion that we are affected by the nature and structure of society in which we live and, according to Elias's theory of civilising processes (discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two), the society in which we currently live is relatively less violent than in previous times. One of the key issues in this regard is that the ability to fight and hunt is relatively less valued. Instead the state now has significant monopoly over taxation and violence, and as a result females have greater access to power resources (Brinkgreve, 2004). According to the theory, in western societies women are relatively protected from male violence as it becomes increasingly taboo. That is not to say that violence against women has been eradicated, but that when it does occur, it is increasingly pushed out of view and 'behind closed doors' (Dunning, 1999). State protection for women means that men who are violent towards women can be punished. The increasing privatisation of violence and the public response to acts of violence demonstrate a civilising process in this matter. This has resulted in a decrease in the power men derive from physical strength. It is worth noting that although the state has a relative monopoly on violence, fear of male violence may still impact on females' access to public space, especially in the evenings. There is also a great deal of academic debate about the

extent of domestic violence in our present society and the increase of female violence towards males (Felson and Cares, 2005; Johnson, 2005). Paradoxically, although the state does not condone violence it is not always in a position to be able to protect its citizens from it.

Secondly, the interdependence of men and women is partly tied to reproduction. This means that male and female interdependencies are tied to both biological and social characteristics. Dunning (1999) stresses that gender relations are not purely biological, but argues that whilst cultural and social processes are significant, one cannot deny biological difference.

Thirdly, power is best understood as balance. Dunning (1999) utilises the metaphor of a set of scales to demonstrate the way that power is relational. Dunning (1999) observes how gender relations have moved closer to equality. Key to the process of equalisation of power between men and women has been a decrease in family size, better contraception alongside advances in household technology that have allowed women more 'free' time (Liston, 2006).

The above statements by Dunning (1999) on the four figurational core assumptions are perhaps the beginning for figurational studies of gender relations. Yet these assumptions could be criticised for being unnecessarily narrowly focused on developmental processes, in particular the civilising process. These are just one aspect of the power relations between males and females. With Dunning (1999) in mind I wish to propose the following *figurational framework* for the study of gender relations. This framework underpins the rest of the thesis:

- To provide an understanding of the long term developments and trends in gender relations.
- To demonstrate awareness of emotional and political involvement and the necessity detachment through reflectivity.
- To provide an analysis of power balances between men and women and those between different groups of women.
- Note how gender relations intersect with race, age, class and sexuality.

- Understand that gender relations are impacted by biological and social interdependence.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided an overview of figurational sociology with a view to providing a justification that figurational sociology offers a framework for the study of gender relations. In particular the chapter has explained the key figurational concepts that are vital in understanding the position of figurational sociology within sociology. Elias's theory of game models and the theory of established and outsiders were also presented to illustrate Elias's theoretical position but also as possible ways to study gender relations. These aspects of figurational sociology demonstrate Elias's view of power relations and offer dynamic ways of analysing the complex nature of power relations. The concept of involvement and detachment is considered in detail because of previous criticisms from feminists such as Hargreaves (1992). Involvement and detachment is also a key element of figurational sociology and Elias understanding of sociology as a subject. Involvement and detachment are a part of the research process; this will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Three. In addition to the original concept of involvement and detachment I suggest considering distinguishing between political and emotional involvement and detachment as well as emphasising the importance of reflectivity in research.

The aspects of figurational sociology that have been considered are the, figuration, game models, the theory of established and outsider relations. These aspects of figurational sociology are all interlinked. The figurational concept of interdependencies and the figuration are clearly linked to Elias's concept of power which is part of the figuration and peoples' interdependent relationships. Power is always evident in every relationship, even friendship. This becomes apparent in Chapter Seven. All aspects of figurational sociology fit together through Elias's concept of the figuration, which can refer to governments or to groups of women playing cricket. It is within these figurations that power balances are manifest and are subsequently played out in a variety of complex settings.

The synthesis of figurational sociology and feminisms, proposed by Maguire and Mansfield (1998) and Colwell (1999) and Mansfield (2002), was discussed in depth. These attempts at synthesis demonstrate the recent concern within figurational sociology to address the fact that most figurational sociologists have focused on male sport and sporting experiences. In this thesis it is suggested that a synthesis is not necessary; furthermore, it is not necessary to prefix figurational sociology with the term feminist. These arguments all seem to be premised on the notion that something is missing from figurational sociology that means that gender relations cannot be studied using the existing framework. My argument is that figurational sociology is an adequate theory for the study of gender relations and is the theoretical framework underpinning the thesis.

Using the concept of the figuration women's cricket can be seen as groups of interdependent people with shifting power balances. This means that the women's cricket figuration cannot and should not be understood by looking solely at individuals or by looking just at the structure of cricket for females. The notion of interdependency and power balances yields a picture of the women's cricket figuration as networks of interdependent people. Yet these figurations are also historically and culturally produced and power balances and habituses have changed and developed over time. This is where the area of civilising processes is so closely linked to figurational sociology.

The reason that civilising processes have not been discussed in greater length in this chapter is that the following chapter seeks to discuss the theory of civilising processes in order to develop an understanding of the processes involved in the development of women's cricket.

Chapter Two

A Developmental Approach to Understanding Women's Cricket

Women are spiteful and gossipy. More women should play cricket as more likely this petty side of their nature will be eradicated (Lawson, 1930:14)

In addition to those principles discussed in Chapter One, a distinctive feature of figurational sociology is to approach issues developmentally. Perhaps an example of the importance of this is that Elias preferred the term process sociology to figurational sociology. This was because he considered that the term 'process' inherently stresses the importance of studying issues developmentally (Mennell, 1998). In recognition of the importance of this to a figurational analysis of social phenomenon, this chapter will present a developmental overview of women's cricket. Although this thesis is a present centred study, this chapter considers the processes involved in the development of cricket as a 'male preserve', as well as considering the variety of processes that resulted in increasing female participation in cricket. This approach enables the examination of long term processes that have and continue to facilitate and constrain the development of the women's game. It provides a context for the thesis by providing an understanding of the processes that have resulted in the current position of women's cricket today. The value of a developmental rather than a historical approach, is that the focus shifts from stating important dates, to exploring the processes involved in the development of the women's game.

Elias's (1978) reason for insisting on a developmental approach to sociological issues is that it forces the sociologist to see the long term processes involved in the phenomenon they are studying. Elias maintains that this approach encourages sociologists to understand how the issue that they are studying continues to develop and that it is unlikely to have a definite beginning or end. Mills (2000) similarly stresses the importance of understanding social issues developmentally. In his seminal text, *The Sociological Imagination* he declares:

no social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey (Mills, 2000:6).

Mills thus emphasises the importance of adopting a socio-historical approach to what might be considered a 'modern day' problem. It is therefore argued that an analysis of women's cricket would be incomplete without an understanding of the processes impacting upon its development.

This chapter begins with an exploration of Elias's (2000) text, *The Civilising Process*. Within this section I explore how the theory of civilising processes has been applied to understanding the body and sport. Secondly the chapter will examine how Elias' theory is utilised by Malcolm (2002) to make sense of the development of cricket. Finally, Dunning's (1999) claim that a developmental approach offers a more adequate understanding of the processes of gender relations, will be considered in relation to what I have identified as being the four key phases in the development of cricket for females. These are; a) pre-Victorian era, b) Victorian era, c) Emergence of organised women's cricket d) post WWII development of the game.

Playing like Gentleman: Civilising Processes and Sport

The following section examines Elias's text *The Civilising Process* and looks at those who have utilised this work. In particular the section discusses how Dunning and Elias adopted the theory in order to understand the development of modern sport. *The Civilising Process* is an empirical example of Elias attempt to overcome the issues of individual and society by interweaving an investigation of changes within the upper and middle classes with processes of state formation and long term processes of 'social transformation' (Quilley and Loyal, 2005:817).

The Civilising Process was written by Elias in two volumes. The first volume identifies gradual changes in people's behaviour and differing expectations of the way people control their emotions. By examining etiquette books Elias traces changes to people's standards in relation to bodily functions, violence, sexual behaviour and eating habits (Elias, 2000). The second volume is integral to the first volume and

examines the process of state formation. According to the theory of civilising processes, changes to people's habitus occur at two levels, the transformation of social structure and personality structure. The first process involves a long term transition from a war like society to a court society, where people are expected to demonstrate good manners and appropriate behaviour (Quilley and Loyal, 2005). The second process has involved the development of a structure of emotions (Tseelon, 1995). These processes are interlinked as new standards of pacified behaviour were expected in court like societies where more restrained behaviour was rewarded. In these situations there was a noticeable shift in the expectation of people's manners (Quilley and Loyal, 2005). As a consequence of the lengthening chains of interdependencies people are involved in an increasing number of figurational relationships. Lengthening chains of interdependencies are,

The closer the web of interdependencies becomes in which the individual is enmeshed with the advancing division of functions, the larger the social spaces over which this network extends and which become integrated into functional or institutional units – the more threatened is the social existence of the individual who gives way to spontaneous impulses and emotions, the greater is the social advantage of those able to moderate their affects, and the more strongly is each individual constrained from an early age to take account of the effects of his own or other people's actions on a whole series of links in the social chain (in van Krieken, 1998:104).

One of the unintended consequences of this is that as chains lengthen people are required to take more notice of those around them, in fact they become more interdependent on others (Goudsblom, 1989). In other words, people have a greater capacity for empathy and sympathy. The key point is that although Elias demonstrated shifts in power relations towards greater equality, he did not suggest that equality in power relations had been achieved. This shift towards lesser inequality in power relations between people is referred to in figurational sociology as 'functional democratisation' (Dunning, 1999:46).

Dunning (1999) explains that Elias argued that a development of a particular society can be measured by a 'triad of basic controls' (Elias, 1978:156). These are:

1. the extent of societies' control-chances over natural events;
2. the extent of societies' control-chances over human relationships;
3. the extent to which societies' individual members have learned to exercise self control. (Dunning, 1999:43).

Tseelon (1995) highlights that one of the strengths of *The Civilising Process*, is that Elias is able to demonstrate that social processes have no zero point i.e. social processes always develop or are related to other social processes. Secondly he demonstrates how social processes are inevitably linked to the interdependencies of human relationships. Dunning (1999:259) also suggests that part of Elias's achievement was to contribute to a theory which 'lay the foundations for a testable concept of social development' (Dunning, 1992:259).

Despite the acclaim of *The Civilising Process*⁴ it has also been at the centre of controversy amongst sociologists. The main criticism or concern seems to arise from a misconception of what Elias meant by the term civilisation. In particular critics have noted that the term civilising implies a value judgement about cultures are civilised and which are not (Mennell, 1992). Dunning (1992) suggests that such a misinterpretation comes from the translation of the title of the text from German into English. The translation in English of *The Civilising Process* infers a completed theory. Perhaps a more appropriate title would express that Elias felt that he was merely contributing to an understanding of Western Civilisation. The term civilising was not meant to imply a judgement, on Elias's behalf, that some societies are more civilised than others (Mennell, 1992). On the contrary Elias resisted the use of it in an evaluative fashion. Elias's theory was concerned with civilising processes that can develop but crucially are also able in certain conditions go into reverse. In fact specific texts such as Malcolm (2004), Mennell (2001) and Zwann (2004) have analysed the processes and situations which may result in de-civilising trends, providing further evidence that processes are not linear and can regress. Elias stressed how future western societies might consider our present society to be in a stage of 'late barbarism' (Van Krieken, 1998). Also on the matter, Dunning (1992:262), in

⁴ The text was voted the 7th most influential sociological text of the 20th century by members of the International Sociology Association (<http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/books/books10.htm>)

answer to critics of Elias, offers a precise understanding of what Elias mean by the term civilising processes;

Elias used the concept of civilising processes in a more technical sense. The concept is derived, that is to say, from a testable empirical base and has shed the value-laden connotations that 'civilisation' and 'civilised' have in popular usage.

Shilling (1991/2005) adopts the theory of civilising processes and offers a historical understanding of peoples views about the body. This is a useful analysis of how civilising processes can aid understanding in a variety of contexts. Shilling (2005) maintains that Elias considered bodies to be unfinished biological and social entities. Shilling (2005) considers the development of civilised bodies and divides them into the following long term processes; socialisation, rationalisation and individualisation. Socialisation, in Shilling's (2005) text, refers to a process whereby people are increasingly expected to hide natural bodily functions. These functions⁵ increasingly occur behind closed doors. The body is subject to strict taboos and if these are broken it can cause embarrassment for the person and the people around them. Rationalisation refers to the fact that the body has become more self controlled. An example of this is the way that people are expected to uphold good moral behaviour. This includes the ability to control one's emotions. The individualisation process relates to how individuals see their own bodies. People's perceptions of their bodies, have changed, 'the handkerchief and the nightshirt arise as symbols of the transformation at work in people, as they create an emotional wall between themselves and others' (Shilling, 2005:145). As a result of these changes in people's perceptions of their bodies Shilling (2005) maintains that the body has become a key entity in people's growing sense of self identity. An example of this is the way that clothes have become a means by which people outwardly demonstrate their self identity. Maguire and Mansfield (1998) drew upon the work of Shilling (1991/2005) to demonstrate the way that female bodies can be considered 'civilised' in relation to patriarchal frameworks. Further, the authors maintain that female bodies are socially managed, although in light of Elias's work and work by Connell (1987) it is clear that

⁵ e.g. going to the toilet, having sex, blowing nose

male bodies are also socially managed. Female and male bodies are subject to differing standards, although these standards have undoubtedly changed over time. Despite the fact that standards such as beauty and thinness are not attainable by all, Maguire and Mansfield (1998) argue that many females are motivated into exercise in an attempt to attain certain female standards. On the other hand, female sporting bodies may also visibly challenge the notion that civilised female bodies are weaker and less powerful than male ones (Heywood and Dworkin, 2003). In this regard the female athlete can be understood as a perceived threat to the continuation of sport as a male preserve. Efforts to resist increasing female athleticism are best understood in this context.

Within sport the theory of civilising processes was utilised by Elias and Dunning (1986) to explain the processes involved in the development of modern sport. Sport was used as a way of testing the theory of civilising processes (Dunning, 1999). The authors started their analysis with the sports of ancient Greece and Rome. They found that sports, such as the pankration⁶, were extremely violent and the death of competitors was frequent (Dunning and Elias, 1986). Despite the frequent death of those taking part there is no evidence to suggest that there was any moral outrage or concern over the deaths of competitors. This indicates that death was considered part of the risk of being involved (Mennell, 1992). The authors continue to demonstrate that throughout the Middle Ages sports remained violent and resembled mock battles. These mock battles were a reflection of the wider cycle of violence in society at this time. Since the Middle Ages were characterised by times of insecurity, disputes were more often than not resolved in violent ways (Dunning and Sheard, 2005). These physical contests were not sports in the modern sense and therefore Dunning and Elias (1986) argue that they should be considered 'pastimes'.

Dunning and Elias (1986) then demonstrate the processes that transformed violent pastimes into modern day sports. They developed the term sportisation to describe this process. The term parliamentarisation is also closely linked to sportisation. The authors note how parliament emerged in the 18th century as an organisation where disputing groups were forced to settle disagreements and conflicts without violence.

⁶ a type of boxing and wrestling in which gauging of eyes was allowed.

Violence within society was increasingly frowned upon, as was the enjoyment of violent pastimes. It was in the context of a more peaceful, less violent society that modern forms of sport developed (Dunning, 1999). Despite a link between the two processes, crucially they are not believed to demonstrate a causal relationship. Jarvie and Maguire (1994:140) reiterate this point;

military skills gave way to verbal skills of debate. Crucial in both these parliamentarisation and sportisation processes was the involvement of the landed aristocracy and gentry. But this perspective does not argue that parliamentarisation caused sportisation, still less that the sportisation of pastimes caused the parliamentarisation of politics.

As people became more civilised and used parliament as a way to solve disputes, the types of pastimes in which they were involved also underwent a civilising process. This was to reflect new codes of gentlemanly conduct. This was an influential process as the formation of sports clubs and the development of modern day versions of sports such as cricket and horse racing emerged.

As society became more 'civilised' certain standards were expected of people. In particular there was less emphasis on violence as a means of solving disputes. Similarly sports became gradually less violent and started to emerge with rules and regulations. Also closely linked to the theory of civilising processes and the theory of the civilising of sport and leisure is Elias and Dunning's (1986) later text *The Quest for Excitement*.

The Quest for Excitement

The quest for excitement is linked to civilising processes because the authors note that it is culturally and historically located and is an aspect of 'relatively civilised societies' (Dunning, 1999:25).

Elias and Dunning's (1986) text *The Quest for Excitement* is a figurational exploration of the meaning of sport and leisure to people in contemporary 'relatively civilised' societies. The authors' central argument is that sport and leisure has an important role

to play in what they identify as unexciting societies. The term 'unexciting societies' is explained by Mennell (1992:141) as being, 'opportunities for a more reflected expression of excitement are, in many spheres of social life, severely limited'. In such 'unexciting societies', Elias and Dunning (1986) suggest there is a trend towards suppressing peoples' personal displays of extreme emotions. Adults are particularly expected to be able to control their emotions. The authors argue that leisure is a context which allows for the expression of certain emotions. People are allowed to express through sport and leisure, relatively free from constraint, love, hate, passion, anxiety and excitement.

Leisure, according to Elias and Dunning (1986) contains three important interrelated elements, these are sociability, motility and the mimetic. Motility refers to the act of moving, where pleasure is taken in through movement. Sociability refers to the importance of emotional arousal through being in the company of others. Sport and the arts offer a particular example of mimetic activities. This is because mimetic activities are activities where,

People can experience and in some cases act out, fear and laughter, anxiety and elation, sympathy and antipathy, and many other emotions. In mimetic contexts, however, all the sentiments and connected emotionally charged acts are transposed (Dunning, 1996:194).

Through watching sports, people are able to express strong identifications with their team. People are able to express a desire for their team to win and similarly are relatively free to express anger and disappointment if they do not. They are also able to dislike or even 'hate' other people who support other teams. This expression of 'hate' is not always acceptable in other areas of 'civilised societies'. The authors also indicate that for sport and leisure to continue to interest people in unexciting societies they must remain de-routinising. Even though leisure activities must have some rules and formal structures if these become too restricting the activities become routinised and lose their appeal. The authors point out that leisure may involve all three elements or it may just involved one or two elements (Dunning, 1999).

This analysis on the meaning of sport and leisure in 'civilised societies' is based on empirical data derived from male experiences of sport and leisure. As part of his work on gender relations in sport Dunning (1999) proposes that a possible reason why so many females are enjoying sport is because they are also motivated by this quest for excitement. In his own words he explains that females may be, 'motivated by an interest in obtaining the sorts of mimetic, 'sociability' and 'motility' satisfactions that can be obtained from sports by men' (1999:231). Despite this statement it is not clear whether this is or is not the case. If *the quest for excitement* is culturally and historically specific, which the authors suggest that it is, then there are likely to be differences between men and women in relation to habitus. Maguire (1991) has previously expressed concern over whether *the quest for excitement* is relevant to the study of women's sports. He argues that since the civilising of male and female identities is likely to differ this is an important oversight by Elias and Dunning (1986).

To what extent *the quest for excitement* can be applied to experiences of sporting female's remains to be seen. This will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter Seven.

Cricket and Civilising Processes

A specific example of the use of civilising processes has been its use in understanding the development of cricket, as been applied by Malcolm (2002). Malcolm (2002) starts by explaining that despite there being a number of thoroughly researched texts on cricket history (e.g. Birley, 1995, 1999; Sandiford, 1983; Williams, 1999) these differ substantially from a sociological approach to the development of cricket. The reason for this is that cricket text books tend, traditionally to provide establishment account or romantic overviews about how the game developed (Malcolm, 2004). Malcolm (2002) provides a figurational overview of the game of cricket (for males). This arose partly from criticism by Stokvis (1992) who claimed that the theory of civilising processes cannot be applied to understanding the development of a non contact sport such as cricket.

Stokvis's (1992) argument that the theory of civilising processes cannot explain the development of non violent sports rests on the assumption that sports, such as cricket, prior to their development as a modern sport were not violent. Malcolm (2002) refutes this claim and provides evidence to suggest that prior to its development as a modern gentleman's sport; cricket was in fact a violent pastime. The development of cricket, Malcolm (2002) argues, has been characterised by the implementation of rules that reduce violent conduct and demonstrates a civilising process in this regard. Although Malcolm (2002) agrees with Stokvis that it is not fruitful to focus solely on issues of violence, without acknowledging the decline of violence in cricket, only a partial understanding of the development of a sport can emerge.

Malcolm (2002) suggests that Stokvis (1992) is mistaken to assume that cricket has always been a quintessential English gentleman's game. Although it is fair to note that cricket does not contain the same amount of physical violence as rugby or football, the bat and ball can nevertheless be used as weapons. With this in mind, Malcolm (2002) believes that cricket is best understood as being a potentially dangerous non-contact sport. Malcolm (2002) continues with this line of reasoning and demonstrates how rules implemented in cricket had the effect of reducing violent conduct.

In the 18th century cricket was a sport that was characterised by high levels of disorder. Incidents of gambling and drinking were common place. Not only was this behaviour apparent in men's cricket, it seems that such incidents also occurred in the women's game. A match report from the Nottingham Review reported in Heyhoe Flint and Rhienberg, (1976:20) stated;

Last week at the Sileby feast, the women so far forgot themselves as to enter a game of cricket, and by their deportment as well as frequent applications to the tankard, they rendered themselves objects such as no husband, brother, parent or lover could contemplate with any degree of satisfaction.

These comments about the game indicate that such behaviour by women was inconsistent with behavioural expectations of women at this time and by behaving in such a fashion could jeopardise the chances of a women finding a suitable husband.

In the 18th century, Malcolm (2002) argues, cricket was a relatively dangerous sport to be involved in. Cricket injuries were common and although they varied in severity, it is reported that a number of people were killed as a result of these injuries. Malcolm (2002) concludes from newspaper reports that there was little moral outrage over the death of cricketers, perhaps indicating that the risk of death was accepted as an unfortunate part of playing sport. Twitchen (2004) notes a similar trend in motor racing whereby the concern for drivers has become increasingly apparent in recent years. Historically, the death of a motor racer was considered an acceptable risk of the sport. Yet, Twitchen (2004) documents how these risks are no longer considered acceptable and, as a result of concerns, measures have been taken to ensure that the sport of motor racing is safer. Such changes are the result of 'civilising processes' i.e. the growing sensitivity towards such issues as death and injury.

In 1787 the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) developed out of the White Conduit Club and became the governing body of cricket. This was a gentleman's club and was made up from members of the social elite, including many parliamentarians (Malcolm, 2002). Notable members of the MCC at the time included, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Dorset. This lends support to Dunning and Elias' (1986) claim that the processes of sportisation and parliamentarisation were linked. It was this group of parliamentarians that were influential in the development of the first written cricket rules. The MCC were a small organisation and this afforded them a great deal of power in influencing the development of the sport.

The most significant standardisation of cricket, according to Malcolm (2002), occurred in 1755 when there was an attempt to outline how the batsman could be dismissed. Also the introduction of the umpire to uphold the rules introduced the element of a third party, separate from the game, to preside over the rules. Despite the introduction of rules that meant that cricket became more standardised and less violent, Malcolm (2005), in a later paper, notes that the reduction of violence and injury was not necessarily a 'conscious and explicit attempt' (2005:116). Instead, he suggests that there was 'a pattern so distinct that clarification and standardisation of a range of rules can most adequately be conceived as indicative of the broader, more deep-rooted social change'. As a result of a number of processes, cricket became a

more 'civilised modern sport' (Parry and Malcolm, 2004), a sport that represented the interests of the male social elites.

In concluding his paper, Malcolm (2002) contends that it is only by considering how a seemingly non violent sport may have been violent in the past can we understand the development of modern sport. It is important not to project modern day values on how sport used to be played. When looking at the development of a sport it is important to consider the interdependence of the reduction of violence alongside other processes, such as standardisation. It is, however, a mistake to look at one without considering the other (Malcolm, 2002).

In summary, the processes involved in the development of cricket's first governing body as a male social elite group meant that women cricketers were not considered by this group. This is crucial in understanding the difficulties that women have faced in accessing the game of cricket.

Women, Cricket and Civilising Processes

Dunning (1999) contends that modern sport represents an expression of masculine values. This association between sport and masculinity is long standing. The relationship between masculinity and modern sport was cemented through the development of modern sports in the public school system. In these institutions sports represented manliness, strength, loyalty and discipline (Burstyn, 1999). The development of modern sport through the boys public school system as a vehicle for the expression of Victorian values impacted on female's access to sport. Sport became an activity for boys to develop masculine values and thus females were increasingly directed away from sport. Thus the emergence of modern sport as a male preserve has meant females who enter the sporting arena are often resisted or constrained. In particular, Dunning (1999) notes that women who play sports are often stigmatised as being lesbian, regardless of whether or not they are. This type of stigmatisation of females runs parallel to the concept that men in sport are perceived to be strong and therefore unquestionably heterosexual. This is related to a groups 'charisma' and group 'disgrace' as explored in the theory of established and outsider relations.

On the basis of the four figurational assumptions about gender relations discussed in Chapter One, that; relations between males and females are affected by the society in which they live; males and females are radically interdependent because they need each other for reproductive purposes; interdependencies between men and women are best conceptualised as balance; and power balances between men and women are the relative capacities of males and females to control economic, political and symbolic resources. Dunning (1999) proposes five ways that a developmental approach to gender relations can help explain;

1. the significance of sport for males who remain committed to traditional male roles;
2. the relative empowerment of females to an extent sufficient to allow them to challenge for entry into what started as a male preserve;
3. changes at an ideological level regarding what constitutes socially acceptable and socially unacceptable feminine habitus and behaviour;
4. the reaction of males who feel threatened by increasing numbers of females partaking in sport.
5. why females want to take up sport and the reaction of men and women who can prevent their access to an activity.

I wish to consider these in relation to what I have identified as being the four key phases in the development of cricket for females. These are; a) pre-Victorian era, b)Victorian era, c) Emergence of the women's cricket association (WCA) d) post WWII development of the game.

Cricket and Women: Pre- Victorian Times

Guttmann's (1991:1) comprehensive text on women and sport opens with the following statement;

There has never been a time, from the dawn of civilisation to the present, when women have been involved in sports as participants or spectators as men have. Are sports then a male domain? Yes and no. while it is historically true

that sports have usually been more important for males than females there has never been a time when girls and women were wholly excluded from sports.

This statement seems to be consistent with Elias' concept of power. Female involvement in sport has never been successfully or completely forbidden and although imbalances in gender relations in sport have been incredibly unequal, women have not been completely powerless.

Guttman (1991) claims that women's sports in the 17th century are under researched because of the widespread belief that females simply were not participating in sport at this time. The common sense perception is that women were not involved in sporting activities until the mid to late nineteenth century (Guttman, 1991). On the contrary research by Reekie (cited in Guttman, 1991) indicates that women were in fact involved in folk activities (such as running races) during this time.

Another example of women's involvement in sport prior to the Victorian era is that the first recorded women's cricket match appeared in 1745. The match was reported in the Reading Mercury, which stated that the game was, 'the greatest cricket match that ever was played in the south part of England' (Guttman, 1991:77). The report went on to declare, 'the girls bowled, batted, ran and caught as well as most men could do in that game'. The fact that women were reported to perform as well as men suggests that there may have been some debate or doubt as to women's suitability to the game of cricket. Despite this report, other reports of the women's game appeared infrequently, perhaps suggesting that fewer matches were played by women, or that those that were played were not always reported on. The sport of stoolball, a sport similar to cricket, seemed to be more widely played by women than cricket (Prendergast, 1978). Nevertheless, women's stoolball was not necessarily free from male interference, and those women who played were likely to have been considered promiscuous and bad mothers (Prendergast, 1978).

The majority of women's matches are likely to have been played in villages. There is evidence of such matches in Upham, Harting and Bury Common (Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, 1976). These village matches appear to have been played by a team of married women against a team of single women. Prizes such as ale, plum and lace

were offered to the winning team; 'one match was played for eleven pairs of gloves and pieces of lace or other small items of feminine attire; even good hats and one for the umpire for the winning side' (Heyhoe Flint & Rheinberg, 1976:16). The matches at this time are thought to have been raucous. In particular, Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976) point to incidents of gambling, shouting, swearing and drinking. These matches seem to have been played by lower class women. On the other hand, some evidence suggests that matches were played between ladies in private rural estates (Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, 1976). These matches upheld the values of femininity and propriety that was expected from upper class ladies.

Although, as mentioned previously, the MCC emerged in 1787, there is no evidence to suggest that they had any involvement or interest in developing or organising any aspects of the women's game. This is indicative of the extreme imbalance of power between men and women that the men could simply ignore any females that were interested in playing.

The Victorian Era

Despite the lack of reports about the extent to which the game was played by females in the 17th and 18th century, Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976), along with Guttmann (1991), suggest that females were involved in playing cricket, although not as frequently as men. The Victorian era saw a decline in the number of females participating in all sport, including cricket. Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg attribute this to the industrial revolution, which meant that many women moved into industrial areas, took up work in factories and had no time or space for cricket. On this matter McCrone (1988) suggests that women's involvement in sport declined because of; greater temporal and spatial constraints in an industrialised society, evolving ideas of female fragility and developments of ideology linking athleticism in general to manliness (McCrone, 1988:142). The cementing of ideas about female fragility with the notion of sport as a male activity was an extremely important process in the emergence of modern sport as a male preserve.

Whilst cricket was perhaps not seen as violent as sports such as rugby, it was unquestionably manly and required physical courage (Dunning, 1999:232). As

Malcolm (2002) reminds us, the bat and ball, especially can be used as weapons. The Victorian era was also an influential period in the advancement of scientific and medical knowledge. Hargreaves (1994) believes that male doctors became custodians over the female body as doctors advised women on the limitations of their bodies. Doctors frequently advised women of the dangers of overstrain (Hargreaves, 1994). Taking part in sport could take away energy that was needed for reproduction. Women were also considered by doctors to have nervous characteristics (Vertinsky, 1990). This assumption was based on false evidence that women had smaller brains and nerves than men. In effect, it was assumed that a woman's capacity to reproduce affected all aspects of her behaviour and emotions (Hargreaves, 1994). Limited medical knowledge meant that the equation between weaker female bodies and weaker female minds was made. In comparison to a set of beliefs that emerged about female bodies there was a contrasting view that the male body was powerful and strong, both mentally and physically (Vertinsky, 2003). The definition of females as weak impacted on female behaviour as many women, especially those in the upper/middle classes, portrayed the image that men expected of them. By emphasising their ill health, they were able to gain attention in a society which in other respects ignored them (Vertinsky, 2003).

In addition to medical arguments that circulated about the female body were ideas about men's and women's differing 'nature'. Social expectations about what behaviour was appropriate for ladies and gentleman magnified during this era (Hargreaves, 1994). Men and women were considered to be diametrically opposed, both in biology and nature. This meant that ideas about femininity were the direct opposite to ideas about masculinity. Men were expected to be strong and intelligent and women were expected to be weak and domesticated (Vertinsky, 1990). This was linked to ideas about the Victorian family. The Victorian father was viewed as the authoritarian head of the household. A women's role within the family was to uphold morals and teach children about the gendered aspect of household duties. In particular, young girls were expected to learn from their mothers Victorian expectations about femininity and domestic abilities.

A breakthrough for women's sports is identified by McCrone (1988) as being the emergence of girls public schools. These schools were modelled on the boys public

schools system but they were specifically tailored for the needs of middle class girls. The education offered to girls was more than just academic. The schools stressed that girls would, through attending their establishments, become good, feminine, Victorian ladies. At a similar time as the emergence of these schools came contradictory advice from the medical profession about women's health. The main concern to emerge from this was that if women were too weak then they may produce weak sons. In response to this anxiety doctors began to advocate light exercise for females. In particular, doctors noted that walking and light gymnastic activities would be beneficial to women's health (Vertinsky, 2003). Although advice varied, most doctors agreed that sport was too rough for females and stressed that only moderate exercise was acceptable. In particular, doctors warned that women who played sport would become flat chested, ugly and unable to bear children (Guttmann, 1991).

The development of sports through the girls public school system represents a pivotal point for the development of sport for females, including cricket. The schools adopted sport for girls on the premise that it would be character building for girls. Sport was not introduced as a vehicle to challenge ideas about Victorian femininity. Instead, sports were adopted as activities that could enhance a girl's femininity. The argument was that sports could, 'improve girls' health and child bearing potential, counteract mental strain, stimulate study and aid discipline' (McCrone, 1988:61). Miss Lawrence, headmistress of St Leonard's School, defended the schools' decision to include sports on the curriculum against those who thought women were too weak for sport, by reassuring them that girls were carefully monitored and guarded against overstrain and fatigue (Hargreaves, 1994). The headmistresses at such schools were cautious to ensure that involvement in sport was not perceived to make girls masculine. Teachers insisted that girls dressed appropriately for PE and sport. Girls were particularly encouraged to ensure that their hair and general appearance was tidy and feminine.

There appears to have been minimal moral outrage about the introduction of sport into the girls' public schools. This may be due to two interrelated factors. Firstly rules governing behaviour were strictly adhered to and secondly, sports took place within the confines of the school grounds. This meant that people did not fully realise the extent to which females participated in a variety of sports (Holt, 1989).

On leaving the public schools some girls inevitably went on to the newly established women's colleges. In these institutions the girls continued to be involved in sport. After leaving these institutions, women continued to play sport and as result they set up their own sport clubs, often separately from men (Guttmann, 1991). There is still evidence of continual male resistance to women's involvement in cricket, this can be seen in the fact that women who played cricket⁷ were expected to give up playing once they were married. At this time in a women's life she was expected to devote time to her husband, her family and the home.

It is clear from this brief exploration of the girls' public schools that these were vital in the emergence of modern sports for women. The fact that these schools were free to introduce sports to females relatively freely from public interference seems to have been beneficial to the development of women's sport.

The emergence of the suffragette movement is further evidence, that towards the end of the Victorian period, there were changes in power balances between males and females. Dunning (1999) notes that the fact that protests did not evoke any violent responses from males, was evidence of shifting power balances between the sexes. Women were given the space to campaign for their rights free from male violence or physical restraint. Those within the suffragette movement, according to Dunning (1999), were acutely aware of the relationship between sport and masculinity. As a result, they often used sport as a site of feminist protest;

It was sport which had to bear the brunt of the suffragette's turn to militancy and violence. Throughout 1913, bowling greens, golf clubs, cricket grounds and football grounds had their turfs torn up and damaged and their buildings burnt down, all over the country (Dobbs 1973, in Dunning, 1999:233).

Sport was noted as a site for male dominance. Although the suffragettes did not include in their campaign for women's right that women should be involved in sport, through the actions of the suffragettes women were able to participate in a greater

⁷ And it is likely this occurred in other sports

variety of activities, including sport. It seems likely that at this time more and more women were getting involved in sport. Throughout the Victorian era changes in balances of power within gender relations began to emerge and women gradually were able to 'fight' for better rights. It was the end of this era in which females increasingly were involved in a variety of sporting activities.

The Women's Cricket Association (WCA)

The emergence of the WCA in 1926 was the first time that women's cricket had a governing body. Prior to this, the organisation of women's cricket was likely to be organised by individual clubs or teams (Williams, 1999). These clubs inevitably communicated to organise tournaments and matches but these were not organised on a national level. The formation of the WCA is a crucial point in the development of the women's game as it gave the sport a structure and a centralised point in its organisation.

The All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA) in 1895 was the first women's sport organisation. The AEWHA and the WCA appear to have had close links. An example of these links is that the first president of the WCA was a past president of the AEWHA. Hockey for women was considered a controversial sport, the following quote notes how it was believed by some to make, 'women mannish and neglectful of their domestic duties and just the detestable sort likely to become suffragettes' (McCrone, 1988:135). This seems to suggest that there was believed to be a link between playing hockey and the characteristics of those women who were involved in the political movement for women's right to vote. This leads Dunning (1999) to assume that women who played hockey may well have actually chosen to play because it was considered an activity in which women were challenging their position in Victorian society. If this is the case and since there was a strong crossover between those playing cricket and hockey, it could be suggested that female cricketers were also aware of their potential to offend. The fact that these organisations for females developed after WW1 is evidence of the changing balances of power between males and females as well as changing perceptions about what constituted gender acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour.

The founding members of the WCA were from the upper middle classes (Williams, 1999). This was primarily because these women had played cricket and hockey at the girls public schools or women's colleges. At the outset, the WCA stated that the aim of their organisation was;

- To encourage the formation of cricket clubs throughout the country
- Provide facilities for, and bring together by means of touring teams and one day matches, those women and girls who previously had little opportunity of playing cricket after leaving school and college.

From these aims it seems that the WCA were not overly concerned with developing cricket for girls from lower classes. Perhaps this indicates an imbalance of power between females from different classes. It also indicates that the organisation lacked identity as a single interest group. The aims of the WCA were also relatively conservative (Williams, 1999). For instance they make no mention of working with or working towards challenging the dominance of men's cricket.

From the outset there was opposition to the formation of the WCA, especially from male cricketers. In the first edition of the WCA's monthly magazine one gentleman declared,

Cricket for females is a preposterous idea, I felt sorrow and dismay at the idea that another field of male activities was to be usurped by the fairer sex, cricket is degraded...let us have this one sport to ourselves...let us pray women never gain admittance to the pavilion at Lords (WCA, 1930).

This demonstrates the response of some males to females gaining access to cricket. One assumes that cricket becomes 'degraded' simply because females play. This is likely to be because, if women play cricket, it can no longer be considered an activity for men to prove their superior athletic ability. The fact that the WCA decided to print this in their magazine indicates that they were aware of the potential resistance to their formation. In order to combat, or at least reduce hostility, the WCA attempted to

market the women's game as separate, different and inferior to the men's game. An example of this can be seen in a chapter written by Pollard, editor of the WCA magazine, in a book about cricket. She states, 'always we recognised our limitations, no one tried to bowl too fast, cricket of our own, we did not want to play cricket like men, we wanted to play women's cricket' (1930:30).

The advice given in the WCA magazines to girls and women playing cricket was to focus on developing their own cricketing skills. It was also suggested that those playing had a responsibility to raise funds for the sport. The responsibility was with women cricketers to fund their sport, this further reinforces that female cricket was divided along class lines. At this point no reference was made to males giving financial support to the women's game. Included in the WCA magazines were occasional male cricketers' commentaries about the nature of women's cricket. One international male cricketer, invited to write an article, entitled it, '*Why women should play cricket*'. In the article Lawton (1930) claimed, 'women are spiteful and gossipy. More women should play cricket as more likely this petty side of their nature will be eradicated' (Lawton, 1930:14). In another article a male cricketer states, 'a woman's mental make up is against her chances at making it good at a game of cricket, she does not have the patience to practice' (WCA, September, 1931). The resistance of men to women's cricket is noticeable in these and other articles in the WCA magazine. What is particularly interesting is that the WCA continued to print these comments, again demonstrating that they were keenly aware of their potential to offend. Pollard, editor of the magazine, reminds readers that they should always adhere to playing in correct cricket attire and should behave like ladies. Pollard notes that women should not offend male cricketers, as it was more often than not male cricketers' who had facilities and women relied on the good faith of men to use these facilities. Power balances were clearly in favour of male cricketers as female cricketers had few facilities or funds of their own.

The WCA did not appear to challenge the position of men's cricket. Instead, those involved in the organisation accepted that women's cricket was inferior to men's cricketers. This position, according to Burton Nelson (1994), should not surprise us as historically female sports organisations have adopted separatist, inferior, positions for fear of further ridicule or rejection by male sporting organisations.

The WCA developed rapidly and by 1927, just a year after emerging, 10 clubs were affiliated and over 350 individual members had joined (Williams, 1999). By 1929, individual membership grew to 400 and 37 clubs were affiliated. This increase does not necessarily indicate a sudden increase in the number of females playing. Rather, it is likely that these clubs would have been in existence prior to the formation of the WCA but took time to consider the benefits of affiliating to the WCA. The fact that these clubs decided to join seems to indicate the strength of the organisation and the perceived need for a central organising body for the women's game.

At the time of the formation of the WCA, cricket in the North of England took on a slightly different form to cricket in the South of England (Williams, 1999). The major difference between women's cricket in the North of the country compared to the South seems to be the relationship between male and female cricketers. It was men, not women, who ran the Yorkshire and Lancashire women's cricket federations. Also in the North it was not uncommon for men to get involved in the women's game and umpire matches. There were even male representatives on the Lancashire Women's Cricket Federation (LWCF) board (Williams, 1999). It seems that this interest in the women's game was partly because male cricket federations in the North of England utilised the women's game as a way of increasing revenue for the men's game, either through the hiring of grounds to female players or by taking a proportion of the gate money. This difference in the development of cricket in the North and the South suggests that there may have been a divide between those females playing in the North and those in the South. The WCA magazine only mentioned the northern cricket federation twice during the 1930s, perhaps indicating the low regard they held their northern counterparts. Joy (1950), an ex-England player writing an overview of the history of the women's game, argues that those females playing in the northern federations were neither cricketers nor ladies. However, reconciliation between the two occurred in 1937, 11 years after the WCA formed, when the LWCF affiliated to the WCA (Williams, 1999). By this time, when it came to the organisation and development of women's cricket, the WCA yielded the majority of power. The WCA insisted that when the Australian team toured England in 1937 only teams affiliated to them would be allowed to play against Australia. Therefore in order for the LWCF to play against Australia they had no choice but to affiliate to the WCA. The

reconciliation did require some compromise on the part of the WCA. Soon after the LWCF affiliated, the WCA relaxed the rules on allowing females to play with men (Williams, 1999).

It is clear that this period saw a growth in the organisation of women's cricket. Through the affiliation of clubs to the WCA, the WCA were able to organise the women's game and monitor the development of leagues as well as initiate international tours.

Although there seems to have been some change towards what constituted appropriate female behaviour during this time (Dunning, 1999), there is evidence that resistance to the women's game remained. In 1930, T.A.N Pocock of the University of Cambridge noted;

Let women stick to those games they can play well and leave to men those which they can't. As is well-known, the structure of the female shoulder blade prevents a woman from bowling over arm properly. Finally, as so comparatively few women play cricket, it seems unnecessary and undesirable to give so much publicity to this travesty of a noble sport (quoted in Heyhoe Flint & Rheinberg, 1976:36).

The very fact that the nobility of cricket is questioned when women play highlights the continuing power balances between male and female cricketers and the desire of men to keep cricket as a symbol of an English gentleman. Resistance is also evident on the basis of false medical claims and moral claims about the nature of cricket being a noble activity for males. Such comments served to stifle the development of women's cricket and women's sport more generally.

The Post WWII Development of Women's Cricket

Perhaps not surprisingly, during WWII there was a decline in the number of cricket matches played between females. The WCA magazine ceased production during the war. 'Cricket week', the annual sporting tournament was reinstated 6 months after the end of the war (Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, 1976). Cricket for females was revived

and as evidence for this was that in 1948 a touring team left for 17 months to complete a tour of Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon⁸ (Joy, 1950). The team consisted primarily of middle class women who attended public schools such as Wycombe Abbey and St Leonards. Others had been to teacher training colleges for women, such as Chelsea, Liverpool and Bedford. The women had to pay for their own passage, again indicating that these women were relatively affluent. Once in the host country it was customary for the host country to pay for the women's accommodation and travel (Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, 1976). Joy (1950), one of the players, notes that the match played in Ceylon was played predominantly against English women who lived in Ceylon and a few Ceylonese school girls. On the return tour in 1951 there was a great deal of speculation over whether Lord's would be used to host a woman's match. This speculation arose from the observation that their Australian counterparts used the men's pitches such as the MCG in Melbourne. Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976) note that despite this speculation on their return there was no indication that women would be allowed to play at Lords.

According to Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976), the 1960s saw the largest increase in the number of females' involved in cricket. This is, according to Dunning (1999), a time when increased technologies allowed women more free time to be involved in activities out the house. An example has been that as a result of the availability of contraception average family size decreased. As relations between men and women changed, more male only spaces arose and some men resisted the trend of equalisation. One example of this is that when the MCC finally allowed female members, the club established a male only bar. This signals an attempt by males to retain power and traditional gender relations that attempt to exclude females. The arguments for this exclusion seem to be based on the idea that, 'it's been like that for donkeys years' (Shaw and Slack, 2002). Despite the increase in the number of female's playing, female players were careful not to upset the sentiments of male cricketers. Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976: 162-166) writing at this time continually refer to the fact that male cricketers are better, and stronger than females.

⁸ now known as Sri Lanka

Perhaps the most significant change to the women's game occurred in 1998 when the WCA merged with the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB). The merger was partly the result of bankruptcy on the part of the WCA, but it was also the result of changes to lottery funding grants which meant that organisations were required to represent the interests of males and females in order to be eligible for funding. Acosta and Carpenter (1992) note that other mergers between male and female clubs resulted in males taking over positions that were previously held by females. One of the consequences of the merger is that men's and women's cricket have entered into more interdependent relationships. The ECB have had to take notice of the women's game and there has been a move towards functional democratisation⁹. Despite this move towards equality, in reality the ECB remains a predominantly male run organisation. In this climate it seems likely that the established males hold more power than the outsiders. Especially as women are currently heavily dependent on men's facilities, coaching and administrative support. This perhaps demonstrates the relative power of the two groups at the time that they merged.

Recently, in 2003, the ECB suggested that there were in excess of 2 million girls playing cricket (www.ecb.co.uk). Perhaps a more adequate analysis of female's participation in cricket comes from the *Young People and Sport in England; Survey of Young People and PE Teachers*, conducted in 1994, 1999, and 2002. This is the largest survey of participation of children aged 6-16 which 3,000 young people involved in the survey. The results indicate that there has not been a significant increase in girls participation in cricket in schools between 1994-2002. In 1994, 20% of boys regularly played cricket in school compared to 7% of girls, in 1999 this had increased to 24% of boys and 8% of girls who were involved in cricket in school. By 2002 this had dropped to 20% and 7%. Out of school participation in cricket also saw distinct differences between boys and girls participation. In 1994 27% boys aged 6-11 regularly participated in cricket out of school. In comparison only 6% of girls were involved. Again there were slight increases in 1999 with 29% boys and 8% girls regularly involved in playing cricket. by 2002 this decreased with only 22% of boys and 5% of girls regularly involved in playing cricket outside of school. When looking at the participation of girls' extra curricular involvement in cricket only 1% were

⁹ to reiterate, this is the term used by Elias (2000) to explain how power balances between groups have become more equal

involved in 1994 and 1999. By 2002 this had increased by 2%. In the *Women and Sport: The State of Play* report 2006 (UK Sport, 2006) suggests that cricket is within the top ten sports participated by men aged over 16. Comparatively cricket did not figure in female participation in sport. The report also indicates that in 2006 only 1% of members of the ECB are female. These figures, whilst not conclusive, perhaps demonstrate that involvement in female cricket has not increased significantly since the ECB were involved in the game in 1998.

Concluding Remarks

In light of figurational sociologists emphasise on the importance of examining issues developmentally this chapter has sought to provide an overview of the emergence and development of women's cricket. Such an approach helps to locate women's cricket historically and highlights that social processes involved in the development of the women's game have no starting or finishing point. Women's cricket did not suddenly emerge. Mennell (1990:65) suggests that the figurational developmental approach to current issues is vital because;

The most practically useful result of the investigation of long-term developmental processes is to lend scale and perspective to the present. In this, its significance may spread beyond narrowly academic interests into influencing how people at large and even policy-makers interpret events they see before them at the present day.

The chapter began by reviewing Elias' (1987/2000) *The Civilising Processes* and its application to sport, specifically cricket. What is apparent is that cricket has undergone a civilising process (Malcolm, 2002). Malcolm (2002) presents evidence which suggests that in the 17th and 18th century cricket was a violent, dangerous sport. Attempts to develop rules and standardise the game reduced incidents of violence. In particular, cricket became a sport which symbolised the notions of Victorian manliness and Englishness in the male English elite (Sandiford, 1983). This is demonstrated in the fact the founding members of the MCC were from the social elite and included members of royalty.

As cricket in the Victorian Era was defined as a male activity, females were directed away from the sport. Other factors, such as ideas about female fragility, impacted on females' access to sport, and cricket (Hargreaves, 1994; Vertinsky, 1990, 2003). It was through a revival of sports in the girls' public schools that females were reintroduced to the sport of cricket. The emergence of the WCA in 1926 is a similar time to when other female sport organisations also emerged. The formation of the WCA meant that for the first time women's cricket had an organisation responsible for the development of the game. Despite this, the WCA were extremely conservative in their aims and were particularly wary of their potential to offend male cricketers. This is partly because of their dependence on male cricketers for facilities.

Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg (1976) assert that the 1960s was a golden age for the women's game. This coincides with what Dunning (1999) demonstrates as being changes at this time at an ideological level about what is considered socially acceptable behaviour for females. This is consistent with his argument about the conditions of relative empowerment of females in sport, i.e. better birth control methods, greater technology in household appliances, invention of tampon, greater state level control of male to female violence.

The fact that more females are now playing cricket is perhaps in line with broader notions related to civilising processes. Yet, recent trends identified by Sport England surveys suggest that the participation rates of girls involved in cricket has not changed substantially since 1994.

Perhaps however, it is fair to say that, it is no longer accurate to describe cricket as a male preserve. The introduction of legislation such as lottery funding grants which emphasise the necessity of organisations to provide sporting opportunities for both females and males demonstrates how women have used moral arguments to state that it is no longer acceptable to ignore women's sports. Yet one consequence of females increasing opportunities in the cricket figuration seems to be male resistance to that involvement. It is apparent, throughout this chapter that the organisation of the women's game has emerged as a consequence of moral, financial and organisational pressure. It is in this context, and against this historical background, that females play cricket today.

The following chapter discusses the methodology and the methods that were used to collect the data for the thesis as well as a discussion around the difficulties of collecting data and issues related to the figurational concept of involvement and detachment.

Chapter Three

The 12th ‘Man’ Methodology

You never really know a man until you stand in his shoes and walk around in them (Harper Lee, 1960)

The two previous chapters have cemented the theoretical framework of the thesis. The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodology and methods that were used in this research. Bloyce (2004:144), in a paper about methodologies and figurational sociology, noted that research is ‘a messy process’. Whilst Bloyce (2004) acknowledges the complexities and difficulties involved in conducting research, he suggests that many qualitative researchers disregard, or hide, the difficulties that they face during their research. Whyte (1969) and, more recently, Denison and Markula (2003) and Burdsey (2004) are critical of the way that some researchers neglect discussing their own experiences of the research process. In response to such criticisms Punch (cited in Patton, 2002) has called for researchers to demystify the qualitative research process by being honest about the types of practical and emotional difficulties that researchers face when involved in the research process. In light of these comments this chapter presents all aspects of the research process; in essence, the good, the bad and the ugly.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the methodology and methods that were used in the research. This is a retrospective summary and includes information on how the data were analysed. Secondly, I intend to revisit the concept of involvement and detachment. The purpose of doing this is to put into context some of the points raised in Chapter One. In particular, as noted in Chapter One, I will look at the advantages of using reflexivity as a means of the researcher documenting their own involvement and detachment in research.

Reflection on Methods

The topic of my thesis began during my MA (Cook, 2002) when it was suggested that I analyse women’s cricket as a possible dissertation topic. I was aware that the

literature on female sport was overwhelming about football (Caudwell, 1999; Cox & Thompson, 2000; Mennesson & Clement, 2003; Scraton *et al*, 1999; Scraton *et al* 2005). The fact that sociological research on men's cricket is also slim (Malcolm, 2004), encouraged me to align my research to the exploration of the experiences of elite female county cricketers. In many respects my MA dissertation was a stepping stone towards this PhD thesis.

This following section explores the case study as a qualitative methodology and discusses the case chosen for this thesis as well as issues related to generalisability in qualitative case studies.

The case study, as promoted by Stake (1995), has been a useful sociological research tool. A 'case', according to Stake (1995), can refer to a variety of things, a community, an organisation, a culture, or a particular incidence. Patton (2002:447) refers to these as the '*unit of analysis*'. The advantage of a case study, according to those advocating it as a method, is that it leads to a more adequate, holistic and complex understanding of the topic that is being studied (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Case study data often consists of multiple methods. For instance, researchers may use interviews, observations, policy documents and newspaper clippings. In my 'case' I have predominantly collected my research data in the following ways;

- Ethnography with U15 county girls cricket teams
- Interviews with those playing
- Interviews with senior female cricketers playing in clubs in the county

One of the main criteria for choosing the particular county to be the case study was that it had to have a strong history of men's county cricket. The reason for this was that the men's county team had to be well established. I felt that this would provide a stronger basis for a women's cricket team and women's cricket more generally than a minor county. Secondly, for practical reasons, the county had to be accessible to the researcher. With this in mind four counties were selected as possible case studies. The county that I eventually chose, known throughout this thesis as county A, was chosen purposively as a county that fits the above criteria. The county were approached and

they confirmed that they were happy to be involved in the research. After setting up a meeting with the county women's officer it was agreed that I could do my research with one of the girls' county team. The teams that were playing in the county were U11, 13 and U15. There was no U17 team at the time of this study. I had already decided that ideally the U15 county girls' team would be chosen. This was because it was likely that these girls would have been involved in cricket for a relatively long period of time compared to either the U13 or U11 teams. It was agreed between the county women's officer and I that she would contact the manager and coach of the U15 team to say that she had met with me about the proposed research and was happy for me to continue with this age group. After she had done this, I contacted the coach and managers¹⁰ of the U15 girls' team to explain the research. In the appendix of this thesis there is an explanation of all those who were involved in the research, their ages, who they played for, what level etc. In return for allowing me to do the research the county asked me to do some research for them on why girls drop out of cricket. The county had identified this as a problem and indicated that they had a 40% drop out rate in girls' cricket. The findings from this are not reported in the thesis but are written up elsewhere.

One of the criticisms of the case study approach to research is that it might be argued that by choosing one case, research may not be representative of women's cricket in general. There are two counter arguments I wish to present in response to this criticism. Firstly, although counties are to some degree free to run county cricket according to the needs of the specific county, they are also constrained and guided by the ECB. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that counties have a similar, albeit not identical, county structure. This thesis is more closely related to issues of identity and female crickets whilst details about the structure of the game are likely to be discussed in others research. Secondly, and perhaps more essentially, research does not always have to be representative of all subjects for it to make a contribution to knowledge. In research by Taylor (in Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:240) about the difficulties facing a mentally retarded family he states,

¹⁰ The managers of the team were also the parents of the Captain, Maddie.

As a qualitative researcher I cannot claim my study is generalisable beyond the specific persons studied. The point, however, is not whether the Duke family are representative of other families but what this family's experience tells us about common sense assumptions and generalisations about mental retardation.

As a qualitative researcher, the emphasis is on the experiences of the cricketers in County A rather than the generalisability of the results. The term generalisable originates from notions of folk science whereby positivist traditions of science have encouraged social science researchers to work within scientific notions of reliability and validity (Stoddart, 2004). Any researcher who does not play by these rules is considered to have produced non generalisable data (Stoddart, 2004). This rigid, scientific definition of generalisability has been criticised by sociologists such as Becker (1990), who suggests positivistic definitions about generalisability are not transferable to the social sciences and do not take into account the important issues in qualitative research. Traditional positivistic definitions about generalisability lead people to assume, 'the notion that things called by the same name are the same in other respects' (Becker, 1990:238). This is not always the case and can obscure rather than enlighten our understanding of groups or social processes. For instance, the term sport refers to a range of activities such as football, cricket, rugby, but also under the umbrella of sport is sailing, horse racing and gymnastics. These activities are extremely diverse and in fact they may have very little in common at all. Becker (1990) proposes a unique, qualitative model of generalisability in which research is understood as being about social processes rather than distinct populations. Stoddart neatly summarises Becker's ideas and suggests that he meant;

the goal is no longer to study a sample of police officers, punk rockers, or kung fu students so that we can make generalisations about all police officers, punk rockers or kung fu students. Instead, we examine the social processes that go on in police work, the punk rock subculture or in martial arts dojo. In analysing these processes we might see how they play out in potentially diverse settings (2004: 308).

Thus, in Becker's (1997) text, *Outsiders*, about marijuana users and Whyte's (1969) text, *Street Corner Society*, about life in the slums, the authors offer rich and descriptive accounts of the people and places they study. Becker (1997) does not need to suggest that all marijuana users are like those in his study, neither does Whyte (1969) need to argue that all American slums are like 'Cornerville'. Both studies offer a valuable insight into the processes and interdependent relationships formed by people. This is where the quality of their and others sociological insight lies. This understanding of generalisability proposed by Becker can be termed 'generic social process' (Prus, 1994:394).

However what is important in research, is that although the research may not be representative of all those who are involved in cricket it still is a contribution to knowledge. The research can comment and examine processes that occur within female cricket that might be relevant to further studies on female's involvement in cricket. This form of generalisability is perhaps close to what Kvale (1996:233) terms *analytical generalisation*, which he describes as, 'a judgement about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation'. This recognises that there might be similarities and differences between cases. In this thesis I am not claiming, nor do I need to be able to claim, that the experiences, identities and motivations of my interviewees are the same as those for all female cricketers, but that patterns and processes involved will indicate information and contribute to knowledge about the impact of gender relations of female cricketers.

Walking the Walk: Ethnography with U15 County girls

The following section is an exploration of the methods used to collect data starting with Ethnography which can be explained as a way of exploring people's lived experiences, their thoughts, behaviour and their feelings (Fielding, 2003). Ethnography developed from researchers' desire to understand the motivations and experiences of a specific group (Pawson, 2000). The origins of the method date back to a time when anthropologists lived amongst tribes or primitive cultures in order to provide an understanding of life amongst the natives. The most cited study of this

kind is Malinowski's (1932) tribal study in the Trobriand Islands. Malinowski was an anthropologist and the methods of ethnographers have developed from such research.

Sugden and Tomlinson (1999) argue that ethnography has developed as a popular method in sociology because theories and interpretations are much richer when they are grounded in the experiences of those that are being studied. The importance of ethnography as a research method can be seen in the texts such as Whyte's (1969), *Street Corner Society*, and Willis's (1977) *Learning to Labour*. These accounts of a particular group are rich and descriptive thus the researcher is able to gain an insight into the meanings that people associate with their own behaviour. It is this aspect of ethnography that O'Connell Davidson and Layder (1994) commend.

However traditional anthropological accounts, such as Malinowski's have been criticised because despite the insightfulness of the research. Sparkes (2002) questions the extent to which researchers considered their own role in their setting. For the most part researchers simply went, lived amongst a tribe, came home and published their observations.

In situations where the researcher lives with the population they are studying, Whyte (1969) proposes that the researcher should attempt to produce a reflective account of their time in that environment. In particular he suggests that the researcher should reflect upon the conditions in which they entered the culture, who they met and how they lived during their ethnography. Whyte maintains that;

If, the researcher is living for an extended period in a community he is studying, his personal life is inextricably mixed with his research. A real explanation, then of how the research was done necessarily involves a rather personal account of how the researcher lived during the period of study (1969: 279).

Such debates about the nature of ethnography, as a research method, meant that some researchers have begun to question the role of the ethnographer and their ability to accurately describe their involvement in the process (Sparkes, 2002). For instance doing ethnography with a group of people that you have known for many years will

be different to entering a group as an outsider. Krenske and McKay (2000:294) suggest that ethnography is; 'not simply a matter of observing and noting. It creates a particular reality that reflects the situation and biographies of both researcher and researched'. For these authors, ethnography is not as clear cut as providing a factual analysis of a group of people. The researcher must acknowledge their own impact and involvement in the research.

In an attempt to explore the extent to which different researchers merge themselves into the research field, Gold (in O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994) identified four common ethnographic roles that researchers traditionally adopt in the field. These are; 'the complete participant', 'the participant as observer', 'the observer as participant' and 'the complete observer'. The complete participant role refers to research where the researcher completely immerses him/herself within a group. An example of this type of research is Rosenhan's (1973) study of mental health institutions. Rosenhan's research focused on the processes and relationships within mental health institutions. He felt that in order to do this research it was necessary to experience a mental health institution from the perspective of the patient. Rosenhan and his colleagues had themselves committed to a mental institute but the doctors and practitioners at the institute were unaware of the researcher's status. In the second ethnographic role that Gold (in O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994) identified, the participant as observer, the researcher will inform those that they are studying of their research. Armstrong's (1993) research on the Blades, a football hooligan group in Sheffield, is an example of this. Armstrong (1993) was involved with the group and the group's activities, yet the police and the hooligans were aware that Armstrong was a sociological researcher. The third role, the observer as participant, refers to research in which the observer does not fully participate with the activities of the group. They may participate partially, but mainly they just observe the group. Finally, the complete observer role requires no involvement from the researcher within the group. Their role is simply to observe behaviour and not to interact with the group at all. Gold (in O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994) is cautious to point out that the researcher does not have to assume just one role. He emphasises that throughout the research process the researcher may move between roles. It is also likely that during prolonged research projects relationships between the researcher and those being researched may change, develop and, at times, breakdown.

In my ethnographic research I concentrated on the experiences of the U15 county girls' team in county A. Before this research I had never played cricket and therefore it would have been impracticable to join the team as a coach or manager. According to Gold's above classification my own research position was as 'the observer as participant'. I was not solely an observer because I was involved in taking drinks to the girls, helping them to warm up and throw balls to them to help them practice batting. My ethnography took place over one cricket season, from May 2004 to September 2004. Although the season started badly with the first two matches cancelled due to bad weather, over the period of my ethnography I attended all but two of the county fixtures. This amounted to six matches as well as a four day residential cricket tournament where I stayed with the players and their coach. The four day residential was a tournament, at a private school, where various counties played against one another. The girls went to this tournament every year and stayed at the school. The girls were scheduled to play a match a day, but due to rain, some of these matches were cancelled.

As Taylor and Bodgan (1998:45) highlight, during the initial stages of my ethnography I was concerned with establishing my identity as an 'OK person'. This meant that, initially, collecting data was secondary to getting to know people and the new surroundings. At my initial meeting with the girls I gathered them together and briefly introduced myself and my research. I also used this time to sit and chat with parents and answer any questions they might have about the research. Although prior to this meeting I was nervous, the girls and the parents were extremely welcoming and inquisitive about my thesis.

I had already decided, prior to entering the research setting, that I would not write notes in front of the girls or their parents. The reason for this was so that the girls did not feel like their behaviour was being 'recorded'. Whilst this may negatively impact upon what is recorded, I was conscious that tagging along, interviewing and writing about people in front of them is intrusive (Walkerline, 1997). I kept a notebook with me at all times but when I wanted to write notes I would go to the pavilion or to my car. In addition to these field notes I kept a diary during my ethnography. Within this diary I noted experiences or feelings that I felt could impact upon the research. This

diary was invaluable in helping me to be reflective about my involvement during the research process.

When I was at matches I would sit and chat with the girls and their parents. At times I would help make teas and take drinks to the girls. At other times I would simply sit and observe the various interactions between the girls, their parents and the coach. There were times during my ethnography when I would think back to the work of McRobbie (2000) who provides an honest account of her research with young girls. She recalled times when she felt at a loss about what she was supposed to be observing. One intricacy that McRobbie (2000) found was that it was difficult to access girls subcultures because their friendships generally take place in one-to-one confidential settings, such as bedrooms. I found a similar situation whereby girls' confided in close friends within the girls U15 team. On match days the girls would split off into small friendship groups away from others. It was difficult as a researcher to access these spaces¹¹.

Despite these problems, I felt that as I got to know the girls, I did begin to get a feel for the types of conversations that took place in these settings. It is not possible as a researcher to know what impact you have on others' behaviour. The girls and their parents were of course aware of my presence and my research and it is not possible for me to note whether this changed their behaviour. Despite this, given the amount of time I spent with the team, it is unlikely that those involved in the research could continually, 'present themselves in the best possible light' (Goffman, 1959 in Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:47).

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggest that many researchers report feelings of uncertainty when they start their ethnographies. I felt comforted, as a researcher, to know that these feelings are common. In particular I was concerned about issues such as whether I was writing enough notes and whether I was observing the 'correct' things. At this time, an article written by Sugden and Tomlinson (1999) came to concern me. The article questioned the extent to which sociologists should be critical of their researchee's. In particular I felt it promoted a quasi – journalistic approach to

¹¹ I learnt a few fieldwork techniques such as taking cookies or drinks to the girls. This usually allowed me to access these spaces, and listen to conversations even if it was only for a short period.

ethnographic settings. Whilst I agree with the sentiments that the authors make about not relying on documents and being critical about what you are told, I did not feel comfortable about some of their suggestions about, 'digging the dirt' (1999:390). For instance, the authors write;

It is timely to consider the potential of the investigative method as a methodological imperative and to recognise too the advantages that the fieldwork strategies of a gonzo observer can offer. It will not often make you friends in high places; it will not ensure ask backs....but it might get you listened to, and in doing so it could establish a more public and visible role for the sociology of sport (1999:396).

This quote seems to prioritise the importance of attaining a visible role for the sociology of sport over the issue of disclosure. As a researcher I am not comfortable with Sugden and Tomlinson's (1999) statements. Instead, I believe that as a researcher you have a responsibility to other sociological researchers to leave the door open for subsequent research access. That is not to suggest that sociologists should tiptoe around large sporting organisations or provide research that merely supports the organisation. On the other hand, research without responsibility appears to be more journalistic than sociological.

Instead of adopting a Sugden and Tomlinson (1999) approach to ethnography and research, I aligned my research with Elias's (1978) belief that sociologists are the 'destroyer of myths'. This concept advises sociologists to reject common sense myths that people or groups may tell you. It also highlights that insider knowledge may not always provide the most adequate perspective. Elias (1978) suggests that researchers should strive to provide an understanding of processes and relationships that are involved in social settings. In this context the ultimate aim of research becomes to provide a more adequate understanding of the social setting. Within this framework it is not necessary to expose the ECB or county A for their provision or lack of provision of cricket for females. It is however necessary to provide a comprehensive analysis and understanding of the processes, relationships and power imbalances that exist within the figuration. At this point, it is worth going back to the work of Whyte

(1969), who explains that in various situations during his research he had to consider the issue of morals and ethics within the research process. He concludes;

I also had to learn that the field worker cannot afford to think only of learning to live with others in the field. He has to continue living with himself. If the participant observer finds himself engaging in behaviour he has learned to think of as immoral, then he is likely to begin to wonder what sort of a person he is after all (Whyte, 1969:317).

You cannot put aside your personal and moral behaviour for the duration of the research.

In summary, ethnography is a useful method because it allows the researcher to explore people's thoughts and behaviours holistically. It was useful with the U15 girls to look at the relationships between those involved in the U15 cricket figuration but it was felt that supplementing it with other research methods would also be beneficial. It is to interviews, and my use of them, that I now turn.

Ethical Considerations

Flick (2006) suggests that ethics are an important part of qualitative research and ethical decisions may need to be made throughout the research process. In particular he highlights the need for 'informed consent' of those involved in the research (Flick, 2006:49). This requires people to be informed about the research and they have to be competent to give their consent. Flick (2006) suggests children and those with learning difficulties may not be able to give their full consent to research. As the girls in my study were all 15 and under the 15 girls' legal guardian were asked to give consent to their involvement in the interviews. As for the adult interviewees they were also given information sheets and consent forms to complete (Appendix Two). The Ethics of research also requires the researcher to consider whether harm will come to those participating in the research. The research in question did not require the participants to reveal any personal details that were likely to upset or disturb them. Therefore the risk of harming the participants through their involvement in the research was not considered problematic.

The university did not have an ethics committee at the time of the research was conducted. Therefore there was no official ethical approval given for this research. Despite this, ethics was considered an important element of the research, and the implications of producing ethical research were discussed with senior member of staff. Thus, despite there being no formal procedure, ethics were vital to the research process, and ethical procedures were maintained in the following ways;

- CRB form and CRB check to work for children. I took this to the county cricket board for their information and they were therefore happy for me to observe the U15 county girls' team.
- Consent forms and information sheets were issued to the parents and girls – examples of these can be found in Appendix Two.
- Consent form and information sheets were also given to adult female cricketers, distributed by club secretaries. Examples of these are in Appendix Three.

The participant information sheet made the participants aware, as Kvale (1996) indicates of issues relating to confidentiality. The participants were informed that I was the only person who had access to the data. I also transcribed the research myself so no one other than me heard the tapes or had access to the transcripts. The participants were aware that their names would be changed for the write up of the research. Each participant was briefed about the research at the start of the interview and had the opportunity, before the tape began, to discuss any concerns they may have had. None of the interviewees expressed concern about being tape recorded and all consented to the interviews.

Talking the Talk: The Sociological Interview

The semi structured interview method was used in the research with both the U15 girls' team and the adult women in county A. This section discusses the use of interviews in qualitative research and their specific use in collecting the data for this thesis.

In simple terms the role of the interviewer is to gather information from the interviewee. The interview has long been regarded as the favoured tool for qualitative researchers (Benny and Hughes, 1956). Oakley (1981:72) suggests that, despite its wide use as a research method, 'interviewing is like a marriage, everyone knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets'. Although it is common for people to claim that interviews merely replicate conversations, Patton (2002) notes that in reality the interviewer must prepare for the interview. Without such rigorous preparation, Patton (2002) warns, the interviewer may not find out what they want to know.

The popularity of the interview method has led Patton (2002) to stress to people that it is not an easy method. In particular, Patton (2002) refers to the importance of researchers' mastering the skills necessary to interview. The interviewer must listen carefully throughout the interview and continually interpret and provide adequate responses to the interviewee (Patton, 2002). It is also the job of the interviewer to probe into the interviewees' initial responses. Patton (2002) also points out that the interview may not always be a smooth process. For instance, there are incidents when the interviewer and the interviewee may not develop rapport. Pryke (2004) is particularly critical of the assumption in qualitative text books that as a researcher you should always agree with the interviewee. In his research experience he notes that this is not always possible, nor is it always morally advisable. There are situations, in some sociological research, where it might be necessary for the interviewer to disagree with the interviewee, particularly if the interviewee says something 'immoral' (Pryke, 2004). Such debates about the nature of interviews are common within sociology (Pawson, 2000).

The interview method was used to collect data in this research because of the belief that it can 'yield a picture of a range of settings, situations or people' (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:100). Since it was impossible, due to the time constraints of the PhD, to follow the girls and women through their cricketing careers the interview was considered an appropriate method of finding out about females' involvement in cricket.

With the U15 girls I conducted 15 interviews, one with each girl. At the time of the interview the girls ranged from 13-15 years of age. For ethical reasons I received parental consent to conduct the interviews. In addition to this, all the girls were asked for their consent to be interviewed, but none declined. The interviews were semi structured and lasted between 45 minutes to one hour. The benefit of the semi structured interview is that it allows for an exchange or conversation on a particular subject (Kvale, 1996). The interview guide can be organised, thematically and dynamically and are often linked to research questions. A structured interview was considered too restricting for the research as this would require all questions to be asked to each participant in the same way. This does not allow for much discussion or exploration of themes or experiences that the participant mentions (Gratton and Jones, 2004). An unstructured interview is an interview where no questions are scheduled before hand. This can be useful in grounded theory research or research on new areas. For this research a semi structured interview was considered able to guide the researcher to ensure that all areas that I wanted to cover were covered. This approach uses a standard set of questions or in this case themes, which were linked to the research questions, more details about the schedule are given below (Kvale, 1996).

The interviews took place at the cricket residential in Yorkshire in August 2004. The reasons for this were that a) the girls were in one place for four days and b) by this time trust between the girls and I had been established. The interviews all took place in a room and, with permission from the girls, they were tape recorded. As suggested by Gratton and Jones (2004) the interviews started with an easy ice breaker question, 'can you tell me how you got involved in cricket? This question gave the girls an opportunity to relax and recall how they had first become involved in playing cricket. The interview was guided by semi structured schedule that prompted me to cover all the areas that I wanted to discuss. The questions were centred around; firstly, how the girls first got involved in cricket and their families i.e. brothers, fathers, mothers, sisters' influence in this. Secondly questions were asked about other sports the girls were involved in and their enjoyment of these sports and cricket. Thirdly questions were asked about their current involvement in school, club and county cricket. Fourthly, they were asked about their involvement in boys' cricket and experiences of playing boy's cricket and any perceived differences between male and female cricket. Finally the girls were asked how people react when they find out they are involved in

cricket and questions around whether they consider they would continue playing cricket. The schedule was flexible enough to allow time for the discussion, or the probing, of the girls' experiences or specific incidences that they mentioned that required further discussion.

The interviews with the adult female cricketers took place between October 2004 and June 2005. In all, I conducted 16 interviews. One interview was carried out with each female playing in a club in county A. The interviewees were contacted through the secretaries of the clubs who passed on information to them about my research. Those who responded and said that they were happy to be part of the research were contacted so that a time and place for the interview could be arranged. I followed the advice suggested by Taylor and Bogdan (1998) about being honest with your interviewees. I explained that my research was about women's cricket and that I was interested in the experiences of the players. At this point a lot of the women said that they did not think they had anything interesting to say. I reassured them that I was interested in their experiences of playing, e.g. how they got involved, what clubs they had played for, etc. As the interviews were arranged at a time and place to suite the interviewees, they took place in a range of venues, from coffee shops, restaurants and work offices. Although the location of these may be problematic, as ideally, a quiet place is best for interviewing (Gratton and Jones, 2004, Kvale, 1996). In research it is sometimes difficult to fulfil these 'best case scenarios' and in fact research is a 'messy process' (Bloyce, 2004). Interviewing in these diverse settings may not have been ideal, but these were spaces that were chosen by the participant. Ultimately this allowed me to interview more people than if I had insisted on meeting in quiet, contained space that may have been inconvenient to the interviewee. Before the interviews started I decided to tape record them so that I did not have to worry about taking notes during the interview and could concentrate on the interaction between the interviewee and myself. All the interviewees were asked whether they would consent to the interviews being tape recorded and all agreed. The interviews varied in length but normally lasted about one hour. The interviews all started with the same question that I had asked the U15 girls; 'can you tell me how you got involved in cricket?' this was an ice breaker question in order to allow conversation to begin and put the interviewee at ease. The adult interviews were also semi structured and were centred on the following themes; firstly, questions around how they got involved, why, who

influenced. Secondly, questions about how they got from their initial involvement to their current involvement. Thirdly, questions about their current and past involvement in club cricket and the club they currently play for. Fourthly questions about their enjoyment of cricket and why and how they continue to be involved in playing cricket. Finally, questions around others reactions to their involvement in cricket and experiences of playing boy's men's cricket. A lot of the interviewees were interested in whether I played cricket and I told them that I did not¹². The fact that I was not involved in the game was beneficial to the interview process as it meant the women did not take for granted that I understood aspects of the game. This gave me the opportunity to probe into areas of which I had no prior experience. This is an example of the role of involvement and detachment in research, there are times when full involvement is beneficial, yet in this case I was able to probe more effectively and not take for granted some of the comments made by the female cricketers. In fact on occasions I could legitimately ask, can you explain what you mean by this?'

Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research is not a simple straight forward process (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). One of the reasons that researchers find analysis of qualitative data difficult is because of the acceptance that it is not 'a mechanical or technical process; it is a process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorising' (1998:138). Therefore, it is not a case of following an exact recipe. There are guidelines to the process but not rules. Each researcher needs to find their own ways to manage and understand their data.

My data were derived from the ethnography and the interviews and, as other researchers have noted, I found that there was no clear point where data collection stopped and analysis started. Becker (1970), in particular, has noted how the collection and analysis phase can be synonymous. If one accepts this then, 'data collection and analysis go hand in hand' (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:138). Elias (1987) also emphasised that data should not be seen in an isolated way. Elias encouraged researchers to see a link between theories and data. This is because the two are

¹² At the time of the interviews I did not play cricket, though as discussed below, I now do.

considered interdependent and it also helps to ensure that research is always, 'theoretically grounded empirical work' (Dunning *et al*, 1988:267).

The ethnographic data collected for this research was recorded in the form of detailed field notes. These notes were made away from the girls and their parents. The field notes encompassed details of the number of girls at each match as well as descriptions of specific incidents or conversations. After these notes were made I would go back and read over them adding any details that had been forgotten. When the notes were added at a later date this was always done in a different colour pen to ensure that I could identify what had been added at a later date.

I transcribed all the interviews myself and all interviews were transcribed within two weeks of them taking place. I decided to transcribe the interviews myself to give me an opportunity to re-familiarise myself with the interview data. After considering all the interview data, both the women and the U15 players, I decided to analyse all the interviews at the same time. The reason for this was that the majority of issues that were discussed by the interviewees were evident in the research on both groups. Analysing the data together provided a chance for the data to be considered holistically, thus supporting the case study methodology. It also enabled me to portray involvement in cricket as a process rather than as two separate or distinct experiences.

Once the interview data were transcribed I spent time reading and re reading the data. Once I had familiarised myself with the data I began a thematic analysis. Qualitative researchers note that this process has no set of prescriptive rules (Patton, 2002). In reality coding and analysing qualitative data is a complicated process (Flick, 2006). More recently Fielding and Lee (1998) have pointed to the development of statistical packages for qualitative research, this was not considered an option for this research as no package was available. Furthermore I had used qualitative research before and had completed data analysis on small scale qualitative research projects using hierarchal content analysis. This is usually used, according to Flick (2006) in research which is analysing interviewees' viewpoints, therefore it was considered adequate for the purpose of this research which was to explore the females' experiences of playing cricket.

In order to start the thematic analysis I read and re read the data to look for emerging patterns and started a hierarchical content analysis as described by Patton (2002). The next stage after re reading the data began on paper where I went through the transcripts looking for ‘raw data themes’ with highlighter pens. Once this process was complete the information was transferred to tables within word – this was to try and managed the data as well as re read again and consider the emerging themes. Tables were generated into raw data themes and first order themes. This is an example from my research;

Raw Data	First Order Themes
I started by playing at a boys club (Sophie)	Playing boys cricket
I started because my brother played (Maddie)	Brother Influence
I played because my brother played for a club and I went along (Ella)	Brother Influence
My dad plays cricket so I got involved through him (Harriet)	Dads Influence
My dad was the U13 manager (Nicky)	Dads Influence
I am the only girls on that team (Harriet)	Playing boys cricket

After this, first order themes, were then organised into general dimension themes i.e. first order themes such as brother and father influence became a general dimension/ theme of male influence on females’ experiences of playing cricket. An example of this is shown below;

Raw Data	First Order	General Dimensions
I started by playing at a boys club (Sophie)	Playing boys cricket	Experiences of male cricket
I am the only girls on that team (Harriet)	Playing boys cricket	
I started because my brother played (Maddie)	Brother Influence	Male Influence on females experiences
I played because my brother played for a club and I went along (Ella)	Brother Influence	
My dad plays cricket so I		

got involved through him (Harriet)	Dads Influence	
My dad was the U13 manager (Nicky)	Dads Influence	

Once this was done with all the interviewee's and general dimensions were identified it was possible to begin to consider the write up process and how themes and patterns could be explained by the figurational framework identified in Chapter One. This enabled me to think about the data holistically and not separate from theory, this is important and is what Dunning (2002) refers to as data in the round.

'The Fisherwomen in the Maelstrom'¹³: Involvement and Detachment in Context

Elias's (1987a) text *Involvement and Detachment*, begins by retelling Edgar Allen Poe's story about two fishermen brothers whose boat is caught in a maelstrom. In this situation the two fishermen react in entirely different ways. The first brother clings to the boat in fear. The second brother analyses the situation around him and notices that smaller objects do not sink to the bottom. As a result of this observation he leaves the boat and encourages his brother to do the same. The first brother remains struck with fear and he is not able to follow his brother. As a result he sinks with the boat. The younger brother is able to survive by tying himself to a small cylindrical cask. Although the situation appeared to be out of the control of the fishermen, by standing back, one brother was able to evaluate the situation and think about his survival. The allegory for sociological researchers is that by standing back and observing patterns and processes, it is possible to generate more object adequate knowledge. This story seeks to illustrate the importance of the concept of involvement and detachment, as described in Chapter One, in the research process. The following section is an exploration of my experiences in the 'maelstrom' of research and my reflections on this process.

In Chapter One I argued that it might be possible, and potentially useful, to differentiate between political and emotional involvement in research. This, I argued,

¹³ Elias (1987a) story is about the fisherman in the maelstrom, this subheading refers to me as a researcher and my time in the field collecting data.

might make the distinction and discussion of involvement and detachment in research clearer. I also discussed the importance of reflectivity as a tool in the research process. The increasing use of reflectivity as a research tool has been well documented by May (1999, 2001) and (Sparkes, 1992). Pearsall (1998:1159) defines reflectivity as being a 'method in the social sciences taking account of itself or the effect of personality or presence of the researcher on what is being investigated'. Reflectivity helps the researcher to understand their position within their research and see how the researcher might impact upon their findings. In particular, being reflective is an opportunity for the researcher to explore why they have chosen a specific topic and reflect on the methods they are using (Brackenridge, 1999). Patton (2002) suggests that there are three ways of being reflective in research. These are, reflecting upon those studied; those receiving the study; and the role of the researcher in the study. A three way reflection would require the researcher to ask questions such as, how do those being researched know what they know? How do they perceive the researcher? How (as a researcher) do I know what I know? How do the readers interpret the research? These questions are interlinked and aim to make sense of the research process and the researcher's position within the research process. In addition to these Brackenridge (1999) proposes three ways that she reflected on her research. She suggests that it is important to manage one's personal, political and scientific selves within research.

Feminist researchers have been particular advocates of reflectivity in research (May, 2001), stressing that reflectivity can highlight the interdependent relationship between researcher and the researched (Hall, 1995; Maynard and Purvis, 1994; Walkerdine, 1997). When discussing the matter Stanley and Wise (in Maynard and Purvis, 1994:16) stress that, 'the researcher is also a subject of her research.... her history is a part of the process through which understanding and conclusions are reached'. As the researcher is a part of the research process then it is important not to ignore this. It is also important to acknowledge the motivations behind why research is conducted. Mason (2002) suggests a number of reasons for this. These include personal reasons, the achievement of a degree or perhaps as the result of research funding. The reader should not have to guess the researcher's motivation(s), rather these should be explicitly stated (Mason, 2002). Whilst not necessarily discussing the concept of reflectivity directly, it is clear within his project on young workers that Elias

considered reflectively as having a key role in the research process (Goodwin & O'Connor, 2003). Elias's project investigated how young people adjusted to the pressures of working. An interview schedule was created which consisted of 82 questions. Elias used a research team to complete the interviews. The researchers were asked to comment, retrospectively on aspects not directly related to the interview schedule, for instance, the family, the families' attitude to the researcher, the home, and the interviewers' reflections on the interview and the interviewee. The researchers were encouraged to write about the research process as they had experienced it (Goodwin & O'Connor, 2003). This project perhaps demonstrates how Elias considered the importance of the interviewer reflecting on their interview experience, and the importance of this process in research. It seems that by making comments about the family, house and interviewee these reflections allow for the researcher to see their biases and opinions in the research process. Perhaps the importance of reflectivity did not go by unnoticed by Elias and was considered an important aspect of research. Reflectivity is not different from involvement and detachment, but is an essential part of the process of blending the two.

Involvement and Detachment: Some Closing Thoughts

The issue of involvement and detachment in research is not simple. As a researcher your role can change during a research project and levels of involvement and detachment inevitably fluctuate throughout the research. This point is made by Elias (1987) and reiterated in the work of Dunning (1992) and Roderick (2003). Whilst reading *The Germans*, one of Elias's later texts, I was struck by his opening lines:

standing half hidden in these studies is an eyewitness who lived for 90 years through the events concerned... a picture of events formed by someone personally affected by them usually differs in characteristic ways from that which takes shape when one views them with the detachment and distance of a researcher (1996:2).

Elias is, of course, alluding to the fact that, as a German Jew, he was deeply affected by developments in Germany which culminated in the Second World War. In

particular, the loss of his mother at Auschwitz impacted on his own life. Elias continues:

It is like a camera, which can be focused to different distances - close up, middle distance and long distance, something similar holds for the point of view of a researcher who lives through the events he is studying (1996:2).

It is clear from the above statement that Elias did not call for complete detachment in the research process and was sensitive to issues of involvement. What Elias does not indicate in this statement is how it is possible to learn to focus the camera. A child given a camera for the first time may enjoy zooming in on events and people, even if these pictures are blurred. It is perhaps only with increased skill and awareness about what makes a good picture that the child might begin to become more skilled in taking an adequate photograph. Thus, learning to focus the camera to produce a 'good picture' as a researcher is likely to involve a process.

In concluding, all the aspects of involvement and detachment in research, it is worth noting that the concept cannot be expressed or experienced rigidly. As Van Krieken (1998:142) notes:

particular situations will demand particular balances of involvement and detachment, and we can judge the adequacy of our conceptions by the effects they have – in the case of the fisherman, whether one goes under or not (Van Krieken, 1998:142).

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this chapter I have presented an open and honest account of the research process. I began by exploring the methods that I used to collect the data and this allowed me to explore the use of the case study, why I chose the county and what methods were used to collect the data. I then went on to discuss the merits of ethnography and interviews as research methods. Within this discussion was an analysis of my ethnography and interviews and the issues that arose during these aspects of the research process. The final part of this section looked at the issue of

data analysis. A thematic analysis was used to analyse the data from the ethnographies and interviews.

In the second section of this chapter the concept of involvement and detachment was revisited. In concluding this chapter I would like to emphasise the importance of reflectivity as a research tool, one that should be seen alongside the concept of involvement and detachment. I would also like to emphasise that involvement and detachment do not relate to a static point. It is not possible to pick a point and stay at this point rigidly throughout the research. The research process requires constant and conscious considerations about levels of involvement and detachment; that is to say, reflectivity. As noted previously, Kilminster (2004) has indicated that the terms involvement and detachment, although traditionally conceived as one continuum, would be better off viewed as two different continua. This, he argues, would facilitate the belief that one can be both involved and detached at the same time. Conceptualising the separate continua allows for, 'a science to be relatively autonomous from its own producers and still be caught up in strong relations of involvement surrounding its social context' (Kilminster, 2004:38). By questioning myself as a researcher, these reflections allow me to address the difficult issues that I faced and helped me to develop a better understanding of my own involvement and detachment in the research process.

In the subsequent chapters I present the findings from my research, I start by looking at how females became involved in cricket and what processes impacted on their involvement.

Chapter Four

A Maiden Over A Sociological Explanation of Females' early experiences of Entering and Playing Cricket

Marlar¹⁴ told the Telegraph, "It's absolutely outrageous that women are allowed to play mixed cricket in case they get injured". Asked for his view if a girl bowled at 80mph he replied, "I'd be asking whether she has had a sex change". (BBC Sport Website, 3rd October 2005).

The purpose of the rest of the thesis is to discuss the findings of the research process. The purpose of this Chapter is to demonstrate the way that imbalances in gender relations impact on females' experiences of cricket from the time they start playing cricket, and how these relations may discourage females from participating in cricket. As gender relations become increasingly fluid and complex, Messner (2002) maintains that discrimination against girls and women in sport has become more discrete. Here it is worth quoting Messner at length;

In the past sports simply excluded girls and included boys, thus making the ideological equation of males with active athletic power and of females with physical weakness and passivity appear natural. Now, with girls involved in sports in great numbers, a more complicated process of differentiation has replaced simple exclusion (2002: XXII).

The move from simply excluding girls and women to a more complicated process of differentiation is not a simple process and there may be a variety of ways that gender relations and imbalances of power impact on females.

This chapter starts with a review of the literature about gender relations and in particular, Connell's model of gender relations (1987, 2002). Connell's model is used because it is considered to be an adequate model to explore the processes involved in the maintenance of inequality within gender relations. The strength of Connell's (1987, 2002) model is that gender relations can be understood as part of the

¹⁴ Robin Marlar is currently the President of the MCC

figurations in which we are involved. Within this initial discussion about Connell's (1987, 2002) model figurational concepts about gender relations will be reinforced. The purpose of this chapter is firstly, to explore the concepts related to gender and sex and secondly to discuss the data related to girls' and women's initial involvement and socialisation into the sport of cricket. Given the development of cricket for females, as discussed in Chapter Two, the focus in this chapter will be how female cricketers negotiate access in a male space.

Theorising Gender, Sex and Sport

The following section looks at some of the problems in defining terms such as gender and sex and begins to explore the impact of gender habitus within sport.

A common definition of gender is that it relates to the social attributes associated with being either male or female (Maynard, 1999). According to this definition, gender seemingly refers to the differing behaviour expected of males and females in various societies (Francis, 2003). Gender, according to the sociological theorist Butler (1990), is an act, a performance. In contrast, the word sex is commonly used to describe biological differences between men and women. Biological differences between men and women are considered natural, fixed and enduring (Woodward, 2000). Whilst the terms gender and sex have been used in order to clarify the differences between biological and social differences between males and females, they represent the sort of dichotomy that Elias saw as intellectually limiting. For instance, Elias argued that it is not useful to separate biology and sociology. This is because most people's ideas about the body are socially constructed, 'it is important to take account of people's bodily existence (for women, such things as menstruation and childbirth), without assuming this affects behaviour' (Maynard, 1999:120). In reality, sex and gender are not two mutually exclusive or distinct categories. Elias surely would encourage us to see how gender relations are the product of interweaving biological and social constructs.

Habitus and gender habitus, as discussed in Chapter One, is discussed in Young's (1990) seminal text, *Throwing like a girl*. This text explores the impact of gender habituses on young girls' movement and spatial awareness. In Young's example of

throwing like a girl she demonstrates that girls fail to use their whole bodies to complete the action. As the majority of girls only use their arms, the throw inevitably lacks strength and direction. By strongly contesting those who argue that girls cannot throw due to biological predispositions she demonstrates that girls' movements are the result of their experiences in modern societies. In contrast, boys learn to use their bodies in more powerful ways (Young, 1990). This means that boys have the opportunity to develop greater awareness of space and movement. They learn that in order to throw the ball successfully they must engage their whole body in the action. Young (1990) notes how females have common characteristics in their movements. In particular she identifies that females tend to be timid, hesitant and apologetic in their movements. Young (1990) suggests that these bodily movements mean that girls do not learn to trust their bodies in the way that boys do. An example of Young's (1990) research can be seen in the following field note observation;

Sitting alongside me were a family watching the cricket. The father got up to play cricket with a plastic bat and ball with a boy about the age of 3. Some other boys joined in. Then a young girl, also about 3, got up to join in. She chased the ball but was quickly scolded by her mother who told her it was too dangerous for her to play. The girl was lifted up and sat back on the picnic blanket. She was told not to leave this space (Fieldnotes).

This incident is an example of the situation that Young (1990) is describing. By restricting the girl's space, her play becomes sedentary, confined by the boundary of the blanket. In contrast, the young boy is encouraged to run and chase the ball. A possible explanation of this is the result of ideologies whereby parents presuppose that girls are more fragile than boys. It is also assumed that girls require more protection than boys (Walkerdine, 1997). In reality, the game was no more dangerous for the girl than the boy. It is essential to realise that gender habituses are not static and can be challenged. For instance, it is perhaps the case that the more girls get involved in sports the more likely it is that their spatial awareness and ability to move improves, and they cease to throw "like girls". Dowling (1999) notes that if girls get involved in sport they learn to move their bodies in more powerful and coordinated ways thus helping them to develop greater confidence in their sporting abilities.

Connell's Model of Gender Relations

Whilst there have been various models and theories that have emerged in an attempt to explain gender relations, Connell's (1987, 2002) model is widely acclaimed. The model conceptualises gender relations as "patterns of gender arrangements", Connell explains that a pattern 'in gender arrangements may be called the *gender regime* of an institution' (2002:53). The reason that Connell's model is useful is because it explores patterns of gender arrangements and gender relations in particular contexts as well as outlining the importance of history in determining power relations between men and women. Also Connell's model, like figurational explorations of gender relations, does not identify one cause of imbalances of power relations between men and women. There are in fact complex figurations at work here. One example that Connell uses to demonstrate the endurance of gender arrangements is the fact that majority of primary teachers are female. A sport related example is that most media sport stars are male.

Connell (2002) explores how unequal gender relations are evident in almost all organisations. Rather than assuming that these relations occur as the result of random processes, Connell (2002) understands that gender relations are the result of wider structures. Connell (2002) does not use the term structure to refer to something that predicts or determines a person's behaviour. Instead he suggests that structures have consequences for those involved in them:

The structure of gender relations has no existence outside the practices through which people and groups conduct those relations. Structures do not continue, cannot be 'enduring', unless they are reconstituted from moment to moment in social action..... Gender is something actually done; and done in social life, not something that exists prior to social life (Connell, 2002:55).

What Connell (2002) is alluding to here is similar to Elias's concept of the figuration; gender cannot exist other than through the interdependent relations and figurations of which people are a part. Gender relations become a continuous part of a person's habitus and are continually reinforced through social interactions with others.

Gender habituses are continually formed by the everyday experiences of female cricketers. An example of this can be seen in the following extract from field notes made after a conversation at a girls' county cricket match,

It is a really warm day and the girls' match is nearly over, 10 runs needed to win. One girls' mother and son had just arrived to collect her from the match and there are other girls milling around. The mother begins chatting to the team manager, another girl's father. He turned to the young boy, who was about 15, "do you play cricket?" he asked, the boy replied, "yes but I am not as good as my sister, I don't play for the county", the manager responded, "yes, but it's so easy to get into the girls' county cricket team, for boys it is much harder and it is a much higher standard" (Fieldnotes).

In this conversation the young boy is happy to admit that his sister has reached a higher standard of cricket than he has. Nevertheless, in order to reinforce gender relations, even if this is done unconsciously, the manager insists that girl's cricket is inferior to boy's cricket. In this situation, even those adults who are sympathetic and supportive of girls' cricket reinforce hegemonic gender relations.

It is worth referring to the work of Moghadam (2002:89) here when she notes that 'most of the important differences between men and women manifest themselves only through social actions, in the collaboratively constructed social relationships between men and women'. The social relationships referred to by Moghadam were evident in girls' county cricket. For instance, as discussed later on in this chapter, it was women who tended to organise and prepare teas, whilst men tended to coach and officiate on the game.

Connell's (1987) model identifies four main structures in contemporary gender relations. These are: power relations; production relations; emotional relations; and symbolic relations. I will now discuss each of these in turn.

Power relations are the most widely considered aspect of gender relations. Power has been a prominent part of the study of gender relations, particularly in the field of

feminist theory. Opposing ideas about power have been illuminated in Chapter One, where it was argued that power should be seen as part of figurations and a part of all human relationships. A traditional understanding of power that renders women powerless is not useful in a sociological context. On the contrary, there is evidence that girls enjoy playing cricket and challenging gender habituses. An example of this is Natalie and Sarah who both had experience of playing boys' cricket. They note:

I love the satisfaction of like, proving people are wrong and showing I can play cricket (Natalie).

We prove we are as good as they are, as long as you can do that you won't get any stick (Sarah).

Despite these positive affirmations about playing boys' cricket not all the girls, as we will see later in the chapter, commented on playing on boys teams as being a positive experience.

The second structure Connell (2002) explains is production relations. In these relations Connell (2002) focuses on how the sexual division of labour between men and women has occurred. In the majority of societies, men perform certain tasks, whilst women perform others. Men in western societies are predominantly associated with economic life whilst women are expected to be domestic. This largely results in a situation where men and women are filtered into specific roles within the workforce. The example of the education system is used to illustrate his point. In education, Connell (2002) argues, boys are encouraged into the sciences whilst girls are encouraged in the direction of more caring or arty subjects. This process of filtering might be usefully applied to sport and gender relations. Scraton (1992) is one of many researchers who have provided a comprehensive account of girls' experiences of PE. Scraton's (1992) research noted how females are generally encouraged in female sports such as netball and gymnastics. In contrast, boys are encouraged in football, cricket and rugby. These general perceptions about male and female sport were discussed by the girls in this research. Phoebe explains how at her school:

Netball is the best sport at our school. Girls' sports are better I suppose, they are more popular for girls. Every high school has a netball team so it's a

natural progression. Cricket and rugby aren't girls' sport and not many schools offer them. (Later on I asked Phoebe what she considered to be a girls' sport, she replied), 'girl sports are gymnastics, hockey and maybe tennis. I think a lot of people think cricket is a boy's sport because it is hard.'

Phoebe recognises what Connell terms as production relations, as men and women are categorised into different roles in sport. By the age of fifteen it is apparent to Phoebe what sports are viewed as more appropriate for males and which are more appropriate for females. Phoebe's experience and knowledge of gender relations, as discussed later, is not an isolated observation.

Emotional relations, the third structure in Connell's (1987) gender relations model, are primarily based on sexual relations. Connell (2002) particularly questions the assumption that sexual relations can be understood as biological reflexes. For instance, he argues that in western societies heterosexuality is historically and socially normalised. Yet, according to Francis (2003), the term heterosexual was not defined until 1901. The reason for this is that, at this time, people developed an increasing concern about issues related to sexuality. Foucault's (1991) analysis, in particular, explains how western views on heterosexuality developed and it became identified as the normal sexual practice whilst all other sexual practices were defined as unnatural and deviant. In western societies the distinction between heterosexuality and homosexuality relates to a hierarchy within sexuality and sexual practices. One example of this can be seen in the scientific quest to find a homosexual gene. Connell (2002) questions such practices as he ironically notes scientists do not search for a heterosexual gene because heterosexuality is considered normal. Connell (2002) also points to the fact that love as a concept is not considered important in all societies. Thus sexuality may not be a biological given as various cultures have differing expectations surrounding rules of sexuality. Such ambiguities around issues relating to sexuality support Connell's (2002) observation that sexual relations are not entirely understood by looking at them biologically.

In the final set of gender relations in Connell's (2002) model, he explores symbolic relations. Symbolic relations are related to social meaning and the use of language. Language, argues Connell (2002), is open to interpretation. An example used by

Connell (2002) is when a coach yells at his male players, 'you are a bunch of women'. This statement is meant as an insult. The coach does not literally mean that the players have become women. Instead, he is implying that as a result of the players' lack of skill and power, they exhibit the characteristics of women. The assumption is that all women lack skill and strength in sport. This term is meant as an insult to the men. Thus the coach is normalising gender relations by reinforcing the notion that all women are not as good at sport as men. Perhaps in the context of women's cricket the fact that female cricketers continue to adopt the term 'batsmen' is indicative of the power of symbolic relations. Symbolic relations are apparent in this context as the term 'batsmen' is considered a normative phrase. This reinforces to those involved in women's cricket that cricket is a male preserve.

Through his fourfold model of power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolic relations, Connell (2002) examines how gender relations are made up. The structures that Connell (2002) alludes to are not meant as static structures that are enduring. Change does occur through a variety of processes that are played out in potentially diverse settings; i.e. in relation to issues of sexuality, homosexuals are increasingly being accepted in sport. In particular, the gay games have emerged as site for the open celebration of gay athletic success (Hargreaves, 2000). These changes, according to Dunning (1999), are evidence of civilising processes that require greater empathy towards people different from ourselves. The strength of Connell's (1987, 2002) model is that gender relations can be understood as the product of both agency and structure; that is to say, as part of the figurations in which we are enmeshed.

Girls in the Gully: Entering the Male Preserve of Cricket

Since cricket has been a sport steeped in male tradition and male involvement (See Chapter Two) female entry into the sport, as we will see in the following section, in relation to the data collected in this research is haphazard. Cricket was a sport that the U15 girls initially accessed in a variety of ways. Those I interviewed began playing around the age of 9-10. Only Harriet, because of her father's involvement in playing cricket, started at a younger age. The girls got involved in cricket through two main avenues, primary school and male relatives. This is perhaps not unusual given

Dowling's (2000) discussion of the importance of male's in encouraging female participation in sport.

Similar to other research that notes the importance of males in encouraging girls to play sport Nicki, Harriet, Chloe, Sarah and Maddie all noted that males had introduced them to the sport of cricket. Harriet in particular stated, 'my dad has always played so I have always been involved in playing'. Maddie notes her brother's influence, 'I wouldn't have got involved if it wasn't for my brother, I don't think anyone else would have involved me'. The fact that girls had male relatives interested in supporting them is consistent with Dowling's (2000) research on girls and sport. Dowling (2000) specifies that it is fathers, more than mothers, who encourage girls out of what she terms the 'doll corner'. By encouraging girls to be involved in sport Dowling (2000) notes that fathers persuade girls to be physically competent and thus reject notions of female fragility.

Father's play an important part in encouraging their daughters to be involved in sport but they are also vital in teaching their daughters the skills required to succeed in sports. This relationship between father and daughter appears to be of importance and many of the girls in my study noted their father's influence in their involvement in cricket:

My dad is taking the day off to drive up tomorrow. My dad comes to every match he can, he never says a negative word unless he can say something really positive as well (Natalie).

My dad practices with me (Megan).

My dad loves it, it is bad because my brother isn't sporty at all and dad is so happy to have someone interested and he loves to talk about cricket (Jodie).

From my observations at cricket matches it was apparent that fathers, more than mothers, came to watch their daughters play cricket. Fathers also got involved in coaching, giving advice on the game and helping with tactics. The practice of

'throwing balls down', whereby balls are thrown to the next batsman¹⁵ to help their batting movements, was considered the role of the girl's father;

The process of throwing down balls is to help the incoming batsmen to get their eye and movements warmed up before they go to bat. The job of throwing down balls was predominantly done by fathers. The girls whose fathers attended the match would throw down the balls and whilst doing this they would advise their daughter on batting techniques and how best to face the opposing bowlers (Fieldnotes).

Fathers' involvement in their daughter's cricket was vital too two forms; they provided support and coaching for the girls but also they were involved in scoring, umpiring and generally teaching the girls about field positions and tactics. An example of the importance of these relationships between fathers and daughters led one of the female cricketers to ponder, 'I suppose I was the son he never had' (Fiona). Interestingly Fiona associates this type of relationship between a father and child as being related to father and sons. This role reversal has helped Fiona and her father to develop a strong relationship. Their common interest in cricket enabled them to have a relationship that in other situations may not have developed. These are an example of what Connell's calls production relations because they indicate the way men's and women's roles in the family are the result of gender relations.

Another example of this is Harriet who also had a particularly strong relationship with her father. Harriet's father, Michael, was hugely influential in Harriet playing cricket. His commitment was particularly visible in the fact that he voluntarily coached the U15 team. Michael's commitment to Harriet was also noted by the other girls who sometimes felt that he prioritised her performance over that of the team. Harriet also played for the boy's team at her school. Michael ensured that he was with her at all the matches. This level of parental commitment to a sporting endeavour is one readily associated with fathers and sons (Messner, 1992). In particular, Messner's (1992) research suggests that young men can feel pressured by their fathers' 'pushy' attitude to their success. Harriet did not mention that she found her father anything but

¹⁵ the girls refer to themselves as batsmen not batswomen, the terms I use to describe the girls are consistent with the terms they use when playing the game.

supportive and expressed gratitude for his support. Perhaps this indicates a difference in the nature of fathers and sons and fathers and daughters relationships in sport. Michael's presence at matches seemed particularly important when she played with the boys. Michael seemed aware of the potential issues that could arise from Harriet playing on an otherwise all boys team. In the following conversation, taken from field notes, Michael documents some of these concerns to the other parents:

Michael was chatting to some parents whilst Harriet was bowling, he was talking about a match she had played in yesterday with the boy's school team. He said that the boys had been nervous because Harriet had taken four wickets. He said they have been shocked that a girl could bowl them out (Fieldnotes).

All the girls' fathers seemed to have a role to play in helping the girls challenge the notion of female fragility that Young (1990) and Dowling (2000), amongst others, have alluded to. By encouraging their daughters in a physical activity they are helping them to develop a more physical bodily habitus and allowing their daughters access into a male space. Crucially then it is males who give the girls a passport into the male space of cricket.

On the Playing Fields: Girls, Cricket and Schools

Girls' experiences of entering cricket were varied and some girls did start playing cricket at school. Previous research on gender and PE has been predominantly informed by feminists (see Flintoff and Scraton, 2005; Hargreaves, 1994; Williams and Bedward, 2002). The majority of this research is critical of gendered practices that mean that in PE girls are not given the same opportunities as boys. Teachers have also been criticised in this research for denying children choice in PE. The authors have noted that teachers make gendered decisions about what activities are available for pupils (William and Bedward, 2002). Other research by Brown and Rich (2002) emphasises that teachers' identities are a crucial part of PE; for instance their research found that male PE teachers opposed offering dance for boys and football for girls. Although the authors noted instances when traditional gender views were

contested, teachers who offered alternative views on gender and PE were at risk of being marginalised by other teachers (Brown and Rich, 2002).

The recent Sport England surveys on young people's involvement in sport are perhaps one of the largest of its kind (Sport England, 2003). Over 3,000 young people between the ages of 6-16 were surveyed about their involvement in sport in 1994, 1999 and 2002. The Sport England trends survey noted that in 2002 girls are more likely to participate in school sports such as football, tenpin bowling, basketball, gymnastics and athletics than they did in 1994. In particular girl's involvement in football, both within and outside of school, has also increased; in fact it increased from 7% in 1994 to 13% in 2002. Despite this increase in sports, such as football, the survey indicated that girls' involvement in school cricket had not changed at all since 1994. In fact in 2002, only 7% of female pupils aged between 6-16 frequently participated in cricket compared to 20% of boys.

The U15 girls that were interviewed in this research exhibited a spectrum of experiences of PE and school sport in relation to cricket. Some of them had been involved in cricket at primary and secondary school. Others had not been involved in cricket at school at all. As mentioned earlier, Helen, Maddie and Natalie had played cricket at primary school. Natalie noted that her primary school team had been set up by a male teacher who was interested in promoting girls sport. This seems to support research such as Williams and Bedward (2002) that indicates how teachers' identities, personalities and knowledge impact on PE provision.

When Natalie moved up to secondary school there was no cricket team with which she could be involved. The reason Natalie gave for this was that it was a girls school and the teachers had no knowledge of cricket. Natalie introduced cricket into the school: 'I got my school into cricket. I started it last winter. I did a coaching course so I started a lunchtime club'. Natalie found that the younger girls really enjoyed playing cricket. Despite the popularity there had not been a move to integrate cricket into the school's delivery of PE. This supports the Sport England survey research completed in 2002. According to this data only 3% of secondary school girls participated more than 10 times a year in cricket, compared to 23% of boys.

Overall it was apparent, from the girls' testimonies in this research, that the availability of cricket for girls at secondary school was slight. Sally, 15, mentions that her school only had Kwik Cricket for girls. Since it was such a basic level of cricket and she played to county standard she said she had not seen the point of joining in. The fact that the team were not successful further de-motivated her from joining. When I asked Jodie about cricket for girls at school she explained, 'no we don't at the moment. We are developing a club, but it's a girls school'. The fact that it is a girls school is given as a reason for the lack of provision. This reinforces that the girls were aware of the gendered nature of sport. Clare's experiences at school also echo the fact that there is often a lack of provision for girls to play cricket:

We don't have a cricket team, but we were going to set one up and then we had a change in the head of the department and she didn't really, well she wasn't interested. Our school isn't into sport, it just never got started.

This demonstrates the ad hoc nature of PE and school sport. It is not just gendered but it is often influenced by the specific interests of the member of staff employed at the time (Green, 2003; Placek *et al*, 1995). As Green (2003) identified in his research about teacher ideologies, teachers' own experiences heavily influence how and what they teach in PE. If a teacher lacks knowledge of cricket they may be reluctant to teach it.

One of the girls, Harriet, who was considered, by the parents and coach, the most talented girl on the county team was able to play for her boys' cricket team at her grammar school:

In the summer we have cricket for games, which is Tuesday and after school. We have mixed PE but then for games they are separate. I do cricket with the boys.

As she plays on the team, Harriet is allowed to join in with the boys' cricket during games lessons. Potentially this can be seen as an inclusive practice but in reality, rather than games being desegregated for all to join in, Harriet is treated as a special case. This results in gender practices being reinforced as Harriet can be explained as

an 'exception', just one incident when a girl is capable of playing cricket to a similar standard as the boys.

The testimonies of the girls' experiences of playing cricket in school, are perhaps not that surprising given that Williams and Bedward (2002) have argued that games are the most gendered of school subjects. Girls are often excluded from certain games, e.g. cricket. Boys likewise can be excluded from activities such as dance. This is evident in the Sport England survey mentioned previously (Sport England, 2003). Trends suggest that although involvement has increased for female involvement in football in 2002 13% of girls frequently were involved in football in school, compared to 38% of boys. Rugby was also gendered, in 2002 16% of boys played rugby compared to 3% of girls. Likewise involvement in netball was dominated by females, as only 5% of boys in 2002 had frequently played netball, compared to 33% of girls. Other activities were also gendered. In dance only 7% of boys had frequently been involved in dance in 1994 and by 2002 this had decreased to 5%. Dance was however more popular for girls, in 1994 16% were frequently involved and this rose to 17% (Sport England, 2003). Thus although involvement in games per se demonstrate that 63% of boys and 63% of girls participate in games when participation rates are broken down there are clear differences based on gender.

Harriet notes that she did not have any problems playing on the boys' team because she was able to play as well as them and had made friends with the boys at a young age and continued to play on the team. Another interviewee had also had experience of playing cricket at school on the boys' team. Her experience was different from Harriet's. Nicki decided to stop playing boys cricket because, 'it didn't really work'. When I questioned her further about this comment she elaborated by saying,

They (the teachers) were really supportive, even the boys didn't care, but part of me felt I am not supposed to be here. No one looked down on me and no one ever said, "what is she doing in the cricket team?" That wasn't the problem. It was just, well I just felt I shouldn't be there.

Nicki seemed to internalise the fact that girls were not supposed to play cricket. Nicki is visibly different from her male team mates and this makes her feel like an outsider.

Thus, developing an identity as a cricketer is difficult for Nicki because all the other cricketers on the team and the coaches are male. The fact that there are no direct comments made to Nicki about her being an outsider, but that instead it is something that she 'feels', demonstrates the extent to which gender relations have the potential to impact on a person's habitus; that is to say, it becomes second nature.

Researchers, such as Flintoff and Scraton (2001), note that some girls reject certain sports because of the masculine culture that pervades them. This means that it is not necessarily the sport per se but the culture of games that signal to the girls that their involvement at odds with female habitus. Flintoff and Scraton (2001) suggest that this means that a lot of girls do not like games in PE and prefer to participate in health related activities. Colwell (1999) is wary of such suggestions as she points out that some girls enjoy sports in their current form. This stresses the previous point that it is not useful to homogenise girls as one group with one set of needs, interests.

From these findings it is clear that gender relations impact on the provision of physical education. This supports research by Green (2003) who considered how:

the philosophies and practices of many PE teachers continue to bear the hallmark of gender stereotyping in relation to their perceptions of male-female appropriate activities (Green, 2003:110).

Green (2003) indicates that teachers' ideas and practices can only be understood when examining the specific contexts in which teachers' teach. They cannot be understood in isolation. Gendered education is not solely the choice of the teacher but is also a part of other conflict and ideologies found in the teaching figuration. This means that even the most open minded teacher wishing to develop a less gendered curriculum may find themselves in a situation whereby they are constrained by more senior members of staff, who may prefer tradition gender segregated PE. A teacher must also consider the constraints imposed by head teachers, timetabling and parents. Teachers' positions are always changing and so are power relations in these settings. New teachers in particular are likely to be encouraged to accept the current ideologies of the school and department that they join.

In comparison to the girls, three women recalled experiencing cricket at school;

My school taught cricket. We started properly when I was 13. We played other schools, well the few that played (Katie).

I went to an all girls' school and it was quite sporty. One of the teachers was really into sport for schools and then another PE teacher used to play a lot of cricket when she was at college so it was really those two who encouraged girls to play cricket (Eleanor).

Katie's introduction to cricket was the result of the fact that her teacher had the enthusiasm and expertise to be able to teach cricket to the girls. Eleanor had a similar experience and was only able to play because a teacher in her school also had expertise in cricket.

Neve had played cricket for the boys school team and her experiences are similar to Nicki's. Neve illustrates some of the potential tensions that can arise:

I was the only girl that played on the boys team. I didn't get to play in all the games. Some of the league games I wasn't allowed to play in so I could only play friendlies. When it gets to that level girls aren't allowed to play against boys. We didn't have a girls team (Neve).

Although Neve notes that she was not allowed to play in league games, from my research I did not find any evidence that suggested that girls were officially prevented from playing in boys leagues. Thus, allowing Neve to play but then on the other hand, restricting the matches she could play in reinforced her outsider status. Neve is not able to fully participate in the team because she is 'female'. This impacts upon Neve's position in the team because it limits her ability to be involved to the same level and develop as much as the boys and it shapes her identity.

Other women cricketers noted that it had not been possible for them to play cricket at school. Some of their experiences of this are noted below:

Girls don't play cricket, don't be ridiculous! No it was a shame. I sat next to (an England male player). When he was off playing cricket I was copying down his notes. So our school played to a high standard but there was no provision for girls (Mary).

My school didn't have a cricket team. It was a private girls school and it was very old fashioned, we weren't allowed a girls cricket team (Fiona).

No, we didn't have girls cricket at our school (Rachel).

The restriction at schools in relation to the activities offered to females' means that some girls do not always get the opportunity to experience traditional male sporting activities. The majority of the females in this research had at some point during their schooling experienced difficulties in accessing cricket. This reinforces previous research, that indicates the gendered nature of PE. MacDonald (2001:208) sums up the contemporary situation in relation to PE and gender by stating;

Despite many years of gender being on the educators' agendas, practices in PE lessons, school staff-rooms, community sport, and teacher education programmes continue to be sexist.

This is perhaps evident in this research, which in many ways supports the recent Sport England survey (2003). Female participation in traditional sports such as football have increased (Sport England, 2003), yet their involvement in cricket both quantitatively and qualitatively have not changed substantially. The female cricketers' experiences in this research seem to echo MacDonald's observations. These school experiences seem to reinforce gender relations and therefore reinforce gender appropriate habitus. Thus physical education, in the context of this research does not appear to challenge the view that sports such as cricket are predominantly sports that males play.

Gendered Families: Mum and Dad

The following section begins to look at the everyday experiences of gender and gender relations within the U15 girls families and how this may influence mums' and dads' involvement in their daughters' cricket.

Despite the evidence presented in this research about the importance of fathers in supporting their daughters' involvement in cricket, Thompson (1999) has emphasised that women provide the majority of domestic support for children and men involved in sport. Thompson's (1999) research stresses the extent to which sport relies on the amount of unpaid labour that mothers do in providing teas, washing kit, taking children to matches and training. Thompson (1999) also notes that this contribution is generally undervalued in sport and is not appreciated in the same way that fathers' involvement in children's sport is valued.

In my interviews, only two girls mentioned the role of their mothers in helping them stay involved in cricket. The two girls who did mention their mother's involvement were from single parent families. Sarah, aged 15 and Leigh one of the adult interviewees recalled that;

My mum is obsessed with cricket, she loves the game. If we are travelling and the test match is on she will listen to it the entire journey (Sally)

My mum – it was just me and my mum, she came everywhere with me and was very supportive. She did everything for me, took me to training and to matches (Leigh).

The fact that the girls recognise their mothers is unusual and may be the consequence of the absence of a father in the family. Tellingly the girls' mothers are still not identified as being figures who could directly impact on them improving their cricketing skills.

In contrast, a number of the girls praised their fathers for supporting them. Fathers were particularly identified for supporting the girls and helping them to develop the skills and tactics necessary to play sport. The girls who mentioned the role of their fathers also noted that their fathers had been influential in teaching them and their mothers about cricket. Thus, in the context of family life, gender relations were evident. It was fathers who had played cricket, or had knowledge about the sport. The girls note that:

My dad is into cricket, my mum didn't know the rules before she met dad. Now she goes to Test matches with my dad... but my mum isn't sporty at all (Jodie);

My mum hates cricket (Maddie);

My dad has always played cricket and my mum has always gone and watched (Harriet);

My mum isn't very sporty, but my dad is. He plays a lot of sport and my mum, through me and dad now understands cricket (Nicki);

My mum only comes for the suntan (Clare).

Within the family, although fathers challenge gender stereotypes by encouraging their daughters' involvement in cricket, hegemonic gender relations are maintained as it is fathers, not mothers who are involved in cricket or viewed as knowledgeable about the sport. It is also fathers who are viewed as being able to educate mothers about cricket. It is possible that given these roles within the family the majority of the girls learn to associate sport as a male activity.

Division of labour within the family based on gender is not unusual and is a form of what Connell (2002) terms production relations and power relations. These roles are often echoed in males and females involvement in sport. According to research by Chafetz & Kotarba (1999), Dunning (1999) and Thompson (1999), women's unpaid labour supports male sport at all levels. In this research Alison, the team manager of the U15 county girls team, was the captain's mum. The rest of the girls on the team often referred to Alison as the 'team mom'. Her role was to check the availability of the girls and organise the teas at matches. This role was not given particularly high value especially compared to Michael's role as the team coach. Fathers' involvement in their daughters' sport seems to given superior value over mothers' involvement. My research seems to be consistent with other research in this area and particularly the findings of Thompson who notes how mothers' (1999:112);

experiences of sport were constructed by the gendered relationship to paid work and domestic labour and the ideologies of wifhood and motherhood, which privileged the sport of men and children whilst women remained invisible.

Chafetz and Kotarba's (1999) research about the roles of mothers in boy's little league baseball illustrates how mothers are expected to prepare and serve food after matches. This role was, according to the authors, completed with commitment and care. The role of the little league mothers was supposed to be done without gratitude or reward. This level of commitment to their son's sport was, according to the authors, what was expected of good mothers. Their involvement was a way to demonstrate to others that they had the characteristics of being a good mother:

women, especially mothers are expected to support Texasville's version of the cult of the child. Little league provides the ideal leisure-time vehicle for displaying one's competence as a mother (Chafetz & Kotarba, 1999:49)

The extension of women's domestic role in the family expands to their domestic role in sport and is therefore viewed as a natural extension. This is perhaps an example of what Connell terms production relations where men and women are siphoned into different roles. Messner (2002) questions the belief that men and women 'choose' their roles in sport. He notes that it is more adequate to conceive of these roles as a reflection of wider gender relations. Messner (2002:10) explains how:

Individual men's apparently free choices to volunteer disproportionately for coaching jobs alongside individual women's apparently free choices to volunteer disproportionately for team managers jobs can be seen as a logical collective result of the ways that the institutional structure of sport has differentially constrained and enabled women's and men's previous options and experiences.

What appears to be individual choice is actually the result of gender habitus, as stated previously figuratively individual choice are part of the social networks that people are born into (Liston, 2006). This links to Connell's (1987, 2002) model. Sport, including in this instance, cricket, influences male habitus and despite young females involvement it remains predominantly a male space. The fact that mothers' involvement is confined to preparing with teas, organising helps to reinforce gender relations about women's position within sport. The fact that mothers are not as

recognised or valued in these contexts supports Dunning's (1999) comment that women's unpaid labour in sport can be understood as one of the continuing inequalities in gender relations within sport.

Most of the girls in the research were from white middle class families. This is not surprising given the status of cricket as a middle class sport. In similar research on girls' participation in sport, Cooky and MacDonald (2005) also found that the majority of young girls in their study were from white middle class families. The authors discuss the pervasiveness of individualism, predominately a middle class value, in the girls' discussion about success in basketball. The authors indicate that this rhetoric about middle class individualism masks barriers and inequalities to success. In particular the girls in Cooky and MacDonald's (2005) research indicated that it was only hard work and talent that enabled success in sport and in life. Nicki, one of the U15 county girl cricketers in my research, strongly represented this rhetoric. In her interview she noted,

I really admire those who work hard to achieve. I also take my own inspiration as well. Looking at others helps, but if I don't change how I am I won't get very far, so it is all down to me. I can only change how I live my life.

This ideology was noted by other girls who continually stressed the importance of 'hard work', 'more practice' and 'better coaching'. This narrative of individualism means that the girls do not question wider social structures which create inequality. When asked about her future in sport, Nicki who had recently not made the junior county hockey team, said that she asks herself:

Why are you doing this? It's painful, you know having to keep trying and always failing, it's hard, part of me thinks give up now and concentrate on your school work.

Individualistic ideologies reinforce the notion that individual ability is the only source of success or failure. In this situation if only they were more talented, or had worked harder they would have been successful. Cooky and MacDonald (2005:174) conclude:

young girls did not recognise institutional gender discrimination when they faced it, and they frequently reproduced the notion that normal life is the product of individual behaviour and choice.

As the girls accepted the rhetoric of individualism they were more than likely to perceive girls' lack of involvement in cricket as an individual choice. Such ideologies result in people asking, why are women not interested in cricket? This question diverts attention from the culture of cricket and instead problematises women and girls. This seems to ignore any structural, historical or ideological constraints that arise in the development of cricket. The individualistic rhetoric of the middle class is also evident in the girls' understanding of success. Parental involvement in their child's sport also indicates a middle class commitment to their child's success (Dyck, 2000).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter began by exploring how sex and gender have been traditionally understood as binary concepts. Though questioned mainly by feminists, figurational-sociologists would also argue that sex and gender are not mutually exclusive categories. It is suggested that both biology and social factors impact upon gender relations and that the two should not be viewed as exclusive categories.

Connell's (1987) four fold model of gender relations was explored in order to understand the pervasiveness of gender relations in all human interactions. The model provided by Connell (1987) is useful alongside a figurational understanding of gender relations as it provides a holistic overview of gender relations in a variety of figurations. Connell (1987, 2000) also demonstrates the pervasiveness of gender relations at all levels; that is to say that they are neither structural nor individual, but both. This reiterates the point that gender relations are a part of the figurations in which we are enmeshed. Such a model compliments figurational notions of gender relations.

Most of the girls and women had started cricket either through primary school or through the encouragement of male relatives. It appeared that their involvement

depended on two conditions; having a male relative interested in introducing their daughters to cricket and having the opportunity to get involved. Consistent with research by Dowling (2000), fathers were considered particularly influential in developing girls' sporting skills. Also within the family figuration it was fathers, not mothers, who were typically involved and knowledgeable about sport, including cricket. Some of the girls' fathers were also influential in coaching, scoring and umpiring. The mothers on the other hand were involved in making teas, organising the girls. This perhaps highlights their outsider status within sport. In the cricket figuration the extension of traditional gender roles was evident and the girls experience reinforced gender relations. This seems to support the following observation from Krenske and McKay (2000:293) who emphasise how gender,

is always a relationship, not a performed category of beings or a possession that one can have. Gender does not pertain more to women than to men, gender is the relation between variously constituted categories of men and women (Krenske & McKay, 2000:293).

Gender relations are normalised through the way that girls access cricket. Through their interactions at school and in the family, cricket is identified as a male activity and an activity which they require male support to access.

Physical education continues to reinforce gender relations by constraining the activities that girls and boys are allowed to participate in. Gorely *et al.* (2003) have previously noted the extent to which gender habituses are continually reinforced in the school setting. The fact that gender relations are still evident in PE is not surprising given recent research by Laker *et al.* (2003) that identified how student teachers continue to express gender biased views about what constitutes appropriate activities for boys and girls. The school experiences identified by my interviewees are not unique to cricket and Scraton *et al.* (1999) clearly note that females are rarely able to access other male-appropriate sports such as football in the school setting. The research presented here supports Penney's (2001) contention that PE and school sport remain gendered. It is worth quoting her directly:

In the process of schooling they will have learnt that for their particular gender there are appropriate forms of employment and leisure, and appropriate attitudes towards their own and others' bodies and sexuality in relation to physical activity and health (2001:10).

Although some of the girls in my research got involved in cricket through schools or clubs, cricket is still viewed as being predominantly a male sport. This is because their interactions and observations about cricket are generally with males; their initial involvement in the sport is mediated by males, and their experiences in the family and at school present cricket as a male sport.

The girls' and the women's initial involvement in cricket is clearly impacted on by gender relations. It is also impacted on by parental commitment to their involvement in sport, one readily associated with middle class families. This impacts on the girls views about talent, hard work and success. This individualistic rhetoric further masks the inequalities that the young females face when playing cricket.

Chapter Five

The Theory of the Established and the Outsiders: Understanding Power, Identity and Difference in Women's Cricket

Unfortunately you do not solve the class problem by making friends with tramps (Orwell, 1897:155)

The previous chapter began to explore girl's and women's early experiences of playing cricket. The focus was on how girls got involved in cricket and their early experiences of playing the game. In this chapter the focus shifts towards developing an understanding of gender relations between men and women but also examines the extent to which outsider groups are fragmented along various axes of power. The overall aim of the chapter is to discuss to what extent women can be understood as outsiders in the cricket figuration.

The chapter begins by briefly revisiting the concept of the theory of established and outsider relations as mentioned in Chapter One. Secondly, I examine how people respond to females' involvement in cricket, how females perceive the differences between men's and women's cricket and how this impacts upon females' sporting identities. Finally, I examine the divisions between female cricketers and the complexity of power relations between different groups of women within the cricket figuration.

The Theory of Established and Outsider Relations

As mentioned in Chapter One the theory of established and outsiders was first proposed by Elias in *The Civilising Process*, but was later extended in a research project with John Scotson (1964/1994). The focus of Elias and Scotson's research was on understanding power relations between groups of residents in a community in the East Midlands. The purpose of the research, according to the authors, was,

to explore not which side was wrong and which was right; the problem was rather which structural characteristics of the developing community bound two groups to each other in such a way that the members of one of them felt

impelled, and had sufficient power resources, to treat those of another group collectively with a measure of contempt (1994: xxi).

Elias and Scotson (1964/1994) were able to understand how one group (the established) were able, through day-to-day networks of interdependencies, to create and sustain a complex system of unequal power relations against a less established (i.e. outsider) group. These relations were based on the development of 'we' and 'they' group identities that were continually reinforced through gossip and tradition. The theory was developed to explore how established groups create and maintain feelings of superiority over outsiders who, as a result of their position, tend to suffer from low self esteem.

In subsequent research the theory has been developed to explore a variety of power relations between groups and individuals, such as males and females, homosexuals and heterosexuals (Van Stolk & Wouters, 1987), Jews and the Germans (Elias, 1969/1996) and in relations between whites and blacks (Dunning, 1999; Jarvie, 2000). The theory is particularly useful, according to the above authors, as a framework for understanding power because it emphasises the complexity and fluidity of power relations as well as emphasising how power is an aspect of all relationships. It is also useful for understanding how inferiority can be imposed on and ultimately accepted by outsiders. This is specifically demonstrated in the research of Van Stolk and Wouters (1987), the only direct application of the theory to the study of gender relations. A similar type of analysis will be attempted here.

What! Women Don't Play Cricket, Do They?

One characteristic of established and outsider relations, noted by Elias and Scotson (1994) and Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) is that the outsiders take more notice of the established than vice versa. This was clearly apparent from my research. Nearly all the U15 county girls interviewed noted that they enjoyed watching or following international men's cricket. On the other hand, only one had any knowledge of the women's game. Thus the girls did not seem to identify with women's cricket and instead identified strongly with men's cricket. None of the girls followed the women's international game. The reasons they noted for this were:

It's not on TV or in the newspaper (Megan);

There is no coverage. I did see a match at Lord's once (Maddie);

I watch men's cricket, women's I don't watch it at all (Megan);

I couldn't tell you anything about it, except that Clare Connor is the captain (Sally).

This process of the girls watching and following men's cricket and the fact that they could not access information about the women's game seemed to reinforce to the girls the idea that cricket was a male appropriate activity. The girls were aware that there was an England women's team but that was as far as their knowledge had developed. The following conversation during one of the U15 county matches illustrates this lack of knowledge:

Maddie: "urrrmm I don't know, I think the name of the captain is Clare Connor. Is that right Philippa?"

Philippa: "Yes, that's right, do you follow women's cricket at all?"

Maddie: "Nah, I am not that interested".

Without media coverage women's cricket does not become part of the broader public image of cricket. Cricket as a male sport appears the norm. It is men's cricket that people see and hear about. Thus the word cricket itself becomes synonymous with men's cricket. As most of the girls watched the men's game they would often discuss the current Test or one-day match. As most of the girls' knowledge about cricket is about men's cricket they liken promising peers to a male cricketer. For instance when someone bowled and batted well they would liken them to 'Freddie' Flintoff¹⁶. The fact that girls are much more knowledgeable about male cricket than female cricket, seems to support Mennell's (1992) observation that, as part of their habitus, outsiders learn to understand and identify with the established.

The girls and women interviewed in this study recalled times when people had responded to their involvement in cricket with surprise or shock. This response to

¹⁶ this was because they were considered to be a good all rounder

their involvement in cricket appears to demonstrate a lack of understanding on behalf of the established. Van Stolk & Wouters (1987) note that this is not uncommon, for instance in their study on homosexuality they found that people are generally free to declare, 'I do not understand those homosexuals', yet the reverse is rarely heard. The following comments had been made to the girls about their involvement in cricket:

I didn't know there was girls' cricket (Jodie).

You play cricket?, but who for? (Natalie).

My parents used to say my daughter plays cricket and people asked a lot of questions (Phoebe).

In addition to these reactions of surprise, the girls noted that responses to their involvement in cricket were often negative:

No one has said anything nasty, but people do say, 'oh you play cricket'. A lot of men see it as women doing, well trying to do, men's sport but not as good (Sophie).

Adults sometimes ask, 'do you bowl under arm?' (Jodie).

Adults, who ask 'do you bowl under arm?' seem to imply that girls are not capable of physically playing like boys. These comments impact on the girls and their inability to identify themselves as female cricketers.

Becker's (1966) text explores the complex processes involved in people being identified by others as being deviant. The key aspect of Becker's (1966) argument is that behaviour itself cannot be deviant. It is only when others label an activity deviant that it actually becomes so. He explains;

The homosexual feels his kind of sex life is proper, but others do not. The thief feels it is appropriate for him to steal, but no one else does. Where people who engage in deviant activities have the opportunity to interact with one another they are likely to develop a culture built around the problems rising out of the differences between their definition of what they do and the definition held by others member of society (Becker, 1966:81).

According to Becker (1966) those involved in acts labelled by others as deviant are forced through their interactions with others to consider their behaviour as deviant. He suggests, 'social groups create deviance by making rules whose infraction constitutes deviance' (Becker, 1966:9).

Female cricketers, by the very nature of their involvement in a male sport, are perhaps similarly labelled as deviant. Female cricketers are particularly reminded of this through their interactions and conversations with others who view their behaviour as deviant. Through their contact with those who have little knowledge or understanding about females' involvement in cricket the girls have their motivations for playing questioned or even ridiculed. When adults question a girl's involvement in cricket this reinforces to that girl that they are doing something unnatural;

People ask me, 'why would you want to do that?' Like why would she play?
Then some people say, 'you can't play cricket' (Maddie)

Adults seemingly question the girls' involvement in cricket to reinforce normative gender relations. Adults' roles in reconfirming gender relations, according to Messner (2002) is apparent in adult children relationships. Messner (2002), discusses this in relation to a scene he observed at the opening ceremony of his local children's soccer season. He describes how during the ceremony a boys team, 'the Sea Monsters' were playing in close proximity to a girl's team, 'The Barbies'. After a short period of time the boys begin shouting loudly, 'no Barbie' to the girls team. The girls who initially ignored the boys' chants carried on singing and dancing to music. The situation worsened as the boys began to run in amongst the girls and push them. At this point the adults intervened and proclaimed loudly that the incident proved how different the boys and girls were. Messner (2002) suggests that the scene illustrates the part that parents and adults play in approving childhood gender performances. Instead of understanding the event as being socially constructed, Messner (2002) explores how the adults immediately reinforce a biological understanding of gender:

It was this anomalous Barbie Girls vs. Sea Monsters moment, where the boundaries of gender were so clearly enacted, that the adults seized to affirm their commitment to difference (Messner, 2000:9).

Messner (2002) notes that throughout the whole season the children performed the same routines, cried when they fell down, ate their snacks and daydreamed when the coach was talking, no adults declared how similar boys and girls were. This observation is important in understanding how gender relations become normalised. This commitment to difference is a way that gender relations are reinforced to young children and is perhaps further evidence of gender relations within familial relationships.

The type of comments made to girls about their involvement in cricket is part of the reinforcement of gender relations. Comments made in this context can also be understood as a type of 'blame gossip' which reinforces to the girls that they are outsiders within the cricket figuration. Blame gossip, according to Elias and Scotson (1994), is used as an effective tool to ensure outsiders are aware of their outsider status. In Elias and Scotson's research, gossip is distorted to ensure that the established members of the community feel good about themselves whilst at the same time gossip is used to condemn the outsider group. Thus, in the context of this research the comments made to the girls about their unusual involvement in cricket made them feel different thus reinforcing their outsider status. Nicki said that the extent to which she had received comments about her involvement in cricket meant that she no longer told people that she played. She explains:

I just wouldn't tell people. I didn't want people to judge me so I didn't tell them I played cricket. The reason I did that was because I didn't want to hear people's comments and judgements about what I do, so I didn't tell them. It's (cricket) not something that I am ashamed of, but I am not proud of it (Nicki).

As the girls' achievements were not widely celebrated outside of the female cricket figuration it is difficult for cricket to become a prominent part of the girls' identities. In particular they find it hard to tell others that they play cricket. Nicki in particular demonstrates how her identity is affected by the common perception that cricket is a

male sport. This may be because social identity is about people feeling a sense of belonging. Females do not feel that they belong in cricket because it is traditionally associated with being a male sport (Krane and Barber, 2003).

As girls grow into adulthood it is apparent that comments about the appropriateness of their involvement in cricket do not disappear. The adult women I interviewed also mentioned how people's responses to their involvement in cricket was, more often than not, negative. The types of comments that are made are sometimes patronising and seem to suggest that women cannot or should not play cricket. Some of these comments are presented below:

People ask stupid questions like, "do you bowl under arm?", "do you play with a tennis ball" (Fiona)

Because I am a female they go, "really" (Rachael)

A lot of men say things like, "what you play cricket?" (Neve)

People think it is strange like, "what do you do that for?" (Katie).

Such comments seek to undermine female involvement in cricket and ensure that they maintain their position as outsiders. Comments such as these demonstrate people's lack of knowledge and understanding about females' ability to play cricket and therefore reaffirm to the females that women are not expected to play cricket.

Some parallels can be drawn here in relation to Ernst's (2003) analysis of the position of female managers who are often the victims of blame gossip because they have entered the male preserve of management. Ernst claims that female managers are judged more severely than male managers. Similarly, as women are entering the male preserve of cricket, people are judgemental. One example of this is the experience of Katie when she went to buy cricket equipment from a sports shop:

I was trying on a pair of shoes, which is hard because I have small feet, so I found a pair and I asked to try them on. The guy said, "are these for your brother?", I said, "no they are for me". He was like, "oh, but they are cricket shoes you know?" I was like, "yes, I know".

These comments stem from the assumption that females do not play cricket and note how sports shops tend to be spaces dominated by male staff serving male sports. When presented with a female cricketer the shop assistant is perplexed and patronises Katie. This type of reaction creates barriers for those females who do play cricket as it becomes difficult for females to gain access to facilities that are required.

Another example of the reaction to a female's involvement in cricket was provided by Eleanor. She explained that during job interviews she is always questioned about her involvement in cricket. She recalls;

whenever you say you play women's cricket people laugh at you... it's on my CV that I played at county girls level and when I go for interview it always comes up, they ask, "what do you mean you play cricket? Are you having a laugh?" (Eleanor).

By asking this question in this way, Eleanor's achievement of playing county cricket is trivialised. Although people are generally curious about her involvement in cricket, the incredulous responses reinforce the notion that it is unusual. By saying that she is having a laugh suggests her playing the game contrasts with their preconceived notions of cricket. Later on in the interview Eleanor expressed her frustration at men's response to her involvement in cricket;

People say "what you actually play?" They think you mean you watch it on telly and I say no I actually play, they say "do you bat and bowl?" They get this image of girls standing in whites and they laugh..... sometimes I just want to say grow up. I think it's that perception again. They expect you to play a girls sport.

Eleanor indicated that she often does not challenge these comments, perhaps indicating the frequency with which she hears such comments. This quote demonstrates the difficulties that women can face when effectively challenging their outsider position.

Catronia, an ex England player, recalls how people respond incredulously when they find out she has played on pitches such as the famous Eden Gardens in India;

It doesn't mean anything to a lot of people, but if you mention the grounds you have played at suddenly they have to take you seriously, but they don't believe you.

This quote highlights a couple of points: it is difficult for some people to perceive the idea of females playing cricket. Secondly, it seems that only through connections with the male game (i.e. Eden gardens) that an understanding of female cricket can develop.

Sorting the Boys from the Girls: Female's Experiences of Playing Male Cricket

The females' status as outsiders became particularly evident when they were involved in playing boy's or men's cricket. Over half of the females interviewed had, at some point, been involved in playing boys or men's cricket. One of the reasons for this seems to be because of a lack of clubs for girls and women. In county A, for instance, there were 192 male clubs compared to only 4 female clubs. Given this it is highly probable that most females' nearest club would be a male club. In this section I discuss the problems and opportunities that arise when males and females play cricket directly against and with each other.

The interviewees expressed mixed experiences and opinions in relation to playing cricket with males. Through the experiences of Phoebe, Nicki and Natalie it becomes evident that playing alongside boys can be problematic:

Some of the boys were nice. Some thought we were basically crap and that cricket wasn't our sport (Phoebe).

Sometimes I feel like I don't get any respect at all, they expect me to get out straightaway (Natalie).

I used to play for the boys but then I realised everywhere I went people were saying things like, "look it's a girl" (Nicki).

These experiences were largely perceived as negative and they reinforce the notion of cricket as a male appropriate, female inappropriate sport. The girls are reminded throughout their involvement that they are in a predominantly male space. Phoebe's comments highlight that some of the boys welcomed the girls. This suggests that members of established groups can behave in a variety of ways. Thus the opportunity to play with boys was considered positive by the girls and the boys got used to having females playing in the team. Yet the potential to challenge gender relations remains slim because the girl normally remains the only girl in this male space.

Some of the U15 girls found that playing cricket with boys meant that they could demonstrate their ability to play cricket and challenge common perceptions about female fragility and physicality. In the opinion of Megan, Natalie and Harriet they found that;

I play on the boy's team. It's fine, they respect me (Megan).

Once they can see a girl can play to a serious standard they are quite welcoming (Natalie).

Its fine, at primary school most of my friends were boys anyway (Harriet).

For these girls the experience seemed to heighten their self esteem and Natalie enjoyed the challenge of proving that girls can play cricket. These girls accepted their position within the team and enjoyed playing cricket in the context. One issue that arises when girls play against boys is that it is important for girls to show that they are as good as the boys. Mennesson's (2000) research reiterates this and also notes that it can become equally problematic if females demonstrate that they are better than males. Her research on boxing discovered that female boxers were tolerated in male boxing environments providing that they were as good as, but not better than, male boxers. One of the reasons for this, suggests Mennesson (2000), is that if females perform better physically than males this causes problems for the identities of some male boxers. This is partly because men assume that women are physically weaker than them and therefore if females are better boxers than men this can result in resentful attitudes towards women's involvement in boxing (Mennesson 2000). For the girls who enjoyed playing cricket with the boys this demonstrates how some girls are able to access and succeed in a traditional male space. Whilst this perhaps

suggests that cricket cannot be entirely considered a 'male preserve' involvement within male cricket was clearly circumscribed according to broader gender relations.

Out of the adult women interviewed, only seven had been involved in men's or boy's cricket. Normally their experiences of playing male cricket had occurred before they were eighteen. Sarah recalled how she went along to her local boys' club because her brother played there. At this club, she noted, she was allowed to join in with boys both for coaching and matches and moved up through the age groups. Sarah particularly felt that this experience had helped her to become a better player; 'my running between the wickets is good compared to other girls'. The reason that Sarah thought that her running between the wickets was better than others was because she considered boys cricket to be faster than girls cricket and therefore being able to run quickly between the wickets was essential. In this context Sarah perceived that her skills as a cricketer were improved by playing with boys.

Not all the women's experiences were as positive as Sarah's. For instance, Neve a county player, described how when she played boys' cricket it was difficult because she did not always get to be as involved in matches as the boys did. Neve perceived the reason for this was that boys had a more central role in the team. Moreover;

There was some intimidation at times, but I desperately wanted to play. But I knew some other people who weren't quite as brave as me and wouldn't have played; it would have put them off (Neve).

As the females were alone on an otherwise male team, they are continually forced to confront their difference. It is difficult, as the only female cricketer on a team, to develop the 'identity' of a cricketer because one will struggle to belong to a group in which everyone else is visibly different (Krane & Barber, 2003). This was shown in the case of Nicki, who mentions that she rarely shares the fact that she is a cricketer with others. By not developing a social identity as a cricketer, this inevitably impacts of one's personal identity. As Connell (2002) illustrates, gender appropriate behaviour is learnt by males and females and as Neve's experience demonstrates she is involved in an activity that is not considered appropriate for females. Neve challenges this view and continues to play. This demonstrates how gender relations

can be challenged, and are not static; yet, as Neve demonstrates, challenging them does have consequences.

Fiona's experience of playing on a male team highlights some of the tensions that can arise. Her experience came during her time at university in Australia when she played for the men's university fifth team. Fiona recalls attending training sessions and playing at matches. She says that overall the experience was positive and enjoyable. However, one incident that made Fiona feel uncomfortable about her association with the team was when the local newspaper decided to write an article about her involvement in the otherwise male team. She explains that she felt uncomfortable because:

It was a bit embarrassing really. I mean they won't have the Aussie women's cricket team in there but they had me in because I was playing for a men's club. The club used the whole thing to promote their club and make money. It wasn't about women or women's cricket so it was awkward. It was good, I suppose people saw a woman playing cricket, it goes to show the biases of the media though. If you play with girls they aren't interested but if you play with guys they get excited.

Fiona recognised that although on the one hand the publicity was positive because it showed a competent female cricketer playing to men's standard, on the other hand, ultimately, it was the men's club who primarily benefited from the article because they received a lot of publicity. This incident reinforces the fact that an understanding of women's cricket only develops through male cricket. This increases the chance that female cricketers are directly compared to the achievements and standards of male cricketers.

'We' and 'They' Groups: Physicality and Understanding Difference

In her research on female ice hockey players, Theberge (2003) asked players what they perceived to be the differences between men's and women's ice hockey. The women interviewed articulated differences between the game as primarily biological, a result of men's superior strength. Unlike cricket the rules of women's ice hockey are

different to men's, as body checking, a central feature of the men's game is prohibited. The reason for this is that body checking is considered too dangerous for female ice hockey players. This stems from a biological assumption that female bodies need greater protection than male bodies. The debate surrounding the appropriateness of body checking in women's ice hockey continues and female ice hockey players are divided as to whether or not they think body checking should be a feature of the female game (Theberge, 2003).

In research by Henry and Comeaux (1999) on co-ed soccer leagues in the USA the authors note that despite the existence of rules to facilitate equal practices, in reality gender differences, in the league are still evident. The rules introduced included limiting the number of male players to five at a time, no slide tackling and making goals scored by females worth double male goals. The reason for the introduction of these rules was to ensure that females are given ample opportunity to be involved in the game. Despite these rules the authors note, 'on all teams, the highest scorer was a man.... In close games men tried to engineer a woman's goal but such attempts are met with limited success' (Henry and Comeaux, 1999:281). The difference between males' and females' style of play is attributed, by females, to men's perceived biological advantage. Men were perceived to be stronger and naturally more aggressive than females. The authors conclude that despite the overall rhetoric of the co-ed league to encourage female participation, men frequently considered their role in the league as being to share their superior skills with the women. None of the men interviewed for the research considered how they could learn skills from playing with women. Co-ed soccer, the authors conclude, does not entirely challenge gender relations because ultimately gender relations are reinforced through the roles that men and women adopt on the field and their attitude to the game itself. In practice the game is mixed sex rather than co-ed.

The impact that comments about their involvement in cricket had on the female cricketers' identities were most noticeable when the players were asked to discuss whether they thought there were any differences between the men's and the women's game. Firstly, the U15 girls perceived the differences between men and women's cricket in two ways. The first way that the majority of the girls perceived that they were different from boys was that males are stronger than women:

I think boys are stronger than girls (Ella).

Boys are bigger and stronger (Maddie).

We play different because we aren't strong enough, or fast enough (Nicki).

The physical differences between men and women were interpreted by the girls as meaning that men and boys have an advantage because their innate strength allows them to bowl faster than girls/women. This interpretation of difference is based on what Messner (1992) considers to be men's reliance on examples of other men's physical strength. An example of this can be found in cricket. It is generally assumed that women could not face a ball bowled by Brett Lee. In reality the majority of men and indeed many international players cannot deal with a fast and accurate ball bowled by Brett Lee. Men's sporting identities seem to be based, in this context, on what can be termed 'the minority of the best' where the established are able to model themselves on the achievements and talents of a few. As this becomes generalised from the few to the whole it becomes accepted that men are categorically stronger than women, regardless of the fact that there are examples when this is not the case. As Messner (2003) notes, men's and women's bodies exist on a continuum of difference. Some men are stronger than some women and vice versa. Yet, the general perception is that men are stronger than women (See McGinnis *et al*; 2005 for a similar discussion with regards to gender relations and golf). The fact that men's and women's bodies and abilities exist on a continuum of difference is overlooked (Messner, 2002). As the perceived differences between men and women are believed to be biological this means that people see them enduring common sense assumptions. Willis (in Theberge, 2000a:139) describes this process:

The fact no one can deny female difference becomes the fact of female sport's inferiority, becomes the fact that females are innately different from men, becomes the fact that women who stray across the defining boundary are in a parlous state. An ideological view comes to be deposited in our culture as a common sense assumption – of course women are different and inferior.

The girls did cite other reasons why they believed that men's and boy's cricket was different than women's cricket. In particular the girls picked up on the fact that boys received better coaching than girls. The girls discussed this in their interviews:

the boys train at a younger age (Nicki).

they get better training (Sophie).

boys cricket is more competitive and the coaches put more pressure on to make sure you get it right (Phoebe).

These discussions are evidence that some of the girls partially understood the socially constructed difference between men's and women's cricket. Like the girls in Theberge's (2003) research, differences between men's and women's cricket amongst the U15 girls was understood as partially biological but there was some understanding, i.e. the discussion of coaching, of the socially constructed nature of differences between men's and women's cricket.

The adult interviewees tended to understand differences between the men's and women's game as the result of fixed biological differences between the sexes. Comments about physical difference between men and women are noticeable in the following comments;

Women aren't as strong as men; they rely on timing (Fiona).

There is a huge difference between a man's ability to play cricket and a girl's, a guy can hit the ball harder than a girl (Eleanor).

The difference is strength (Emma).

There is a difference in the speed of bowling and people's ability to throw (Heather).

Boys are sports orientated; girls are not (Julie).

These comments seem to indicate that speed and strength are the most valued attributes in male cricket. Whilst these are important skills to develop none of the women stressed the importance of techniques or tactics as valuable element of men's cricket. As the meaning of sports are culturally produced, it is therefore interesting that at a time when more females are getting involved in cricket the strength of

Pietersen and Flintoff are given more media attention over the skills of other players. Thus the importance of speed and strength in cricket has been magnified particularly by the media. The superstars of the game are therefore the larger built, physically strong bodies such as Pietersen or Flintoff. As strength is frequently used as a reason why males and females have to be separated in sport (Burton Nelson, 1999, Theberge, 2000a), this emphasis on strength and speed in the men's game seems like a (perhaps unintended) strategy to further reinforce to females their outsider status. The message seems to be that the women's version of the game will always be inferior to the men's.

Three of the women interviewed also expressed an understanding that differences between men's and women's cricket can be understood as socially constructed. For instance some of the women noted:

I think the coaching and the organisation they get, they have colts, the men are practising and helping the colts, the sheer numbers, they get boys from so young, from school, club, the parents get involved (Juliet).

Men are sporting superstars, they get higher recognition and support (Annabel).

Men have more opportunity to be out all day playing cricket (Mary).

Here the women recognise the social differences between men's and women's cricket. The women perceive that one of the reasons that the men's game is different to the females' game is because they get more resources i.e. better coaching.

Some of the women tried to counter perceptions of difference between the men's and the women's game by arguing that the women's game is different from the men's game because it is a more technical game. Molly notes;

I think women are more technically able than the blokes... women have to be more technical because the guys can use brute strength.

It is not uncommon for sports women to argue that their sport is a more tactical or skilful sport. Mennesson and Clement (2003) discusses in their research how female

footballers suggest that women's football is more tactical than men's football. She summarises that female footballers argue that the women's game, 'is based on technical mastery rather than on physical strength – though this still has to be objectively proven' (Mennesson and Clement, 2003:21). This strategy seems to be a way of promoting the women's game based on marketing it as different from the men's game.

By promoting the technical aspects of women's cricket, the outsiders attempt to create a version of the game that is considered different to men's cricket. This could be understood as an attempt to challenge gender relations as the women stress that there are aspects of the women's game that are better than the men's. On the other hand this could serve to reinforce men's group charisma by reinforcing the concept that power and strength are uniquely male attributes and that in these ways women's cricket remains inferior.

There were clearly differing views amongst the women about what the differences between male and female cricketers are, as well as the reason why these became manifest. The majority of females interviewed for this study seem to primarily resort to explaining differences between the men's and women's game as a result of men's supposed biological superiority. As a result of this the female cricketers had a strong identification as a 'we' outsider group. Males were considered strong, and females were considered weak. Even when women were forced to reassess these common sense assumptions, such as when females had successfully played with males, this was considered as a 'one-off' example of exceptional female abilities as opposed to evidence that females can compete with males:

I think if you are an excellent bat you can compete with them (men) but for the bowlers women struggle because you don't bowl as quick. A quick bowler in women's cricket is a slow bowler in men's (Susie).

Susie chooses to compare women's bowling to men's bowling thus accepting the criteria of male cricket to 'judge' the credibility and quality of women's bowling. In this context even when women do compete with men, women chose to accept their group disgrace and concomitantly male group charisma remains largely intact.

Changing Power Balances: Radicals and Stragglers

Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) consider groups such as the women in their study who had left violent partners to be in the process of emancipation, i.e. they were challenging their outsider position. In concluding their paper, Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) maintain that there are three categories of outsiders that emerge during the emancipation process. These categories are: the radicals, the moderates and the stragglers. Firstly, group one, the radicals are able to develop their own 'we' identity and are proud of it. Group two, the moderates, want the old stigmas removed. Finally, the stragglers prefer old behavioural patterns, yet they may feel pressured by the ideas of the liberation movement. This illuminates that outsider groups, in a way not considered by Elias and Scotson, as often fragmented.

From the responses of the interviewed there were examples of all three categories of outsiders. Amongst the adult women, Mary and Juliet were particularly outspoken about the position of men's cricket and critical of the lack of opportunities in women's cricket compared to men's cricket. They confidently expressed their radical views;

The ECB promised us a lot of media coverage, but this hasn't materialised (Juliet).

I hate this stupid male attitude that women don't play cricket (Mary).

These responses were the most critical towards the ECB, yet both women noted that they felt that they were unable to change their position. The majority of women expressed moderate or straggler views to their emancipation. Katie, a moderate, who was playing at a club which had merged with a male club states,

We are a hindrance to them, we don't bring money in over the bar, they think we are a pain, they haven't given us much but then we haven't done much for them either.

Katie suggests that it is as much the women's as the men's fault for that the merger between the two clubs has not materialised as the women expected. Despite Katie accepting that some of the blame for this lack of interaction is the men's fault. In reality the situation is that women are not able to bring money over the bar because they did not have access to the home pitch. The team therefore has no reason to use the club facilities. In this context, the women remain outsiders in the club. They blame themselves for this outsider position for not 'fitting in'. Such attitudes to their position may well be identified as straggler behaviour.

There were also attitudes expressed by the women akin to van Stolk and Wouters's (1987) straggler group. These women seemed to be resigned to their position and recognised that little could be done to improve their position within the cricket figuration. The kind of comments that were made are noted below:

I mean it depends on whether people want to play or not, I am not sure the enthusiasm is there (Rachael).

We always struggle with getting juniors in. If we do they finish and leave to go to uni or boyfriends. We have struggled- I don't think the county are doing that well (Jane).

These comments suggest a resignation to their position but also a sense of self blame, indicated in comments such as 'we struggle' and 'the enthusiasm isn't there'.

Attitudes expressed by the U15 county girls were more radical than the adult interviewees. This might indicate a shift in power balances whereby it has become more acceptable for younger girls to access certain sports. Clare, Megan, Jodie and Sophie expressed a strong 'we group' identity in terms of not being apologetic for their involvement in sport and dressing in a way that their sporting identity is visible to others;

I am sporty so people aren't as surprised (Jodie).

I play cricket and footy. Because the way I dress is sporty, people expect me to play sport (Clare).

Dressing in a sporty way represents an outward demonstration of a particular identity. This strategy forewarns others of the girls' interest and involvement in sport. Therefore when others hear that they play cricket, it may come as less of a shock.

As for the rest of the girls, Maddie, Nicki, Helen and Natalie expressed what could be termed as more moderate attitudes. They did not outwardly express an interest in cricket and were quite embarrassed about their involvement:

Maddie, Nicki, Natalie, and Helen never turned up dressed in their whites. They always came dressed in jeans and vest tops. They would dress into whites before the match but would keep vest tops on underneath cricket tops so they could remove their cricket tops when not on the pitch. These girls were particularly concerned about appearance, often brushing their hair. They always came to matches with make up on and they talked predominantly about fashion and boys (Fieldnotes).

Maddie noted how she had never informed her school or teachers of her success in cricket. Neither Nicki nor Maddie wanted people to know about their involvement in cricket. They did not want to be ambassadors for women's cricket for fear of being signalled out as different.

Whilst Van Stolk and Wouters (1987) found these categories useful in understanding gender relations between women who had left abusive partners, in terms of this research it appeared that some females demonstrate radical attitudes and at other times express more moderate attitudes. It might, therefore, be the case that women can express various types of attitudes at different times and to different people.

'It's just a Bunch of Lesbians': Divides Across the Wicket

It is now commonly accepted in the sociological literature that women should not be viewed as a homogenous group (Maynard, 1999, Rainsborough, 2002). Pink (1997:200) sums this up by explaining that, 'the position of women is not singular'. Put simply, Pink (1997) emphasises that women are bound up within other power relations such as sexual relations, class relations and race relations. The purpose of

this section is to consider how inequalities of power exist within an outsider group; that is, female cricketers.

One of the consequences of the development of sport as a male preserve has been the association of sports women as being homosexual (Cahn, 1994a). Dunning (1999) illustrates that sports women are often labelled as homosexual, regardless of whether they are or not. One of the reasons for this is that female athletic bodies contradict normative ideas about femininity and weakness. The female athletic body appears strong and masculine and is therefore equated to homosexuality (Cahn, 1994a; Veri, 1999). It is also the case that the more masculine the sport the more likely that the women playing are to be labelled as homosexual; 'the more stereotypically masculine the sport, the stronger the suspicion' (Sykes, 2004:76). Another reason given for the association of sports women and homosexuality has been because female sport is a site for women to do activities together, often without the company of men, and thus rumours about these sportswomen's sexuality can be fuelled. Griffin (1992:94) explains why this is the case:

They were groups without men, they were not engaged in activities thought to enhance their abilities to be good wives and mothers, and they were being physically active in sport, a male activity (Griffin, 1992:94).

Griffin (1992) goes on to claim that this perception of females involved in sports that require power and strength, has not changed substantially. In support of Griffin, Veri (1999) notes how the female athlete is non conformist and therefore can be subject to suspicion. In Van Stolk and Wouters (1997) terms, many female athletes do not accept harmonious inequality and thus reject traditional ideas about femininity, they do not 'throw like girls'. Female athletes' bodies are at odds with normative femininity and therefore they are considered deviant. This is because:

the deviant female body is often conflated with homosexuality and masculinity, hence the circulation of myths claiming that sport masculinises women and that all female athletes, therefore must be lesbian (Veri, 1999:364).

These assumptions about female athletes and sexuality have resulted in a culture of homophobia in female sport. Sykes (2004:74) argues that the position adopted in women's sport is that homosexuals are tolerated, but only as an 'open secret'.

One of the ways that female athletes have fought against these stereotypes is to opt to present a conscious feminine heterosexual image. An example of this is the Australian Women's Cricket Council's (AWCC) decision to ensure that all players wear culottes not trousers as part of their team kit. The reason for this insistence is thought to be so the players present a softer, feminine, heterosexual image (Burroughs *et al.* 1995). This decision was taken in response to another incident involving the AWCC when in 1994 Denise Annetts, an international player, lodged a complaint with the Australian Anti-Discrimination board declaring that she was dropped from the Australian team for being heterosexual (Burroughs *et al.* 1995). This allegation by Annetts led to a national media frenzy and previously unheard of press coverage of women's cricket. In particular people rang radio chat lines and wrote to newspapers to express their disgust that a heterosexual could be discriminated against in sport. This was the first time that women's cricket had received such media coverage, and although a claim like this is likely to attract media interest, the media had previously ignored most aspects of the game and continued to ignore the women's game in search of more lesbian stories. Burroughs *et al.* (1995) claim that, 'since the lesbian scandal arose respected sports journalists appeared to have developed a sudden interest in the game' (Burroughs *et al.* 1995:273). By supporting Annett's claim without questioning its authenticity the media offered credibility to the idea that the AWCC operated a discriminatory selection process. Burroughs *et al.* (1995) argue that female cricket players were depicted by the media as lesbians who prey on young players. This image, according to Griffin (1992), is commonly used to prevent parents from sending daughters to sporting environments where there are female coaches. This is rather ironic as most incidents of abuse between coaches and athletes are between male coaches and female athletes (Brackenridge, 2001). When the Annett's claim was rejected by the Anti Discrimination board no media reports emerged. The Annett's incident highlighted the discrimination that homosexuals can face in sport as well as illustrating how female sporting organisations try to present a heterosexual image for their sport for fear of losing sponsorship and public credibility.

In my research the issue of sexuality did arise as a topic of discussion. Four of the U15 girls alluded to the issue of sexuality and cricket as having a problematic relationship. Furthermore, the girls themselves had several discussions about other players' sexuality. The following conversation from the girls residential is an interesting example of this:

The team and I were walking back to the accommodation when the following situation occurred. Maddie pointed to another girl and said

“she is so butch” (Maddie was inferring that the girl was a lesbian)

Kelly (the team coach noted): “just because she has short hair, doesn't mean she is, she isn't you know”

Maddie: “well it's the way she walks, she walks like a man” (all girls giggle).

Maddie clearly considers sexuality to be something that is visible. Maddie is suggesting that being homosexuals means that you exhibit different visible gender characteristics to heterosexuals. Walking ‘like a man’, or acting ‘like a man’ means that a person is perceived as sexually suspicious. By having this conversation in front of the whole team Maddie is asserting that homosexuality is not welcome on ‘her’ team. The girls giggle to collude and make fun of homosexual women. Kelly, the coach at the residential tournament, tries to question Maddie about her preconceptions about sexuality. Kelly, as the coach, could have questioned Maddie's fundamental views on sexuality and could have asked her for instance what difference it makes to Maddie if the person is homosexual or not. That she did not underscores the research findings of Mennesson and Clement (2003) who noted that within female football, coaches found it difficult to discuss or challenge people's views on sexuality within the team. One of the consequences of this, according to the authors, is that the issue is talked around or ignored.

Another incident where sexuality was discussed by the girls was when we were playing a game of cards. Sally discussed sexuality within cricket:

Sally (to me) “did you think we would be a bunch of lesbians?”

Nicki : (laughs and waits for my response)

Philippa: “no why would I?”

Sally: “when I think of women’s cricket I think of a bunch of lesbians”

Philippa: “why would you think that? You are at a tournament with so many girls, do you think they are all lesbians?”

Sally: “No I don’t, I don’t know why I think it, and there are lesbians here”

Philippa: “How do you know?”

Sally: “Oh come on, no self respecting straight girl has short hair, R and L (names of girls on other teams) and the one with a shaved eyebrow that’s a give away. Not that there is anything wrong with lesbians, it’s just that we are straight” (Fieldnotes).

Sally, like Maddie, considers that homosexuality is something that is visible and noticeable by looking at a person. Sally implicitly reinforces the idea that women who play certain sports, like cricket, are lesbians. Despite the fact that her team ‘are straight’, her involvement in cricket seems to reinforce her view about sexuality and cricket. By asserting that she is straight and then using ‘we’ she is not only declaring her heterosexuality but asserting the entire teams’ heterosexuality in a way that cannot be questioned. In the statement ‘its not that there is anything wrong with lesbians’ Sally is constructing an identity that is different from a perceived homosexual identity. In essence Sally seems to be privileging a heterosexual identity over a homosexual one. This is, as Sykes (2001) notes, a form of heteronormativity, where heterosexuality is normalised and homosexuality is viewed as different and deviant.

From these conversations it became clear that the girls perceived homosexuality to be something that could be ‘seen’. Performing femininity in an alternative way, e.g., by acting more masculine, made the girls suspicious of other girls and women. In particular, walking like a man, having short hair, not wearing make-up had been internalised by the girls as representing non feminine behaviour and this was equated with masculinity and lesbianism. This is similar to the research of Cox and Thompson (2000:14) who found that female footballers used hair to, ‘create an impression of conventional femininity that differentiated them, not only from men, but also from the stereotypical short haired lesbian’. This was clearly the motivation of the U15 girls to be seen as different from the stereotypical image of being manly and thus lesbian. The girls on the team were encouraged by Maddie to present a feminine image:

The majority of the girls would shower, wash, dry and comb their hair before coming to dinner. After the match Maddie would suggest to the girls that they 'dress for dinner'. They would also wear make-up, tight fitting jeans and tops, one night Maddie commented, 'look at us, we are the best dressed team' (Fieldnotes).

Those who do not conform to a heterosexual image are policed and judged by other girls. Maddie's comments about others were made to reinforce to her players that they should present a feminine heterosexual image. Lock (2003) suggests that as people consider sexuality as a visible appearance, as long as people appear heterosexual than they are accepted. It is important to 'look' like a heterosexual. Veri (1999) indicates that this is a form of power used against homosexuals as homosexuals are expected to hide their sexuality behind the mask of 'acceptable' femininity and heterosexuality.

When Maddie and Sally states that she knows that there are homosexuals at the tournament her evidence for this seems to be based on the fact that some girls and women were not conforming to presenting a feminine image. One evening as the girls were walking back to their accommodation. Maddie loudly proclaimed:

Look at her she is a boy, no wonder we don't win, we are girls (Fieldnotes).

This statement indicates that she perceives lesbian girls and women who are not conforming to normative femininity have an advantage over other girls and are better at sport. Maddie appears to be suggesting that it is more important to present a feminine image than to be good at sport. It seems to be that being feminine and good at sport is not always compatible with dominant or established concepts of femininity.

Blinde's (cited in Griffin, 1992) research notes that female athletes on college teams rarely openly discuss the issue of homosexuality. Instead those in her study often referred to it indirectly as 'that' problem. This avoidance of the topic suggests that the athletes felt it was necessary to distance themselves from what they perceived to be a negative image. Female athletes identified themselves with the 'we' identity of heterosexuals not the 'they identity' of homosexuals. An excellent example of the divides between homosexuals and heterosexuals can be seen in the research of

Mennesson and Clement (2003) who found that homosexuals and heterosexuals did not socialise together. Their interviewees recall how:

The homos go out together to specialised bars and nightclubs, while the heteros frequent normal nightclubs. When the teams are on the road the assignment of hotel rooms and seats on the bus is done according to whether the player is a member of one or another group (2003:319).

Several of the adult players I interviewed alluded to the issue of sexuality as problematic but did not directly discuss it. The types of comments made were:

There is a certain culture about women's cricket, it has that stigma (Rachael)

The general stigma is that girls who play sports are not feminine (Annabel)

The stereotypes about women who play cricket, that's similar to the stereotypes about women who play hockey (Heather).

Cricket, men play and women do the scoring, women they love the game but aren't expected to play. It's still that notion, nice girls don't play cricket and all the things associated with that (Katie).

The words such as 'stigma' 'stereotypes', 'nice girls' all point to an aversion to openly discussing the issue of sexuality. Choosing to identify with one sexuality and prioritising it at the expense of another is an example of divided outsiders. These divides are problematic as they mean that the outsider group is not cohesive. In this context ideas about the 'minority of the worst' become difficult to challenge and the use of blame gossip becomes twofold. Firstly it centres on how female cricketers can be perceived as a peculiarity and secondly it is used as a way to associate all female cricketers with the possibility that they could, by their very involvement in a male sport, be lesbian.

The divisions suggested by Blinde (Griffin, 1992) and Mennesson and Clement (2003) were also apparent amongst the adult female interviewees in this research. Some of the younger female adults were also keen to mention their heterosexuality within the interviews. The way they indicated this was through the discussion of

previous or existing relationships with males. During interviews with these young women they discussed potential stereotypes that exist about women playing cricket:

the perceptions of homosexuals, this image that all females who play are homosexual has an impact on the game. Parents can be reluctant to encourage youngsters to play these sports (Eleanor).

I mean it's like rugby, the same association with women and cricket exists (Rachael).

A lot of people think all female cricketers are a bunch of lesbians. This in my experience is rubbish but I think that image can be a problem (Fiona).

These statements suggest that the players are aware of the stereotypes and try to distance themselves from them. However, some of the comments that were made about sexuality were more aggressive and discriminatory than those above:

Girls that are lesbians and those who are not play. Some people are in it for the homosexual culture more than their ability to play cricket (Fiona).

There are lesbians in sport. It's an off putting image for girls who want to play sport. I am not saying that if you play these sports you are lesbian, but women who play sports that are male do attract lesbians (Eleanor).

These comments reinforce conflict within the outsider groups. This exhibits the internal divisions which Elias identified as characteristic of outsider groups. The comments made by Eleanor can be understood as a form of 'blame gossip' as lesbians are perceived to make the sport of cricket unappealing to young females and their parents. The evidence presented here is compatible with the research findings of Theberge (2000a) about female ice hockey players. Her observations of the team led her to conclude that lesbians on the team were simultaneously included and at the same time excluded. The processes that this involved were the insistence on heterosexual social events, despite the fact that several players were homosexual. This meant that the homosexual lifestyles of the players were rendered invisible to others. Yet, in interviews, the ice hockey players insisted that there were no tensions with regard to sexuality on the team. They stressed that the team was motivated by how the team played on the ice. Cahn (1994b) recognises this as the "play it don't say it"

strategy whereby lesbian relations in sport are tolerated but never publicly accepted. As Theberge (2000a) discovered, this was particularly the case when it came to the public image of the team as the male coach insisted that the team look professional and feminine, thus distancing themselves from a stereotypical lesbian image.

As part of a divided outsider group, lesbians involved in cricket have little power to challenge their image. This is perhaps similar to their situation in other contexts. The position of homosexuals is articulated in some detail in Van Stolk and Wouters paper (1987:483):

In general the inequalities of power between men and women can never be as great as those between heterosexuals and homosexuals: the latter may be the object of an extermination campaign, but not women. The possibility of extermination, and the persecution of groups of outsiders, is recorded in their collective memory. Homosexuals have no particular social task, and therefore have no social power source at their disposal.

Within cricket the divides between heterosexuals and homosexuals were evident. It was also evident that it was not an issue that people felt comfortable discussing openly. This lends support to Cahn's (1994b) 'play it do not say it' rhetoric of women's sport. Recently Anderson (2005) has referred to this as the 'don't ask, don't tell' strategy used to marginalise homosexuals in sport. These divides amongst an outsider group demonstrate that as an outsider group women are divided and do not represent a homogenous cohesive group.

Concluding Remarks

The chapter began by exploring how the female cricketers in my study followed men's cricket more than they followed women's cricket. This was partly because men's cricket is more accessible via the media than women's cricket. Yet this is also a characteristic of established and outsider relations as females are more likely to identify with the established than the outsiders.

All the females interviewed had experienced strong reactions from others about their involvement in cricket. These comments serve to undermine the females' involvement in cricket as well as to remind them of their outsider status. Comments are made to suggest to the female cricketers that they are not physically capable of playing cricket. Females' outsider status is particularly heightened when females play cricket alongside males. The number of females that play cricket in boy's or men's clubs is high because there are relatively few girl's or women's cricket clubs available. The experiences of the girls and women in these clubs were varied. Some of the women and the girls suggested that the boys were welcoming and they enjoyed the challenge of proving that they were as good as the boys. This demonstrates that responses to the females playing with men were not monolithic, they varied. The specific issues that seem to arise when girls or women play with boys or men are;

- The need to 'prove' they are as good as, but critically not better than males.
- The extent to which they can participate fully in all matches and leagues.
- Comments from males about the appropriateness of cricket for females and questions about female physicality.

The majority of the women and the girls in this study viewed the differences between men's and women's cricket as the result of biological inferiority. Males were perceived to have superior physical strength. This equated to the belief that boys bowled faster than girls and ran more quickly between the wickets. Other girls noted that boys were better than girls because they received superior coaching and facilities. Thus difference was understood to be primarily biological but on the other hand the girls recognised some social difference, thus suggesting that they partially understood that difference was not completely biological. On the other hand the women interviewees were more likely to perceive differences between the men's and the women's games as the result of fixed biological difference. One of the consequences of these beliefs is the way that women cricketers insist that women's cricket is qualitatively different from men's cricket. They consider the women's game as having unique attributes and consider it to be an alternative to the men's game. In particular the women note that women's cricket is more skilful and technical than men's cricket. They suggest that this is because men can rely on brute strength as opposed to

technique to perform. This strategy is also highlighted in the research of Mennesson and Clement (2003) who notes how female footballers argue that women's football is more tactical than the men's game, although the author notes there is little evidence that this is the case.

Amongst female cricketers there were tensions and divisions surrounding issues relating to sexuality. The U15 girls expressed strong opinions about lesbians in the game and Maddie, the captain, ensured that the girls presented a heterosexual image. The girls equated a particular image with homosexuality i.e. 'Walking like a man' or 'having short hair'. Homosexuals were considered to be 'other' to the heterosexual image of the girls on the county team. The girls did discuss the issue of sexuality more openly than the adult women. In particular, the adult women mentioned sexuality by using words such as 'stigma', 'not feminine' and 'stereotypes' to allude to the issue of sexuality. By alluding to the issue, but not openly discussing it, the women were reinforcing the power imbalances between homosexuals and heterosexuals.

The theory of established and outsider relations is useful for the analysis of women's cricket as it highlights women's outsider position within the cricket figuration. The theory helps to illuminate how gender relations manifest themselves within the cricket figuration. These power relations reinforce to the girls and the women that they are 'outsiders'. The females in this study found it difficult to identify themselves as cricketers. As cricket is predominantly a male sport, for a female to consider themselves as a cricketer, they have to reject the image of cricket as being a sport for males. Yet this rejection is difficult when people continuously make comments about female involvement in cricket as being unusual. This can be seen as a form of blame gossip, whereby women are encouraged to accept their outsider status (based on their biological deficiencies as women) and therefore accept they cannot be cricketers. Instead their unusual status is signalled by stating that they are female cricketers.

The extent to which the females accepted their outsider status is evident in their discussions about perceived differences between the men's and the women's game. Some of the women accept the differences from the men's game as predominantly biological differences between men and women. Physical attributes are understood by

the women to make the men's game different from the women's game. Thus the women accepted the minority of the worst and the minority of the best, a characteristic of established and outsider relations. The females in this study associated themselves with the minority of the worst i.e. as slower bowlers than all males. Concomitantly they accepted the minority of the best, i.e. all men are faster bowlers than all females.

Blame gossip was also used as a strategy by females in relation to power relations and sexuality. There were divisions amongst females in relation to sexuality. The girls viewed sexuality as a visible characteristic and particularly distanced themselves from this image. The older women used euphemisms to discuss sexuality and talked around the issue. Some women tended to 'blame' lesbians who play cricket for the poor public image of the game. Some of the comments made by heterosexual women about lesbians playing cricket suggested that the females in the study more readily associated with the established than with other members of the outsider group. This is another characteristic of established and outsider relations (Van Stolk and Wouters, 1987). Women cricketers turn more towards the established identity and not towards developing a cohesive outsider group. An example of this is the fragmentation of women with regard to sexuality. The move from the WCA, to the ECB, discussed in the following chapter, is a further example of associating with the established. This may indicate that no significant emancipation process for female cricketers is taking place. On the other hand the fact that female cricketers are now part of the male cricketing establishment this could foster what Mennell (1992:138) suggests are, 'the conditions for the more realistic mutual perceptions and the more likely high degree of mutual identification'. If this is the case, this would demonstrate that the balances of power between males and female cricketers are equalising.

The strength of the theory of established and outsider relations is in its ability to link issues of identity to issues of power and interdependency. Van Stolk and Wouters's (1987) utilise the theory of established and outsider relations to analyse the power imbalances between males and females and those between homosexuals and heterosexuals. In their paper, discussed in detail in Chapter One and Five, it offers an interesting contribution to the figurational sociology and power relations. Van Stolk and Wouters (1987), however, do not consider how, for instance a man may be able to

identify with the minority of the best for being male, but if he is homosexual this impacts upon his identity and power relations. Thus, identity can run along many axes. Gender and sexuality are likely to just be two of these. In this chapter I have looked at the ways that divisions between outsiders, related to issues of sexuality, impact upon the identity and cohesiveness of female cricketers. This is perhaps distinctly different from viewing homosexuals and women as two distinct, different groups. The power balances involved in these interdependencies are evidently more complex and as part of this chapter I have analysed how power imbalances exist within outsider groups', specifically between homosexual and heterosexual women within the cricket figuration, and how this impacts on them as a outsider group. Power is also likely to exist in an imbalance within established groups as some males have more power than others. Crucially men as a whole benefit from their status of being the 'minority of the best'.

In the following chapter I begin to explore females' experiences of playing cricket at club and county level and start to make some primary discussions about the merger of the WCA and the ECB.

Chapter Six

Playing the Game The Manifestation of Power and Gender in Organisations

A cartoon shows a man behind a desk in a jungle clearing addressing a line-up of various creatures- Cat, Monkey, Elephant, Sea-Lion, Snake, Frog, Bird and a Goldfish. "To ensure a fair selection you all get the same test" he says, "you must climb that tree" (Rees, 1998:26).

In the previous chapter I explored the issue of power relations in female cricket in relation to the theory of established and outsider relations. It was clear that female cricketers are outsiders in the cricket figuration. Female cricketers are not only divided from male cricketers but are also internally divided, e.g. by sexuality. This demonstrates the way that outsider groups are fragmented as a result of their subordinate status.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, I examine how gender relations are manifested between females within cricket organisations i.e. cricket clubs, the county structure and the ECB. Secondly, the chapter explores the merger of the WCA with the ECB from the perspective of the female cricket players. Several unintended consequences that have resulted from the ECB introducing new policies for women's cricket are discussed.

Game Models: Towards a Figural Understanding of Power in Organisations

In Chapter One Elias's theory of game models was outlined and appraised. One of the strengths of the theory of game models is that it envisages organisations as networks of interdependent relationships (Elias, 1978). A number of sociological perspectives, such as Marxism or Feminisms, have been criticised for focusing on examining structures at the expense of individuals. These theories seem to imply that organisations have power. In contrast, Elias argues that organisations cannot have power because structures do not exist separately from people and power is an aspect of all relationships. Elias (1978:16) noted how, 'we habitually speak of all such structures as if they existed not only above and beyond ourselves but even above and beyond any actual people at all'. This is not the case. Organisations do not exist

without people and therefore organisations cannot have power, only people have power. For Elias power must be understood as relational, not something possessed by abstract reified structures. To talk about organisational power is fruitless. Power balances manifest themselves within organisations as a result of networks of interdependent relationships in which people are enmeshed.

Other theories, such as 'interaction theories', for example Goffman (1991), stress the importance of social interaction between individuals. The problem with interaction theories, according to van Krieken (1998:65), is that they seem to give the impression of 'something arising solely from the initiative of the two interdependent individuals'. Similarly, Dopson (2003) questions whether an adequate understanding of organisations can exist if only face to face interactions are explored. An example of the problems of interaction theories is that in organisations' gender inequalities may be structural and covert. For instance traditional views about men's and women's sports may be widely accepted and evident in organisational features of institutions. As Messner (2002:66) suggests, 'the sports gender regime is also characterised by vastly unequal distributions of power, authority, prestige and resources between men and women'. It is important to link face-to-face interdependencies to a broader network of complex social relationships.

Elias's (1978) theory of game models, as explained in Chapter One, investigates the nature of social processes, power and the role of unintended consequences. Mennell (1999) explains that unintended consequences are processes which occur as a result of actions that have not necessarily been planned or intended by anyone. Unintended consequences emerge because people are not always aware of the figurations of which they are a part. Elias uses the theory of game models to demonstrate the nature of people's interdependence using the analogy of a game. Within this he emphasises his view that power is a structural characteristic of all relationships.

Dopson (2003) utilises the theory of game models to help understand the complex relationships within the National Health Service (NHS). Dopson (2003:37) explains that the reason she used game models was because they:

are useful precisely because they demonstrate that the outcomes of the complex interweaving of actions of different players may include outcomes which no single player or group of players intended (Dopson, 2003:37).

Dopson (2003) also used the theory of game models in a practical setting to help individuals within groups to acknowledge that they are part of a network of social relationships that affect medical practice. This is particularly useful when numerous medical practitioners are involved in the treatment of one patient.

The cricket figuration exhibits similar characteristics to Dopson's 'NHS' figuration because within the cricket figuration there is a complex structure of interdependent relationships. The ECB has 12 board members, none of whom are women. The board members report to the chief executive, also male. From this there are a number of groups involved in the development and running of the game from grass roots up to the international level (ECB, 2006). In the women's game there are an executive director, four women's regional cricket managers, as well as those working within individual counties responsible for the women's game. In addition there are parents and coaches who run various county junior or club teams. Only the clubs that play in the premier league receive funding from the ECB. The premier league is divided into south and north. Therefore the matches can be anywhere up to 100 miles from their club. Below the premier league there are similarly geographically located division one and two leagues.

With numerous changes to the game, e.g. the merger of the WCA to ECB and the introduction of various policies, the game models approach offers the potential to understand the complex outcomes that are the result of actions that may not have been intended. It is likely that these groups and individuals are unaware of the networks of interdependent relationships in which they are involved. Indeed Elias stresses, 'people's knowledge of the figurations in which they are caught up is virtually always imperfect, incomplete and inaccurate' (1992:258). The cricket figuration is complex and involves numerous interdependent relations. The game model approach will be utilised as a way of understanding these complex figurations.

Playing for the Club: Female Club Cricket

The following section is based on interviews with adult female cricketers about their experiences of playing club cricket. The women had all been involved in playing for one of four clubs in county A. A brief description of the four clubs is detailed below.

Club A had the longest history of providing women's cricket in the county and were in the premier league. The club had moved on several occasions and now had their own pitch, a practice ground and changing facilities. These grounds were particularly dilapidated and interviewees commented that poor facilities meant they still had to hire other grounds to play matches. Some considered it a dangerous ground because of the poor facilities and unstable wicket. The club had around 20 players.

Club B was a relatively small club and played mainly indoor tournaments. The club was based near Club A but attracted mainly younger players. Indeed until 2004 it had been solely a junior club. Club B had about 20 players but out of these only 4 or 5 were over 16. This club did not play in the women's cricket league structure, yet they had been successful in junior indoor competitions.

Club C had grounds as part of a work's team. Officially team members were supposed to be working for a particular company, but few of them did so. Moreover it was impossible to establish a junior section because of these restrictions. Using these work facilities meant that the women had access to a range of facilities, a bar, changing rooms and a good quality cricket pitch. The club involved about 35 women, but there was only a hardcore of 15/16 women who trained and played regularly. The club played in division one.

Club D was a well established club within women's cricket. Historically the club mainly had players who were of an elite standard, yet, when I made contact, the club were playing in the second division. The club had in the past been based at a variety of grounds in the surrounding area, often moving because of money shortages. Five years prior to my interviewing members, they had merged with a successful men's

club. Many members suggested this had been necessary because the club was in financial decline. They also suggested that at the time they had felt the merger would offer more opportunities and greater financial stability. In reality, the club trained away from the men's club and rarely interacted with them. Despite using the men's club's name and wearing club colours, interaction between the men's and women's club was minimal. The club have between 7-20 players but interviewees mentioned that only 7-12 players normally turned up for training. On the nights I was at training I only saw between 5- 10 people. I was told that the club had a few junior players, although I never saw any at training.

Despite the women's experiences of playing in four different clubs, generic problems were identified across clubs A, C and D. The main issues that arose as problematic for the women were poor facilities, poor coaching and concerns about the long term stability of the club.

The lack of facilities was described by the majority of interviewees as problematic. In particular at Club D, despite their merger with the men's club, Neve and Jane explain;

They said we would get matches on the green, coaching and all that. We have only had one match on the green (Jane, Club D).

I played for Club A for a bit, county got me into that. When I played for club A I played this club a few times and I wanted to move clubs so I moved here. It's quite a long way for me, but there are no clubs local to me. The facilities were better at Club A, but they weren't great. I mean they are never good in women's cricket. I mean the pitch is better and we had a clubhouse. The green here - we only get to play on it a couple of times a season otherwise we play at another pitch which is awful (Neve, Club D).

As the team could not use the club pitch for training they had to hire out a local school net in the evening. This meant that despite the club formally being a part of the men's club they did not have access to the same facilities as the men or junior boys. This not only restricted the women's development in relation to playing ability but it further

meant that they did not fully integrate into the club as they had no reason to use the club house facilities or be seen in the club.

The exclusion of the females was reinforced by not allowing them full access to club facilities. This demonstrates that women lacked power within the club, but they were also resigned to their position. They were not fully aware of their 'rights' within the club to challenge their position. This seemed to be related to the insecurity about their position in the club. Since they cannot afford to set up on their own, the women felt resigned to their position. The women also felt uncomfortable complaining, because on previous occasions their complaints had fallen on 'deaf ears', and because they feared that the merger would fold and the club would not be able to continue.

In contrast to Club D, Club A had their own cricket pitch. Although they had moved around, the club had purchased an old training ground with a small, albeit decrepit, pavilion. Regardless of owning these facilities, the team (who played in the premier league) could not use the pitch for matches. Stipulations about the quality of pitches meant that they had to hire out a better quality pitch for league matches. Emma and Catronia discuss the implications of this:

We have bad facilities, a ground that is substandard, an appalling pitch that is badly looked after, some shocking outdoor nets. It's really poor (Emma, Club A).

The 1st XI play on other grounds. Our ground isn't up to scratch for premier league matches, the boundary is too short and its not well maintained so they have to scrounge pitches or pay money for pitches elsewhere (Catronia, Club A).

The players at Club C were in a slightly different position in that they were able to use the facilities through a work's club. This meant they had access to a pitch, a bar and excellent changing facilities. Annabel notes that the;

club facilities are good, they have a changing room for us and the visitors, showers, clubhouse, a bar where you can sit and watch TV and a pavilion (Annabel, Club C).

Club C are affiliated to a work's club but none of the players actually worked for the employer. The fact that none players worked for the company meant the club was in an unstable situation. Mary explains that, 'this started as a () club, if they found out they would be likely to kick us out, we are not working for that service' (Mary, Club C).

Facilities at Club B seemed to be better than at the other clubs. This club, as mentioned, was predominantly a junior club that played indoor cricket tournaments but was trying to expand to provide adult cricket. Rachel, an adult beginner, had joined the club because it was the nearest to where she lived. She explains that the facilities at the club consist of;

a couple of nets and pitches and an astro turf. It's a good size pitch and a proper wicket. Indoors we have nets and stuff and they have bats and pads. I don't pay for anything, it would be expensive if I had to pay for those things.

Fiona was also involved in this club and mentioned that the facilities were good. In general the facilities that the women used were of a mixed standard and were not entirely satisfactory. Moreover, poor facilities are not a good advert for potential new players.

A similar issue that the women faced in all clubs was the difficulty of accessing quality coaches. Club A, C and D did not have a permanent coach. The most cited reason for not having a coach was the cost and a lack of willing coaches.

As part of the Club D's merger with the men's club, it was agreed that a male overseas player would coach the women. Juliet notes that this agreement has not been fulfilled;

We were told we would get a coach, but I have never seen one (Jane, Club D)

We don't have a regular coach, we sometimes hire one but that can be expensive (Juliet, Club D).

Juliet, secretary at Club D, said that she no longer complained about the lack of a coach because she felt as though no one listened to what she had to say. Juliet appeared to recognise the relative powerlessness of the women at the club and therefore was reluctant to raise issues about the women's side more forcefully. Despite their attendance at club meetings the women felt that they were unable to comment about their own position. Overall there was a lack of integration between the men and women's clubs. The only links that the women who played for Club D had with the rest of the club is that they wore club colours and changed their club name. Other than this the merger was really 'an add on' for the men's club. The position of the women of the club can be understood as a reflection of the relative power balances between the two groups who entered into the arrangement. The men were the 'established' group and the lack of integration between the two meant that women were the outsiders. As the men had been involved with the club over a long period of time it seems that they had relatively more power than the females to control the way the club developed, was managed and was organised, perhaps considering their own needs first.

The lack of a coach was identified by players as in stunting the development of the women's game. Eleanor plays in club D. She noted that the only coaching provided to Club D was through other more experienced players coaching less experienced players;

They are good at giving the basics, but they are not able to push you. It really shows in matches, there is potential to be a really good team.

Lack of coaching prevents full development of the individuals and the teams' potential. It was not just an issue at Club D, but those in Club A and C also mentioned it;

We don't have a coach, we have a female overseas player who also coaches (Emma, Club A).

Other research on coaching in girls and women's sport, such as that by Messner (2002) and Lyle (2002), has highlighted how the quality and quantity of coaching for girls and women is of a lesser standard than coaching in men's and boy's sport. According to Messner (2002) men's sport is able to access better funding and is therefore more likely to have paid, qualified coaches. One of the consequences of this is that professionalism is seen in men's sport whereas women appear less professional and less organised than men. In this context women are unlikely to develop their full sporting potential. Hargreaves (2000), in support of Messner (2002), indicates that there is a lack of coaches actually willing to coach females. The scarcity of coaches makes achieving a certain standard of playing imperative. Neve, a former county player recalls her experience of coaching in the club;

I didn't make it, I just didn't get the coaching and I don't get any coaching now, so I don't improve apart from what I can do myself, that annoys me (Club D).

After she had not made the England squad her access to quality coaching was limited. A lack of coaching, it would appear, limits the extent to which the women's game can develop. The role of the coach is vital to athletes of all levels. Coaches offer support in developing techniques but also help with maintaining athletes' motivation (Fasting and Pfister, 2000). Finding coaches for female teams, as illustrated above, can be problematic. Lyle (2000) notes that the under representation of females in the coaching profession fuels this problem and can be seen as part of the larger gendered sports figuration in which men's participation in sport is better supported than female's participation.

Even when women do have coaches this can cause problems as the players at club D noted. Fiona, who had played at an Australian club before moving to England, discusses other difficulties associated with female teams and male coaches. Fiona recalls the experience of hiring a male coach for the team;

We found it difficult to get a coach, usually they are men, it's difficult to find a female coach, and with male coaches we had had a problem with attitudes.

We had coaches who try and crack on to the players and we have had to get rid of them. Then we have had some that came and bowled so fast it was dangerous for the smaller ones.

The problem illustrated by Fiona demonstrates the potential for abuse in the context of coaching (Brackenridge, 2001). In Brackenridge's research on abusive behaviour within the context of sports coaching she suggests that abuse needs to be understood as existing on a continuum that varies from inappropriate comments to sexual abuse. An example from this research of bullying is the example of male coaches bowling too fast to young girls. This abuse of power demonstrates how power balances are tilted largely in favour of the abuser over the athlete. This incident highlights some of the added issues that females face when trying to recruit coaches as well as those faced when coaches are recruited.

The third issue raised by the interviewees about their club experience was related to the longevity and stability of the clubs. Concern was expressed by young players about the fact that the majority of the players at some clubs were older women. Interviewees at Club A and D mentioned the lack of younger players as problematic for the long term prospects of the clubs;

At club D there is no emphasis on fitness, you turn up and play cricket once a week. You see people of different ages and abilities. That is the big difference, the people are older and I don't know how welcoming they are to new people. I think they are because they have to, but the people are different (Eleanor, Club D).

We just aren't able to attract the younger players (Juliet, Club D)

We have these older players that really shouldn't be playing (Emma, Club A).

A couple of issues arise from these comments made by younger members of the clubs.¹⁷ These players were concerned that the clubs did not attract younger players because the overall identity of the club appeared to be for older women. In a small club these older women, many of whom have been involved for many years, yielded

¹⁷ These three players were aged between 17-25

more power than younger members. The clubs were under threat because the older women had not considered or adapted to the 'moves' or needs of the younger players. This created tension within the club between the older and younger players.

These findings further illustrate how female cricketers are a fragmented group. The clubs did not have a place to go to lobby or complain about the facilities, nor did they see opportunities for better facilities. Even in Club D who had merged with a men's team in the hope that this would result in better facilities found that this was not the case. This demonstrates the women's position as the weaker players within the cricket figuration. The male members within clubs are able to control the majority of the development of their clubs as they dominate access to money, facilities and structures. This is especially the case for those women playing at Club D who feel that they have no avenue to complain about their position since they do not feel valued within the club structure. Interestingly, they blame themselves for this;

We don't bring any money in over the bar so they think we are a bit of a pain
(Katie, Club D).

In reality however, this is a vicious circle and the women were not aware of the structural trap they were in. As the women's team do not use the main pitch there is no opportunity for them to use the pavilion or bar facilities. Their lack of physical presence perpetuates their outsider status and they have begun to operate by themselves separate from the main club. This is no more beneficial for them than before they merged with the club. As Juliet sums up;

Personally I wouldn't encourage a club to amalgamate its easier to be independent, you can make your own decisions if you have your own facilities, the other clubs have their own pitches.' There are pro and cons to everything, the worse thing is the lack of independence; you are guided by what they tell you to do, e.g. they run a very good Saturday side so we can never use either home ground on a Saturday so that means if you want a sat game you have to hire somewhere. We have given up playing Saturday cricket, so we have missed out there, we have to play Sundays, there are

people who don't want to play Sunday, but getting Saturday pitches is extremely difficult.' (Juliet).

The other two clubs, despite the length of their existence, appear to struggle for coaches and facilities. The lack of resources makes the recruitment of new players difficult. Without new players women's teams remain relatively weak and this restricts their access to improved resources. Consequently they exist on the fringes of men's cricket. This is a problem related to tradition and to recognition. Their position in relation to game models is that of the weaker player. Whilst the male clubs are in a position where they have to recognise women's cricket, they remain the stronger players and they are able to develop the club to suit their needs. The women are in a difficult position unable to challenge the power of the stronger player because as a group they are fragmented and are not a powerful cohesive group. To summarise this section the context in which women play cricket varies but within each context women are restricted by various interdependencies with others. For examples in Club D formal integration has not benefited the women as there still exists high degrees of informal separation.

The Provision of Female County Cricket

The women's and girls' county game was administered by the same organisation as boys' and men's cricket. This meant that a number of interdependent relationships between male and female cricketers existed. The following section is an exploration of the girls' experiences of county cricket. In particular the focus is on the ad hoc way that girls get selected for county cricket and then examining the issue of coaching at county girls level.

The U15 county girls were introduced to county cricket in a haphazard, unstructured way. An example of this is Maddie who, after playing a couple of matches of school cricket, was sent a letter asking for her to play U11 county cricket. The other girls expressed similar experiences where they had received letters asking them to play. None of the girls had had county trials for their position. This relative lack of competition for places means that recruitment to county teams can be relatively ad hoc. The girls explained;

I first started playing when I was 9, then played U11, U13, U15 (Harriet)

I played a cricket tournament, someone from county A was there and sorted it out so I started training with the county (Helen).

I joined one of the boy's coaching courses and a guy asked if I played for county A girls. When I said no he said "you ought to", he called up- I went to nets and started playing (Sally).

It wasn't competitive to get in the team, they needed more girls so they could look at how they were bowling and batting, but instead they just picked them quickly. There were only five good players (Phoebe).

The lack of formal structure and system for identifying talent was a problem for the quality of cricket in the county. When I spoke to the junior organiser, who was paid for her position in county A, she noted that this haphazard way of finding juniors was being replaced by a variety of strategies including trials. She noted that:

This year we have a new scheme for our school coaches that they have a talent ID form. In the past it's just been, "Oooh I have heard there is a good girl over there". Now there is a talent ID form which they send to us and then we contact them and invite them for assessment. Then we also have inter school competitions. In the clubs we might get a phone call from one of the coaches saying we have this girl who has turned out to be good (Louise).

This new system has been put in place to try to assess the girls before they start playing at county standard. This process seeks to improve the quality of the team but is also an attempt by the county and the ECB to bring the structure of girls' cricket in line with boys' cricket.

From the girls' experiences of playing in the county they noted that coaching of the team was problematic. One of the reasons for this was that, during winter, coaching was held every other week;

We have net sessions every other week and for some people it is an hour and half drive away for a one hour net. It's hard because some of the team aren't there, you can't improve as a team (Natalie).

We have winter nets and then nothing, none of the winter nets are near me (Jodie).

I don't think that as a team we get enough training. We have nets over the winter but only 4 or 5 people turn up over the winter. In the summer we only meet for games (Sophie).

Another issue that arose from was the fact that the coach could be amateurish and partisan. During the summer season a player's father, Michael coached the team in a voluntary capacity. According to some of the girls, this led to favouritism in the team;

People have parents who are coaches. I know people who have dropped out because of argument and parental conflict (Jodie).

All people want is for their daughter to do well (Sally).

Coaching is focused on certain people and not on others (Sophie).

These concerns over inequality led to tensions and a lack of cohesion and team identity. This is particularly evident in Chapter Seven.

In addition to Michael, Kerry was paid by County A to be the official coach of the team, yet because she herself played county cricket she did not attend many matches. Kerry was asked to coach the girls during the cricket residential and travelled and stayed with the girls. Although Kerry was the official coach, her lack of attendance at matches meant she had a difficult relationship with the girls and had not developed a strong rapport with the girls. Her behaviour during the tournament illustrates some of the problems between her and the girls;

Kerry doesn't mix or talk to the parents or to Harriet's dad who normally coaches the team. She doesn't choose to sit with the parents or the girls. Her body language appears uninterested in the girls and their parents. During the girls' first match she sits away from everyone else and falls asleep when they are playing. Some of the girls try to go and sit with her but she seems uninterested. Although the girls like her because she is young and female they become annoyed by her lack of interest. Later on Maddie, the captain

expresses her disappointment in Kerry as she was expecting some feedback and advice by having her around. This didn't materialise and the girls begin to show a lack of respect for her (Fieldnotes).

It became apparent that the girls were looking for a female role model and before the tournament Maddie had excitedly told me that Kerry was coming with them. She had also told me that she thought Kerry was an excellent player. Although Maddie did not know other county players or much about the women's game she saw Kerry as someone to look up to. Most of the girls' day to day experiences of cricket involved males; cricket on TV and male umpires. In addition to this, the majority of coaching the girls receive is from male coaches. Thus Kerry was the only female cricketing role model to which they had access. Yet as the tournament went on, Kerry often left the girls alone and the girls became increasingly ambivalent towards her. One incident in particular demonstrates the tension between her and the girls.

It was day 3 of the tournament and about 2 in the afternoon. This was the 2nd day of continuous rain. The girls were fed up and sitting around their dorms, some were sleeping. It was announced by the organisers that there would be an indoor tournament of 6-aside at 4pm. Kerry called the girls together to ask who wanted to play. Sophie really wanted to and Jodie and Megan also said that they would. The other girls were ambivalent, they did not want to play, some were sleeping after staying up the night before chatting. They decided they didn't want to play. Kerry tried to pull rank, she lost her temper at their lack of enthusiasm and said that they had to play; she banged on the doors of the girls who were sleeping and demanded they got up and went to the sports centre. Nicki, Maddie and Natalie were particularly angry about this and slammed the door, Kerry also walked out slamming the door (Fieldnotes).

This incident seemed to weaken what were already tense team relations as well as relations between Kerry and the girls. In Chapter Seven these relations are explored in greater depth. This behaviour suggests we should be wary by feminist claims that female sports should employ more female coaches (Birrell & Ritcher, 1994). Though such role models might be welcomed, simply replacing male coaches with females will not automatically provide a transformative experience for girls. As Colwell

(1999) suggests men and women are not homogeneous groups, not all male coaches perpetrate so called 'male values'. Furthermore, it is possible that some females may perpetrate male values.

The girls' experiences of entering county cricket were ad hoc. In addition to this when the girls' play cricket in this context their access to quality coaching is sporadic. The tensions between the girls and their official team coach meant that their ability to develop cohesively as a team was affected.

The Day to Day Running of County Cricket

The following section explores the role of the U15 girls' parents in organising the game. The parents, as mentioned in Chapter Four, organised fixtures, made teas, coached the girls, recorded the scores and took the girls to matches and training. Louise, a county cricket employee noted how, 'the day to day running of the team's transport, doing teas, everything is down to the parent'. As soon as their daughters started playing cricket the involvement and the interest of parents was fostered by the county. Louise explains the process;

We run a meeting with parents of the U11's and we say, this is what we need and that we will pay for coaching and umpiring courses. When the U11's start we have an assessment day and at the same time we invite parents so we can assess them. Then we invite them to another meeting where we say this year we need a manager. What happens is, normally the most talented girls' parents will say they will do it, then they normally move up and manage whatever team their daughter is in (Louise).

Parental involvement in sport is of course not unique to cricket. Research by Thompson (1999) highlights the role of parents in running junior tennis in Australia. She notes without this voluntary input the structure of junior tennis would not survive. Despite the fact that parents' voluntarily run junior tennis, Thompson (1999) argues that the parents are treated with ambivalence by those in the tennis structure. In particular she notes that parents are expected to help out, but any parents who become 'too' involved, or ask questions about the structure of the game are criticised by

organisers for interfering. A similar situation is evident in the county A girls' cricket structure. Louise alludes to the fact that the parents of the girls are assessed. Parents who are believed to be too fussy or might interfere and ask too many questions are not popular with organisers.

During my ethnography, Maddie's mother told me that the year before a girl who played for the county had a 'pushy father' who got 'too involved' in the team. This father wrote a letter of complaint to the county board about the ad hoc nature of the girls' county game and complained about issues such as coaching and the fact that girls were not included in the new development academy. It was perceived by others that he was 'too' critical of the way the county ran the girls' game. His daughter is no longer playing county cricket. Parents appear to be socialised into the role of helpers and organisers but are encouraged not to ask too many questions, or be critical of those working within junior sport. In other words parents are expected to know their place. Thompson (1999:66) expounds, 'parents can therefore be at best ignored as inconsequential to the institution or at worst be considered destructive as to necessitate control or exclusion'.

In addition to parental support and help in County A only Louise was employed to run the county girls and women's team. Yet this role was only considered part of her job. She explains that her job is a;

development officer, part of that role involves women and girls' cricket, in the summer I would say I spend a day a week on women and girls' cricket (Louise).

The fact that Louise is only given a day to organise the whole of the county girls' and women's structure demonstrates women's weaker position in the cricket figuration. The rest of Louise's time was spent organising boys' cricket. It also illustrates how little time is allocated to the development of the game. The lack of interest in women's cricket is magnified in the following example. When I asked about the county cricket development plan I was informed that girls and women were included in the plan. Louise notes, "it's not specific to girls' cricket, it focuses on schools and club cricket, there is something in there about girls' cricket'. This attitude suggests

that cricket for females exists on the margins of the development of cricket in county A. By only having a few people organising or representing the women and girls' game its position is that of a weaker player against the stronger well established male game.

Parents' involvement in the county was essential to the continuation of girls' cricket. Without their support and them voluntarily giving up time to run the game it was difficult to envisage how the girls' game would have continued. This demonstrates the instability of the girls' county game that relies on voluntary involvement.

Moving up Through the County: Issues of Transition

Since most of the girls began playing cricket for the U11 team they had progressed through to U13, U15. The following section discusses how girls progress through the system and the problems of moving on after the U15 team. Secondly, the adult interviewees' views on county girls cricket and the link between county and club are explored.

The reason that progression had occurred relatively easily for the girls up to the point of U15 was that there was little competition for places on the team. At the time I interviewed the girls most of them were approaching their last season of playing at U15. One of their concerns was that they were unsure about where they would be able to continue playing cricket. Unlike the majority of counties, county A did not have an U17 team. This meant that a lot of girls were forced to assess their continued involvement in cricket. Maddie notes, 'if there is no U17 team I know for a fact I won't join a women's club – so I will stop playing'. The lack of provision after this age is problematic for the girls' game. This links in with the fact that clubs are not providing facilities for young girls as the girls are only playing at county level and are not generally affiliated to a club. Although the county were trying to address the situation at U17 by creating a county development squad this apparently had not been successful. Sally who had been asked to get involved stated;

There is no U17 next year so there is a development squad. It consists of a mix of different age groups and they can't get a team out. I keep getting a letter

saying, “please join us, we have had to cancel six matches because we haven’t got enough players and the one match we played, we lost”. So I read it and think, wow that sounds fantastic (sarcastic) (Sally).

Jodie and Rachael also argue that this is a problem as they both mentioned that they do not think they will continue to play cricket because there is no U17 team. This is problematic because not only does cricket fail to attract large numbers of female players but a high proportion of these then drop out of the game at a relatively young age.

One of the reasons, as noted in the previous section, that coaching arose as a concern amongst the girls seems to be related to the fact that few of them play club cricket. The disjointed relationship between the clubs and the county meant that the girls did not join clubs. This meant they only played at county level. This involved one match a week and no summer coaching. Perhaps better communication between the county and clubs would make a link between the two sites. At the time they were interviewed the girls were not interested in playing club cricket. Maddie gives an example of why she does not want to play at this level. She declares;

I really don’t want to, the main reason I play is because my friends play cricket and we want to do well together and have a team spirit, I don’t want to play with others.

The girls did not see the clubs as representing the sort of identity that they wanted to adopt. They considered the clubs to be for older women and therefore not relevant to them. Some of the girls were not aware of the possible relationship between them and those playing at the clubs and those who were did not consider playing in a women’s club as attractive to them.

The adult women interviewed expressed concern about the current structure and the perceived poor communication involved in juniors moving to adult cricket. Through their involvement in the system they expressed the following anxieties;

The problem is you have junior county cricket players who don't play for a club, which is wrong. The standard at club is different from at county. Juniors are lulled into a false sense of security, and junior cricket isn't that good (Helen).

All the kids are playing and they get to play in so many county competitions by the age of ten they think they are fantastic because they play for the county. Then they get to adults and they are up against a lot of people and aren't in the county team so people leave. They think if I can't play county I am not going to play (Mary).

This lack of communication between the junior county, adult county organisers and the clubs was problematic. As Elias (1978) notes in his game models theory, in games where there is a strong player against weaker players, the weaker players rarely communicate with each other, thus diminishing their power chances. Similarly if there are factions and tensions amongst the weaker players this further reduces the weaker players' power chances (Mennell, 1974). Thus, by not being able to develop a clear strategy or line of communication between groups, cricket for women is fragmented and therefore the extent to which those involved can challenge their current subordinate position is limited.

The Role of the ECB

As mentioned in Chapter Two the WCA and the ECB merged in 1998. This was due to financial pressures and changes in accessing lottery funds that required organisations to provide equal opportunities for males and females. The next section explores the complex figuration of the merging of two interdependent groups. Specifically the focus is on the problems of the two groups merging and the unintended consequences of the merger for the women's game.

Catronia, one of the adult interviewees, was the chairperson of the WCA at the time that the discussions about the merger with the ECB began. Initially Catronia was not happy about the proposition of a merger with the ECB. She recalls how;

We dragged our heels rather because I didn't like the idea of it quite frankly. Then I stood down and someone else took over. She was a sports admin person and she saw it through. It was essentially government pressure. We wouldn't have got any grants if we hadn't have joined and then the men's grants would have been affected. In some counties it's been a token gesture. Others have not been lucky and it hasn't been good across the board and grants and aid from the ECB haven't been monitored properly. I have heard that some counties have had money for girls and it has never filtered through, they had no audit trail, they are a shower in that respect (Catronia).

The fact that there was concern over men's grants being affected demonstrates that the merger was not done solely for the benefit of the women's game. Catronia also expressed concern that the money given to girls' and womens' cricket was not properly monitored and in fact was not filtered to the development of the women's game. Rees (1998) suggests that it is not uncommon for equality policies to go unmonitored in organisations. The merger in Club D is an example of this. Although the club uses the ladies section to be able to apply for funding the women's team is not provided for by the club. Without an audit trail to check how the funding is really being used the policy is not effective because the money is not always used for the purpose it was intended.

Mary, another interviewee who had been part of a working party involved in the merger, also resigned. She notes that the whole process was a 'waste of space'. This situation can be understood as two groups coming together who want to defend their position. As the men had relative power in the ECB they were financially independent. Women cricketers had relatively less power to ensure their interests were met. Those working within the ECB were, however, forced to recognise women's cricket and those working within it. Nevertheless the men's relative power enabled them to ensure that subsequent arrangements were drawn up to represent their interests.

One of the official reasons given by the ECB for the merger was that it would help female cricketers to access better funding for the game and therefore aid development. Whilst the majority of the adult women interviewed noted how the England women's

team¹⁸ had benefited from the merger, they were concerned that at grass roots level nothing had materialised;

The ECB promised a lot when they wanted the merger. It really hasn't materialised. The ECB are really only interested in the top premier clubs, the grass roots are left to get on with it, that's why we formed our own league (Jane).

Since women's cricket has been taken into the ECB I think they have forgotten the grassroots level. Nothing wrong with the national side, brilliant, we want them to do well, but not at the expense of grassroots. We need decent coaching at this level (Katie).

The perceived lack of funding was problematic. One issue that arose as a result of the merger was the decision by the ECB not to fund clubs outside of the premier league. The clubs outside this league formed a breakaway league. This meant that the women involved at club level were increasingly having to take on more voluntary positions as they were running leagues and organising fixtures. This is simply a return to how cricket for females was organised before the ECB got involved. The reason the ECB decided not to fund clubs outside of the premier league is, according to Louise because,

the ECB don't fund the men's clubs so why should they fund the women's?
The ECB only fund the men's premier league so that's all they should fund in the women's.

Whilst this appears on the surface to be an equitable argument, in reality the structural differences between the men and the women's game make direct comparisons such as these misleading. This decision also ignores the fact that the men's game is more established than the women's game. Male clubs have more members and therefore generate more revenue from membership, coaching courses, colts and bar takings. This gives them greater financial stability than the woman's clubs. Thirdly the women's club had to travel a great deal further for matches than men's teams. The

¹⁸ the evidence they gave for this was the fact that the women's team was now sponsored by Vodafone and some players were able through lottery funding to be semi-professional.

decision to make funding to the men's and the women's clubs the same appears misinformed. The decision ignores the fact that it is likely that women's clubs need greater support.

Mary and Susie explain that the differences between the development of the men's and women's cricket appears to be overlooked by the ECB;

They don't ask for our opinions when they make changes. They bring in promotion and relegation play offs whereby the bottom division premier club and top division one team play off. So you might win all your games in the first division and the other team might lose all their matches in premier league but it comes down to one play off match (Susie).

The ECB are continually trying to mess up women's cricket. I mean we have a good system and they try to mess it up. The male admin of the ECB ... They impose a male structure on the women's game...the mandate is to treat men and women the same, but it just doesn't work. There are X number of men and a tiny proportion of women, the men have a professional international game, we don't, they are ruining the recreational game and they haven't done anything to help us (Mary).

A consequence of imposing the same structure on women's cricket that works in men's cricket results in several unintended consequences for the women's game. An example of such a policy is the decision by the ECB to only allow one overseas player, the same as in the men's game, in the women's premier league clubs. Catronia discusses how, in her opinion, this decision has affected the women's game;

They try to make us do everything men's cricket does. Rules and regulations at county level, they have stupid rules about overseas players, it isn't like the men's game where they come here to make money or earn a living, so there have been big arguments. We have tried to say this isn't relevant for the women's game, also there isn't any money (Catronia).

This impacted on the women's game because prior to this new rule overseas players came from Australia and New Zealand to play summer cricket in the UK. In return

UK players went to New Zealand and Australia in the winter to play in their leagues. The players who came to England often worked with the clubs as their coach for the season. The new rule has impacted negatively on the system. Migrant players were forced to play in divisions one and two where the standard of play was not high enough to keep them interested. The same problem was occurring at county level where the county were only allowed one overseas player. As Catronia, notes the women were not coming to the UK for payment. Instead they were coming to develop their cricket and for coaching experience. An unintended consequence was that this contributed to the development of the English game. In this situation the structure of the women's game cannot be compared to the men's where they pay overseas players to join their clubs and there are concerns that domestic male talent is restricted.

Another policy that impacted on the women's game was a change in the junior girls system where the number of county girls' teams were changed. Prior to this change there were the same number of girls county teams as boy's county teams. However, girls played at U13, U15, U19 and U21. The new system changed to the same as boys' and the girls' now play in U11, U13, U15 and U17. The previous system whereby there were the same number of teams but over a long age period, suited the game as it allowed females to stay in the junior system longer. This meant that they made the transition to senior cricket later. The new system had impacted on county A as they were having problems finding enough players to play at the younger and older age groups. One consequence of this was that they had to drop the U17 county girls' team.

Catronia comments on the fact that many are dissatisfied with the role the ECB have in developing women's cricket. She recalls that one of the benefits of being an independent organisation was that the WCA had autonomy. She notes;

Being autonomous was good. Alright we didn't have any money, but if we saw things go wrong we could correct them...losing our autonomy was a big thing and trying to get the men to understand that women's cricket is slightly different, it's difficult, like I said I stood down over it.

She further notes that, under the auspices of the WCA they had;

Managed to organise a successful World Cup. We had volunteers and we organised our own World Cup in 1993.

There have been a similar dilemmas for other sporting organisations such as the AEWHA and the Women's Rugby Football Association (Houlihan and White, 2002). Losing autonomy is a key issue. Previously the WCA lacked money, yet they were able to exercise greater control over the development of women's cricket. However, since the merger they remain locked in a larger number of interdependent relationships and are the weaker players in this figuration. Since the merger, there does not appear to have been any attempt to consciously develop and consider the needs of the women's game. As Rees (1998:37) discusses, it is important that the people working within organisations consider the 'culture and structure of organisations which give rise to the inequalities in the first place'. Further, the attempts at equity within cricket had not been properly monitored.

Whilst there is no evidence of a purposeful attempt, by one person or group, to disadvantage the women's game, by not considering the different positions or the different culture and histories of the game, the policies and processes implemented in the women's game by the ECB were negatively impacting on the women's game.

One of the key issues arising from the county and the club structure is that gender relations are still unequal and women are generally the weaker players in the cricket figuration. This is compounded by their fragmentation as a group.

At club level the women play in various contexts. Nevertheless, clubs generally lack facilities, coaches and the ability to attract new or junior players. The merger between Club D and the men's club demonstrates, on one level, that the men have become more aware of their female cricketing counterparts. On the other hand, the strategy of preventing them from using the main pitch and not offering coaching support means that the club is effectively segregated and the women exist separately, on the fringes of the men's club. Their lack of integration demonstrates that, despite having an interdependent relationship with the men's club, their dependence on the men was far greater than the men's dependence on them. The women should have had relative

power because the club used the fact that they had a women's team to access funding grants. However, the inability to effectively monitor these policies enables clubs to pay mere lip service to gender equity issues. The women did not feel in a position to be able to question the men's lack of commitment or the fact that their initial agreement had not been honoured. Their position, however unsatisfactory in the club, was perceived to be better than formal separation. As most of those on the club committee were male it was predominantly males who had access to the resources and who determined the day to day running and the development of the club.

The other clubs in this thesis had not merged with men's club and existed independently. This was also a problematic situation. Players at these clubs did not see their interdependency with men's cricket as they were not directly involved with them. All the clubs struggled to attract juniors or new players and thus their position was fragmented and fragile.

County cricket provision was run officially, by Louise who was given a day to organise women's and girls' cricket. This meant that the women's game occupies a marginal space in the organisation of cricket. The county junior teams were reliant on parents to volunteer, organise and manage the game. Without this input the teams would not have been able to survive. This further contributed to the instability of the girls' and the women's game.

Since the merger between the WCA and the ECB a number of issues have arisen. These are:

- A trend towards centralisation. The merger with the ECB has increased the number of interdependent relationships between men's and women's cricket, yet this has made it more difficult to see who is accountable for changes within the women's game. This is evident in the fact that policies developed have a range of unintended consequences that change the nature of the game.
- Issues of funding, e.g. the breakaway leagues that are autonomous from the ECB.

- Status and power balances at the grass roots level of women's cricket do not appear to have changed.
- Women continue to be reliant on male controlled facilities.
- No monitoring of the success of the use of equality grants.

The merger between the ECB and the WCA has resulted in a situation whereby women cricketers are forced to comply with the same structures and policies that are in place in men's cricket. Women's cricket has changed but there has not been sufficient recognition of the contextual differences between men's and women's cricket. Talbot (2002) stresses that in the majority of organisations this is not unusual. Women are often expected to adapt to the current (male) system that is already in place. The strategy used by the ECB, although the result of unintended processes, demonstrates a form of 'passive discrimination' (Rees, 1998). This is when uneven balances of power and resources are not addressed. Failure by the ECB to accept gender as an issue can be understood as a form of passive discrimination. This is most notable in the fact that women's cricket is only mentioned three times in a 36 page document about the future of the game. The merger meant that women cricketers felt that their opinions about the game were overlooked and within a larger organisation they lost power over the development of the game. As the number of interdependent relations they were involved in increased. They had less control over the outcome of the processes. This is a feature of power relations as described by Elias's game models.

The theory of game models has been used throughout to show how gender relations can be understood as part of interdependent relations within the cricket figuration. Previously, it was easy to ignore the requirements and existence of female cricketers, yet when men's and women's organisations merge they have to work more closely with each other and this means that the men have to notice their female counterparts. However, despite this, the women are the weaker players and the men only seem to make small concessions to female cricketers. Yet, since it is men that had more power when they entered into agreements with women's cricket, they have been able to ensure that the development of the game suits their needs more than the needs of female cricketers. As female cricketers continue to enter into mergers with men's

clubs then they will continue to lose autonomy over the decisions made and their relative power may diminish.

Chapter Seven

To Empower or Not? That is the Question.... Exploring Empowerment, Change and Continuity

There are always three sides to every story, mine, yours and the truth (DeGraw, 2005)

The purpose of this chapter is twofold, it is firstly to explore the reasons why females play cricket and secondly to explore the concepts of empowerment discussed by feminist researchers and the concept of the *quest for excitement* proposed by Elias and Dunning (1986). Although the feminist literature seems to indicate that females are, or should be, empowered by their involvement in sport and leisure activities (Dowling, 2000; Theberge, 2003; Thorpe, 2005), figurational sociologist Dunning (1999) suggests that females are likely to be motivated in sport by *the quest for excitement*. This chapter is an exploratory study of empowerment alongside *the quest for excitement* in relation to females who play cricket.

The chapter starts with an exploration of the term empowerment alongside Elias and Dunning's text '*The Quest for Excitement*' (1986). Secondly, I explore females' motivations for playing cricket in relation to the three aspects of *the quest for excitement* proposed by Elias and Dunning (1986). The chapter explores both claims in light of the experiences of those females who play cricket.

Empowering the Debate: Female Sporting Involvement

The following section discusses the claim by feminists that sport and leisure for females is or should be empowering. This concept of empowerment will be discussed and criticised from a figurational perspective.

It is widely accepted that women are increasingly involved in a variety of sports that were previously termed 'categorically unacceptable'. According to Snyder and Spritzer, (1989) these are sports that require physical aggression or contact. Sports such as football, rugby and ice hockey might fall into this category. These sports have increasing number of females participating in them (Dunning, 1999, Howe, 2003, Mennesson, 2000, Scraton *et al.* 2005, Theberge, 2003, Thorpe, 2005).

One of the premises of a feminist approach to sport is that sport and leisure can be and should be a source of empowerment for women and girls who get involved (Green, 1998, McCaughey, 1997, Theberge, 2003). At the heart of these discussions about the empowerment of girls and women through sport seems to be whether or not girls and women participating in 'male models' of sport can be empowered by their experiences. Some feminists have argued that 'male sport' emphasises aggression, winning and competition and thus does not allow for female empowerment. Whitson (1994) therefore suggests that women should reject this male model of sport. Furthermore, Whitson (1994) argues that females will only be empowered through a feminist model of sport that emphasises skill development and working cooperatively and rejects competition. One of the problems with this concept is that it is underpinned by the belief that males and females are biologically different and therefore they require different needs from sport. Whitson's (1994) argument gives the impression that all females are essentially non-competitive and do not enjoy aggression and competition in sport. Colwell (1999) questions this assumption and draws on the example that some girls and women enjoy the 'male model' of sport that some feminists insist that women should reject. She explains;

Clearly, some women – and some men – find what Scraton wants young women to reject (Scraton, 1992:130) – the 'competitive and "macho" values' of sports to be the very elements that they find valuable or positive (1999: 225).

Another example of this feminist rejection of male models of sport can be found in Burstyn (1999) *The Rites of Men*. Throughout this text Burstyn (1999) suggests that all women are inherently nurturing and caring. Therefore she urges mothers to question the essentially competitive environment of children's sport. However, she does not suggest that fathers also should reject this. According to Burstyn (1999), it is mothers, because of their nurturing qualities, who find the authoritarian nature of sport problematic. Yet, Burstyn (1999) seems to fail to recognise the complexity of gender relations. For instance, not all fathers accept the male model of sport. Similarly some mothers may accept it and push their children into this.

A criticism of Burstyn (1999) and Whitson (1994) can be found in McCaughey's (1997) controversial feminist text, *Real Knockouts*. McCaughey (1997) explores the way that women can develop physical skills through martial arts and self defence courses. Her research suggests that through learning self defence and being physically strong women can reject victimization more they would value being physically strong. McCaughey (1997) urges women and specifically feminists to reject the idea of female fragility and cooperation. Instead she suggests that women should learn to defend themselves. Only then, she suggests, can women become empowered.

The issue of empowerment through sport is not simplistic Theberge (2003:513), in response to McCaughey, suggests that one of the challenges for female sport is to, 'define models of sport that resist the problems of the dominant model of men's sports... while enabling pleasure, satisfaction and a sense of empowerment'. From these discussions it is apparent that some feminists believe women can be empowered through playing all types of sports, whilst others argue that females can only be empowered by involvement in specific feminist models of sport. These debates about empowerment seem to stem from the imprecision of what the term empowerment means. Why should sport be empowering for women? Who decides who is empowered? The problem with these uses of the term empowerment, from a figurational perspective, is that power is viewed as an object, a thing. As argued throughout this thesis, this is not the case. To propose that women are empowered through sport suggests that they would gain power over someone else. This indicates that there are others who are disempowered. Yet throughout the feminist discussions about empowerment the disempowered are rarely identified. Those women who are empowered through sport are empowered at the expense of other women. Thus the term empowerment may not be entirely useful when discussing females' motivations for their involvement in sport.

The Quest for Excitement

Dunning (1999) suggests that another way at looking at the reason why there has been an increase in females in sport lies in Elias and Dunning's (1986) figurational text *The Quest for Excitement*. Dunning (1999) has recently expanded the original explanation of why leisure and sport are important to males to suggest that females may also be

motivated by the quest to find excitement in 'unexciting societies'. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the authors argue that leisure has three basic elements, sociability, motility and mimetic. The context of these functions has to be considered in light of civilising processes as the authors argue that sport and leisure activities allow people to experience certain emotions that are not entirely acceptable in other areas of life.

Although the authors' analysis of the meaning of sport and leisure in civilised societies is based on empirical data derived from male experiences of sport and leisure, Dunning (1999) proposes that one reason why so many females are enjoying sport is because they are also motivated by *the quest for excitement*. In his own words he explains that females may be, 'motivated by an interest in obtaining the sorts of mimetic, 'sociability' and 'motility' satisfactions that can be obtained from sports by men' (1999:231). The following section explores to what extent female involvement in cricket can be seen as a 'quest for excitement'. The concepts of motility, mimetic and sociability will now be discussed separately.

Motility

Motility according to Elias and Dunning (1986) is the satisfaction that people feel in moving. Motility is according to Dunning (1999) developed from Csikzentmihalyi's notion of 'flow activities' (1975). Flow activities are primarily about enjoyment, skill and challenge, effortless movement and absorption in the activity (Csikzentmihalyi, 1990). Dunning (1999:26) explains that this means, 'activities which one of the principal immediate sources of satisfaction is the pleasure taken through absorption of movement per se'. A particular example given by Dunning (1999) is aerobics.

An example of the enjoyment of movement and physicality that females find through sport can be found in the research of Theberge (2003). Theberge's (2003) research about the involvement of young girls in ice hockey found that they get a 'buzz out' of their physical involvement in ice hockey. The girls also mentioned the importance of being physically active through and in ice hockey. Theberge (2003) concludes that for the girls in her study ice hockey is something in which they physically invest their time. The feeling of being physical was clearly valued by these girls.

When I asked the girls in the county U15 team what they enjoyed about their involvement in cricket there was some evidence of motility, although this was perhaps not as prominent as the girls in Theberge's (2003) study. One of the reasons for this may be related to the structural differences between games such as cricket and ice hockey. One aspect that the girls strongly expressed was the importance of becoming more skilled and better at the game of cricket. I suggest here that this relates to aspects of motility because the girls wanted to be able to move in more skilful ways. The kind of comments that the girls made about their enjoyment of playing cricket were;

I like the fact I can keep improving (Helen).

It's a personal progression, with my batting and my bowling, so I get to a place I am happy with my bowling (Natalie).

There are so many sides to it, you can't just be good at one of them, bowling, batting and fielding. No other sport has those completely different skills that you need, I like it because it is so long (Jodie).

Developing skills was seen as key for their continual involvement in the sport and is related to the 'pleasure of moving'.

Thing's (2001) exploration of young females' experiences of ice hockey as well their involvement in basketball and soccer focused on the importance of aggression and found that females particularly expressed their enjoyment of being aggressive and assertive in sport. Playing sport, Thing (2001) argues, allows females to experience aggression i.e. aggression is not normally connected with femininity. Through contact sports, females have an arena in which they can experience physicality that is not readily accepted in other arenas of 'civilised societies'. She notes that aggressive experiences are part of the enjoyment and motivation for females' involvement in contact sports. This further supports the idea that the extent to which motility is experienced may depend on the type of sport played.

Mimetic

Mimetic activities are described by Maguire (2003:119) as being those which are, 'make-believe settings' which allow emotions to flow more easily and which elicit excitement of some kind imitating those produced by real-life situations. Mimetic activities provide people with a vehicle for excitement and the expression of emotion that may be frowned upon in other areas of civilised life i.e. feeling of intense dislike for another team. An example of this is that sports such as football and cricket are said to represent battle and hostility. Yet these are not literally a substitute for forms of combat (Dunning, 1999).

An example of the importance of mimesis in sport is shown in the research of Maguire and Mansfield (1998). In this paper the authors explore how the aerobics figuration allows females to experience painful and pleasurable emotions. The authors also demonstrate how these emotions are tied into dominant notions of femininity and the idea of attaining a beautiful, slim and toned body, which are expectations of the female civilised body.

Female cricketers also provided some evidence the importance of mimesis; this was mainly through their expression of their love of cricket. This was not necessarily articulated through just playing cricket but more often than not refers to their love of cricket as a sport. This was expressed through their emotional attachment to cricket. Some examples of the women's comments are below;

I love playing the game, I get frustrated but I love it (Rachael)

I love the game, I know all the positions (Jane)

It's more intense than other sport. I play hockey, but you play your game and then you go (Mary).

These comments clearly refer to a type of mimetic experience; they love the sport of cricket and also feel frustration when playing poorly. In particular the frustration related to bowling or batting badly. For some, cricket had been something that they had been involved in for many years and they had developed a strong passion, a love of cricket. It is this interest and knowledge of the game that often motivated them to play cricket and it was this that continued to motivate their involvement in the sport.

There was not a strong link to mimesis yet the girls and women note that they clearly experience emotion i.e. frustration and love of the sport through playing and watching cricket. Cricket was a sport that the majority of girls and women emotionally invested their time in. In their words, they loved playing cricket.

Sociability in Youth

Sociability, according to Elias and Dunning (1986), is a key aspect of most leisure activities. Sociability refers to the experience of spending time with others on a largely voluntary basis. It is perhaps not surprising that leisure activities fulfil this function. Yet the authors note that sport and leisure often allow people to develop emotional friendship ties which differ from other forms of integration with people e.g. through occupations. The authors argue that some leisure activities exist with the primary purpose of sociability e.g. going to the pub with friends. These activities are referred to as 'leisure *gemeinschaften*', and allow for the close integration of people and also involve people playing with social norms e.g. playing drinking games (Dunning, 1996:192).

Oakley (in Hey, 1997) mentions that friendship is the least researched and the least understood of all human relationships. In addition, Oakley (in Hey, 1997) draws attention to the ways that men and women construct friendships differently. Whilst the concept of friendship might not have received specific academic attention, the work of Aapola *et al.* (2005), McRobbie (2000) and Walkerdine (1997) has referred to the importance of friendships to girls. Within these studies, reference is frequently made to the importance of friendships. McRobbie's (2000) seminal study is critical of the way that previous studies about youth culture ignored the lives of females. It was often assumed in these studies that girls simply did the same as boys but less frequency and less intensity. McRobbie (2000) notes that this is simply not the case. Instead, she illuminates how girls have their own cultures centred on friendships, family duties, and femininities. Interestingly, McRobbie (2000) does not explore the friendships that emerge in young girls' sporting experiences. Other research on sport and friendship has noted that for young people being with friends is key in identity formation and is an essential part of young peoples leisure time (Roberts, 1999).

In contrast, the research of Messner (1992) on men and sport explores the importance of men's sport as a site for friendship amongst young men. Messner (1992) demonstrates that although strong relationships are often found within sports teams these relationships can also be sites of tension, conflict and thus power. Roderick (2003) agrees with Messner (1992) and found that friendships within men's football teams were characterised by strong rivalries that often led to team conflict. On the other hand friendships can be vital to the players as it is often friends who support the players during difficult times. Despite the consideration given to men, sports and friendships these relationships have not been explored in women's sports.

For a number of girls in my research, cricket provided an opportunity to play sport and 'hang out' with friends. The length of a cricket match meant these relationships were extensive as the girls had an opportunity to spend long periods of time together. This is consistent with the work of Smith (2006) who noted the importance of friends. Therefore leisure involvement is not just about the activity it is about who else is involved in the activity. Hey (1997) indicates that girls' friendships are often a site of social power. In particular, according to Hey (1997:65), there are ethical rules that bind girl's friendships. These are usually 'reliability, reciprocity, commitment, confidentiality, trust and sharing'. Given this assertion about friendships and social power it is perhaps not surprising that the captain of the U15 team Maddie often sat with a lot of girls around her. Maddie's closest friendship was with Harriet, one of the most talented girls on the team, although the girls were not the same age, Harriet was 12 and Maddie was 15. Their friendship was on display to the rest of the girls. The core friendship group on the team consisted of Sally, Maddie, Nicki, Natalie, Clare and Harriet. This group was clearly a 'tight and exclusive clique' (Aapola *et al.* 2005);

At this point in the match the girls start to disperse into friendship groups. They start to leave base and creep round to find shade and sit in their chosen friendship groups. It appeared that within the team there were two groups of girls. Firstly the popular girls. These included, Sally, Harriet, Natalie, Maddie, Nicki, and Clare. These were not necessarily the most talented players, but all were popular, fashionable and pretty. These were the loudest girls in the team. They were the girls that lead the team and the captain was part of this friendship group. They often sat in corners whispering to each other about

boys, make up, relationships and parties they had been too. Rarely did they discuss cricket unless in the company of parents (Fieldnotes).

The fact that the girls gradually found spaces away from adult to discuss in small groups issues of importance to them is consistent with the findings of Coakley and White (1999) who argue that young people prefer activities that are not controlled by adults. The girls noted above all emphasised how important the friendships that they have made in cricket were; 'I like being with friends (Sally)', 'there is a good social structure' (Maddie) 'having a laugh is important' (Natalie). Ironically, these girls rarely interacted with the rest of the team, unless it was to talk about cricket. To the girls in this core group, friendship and sociability is considered an important aspect of their involvement in cricket. Natalie emphasises the importance of these relationships. She says, 'I like girls' cricket, I enjoy talking to people and I find it easy to bond with people'.

In contrast to the girls who mentioned the positive aspect of friendships and sociability, Jodie, Sophie, Megan and Phoebe were generally excluded from the above clique. For these girls the friendships in the team caused tension and friction and their enjoyment of the sociability aspect of cricket was relatively limited. These girls often sat together at matches, or with their parents. The girls would also bring books to read or would sit and chat about cricket. They were not comfortable within the clique group and did not approach them. Movement between the two groups only occurred in one direction, from the clique girls to the others. This demonstrates that being able to move between groups in itself indicates social power. Maddie, as the captain of the team, did have an obligation to interact with all the players, yet this interaction with some of the girls was not based on friendship. The existence of two groups and the subsequent tension between them became particularly apparent during the residential tournament. This can be seen in the following example;

In the girl's accommodation there was a kitchen that the girls could all use. All the girls had their own bedrooms and at the end of the corridor was a communal kitchen. Maddie, Harriet, Sally, Natalie, and Nicki brought with them a sandwich toaster so they could make cheese toasties. This was because they disliked the canteen food and disliked eating at the designated canteen

eating times. They monopolised the kitchen space by using it as an area to read Heat¹⁹ magazines, talk about boys and make toasties. In doing this they declared the space as theirs and in this space there was a particular type of femininity that was performed. I rarely saw Megan, Chloe or Sophie access this space. Instead they sat in a specific area of the corridor often reading, writing or playing cards (Fieldnotes).

The practice of exclusion and inclusion based on similarities between groups is, according to Aapola *et al.* (2005), common in girls' friendships. The difference between the two groups of girls appeared to be the result of two conflicting displays of femininity. The core girls displayed what might be described as 'hegemonic view of femininity'; reading Heat, discussing boys and doing hair. The other girls who were excluded from the space did not seem to be concerned with hair or make up. They sat around in sports gear, playing cards and reading books. Sociability was not as strong for them because they spent time alone practising skills, reading books or with parents. The fact that the friendship groups appeared to be based on a shared definition of femininity and heterosexuality, not unusual in Aapola *et al.* (2005:117) research they recognised how girls friendships are based on 'raced, classed and sexed femininities'. Whilst there are different types of femininities that are not fixed, there are likely to be dominant notions of femininities for girls to aspire to (Woodward, 2000).

An example of this is found in Maguire and Mansfield (1998) research on the group dynamics within an aerobic figuration. In this figuration the authors note that the dominant females portray a preferred style of femininity. These established bodies are tanned and toned and ultimately the display of these bodies (always at the front of the class) seemed to emphasise to others the imperfections of their own bodies. The authors illustrate how the relationships between the women in the aerobics class were based on power. By identifying their space within the figuration the established women ensured that the outsiders had to perform their routines away from the mirrors and instructors. This makes it difficult for other women to see and learn the routines.

¹⁹ Heat magazine is a gossip magazine full of pictures and articles about celebrities.

Again this highlights the importance of recognising that some women have more power than others.

In this context it seems fruitless to discuss empowerment as a complete entity. Colwell (1999:228) is particularly critical of the work of Scraton (1992) who suggests that women and girls could be empowered if they were able to do sport in female only environments. She questions the following quote by Scraton who argues that girls need 'more control over their extra-curricular PE activities to provide the space for meeting and chatting together'. Colwell (1999) suggests that this overlooks the issue of power in female friendships. In particular, Scraton does not consider how these spaces could be used for girls to tease and bully one another.

Hey (1997) affirms how friendships based on inclusion and exclusion are part of a shared identity. Girls police others' behaviour, especially in relation to femininity. This was a prominent theme in Maguire and Mansfield's (1998) research as they found that slimmer females were perceived to police other females' bodies. In a similar way, during the residential tournament Maddie policed her teams' image. It was Maddie's suggestion that the girls dress up for dinner in jeans and tight tops as well as wear make up. This display of femininity is not done for males as there are only females at the tournament, yet it seems to be done to assert a heterosexual image for the whole team. Despite this, in the county U15 team not all the girls followed Maddie's example. Some of the girls, those not in the clique, did not 'dress' for dinner. These girls wore tracksuits and did not wear make up. The fact that these girls ignored Maddie's attempts to police their image demonstrates how some girls are able to challenge dominant notions of femininity. By excluding them from the benefits of sociability these girls existed on the margins of the team.

The girls in the U15 county team who did not fit into the dominant friendship group mentioned that the one thing they disliked about the game of cricket was the arguments and tensions between the girls;

The whole arguments that go on within the team.... A team of girls, it's the politics of cricket at this level that I don't like (Jodie).

There are factions within the team and some people don't get on with one another. I felt like giving up county cricket because, well there are groups and stuff and it's not a nice atmosphere, it's been like this since I started, gangs, and its never included new people (Sophie).

These girls found their exclusion from such friendships as both isolating and exclusionary. This highlights the difficulties that arise when discussing the issue of empowerment through sports participation in a general sense.

The friendships made in the context of the cricket figuration were important to some of the girls and these relationships impacted on their enjoyment or dislike of cricket. Sociability is not only an important part of the girls' involvement in cricket it is also used as a power source. Those on the margins of the friendship groups are excluded.

It was not just sociability *within* cricket that was important to the girls. The girls also had to negotiate times away from playing cricket to spend time with friends not involved in cricket. Harriet explains how this process can be problematic,

Some think it is really good and then some people think I am throwing my life away. It also takes up all my weekends and they get annoyed about that. Usually it takes up Saturday and Sunday so then I only have Friday night. It is frustrating but I try to do as much as I can with friends on Friday (Harriet).

It is difficult for the girls to maintain a friendship outside of the cricket team. One of the reasons for this seems to be that cricket can be considered a 'waste of time' for females. This is not necessarily the same for boys (Messner 1992). Boys' friendship groups are more likely to be collectively involved in cricket. Males are likely to play sports with other males, normally friends; in this context their involvement in cricket is not likely to be viewed as unusual (Coakley and White, 1999). Maddie and Natalie emphasise the impact of playing cricket on other relationships that they make;

It takes up a lot of my time and sometimes they (her friends) are like, arh you know you are playing cricket again (Maddie).

If I have a match on Saturday I have to say no I can't go out on Friday drinking and I can't stay late or at their house. Also if I have cricket on Saturday again I won't get home until 8. By the time I get ready I have to miss things (Natalie).

Negotiating time away from other non-cricket friends to partake in sport and leisure is something that the girls must arrange. O'Donovan (2003) suggests that friends' involvement in sport heavily influences a young person's continual involvement in an activity. It is friends who assert more influence on young people's tastes and practices than others (Smith, 2006). It is, perhaps, in this aspect of sociability that boys and girls differ. For instance, boys are more likely to find other boys they socialise with play cricket thus, for boys the relationship between sport and sociability may be more natural.

Aspects of sociability are important in all aspects of the girls' lives, not just sport. Interestingly, despite their age, alcohol came out as an important part of some of the girls' leisure lives. Even at the age of 15 alcohol and its importance in leisure *gemeinschaft* activities within girls friendship groups is noticeable. Elias and Dunning (1986) suggest that one of the important elements of 'leisure-*gemeinschaften*' activities are those in which people can take risks with social norms. For the girls 'drinking alcohol' in their leisure time, allows them to 'play with norms' and 'play with fire' (Dunning, 1996:192).

Sociability in Adulthood

Green (1998:179) suggests that friendship and talk are central to females as intimate relationships allow them to 'make sense of their gendered social world'. Sociability did emerge as an important motivation for women cricketers; just as it did for these younger players.

Mary, the only interviewee to have a child, notes that having supportive friendships within cricket has enabled her to continue playing. Her son, aged 4 at the time I

interviewed her, came to matches with her. She notes how other team mates helped to look after her son when she was batting;

My little boy grew up at the side of a cricket pitch. He comes and sits by my side. This year he will be OK on his own (Mary).

Mary discusses how another club member has just had her second child and therefore will no longer have the time to play. Mary explains this by saying this is the way life is for women: 'women have families to run, changing attitudes won't change the fact that women will always be the ones bringing up the kids'. Mary's comment reinforces the reality that, despite changes in gender relations, it is predominantly women who are expected to look after children and complete domestic duties (Dunning, 1996). In the spare time spectrum proposed by Elias and Dunning (1986), household and family duties are noted as part of the spare time routine. However, the authors seem to overlook how these household and family duties are gendered. As women do more of these duties they have less time for sport and leisure activities. One of the continuing inequalities in modern relationships between men and women seems to be that it is women, not men, who take more responsibility for childcare and domestic duties (Dunning, 1999).

Friendships made through cricket and the importance of playing as a 'team', both part of the broader notion of sociability, are part of the reasons the women continue to be involved in playing cricket. Heather and Jane describe the importance of this;

I like team games...if I played an individual sport I wouldn't be so committed to it (Heather).

I have made some great friends, that is important to me, from school girl to juniors (Jane).

For Jane, her involvement in cricket is more than just playing the sport and is clearly related to sociability. After being involved in cricket for many years it had been a space for them to make friends. Other interviewees noted that cricket allowed them a space to make new friends;

It's the social element, I have got to know people (Annabel).

Its good socially, you get to know people (Neve).

It's a team thing, if you have a good team then it is great. I have made some great friends playing this game (Katie).

Friendships were particularly important to the women as these relationships had an impact upon their identities. Having a lot of friends who also played or organised cricket meant that this was one of the few contexts that they did not have to justify their involvement in cricket. Perhaps a parallel can be drawn here with the work of Becker (1966). In his research about marijuana users, he noted that the users went through a variety of processes before they became regular users. One of these processes was the way that new users gradually surround themselves more and more with other users. This means that they do not have to justify to others their decision to smoke. In this context everyone else smokes so it becomes 'normal' to smoke marijuana. In terms of identity, people are more likely to identify with others they see as similar to themselves. For female cricketers, making friends with other female cricketers gives them an opportunity within this group to see cricket as an activity for females. Despite the fact that sociability was an important factor in females' motivations for playing cricket, there were some noticeable tensions between groups of women that will be discussed in the following section.

Sociability in Conflict

Although sociability was a strong theme in the women's decision to stay involved in cricket, there was some evidence of conflict within groups. This section explores tensions and conflicts surrounding the notion of class, and traditional values associated with class. This particularly emerged as a theme when the women cricketers were asked about what they disliked about cricket. The women noted several things. Some of these, such as travel, relate to the fact that there are few women's cricket teams around;

'it is a great deal of travel' (Jane), 'it takes all day, its an all day commitment and a lot of travel' (Juliet), 'you have to be there at 12:30, then you have to travel' (Fiona).

Playing women's cricket is a huge commitment for those involved. This is compounded by the extensive travel involved in playing other teams.

Other players complained about issues such as playing kit. Heather notes, 'it's disgusting, and they need to sort it out'. Heather was not the only person who mentioned kit. At Club D a committee meeting was called to discuss whether or not trousers should be worn, Katie recalls the meeting;

some said no trousers, we will only wear them if the captain says so. But we said if you do that no one will play, no one will play, no one wants to wear those short culottes, they look hideous. Not that trousers are that much better, but if you are keeping wicket and the wind gets up the culottes end up round your ears.

This discussion about trousers is not just about the issues of femininity but also underlying this is the concept of tradition and class. Here the tensions between women start to become apparent and the fractured nature of women's interest also becomes evident. In the discussions about what the women dislike about playing cricket are their ideas about how cricket should be played. For instance the discussion about culottes versus trousers seems to demonstrate a common tension found amongst the women, a tension between those who want to bring about change in the game and those who would prefer that the game preserve certain traditions and etiquettes, such as women wearing culottes, not trousers. The argument about tradition and change seems to hinge on ideas about what women's cricket should represent. The aspects that are valued by some members seem to be based on etiquette and tradition and can therefore be associated with class. A further example of this is that Mary at Club C who notes that recent problems with 'behaviour' in the league can be attributed to a certain 'type of person'. She explains;

there are a lot of kids who don't have a cricket background, if that doesn't sound too snobby. But what's happened is development work is done and they start playing cricket and the parents are pushy and aggressive like football. The parents are on the sideline and they are pushing, as opposed to those parents who grew up playing cricket and emphasise the etiquette of it...they don't always play within the spirit of cricket.

Like sexuality, issues of class are not discussed directly but instead they are alluded to. It is assumed by Mary that etiquette or tradition is only passed on by certain parents. Children who play football are not taught the values that are needed to play cricket. This links to the work of Lawler (2005) who indicates that 'taste' is a way of demonstrating a person's class. According to Lawler (2005:801) middle class taste is considered respectable. She explains how 'attributes of middle "classness" are considered desirable personal characteristics, (everyone ought to have them) and attainable (everyone could have it), the same time it is a scarce resource (not everyone does have it)'. On the contrary, working class values are not as respected and Lawler (2005) notes that it is often working class culture that is vilified, especially in the media and popular culture. Mary insinuates that it is the football 'types' that lack culture and therefore they do not play cricket with the same 'spirit' as others, presumably those in the middle and upper classes. In this context lacking in etiquette can be seen as a class problem. Pushy parents is also seen by Mary as being class problem. This overlooks the fact that middle class parents can also be pushy (Coakley, 2006; Murphy, 1999). Mary also demonstrated a tension in developing cricket insinuating that certain children who come through 'sport development' work are not suited to the values and etiquette of cricket. The younger girls in the U15 teams had also picked up on this tension as Nicki walking off the pitch one day, declared that the wicket keeper was, 'too common to be a cricketer'. Such a statement went unchallenged by her parents and coach. These comments indicate attempts by some to retain specific values in women's cricket. Bourdieu's concept of *distinction* is useful in this regard, 'sport cannot be comprehended as the free choice of individuals', sport is 'class based' (Tomlinson, 2004:164). Capital, as discussed frequently by Bourdieu is, according to Tomlinson (2004) a form of power, he elaborates by explaining that it is the capacity of individuals or groups to change or control situations. Bourdieu refers to economic, cultural, educational and symbolic

capital (Tomlinson, 2004). Cultural capital refers to wealth, skills, knowledge, money and expression of taste (Wilson, 2002). Therefore, cultural capital is based on a person's education and upbringing and expression of this so called 'taste' through activities such as choice of music, sport and art signifies a person's class (Wilson, 2002). The vilification of 'sport development' types signifies the rejection of a particular class, by retaining the middle-classness of cricket this helps people to retain their own social and cultural capital. As Wilson (2002:13) acutely demonstrates 'sports consumption is to a large degree motivated by preferences, tastes, skills, and knowledge that vary by social class'.

All but one of the girls' parents were from a middle class background. Playing cricket, but just as importantly playing cricket in the 'right' way, indicates class status. Katie also echoes Mary's concern about the 'new types' in cricket when she recalls some problems their team had at the end of the last season;

We have had a lot of aggressive shouting when batting... we wrote a letter to the league management about the younger sides. They didn't have the older players to say this is how it is done. Appealing is also much more aggressive than before. We make an effort to clap in the new batsmen, and the little things, the 'niceties of the game'. That's how it is, it's how we learnt and that's how it should continue.

Like Mary, Katie is keen to see the tradition and niceties of the game of cricket continue. Katie expresses how these etiquettes and traditions should be passed down to all youngsters to ensure the game continues in a specific manner.

It was however apparent that not all the women wanted those values traditionally associated with cricket to be retained. Some women noted how the traditional image of cricket as middle class sport was exclusive. Kim, in particular, noted how frustrated she felt with the niceties of the game. She found these to be old fashioned and entirely inappropriate. 'Some people are out there for 20 overs, score 5 runs and when they are out people clap them'. Eleanor and Susie consider the 'snobby' side of cricket to be off putting for some. 'There is a snobbish attitude towards people who played in state school, and there is a notion of the genteel way to play cricket versus the heavily

aggressive', 'cricket is a grammar school sport, public school game'. Susie also notes how cricket for women is very much a 'middle class' sport. These women recognise the tension between extending the sport to a wider audience and retaining an exclusive image for the game.

Despite the image of cricket as a middle class traditional sport, in reality there are players challenging this image and playing cricket differently. Arguments about retaining tradition and chastising aggressive behaviour are essentially about identity, taste and class. Being involved in cricket for these women seems to signal a specific class status, a specific taste. It could be argued in this context, as Maguire (1996) does, that the quest for exciting significance is related to cultural tastes and social status.

It is noted in this section that there are tensions between women based on class. This further indicates that empowerment is not a useful term to discuss females' involvement in sport because women are an internally fractured group. The use of the term empowerment it is easy to overlook conflict and tensions in groups. In light of the previous tensions discussed in Chapter Five about the divisions of women based on issues of sexuality, it really highlights the multiple identities that exist around the term 'woman'. What this section also highlights is that aspects of sociability are important to women involved in sport, yet sociability is also characterised by tension, conflict and ultimately power. This links into the figurational concept of power as a balance and as part of *all* relationships, including friendships.

Evaluating *The Quest for Excitement*

Although there is evidence to suggest that women are motivated to a certain extent by a quest for excitement, the strength of this may be debatable and requires further research. Having said this, there are some reasonable explanations for this that I wish to explore.

As mentioned, motility did not emerge as a strong theme in the females' motivations for playing cricket. It is important to note that Elias and Dunning (1986) developed

the concept of *the quest for excitement* with male sport and male sporting experience in mind.

Motility refer to pleasure of moving and it is clear that there are likely to be differences between men and women in this regard. Young (1990) acutely points out that males and females experience movement in a variety of ways. In particular she emphasises how females' movement is traditionally restricted. There are two reasons why motility may have not featured strong in the testaments of the girls. Firstly, the fact that cricket is a qualitatively different sport than ice hockey or the other sports that Elias and Dunning (1986) used to construct their concept. Secondly, it is important to consider the fact that females may consider the enjoyment of movement and physicality as part of male habitus. For females this is not part of their habitus and therefore, as Roth and Basow (2004) stress, females may feel apologetic about their involvement and abilities in sport. That is to say that motility is learnt and not a biological construct. Also linked to this is that the girls expressed an enjoyment of skill which is perhaps directly related to Csikszentmihalyi's (1990, 1992) notion of 'flow activities' to which Dunning (1999) refers to. Flow activities are about effortless movement, the ability to move in 'auto pilot'. For the girls in this study the need to improve skill was directly linked to their desire to move in more skilful, perhaps more effortless ways.

Although there was not strong evidence linking females' experiences for mimesis some parallels can be drawn. The females experienced emotions through playing cricket. These ranged from frustration to the sheer love of cricket as a sport. Yet it is also worth noting that emotion is gendered. Men and women have differing opportunities to express emotion in civilised societies. For instance, it is far more acceptable for females to cry than it is for males. This is perhaps an important aspect of *the quest for excitement* and the differences between male and female experiences of sport.

Sociability did emerge as an important aspect for females' involvement in sport. In fact this was important to the girls and women. Yet within the concept of sociability it is important to recognise the potential for conflict and tension within people's sporting experiences.

Importantly Elias and Dunning (1986) did suggest that not all leisure activities involve all elements. Although the authors also indicate that there are activities that are solely sociable or mimetic it seems evident that activities may contain all basic elements to varying degrees.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter began by exploring the notion of empowerment alongside Elias and Dunning's (1986) *the quest for excitement*. One criticism that arose in the chapter about the term 'empowerment' is that this suggests that power is a thing, something that can be possessed. Throughout this Chapter and in Chapter Five the tensions between women demonstrate that it is unrealistic to suggest that sports empower women universally. One of the reasons for this is that it leads to questions such as which women are empowered? Who do these women now have power over? From the research it appears that in the cricket figuration the relationships between women and girls were fragmented along the lines of femininity, sexuality and class. This emphasises the importance of a figurational notion of power. Power is structural, relational and a part of interdependent relationships within the figuration.

Elias and Dunning's (1986) theory about involvement in sport and leisure has not previously been applied to female involvement in sport. Elias and Dunning (1986) stress that leisure participation has three basic elements, 'motility', 'mimetic' and 'sociability'. Whilst there is evidence in the work of Thing (2001) and Theberge (2003) to suggest that aspects of motility are important to female involvement in sport, the links were weaker in this research, perhaps because of the type of sport cricket is. It is also related to aspects of motility, as the ability to move is not natural or 'biological'. By looking closely at the work of Young (1990) it is clear that motility is socially constructed. In this research, it is fair to say that motility on its own cannot be viewed as an important factor for females' participation in cricket.

The mimetic function of sport figures in the girl's and women's discussions about their involvement in cricket. The way that this was expressed was in relation to their 'love' of the game of cricket. This was not just in relation to playing cricket, but also

in relation to watching the sport. This passion for the sport, often fuelled by male relatives, is the reason given by many of the females for their motivation to start playing cricket. What emerged in this research was the importance of sociability. Sociability is a key motivating factor for involvement, yet within the friendships and relationships within cricket there were significant tensions.

Traditionally, friendships may not have been seen as sites of power, yet the nature of the relationships identified in this research particularly emphasises the figurational view of power, as an inherent component of all relationships. Friendship was an extremely important part of the girls' involvement in cricket. Both girls and women developed strong relationships in the context of the game. On the other hand, there were females who were not part of friendship groups who felt on the 'margins'. It is clear that within female relationships power balances exist upon the lines of femininity, sexuality, age and class. Females do not instinctively get on together just because they are female. Being female does not assume a shared identity or friendship. Thus, although feminists such as Birrell and Ritcher (1994) and Scraton (1992) might indicate that females should have more female only spaces to enjoy sports, it is important to remember that these spaces will not always be free from conflict or power relations.

In terms of disliking aspects of the game, it became apparent that there were certain tensions that arose surrounding the perceived image of cricket as a sport. Class based tension arose from what the players perceive as 'the non cricket types'. 'Football' types in particular were considered the antithesis of cricketing culture. These discussions are essentially about retaining cricket for a specific group of people. This further gives evidence that to talk about empowering women in a generic sense is fruitless as power balances exist between groups of women.

Cricket does have a strong function of sociability for females. For those females at the core of the friendship networks it helps them to develop a strong sense of identity. Interestingly though, sociability gives females relative power over weaker outsider females. Sociability is therefore strongly linked to identity and issues of power.

The purpose of this chapter was purely explorative in its considerations of *the quest for excitement* in female sport. Whether females are motivated by 'motility', 'mimetic' and 'sociability' functions, as proposed by Dunning (1999), needs greater consideration in future research. One of the key gender differences in *the quest for excitement* seems to be the notion of empowerment raised by feminists. The notion that sport is universally empowering for females is questionable and perhaps also requires greater consideration. What can be concluded from this chapter is that the feminist notion of empowerment is a term that is too vague and often fails to recognise the relational nature of power as a structural characteristic of all relationships.

Conclusion

The sociological problem at the heart of this thesis is how gender relations impact upon the experiences of female cricketers' playing what is traditionally considered a male sport. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, despite the numerous studies about the experiences of female footballers (Liston, 2006; Mennesson, and Clement, 2003; Scraton *et al.* 1999, 2005) sociologically little is known about women's cricket and those who play.

The aim of this thesis was to address this imbalance by 'painting a sociological picture' of the experiences of female cricketers, thus demonstrating how these experiences may be gendered. From the testimonies of the girls and women interviewed it is evident that gender relations are a pervasive part of their experiences of playing cricket. The data collected in this thesis demonstrate the complexity of gender relations, as a form of power relations, and also emphasise that women remain outsiders in this context. A recent statement made by Marlar (President of MCC) perhaps demonstrates the continuing imbalances of power within gender relations in the context of UK cricket;

“it is absolutely outrageous that women are allowed to play mixed cricket in case they get injured”. Asked for his view if a girl bowled at 80MPH he replied, “I'd be asking whether she has had a sex change’.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the sociological elements discussed throughout this thesis. To begin this below I have summarised the key points that have been raised throughout this thesis. These are:

1. The significance of males, especially fathers, in supporting girls involvement in a traditional male sport, cricket;
2. A contemporary picture of the gendered nature of physical education that continues to stereotype activities in relation to gender;
3. The role of parents, specifically middle class parents, who supported their children in cricket and take on the role of organising of the teams;

4. Involvement in a “male sport” did not appear to challenge females’ understanding about male and female physicality as differences between males and females continue to be understood as primarily derived from biological differences;
5. Men’s cricket and male cricketers were judged in relation to the ‘minority of the best’ whilst women’s cricket and women cricketers were considered in terms of the ‘minority of the worst’;
6. Blame gossip was used to ensure that females remain outsiders in the cricket figuration. This type of blame gossip reinforces to females that being a cricketer is an unusual identity for a female;
7. Blame gossip was central to power relations between groups of women and girls with the cricket figuration. Homosexual women were further marginalised and ‘blamed’ for presenting a negative image for women’s cricket;
8. Female cricketers were fragmented along the lines of sexuality, class, age – this fragmentation further reinforces their outsider status;
9. The problem of merging male and female sporting organisations and the unintended consequences of organising male and female cricket in the same way;
10. The importance of sociability as a motivating factor to girls and women who play cricket as well as the conflict and internal divisions of female cricketers.

The thesis began by introducing the theoretical framework. It was contended that despite reservations by Hargreaves (1992, 1994) that figurational sociology is not an adequate theory for the study of gender, the theory could offer a fruitful framework for the study of gender relations in cricket. The premise of my argument throughout Chapter One, and ultimately the thesis, is to demonstrate that whilst figurational sociologists may have been silent on issues related to gender that in fact it offers a theoretical framework for the study of gender relations. I have demonstrated that a synthesis between feminisms and figurational theories is not necessary to signal a figurational commitment to understanding gender relations within sport. As a way forward for the figurational study of gender relations it is not necessary for theorists to continue to try and synthesise feminisms with figurational sociology.

The primary aim of the thesis was to begin to develop a sociological understanding of the experiences of female cricketers in relation to gender relations, a topic which previously has received little academic attention. This process began in Chapter Four which focused on the experiences of the U15 girls and how they got involved in cricket. It was suggested that, for the U15 girls in my study, their experiences of entering cricket was gendered in a variety of ways. One example of this is the fact that it was more often than not the girls' fathers who took the role of introducing the girls to the sport of cricket. Once the girls were involved it was also fathers who coached and umpired them in their sport, this is consistent with the findings of Coakley (2006). On the other hand, mothers were involved in more traditional nurturing roles. Mothers extended their domestic roles and were involved in making teas, organising the girls and seeing to their emotional needs. It is perhaps not surprising in light of the research by Thompson (1999) that it was fathers who were viewed by their daughters as the most influential or supportive of their involvement in cricket. This is interesting as mothers are in a position as women of also being outsiders; their position within the cricket figuration and their gendered involvement in their daughter's cricket reinforces this position. This reinforcement of gender relations demonstrates to the girls that mothers and fathers are suited to more certain roles than to others. This is suggested within the family setting where fathers are more active and sporty than mothers. Mothers, and to some extent daughters, are viewed by fathers as needing 'educating' about cricket. Thus it is fathers who provide the education.

The sociological study of father's, according to Kay (2006), has been largely absent in sociological studies of leisure. Yet, within feminist studies about female sporting involvement, authors such as Dowling (2000) have noted that fathers are essential in proving a 'passport' for girls into sports. Dowling (2000) notes how it is, more often than not, fathers who teach daughters sporting skills and help girls to negotiate access into sport by supporting and teaching them. In Kay's (2006) paper she notes that fatherhood is changing and demonstrates how family arrangements are increasingly moving away from the traditional 'family unit'. Thus many fathers may start off living together with partners and children, yet this is likely to change and fathers may move out of the family house or may become sole carers for children. In addition Kay (2006) notes that expectations on fathers are currently far greater than they were previously. In particular, she notes that men are expected to engage and spend time

with their children. In fact, she argues, little is known about the various aspects of fatherhood and fathers experiences of leisure. The girls in this study indicated that fathers were important to their involvement in cricket, thus suggesting that fathers may play an important role in their daughters' achievements in a male sport such as cricket. In particular, their role as volunteer coaches and supporter's was vital in the organisation of the girls' game. Harriet also noted that she played cricket with her father and had done since a young age. This further suggests that leisure is something that fathers and daughters may do together. As Kay (2006) suggests more research is needed into the role of fatherhood and leisure, especially given the expectation that families and fathers, in particular, should be more involved with their children.

In school the girls' experiences of cricket were restricted by views on traditional gender roles and gender appropriate sport. A general lack of provision for girls' cricket, according to the experiences of those in this study, meant that the majority of girls and women in this study were not able to play cricket. Yet, by not being offered girls' cricket girls are limited in the choice of sports that they can choose to develop. As indicated by the Sport England (2003) survey although cricket remains a popular sport for boys in school, girls' participation is nominal. Teachers within schools that continue to provide and develop boy's cricket, further reiterate to boys and girls that cricket is a sport for males. Those girls who did get involved in playing cricket at school normally had to play on an otherwise all male team. This was problematic for many girls because they felt immediately felt their outsider status. Their visible difference to the rest of the team was apparent to all. This meant they were unable, in most cases to fully integrate into the team, which made them feel different and, in some cases, inferior. Even on teams when girls play on boys team, the continual reference to it as a 'boys' team' to describe the school team further makes the girls who play within these teams appear unusual. Attempts to identify with the established by playing with them perhaps further magnifies girls outsider status. The reaction of others who commented on the girls' position within the team meant that it required a great deal of courage, or fatherly support, for a girl to continue playing in this context. Again this highlights the roles of fathers and perhaps more in needed to explore their role in girls sport (Kay, 2006).

It is perhaps not surprising that, given the image of cricket as a male preserve, the females identified more strongly with men's than with women's cricket. This was evident in the fact that the majority of the girls and women watched and followed men's cricket but had little knowledge about the women's game. One of the reasons for this was likely to be due to the lack of media coverage of the women's game. However, this is also symptomatic of the females considering the men's game to be different from the women's game. Men were judged, to use Elias's term, in relation to the 'minority of the best'. On the other hand, women were judged in relation to the 'minority of the worst'. This is noted in Chapter Five as symptomatic of all established and outsider relations. The impact of this on female cricketers is that more often than not women were judged by, and judged themselves, using a 'masculine criterion' of what cricket 'should' be like. As women did not think that they were able to match this criterion they insisted that women's cricket was different, relying more on technical skill than men's cricket. This seemed to indicate that women made up for their lack of strength by being more technically able than men. Women themselves believed that women were biologically weaker and lacked the strength that men had. For these women and girls this biological advantage of being male transferred into the 'fact' that men could bowl faster and therefore were better than women. It was deemed more important to have speed when bowling than to be accurate. As these differences are considered by females to be predominantly biologically-based, such views are largely static and fixed. Consequently, many of the women in this research were resigned to their inferior position and did not see a time when their position in cricket was likely to be more favourable. The theory of established and outsider relations was useful in this context as it demonstrates the complexity of women's position as, to some extent, they are resigned to their position as outsiders. Established and outsider relations were particularly useful to the study because gender relations were viewed as a form of unequal power relations. Thus unlike feminist studies that highlight the peculiarity of particular types of power relations, i.e. patriarchy in fact this unnecessary focus on a type of power relation. As Elias and Scotson (1994) demonstrate that in fact such narrow focus ignores, 'what is central (e.g. differences in power ratio and the exclusion of a power – inferior group from positions with a higher power potential)' (Elias and Scotson, 1994:xxx) . It is important to recognise that the aspect of relations between groups of men and women within cricket are bonded in a way that enables one group greater power resources than the other group; which

ultimately renders female cricketers as outsiders. Thus, in all power relations, what is important is the way that the two groups are bonded in a way which renders one with more power resources than another. Thus it is not always beneficial to focus on terms such as patriarchy as this signals what is, merely a part of these relations, but ignores the central idea that one groups is excluded through differing power imbalances.

Another concept from the theory of established and outsider relations which was useful in this research was the notion of blame gossip. Blame gossip in the context of cricket is inadvertently used by people to remind females that their involvement in cricket is unusual. Comments such as 'girls don't play cricket' are a constant reminder to females that they are outsiders within the sport. These comments also serve to question whether girls and women are biologically suited to playing cricket.

Blame gossip was also used amongst the outsiders as a way of marginalising homosexual cricket players. In particular, these women were perceived by some to portray a negative image of women's cricket. Such divisions between some homosexual and some heterosexual women indicate how relations between female cricketers can be divisive. In this context heterosexual women were more likely to identify with the 'we image' of heterosexuals than the 'they image' of homosexuals. It is evident from this research that many heterosexual women are more likely to identify with the established males than with homosexual women who play cricket. These divisions within the outsider group reinforce silence on issues related to power and homosexuality in sport and weaken the outsider group's cohesiveness.

Some of the U15 girls were more likely than the adult women to discuss openly, albeit in the form of jokes, the issue of homosexuality. This may signal one of three things: firstly, that the girls, who had not fully developed as adults, felt that sexuality was an issue that could be discussed and therefore did not see it as a taboo subject; or secondly, that the girls were keen to police the behaviour of other girls by bringing the topic up and therefore 'warning' those who were homosexual, that visible displays of homosexuality were not acceptable to them. Thirdly, the adult women found issues of sexuality more difficult to discuss and some used terms such as 'stigma' or 'stereotypes' to explore this issue. Such divisions of power within the outsider group demonstrate the complexity of social relationships. Homosexual women were further

marginalised in the cricket figuration and imbalances of power between homosexual and heterosexual women were reinforced. Power relations within groups of women and outsider groups are important to acknowledge and understand. These divisions restrict women's power within gender relations.

In contrast to the girls, whose experiences of cricket were predominantly related to playing county cricket, the adult women were mainly involved in playing club cricket. In the context where a female club had formally merged with a male club, the women found that, once they had joined the club, the men regained access to greater networks of communication, tradition and funding. As a result, the women remained the 'weaker players' within the club and they reverted to their outsider status. In the other female clubs, where no merger had taken place, women struggled for quality facilities and their clubs were not financially stable. The clubs seemed to just 'survive' and were not able to expand or develop. Two specific issues related to women's *relative* lack of power can be identified from this. Firstly, the women's clubs struggled for quality facilities and coaching which restricted the development of the clubs. Secondly, the lack of money available for the clubs to develop meant that the clubs appeared to have poor facilities and were in danger of being viewed as poorly organised compared to men's clubs.

The development of cricket within county A resided with one employee who calculated that only a day of her job was dedicated to women's and girl's cricket. The rest of the organisation of female cricket rested with volunteers. This demonstrates how commitment to the development and organisation (in merging of the two organisations) of women and girl's cricket was not met with financial or organisational assistance from the men's game. The marginalisation of women's and girl's cricket was further evident in the fact that women's and girl's cricket did not feature in the county development plan documentation.

Since women's cricket became part of the ECB in 1998 female cricketers' relationships with male cricketers have been formalised. Yet the development of the women's game since this merger has been influenced by a number of (unintended) consequences. Two of these consequences have been: a) the restrictions on the number of overseas players, and b) changes to the junior game. These changes, whilst

appearing progressive (in that they bring the women's game into line with the men's), ultimately disadvantage the women. In reality, the consequences of these changes for the women's game are not the same as they are for the men's game. For instance the women's game suffers from only being allowed one overseas player in the premier league teams. This is because the overseas player will also be involved in coaching the team and fewer players mean fewer coaches. Also, by changing the structure of the junior game, girls were forced to join the adult cricketing structure at a much earlier age. Whilst the number of county teams increased, the number of girls playing seemed to decrease at U15 and thus other teams were discontinued. This has meant in county A that no U17 team has been able to develop. These unintended consequences for the women's game impact negatively on its development. Women remain the weaker player in the cricket figuration, because they do not have the internal cohesiveness of a group to become or challenge the stronger players.

As the women's game has developed under the auspices of the ECB issues of gender appear to have been eradicated. The assimilation of the women's game into the men's organisation is considered a positive move for the game. It seems that this is accepted uncritically and little attempt is made to monitor the development of the women's game. To consider gender as an issue that is no longer salient ignores the exclusions that it produces. By not adequately addressing gender inequalities within cricket the persistence of imbalances of power within gender relations are ignored. For those who know that the England women won the Ashes, this can be given as an example of the fact that female cricketers must be getting a 'good deal'. An added issue is that women blame other women because the women's game has not developed i.e. some of the women noted that girls and women are just not interested in or just do not want to play cricket. When organisations appear to be supporting women's sport and women do not play, females are blamed for not being interested in the game of cricket. This reinforces common sense beliefs that females are not interested in male sport.

One of the questions asked in the thesis, and concentrated on in Chapter Seven was, why do women and girls play cricket? Feminist literature largely suggests that females play cricket for reasons related to empowerment. Dunning (1999) however contests this. Instead he suggests that more females play sport in search of *the quest for*

excitement. This was an exploratory chapter that looked at the reasons behind why females might participate in cricket. Many of the girls and women pointed to the importance of friendship as a motivation for their continual involvement in cricket. Sociability, as discussed by Elias and Dunning (1986), featured as a motivation for their involvement in the game. This might indicate one way that males and females experience *the quest for excitement* differently. As Elias and Dunning (1986) focused predominantly on male sport for their research it is likely that there are gender differences between males' and females' *quest for excitement*. Perhaps neither empowerment nor *the quest for excitement* provides a wholly accurate portrayal of the women's experiences. Women do not appear empowered and motility and mimesis do not appear wholly significant.

Despite the fact that sociability clearly impacted on the experiences of the female cricketers, it was also evident that sociability can be characterised by inequalities and imbalances of power. These divisions were based along the lines of sexuality, age and class and point to two interrelated issues: women are not a homogeneous group: women have not cohesively merged to challenge their subordinate social status or group disgrace. Furthermore it reinforces the figural notion of power, as a structural part of all relationships, even friendships. Given this it is perhaps a little simplistic to consider sport as automatically empowering for women. The problem with the term empowerment, from a figural perspective, is that it views power as something that a person can possess. On the contrary, power is part of all relationships and is relational. For the girls in this study who were on the outside of the friendship groups and were marginalised in the U15 team, cricket was not a particularly empowering experience. There is no reason to assume that female athletes would be more aware than other females, or males, of the interdependent relationships and power relations they are enmeshed. Sport can be used as a vehicle to explore these relationships but it does not automatically transpire that women involved in sport identify the power struggles they are part of. Ultimately, female cricketers develop strategies for their involvement in male sport by asserting that despite their involvement men are better cricketers than females. This understanding partly emerges because of the perceived biological advantages that males have.

Throughout this thesis I have painted a sociological picture of female experiences of playing cricket. However, one of issue that has not been addressed in this thesis is the relationship between race, gender and cricket. Scraton *et al* (2005) and Ratna (2006) have both vocalised the need for sociologists of sport to consider the intersectional nature of gender and race relations within sport. MacDonald and Urga (1998) and more recently by Williams (2001) have examined men's cricket and race relations in detail. The reason however, that it was not part of this study was that this was not the focus. Also it did not emerge as a strong theme, partly because I only came across one Asian female cricketer who played. Despite the fact that Asian and Black females were not visible in my study, it does not automatically transpire that they are not playing cricket. The fact, that they were absent in the cricket figuration in county A however, suggests that this is an area which requires further study. Given the work on race and men's cricket it would seem that a similar study in women's cricket on race and gender relations would be a fruitful research project.

It is clear from this thesis that women's cricket has developed since the emergence of the WCA in 1926. Changes in balances of power between some males and some females are evident, both within sport and in wider relations between the sexes. In terms of the development of women's cricket, as a result of their increasing involvement in a range of sports, females have more opportunities to play cricket. In cricket, in line with broader examples of functional democratisation, power inequalities between males and females have decreased but they have not equalised. What this thesis demonstrates is that women's cricket emerged as the consequence of a variety of moral, historical, financial and organisational processes. The thesis also demonstrates that a figural understanding of gender relations can take place, it does not claim to hold all the answers, but it can contribute to our understanding of the gendered experience of female cricketers.

In concluding this thesis it can be suggested that cricket can no longer be considered a true male preserve. Gender relations, are a type of unequal power relations, there are an integral, enduring part of female cricketers' experiences of the cricket figuration. Furthermore, the testimonies of contemporary female cricketers demonstrate that they remain 'outsiders' in the cricket figuration. That is to say, through a variety of processes, they remain *on the margins of male cricket*.

References

- Aapola, S., Gonick, M., and Harris, A. (2005). *Young Femininity: Girlhood, Power, Social Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillian.
- Acosta, R. V., and Carpenter, L.J. (1990). Women in Intercollegiate Sport: A Longitudinal Study- Thirteen Year Update, 1977-1990. *Unpublished Manuscript*. Brooklyn College, NY.
- Ahmed, S. and Stacey, J. (2002). *Thinking Through the Skin*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Anderson, E. (2005). *In the Game: Gay Athletes and the Cult of Masculinity*. New York: State University New York Press.
- Armstrong, G. (1993). Like that Desmond Morris. In D.Hobbs and T. May. (eds.), *Interpreting the Field*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1966). *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1990). Generalizing from Case Studies. In E.W Eisner & A. Pecking (Eds.), *Qualitative Enquiry in Education: The Continuing Debate*. London: Teachers College Press.
- Benny, M. and Hughes, E. (1956). Of Sociology and the Interview. *American Journal of Sociology*, 62, 137-42.
- Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society 1887-1910*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Birley, D. (1999). *A Social History of English Cricket*. London: Aurum Press.
- Birrell, S., and Ritcher, D.M. (1994). Is a Diamond Forever? Feminist Transformations of Sport. in S. Birrell & C. Cole, (eds.), *Women, Sport and Culture*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- Blinde, E.M., Taub, D. E, & Han, L. (1994) Sport as a Site for the Women's Group and Societal Empowerment: Perspectives from the College Athletes. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11,(1), 51-59.
- Bloyce, D. (2004). Research is a Messy Process: A Case Study of Figurational Sociology Approach to Conventional Issues in Social Science. *Graduate Journal of Social Issues*, (1), 144-166.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. London: Routledge.

- Brackenridge, C. (1999). Managing Myself: Investigator Survival in Sensitive Research. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 34, (4), 399-410.
- Brackenridge, C. (2001). *Spoilsports: Understanding and Preventing Sexual Exploitation in Sport*. London: Routledge.
- Brookes, C. (1978). *English Cricket: The Game and it's Players Through the Ages*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Brown, D. and Rich, E. (2002). Gender Positioning as Pedagogical Practice in Teaching Physical Education. In D. Penney, (eds.) *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions*. London: Routledge.
- Brinkgreve, C. (2003). On Modern Relationships: The Commandments of the New Freedom. In E. Dunning and N. Elias. (eds.), *Norbert Elias*. London: Sage.
- Brinkgreve, C. (2004). Elias and Gender Relations: The Changing Balance of Power between the Sexes. In S. Loyal and S. Quilley, (eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bryson, L. (1994). Sport and the Maintenance of Male Hegemony. In S. Birrell and C. Cole (eds.), *Women, Sport and Culture*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- Burroughs, A., Ashburn, L., and Seebohm, L. (1995). Add Sex and Stir: Homophobic Coverage of Women's Cricket in Australia. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 19, 256-284.
- Burstyn, V. (1999). *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics and the Culture of Sport*. London: University of Toronto Press.
- Burton Nelson, M. (1994). *The Stronger Women get the More Men Love Football*. London: Women's Press.
- Burdsey, D. (2004). *From Brick Lane to White Hart Lane? Football, Anti-racism and Young, Male, British Asian Identities*. Thesis (PhD). Brunel University.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cahn, S. (1994a). From Muscle Moll to the Butch Ball Player. Mannishness, Lesbianism and Homophobia in U.S Women's Sport. In M. Vicinus (eds.), *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Cahn, S. (1994b). *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in 20th Century Women's Sport*. USA: Harvard University Press.

- Cauldwell, J. (1999). Women's Football in the UK: Theorising Gender and Unpacking the Butch Lesbian Image. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23, (4), 390-402.
- Castelnuovo & Guthrie, S. (1998). *Feminism and the Female Body*. London: Lyenne Rienner.
- Chafetz, J. S and Kotarba, J.A. (1999). Little League Mothers and the Reproduction of Gender. In J. Coakley and P. Donnelly, (eds.), *Inside Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Coakley, J. (2006). The Good Father: Parental Expectations and Youth Sport. *Leisure Studies*, 25, 2(), 153-163.
- Coakley, J and White, A. (1999). Making Decisions: How Young People Become Involved and Stay Involved in Sports. In J. Coakley, & P. Donnelly (eds.), *Inside Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Colwell, S. (1999). Feminisms and Figural Sociology: Contributions to the Understanding of Sports, Physical Education and Sex/Gender. *European Physical Education Review*, 5, 3(), 219-240.
- Cooky, C. and McDonald, M.G. (2005). 'If You Let Me Play': Young Girls Insider-Other Narratives of Sport. *Sociology of Sport*, 22, 158-177.
- Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and Power in Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Connell, R. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cox, B., and Thompson, S. (2000). Multiple Bodies: Sportswomen, Soccer and Sexuality. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 35, (1), 5-20.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1992). *Flow: The Psychology of Happiness*. New York: Harper and Row.
- David, M. (2005). *Science in Society*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Deem, R. and Gilroy, S. (1998). Physical Activity, Life Long Learning and Empowerment- Situating Sport in Women's Leisure. *Sport Education and Society*, 3, (1), 89-104.
- Denison, J., and Markula, P. (2003). *Moving Writing: Crafting Movement in Sport Research*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

- Devine, F. and Heath, S. (1999). *Sociological Research Methods in Context*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- DeGraw, G. (2005). *Chariot*. UK: BMG.
- Donnelly, P. & Young, K. (1999). Rock climbers and Rugby Players: Identity Construction and Confirmation. In J. Coakley and P. Donnelly, (eds.), *Inside Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Dopson, S. (2003). Applying an Eliasian Approach to Organisational Analysis. In E. Dunning and S. Mennell, (eds.), *Norbert Elias: Volume IV*. London, Sage.
- Dowling, C. (2000). *The Frailty Myth*. USA: Random House.
- Dowling NÆess, F. (2001). Narratives about Young Men and Masculinities in Organised Sport in Norway. *Sport, Education and Society*, 6, (2), 125 -142.
- Dunning, E. (1992). Figurational Sociology and the Sociology of Sport: Some Concluding Remarks. In E. Dunning and C. Rojek, (eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process; Critique and Counter Critique*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dunning, E. (1996). On Problems of the Emotions in Sport and Leisure: Critical and Counter-critical Comments on the Conventional and Figurational Sociologies of Sport and Leisure. *Leisure Studies*, 15, 185-207.
- Dunning, E. (1999). *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilization*. London: Routledge.
- Dunning, E. (2003). Power and Authority in the Public Schools (1700-1850): A Case Study and Conceptual Discussion. In E. Dunning and S. Mennell, (eds.), *Norbert Elias*. London: Sage.
- Dunning, E. (2003). 'The Figurational Dynamics of Racial Stratification: A Conceptual Discussion and Development Analysis of Black-White Relations in the United States' In E. Dunning and S. Mennell, (eds.), *Norbert Elias: Volume 2*. London: Sage.
- Dunning, E. & Sheard, K. (2005). *Barbarians, Gentleman and Players: 2nd Edition*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Dyck, N. (2000). *Games, Sports and Cultures*. Oxford: Berg Publications.
- ECB Racism Study Group (1999). *Clean Bowl Racism, Going Forward Together, A Report of Racial Equality in Cricket*. London: ECB Racism Study Group.
- ECB (2001). *A Cricketing Future for all Developing Cricket from Playground to the Test Arena: The National Strategy for Cricket*. Lords: ECB.

- ECB (2006). *Over to You*. London: ECB.
- ECB (2006). *Planning for Long term Success*. London: ECB.
- Elias, N. (1978). *What is Sociology?*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
- Elias, N. (1983). *The Court Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1986). The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem. In E. Dunning and N. Elias, (Eds.), *Quest for Excitement Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1987a). *Involvement and Detachment*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Elias, N. (1987b). The Changing Balance of Power between the Sexes – A Process-Sociological Study: The Example of Ancient Roman State. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 4, (2), 287-316.
- Elias, N. (1991). *The Society of Individuals*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Elias, N. (1994). *Reflections of a Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Elias, N. (1969/1996). *The Germans*. London: Polity Press.
- Elias, N. (2000). *The Civilising Process: A Revised Edition*. UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Elias, N. & Dunning, E. (1986). *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Elias, N. and Scotson, J. (1994). *The Established and Outsiders*. London: Sage.
- Ernst, S. (2003). From Blame Gossip to Praise Gossip?: Gender, Leadership and Organisational Change. *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 10, (3), 277-299.
- Fasting, K. and Pfister, G. (2000). Female and Male Coaches in the Eyes of Female Elite Soccer Players. *European Physical Education Review*. 6, (1), 91-108.
- Felson, R. and Cares, A. (2005). Gender and the Seriousness of Assaults on Intimate Partners and Other Victims. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 1182-1195.
- Fielding, N. (2003). *Interviewing*. Sage Publications.
- Fielding, N. & Lee, R. (1998). *Computer Analysis and Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Fletcher, S. (1987) 'The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England, 1880-1980' in J.A Mangan and R. Park, (eds.), *From Fair Sex to Feminism; Sport and Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial eras*. London: Frank Cass and Company LTD.

- Flick, U. (2006). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research: Third Edition*. London: Sage Publications.
- Flintoff, A. and Scraton, S. (2005). Gender and Physical Education. In K. Green and K. Hardmann, (Eds.), *Physical Education Essential Issues*. London: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1991). *A History of Sexuality: Volume 1*. New York: Vintage.
- Francis, A. (2003). *Gender Studies: Terms and Debates*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Giulianoitti, R. (2004). Civilising Games: Norbert Elias and the Sociology of Sport. R. Giulianotti, (Eds.), *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goffman, E. (1991). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Penguin.
- Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H. (2002). Forty Years On: Norbert Elias and the Young Workers Project. *CLMS Working Paper No35*. University of Leicester.
- Goudsblom, J. (1977). *Sociology in the Balance*. Basil Blackwell: Oxford.
- Gouldner, A. (1973). *For Sociology: Renewal and Critique in Sociology Today*. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth.
- Gorely, T., Holroyd, R. and Kirk, D. (2003). Muscularity, the Habitus and the Social Construction of Gender: towards a gender-relevant physical education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24, (4), 429-448.
- Gratton, C. and Jones, I. (2004). *Research Methods for Sport Studies*. Routledge: London.
- Green, E. (1998). Women Doing Friendships': An Analysis of Women's Leisure as a Site of Identity Construction, Empowerment and Resistance. *Leisure Studies*, 1,(7), 171-185.
- Green, K. (2002) 'Physical Education Teachers in their Everyday Figurations: A Sociological Analysis of Everyday 'Philosophies'', *Sport, Education and Society*, 7, (1), 65-83.
- Green, K. (2003). *Physical Education Teachers on Physical Education: A Sociological Study of Philosophies and Ideologies*. Chester: Chester Academic Press.
- Green, K., Smith, A., Bloyce, D. (2005). Violence, Competition and the Emergence and Development of Modern Sports: Reflections on the Stokvis-Malcolm debate. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40, 1, 119-123.

- Griffin, P. (1992). Changing the Game: Homophobia, Sexism and Lesbians in Sport. *Quest*, 44, 251-265.
- Guttmann, A. (1991). *Women's Sports: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hall, A. (1985). Knowledge and Gender: Epistemological Questions in the Social Analysis of Sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 2, 25-42
- Harding, S. (1986). Is there a Feminist Method? In Kemp and Squire, (eds.), *Feminisms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harding, S. (1991). *Whose Science, Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Hargreaves, J. (1986). The Victorian Cult of the Family and the Early Years of Female Sport. In E. Dunning, J. Maguire and R. Pearton, (eds.), *The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- Hargreaves, J. (1992). Sex, Gender and The Civilising Process: Has there been a Civilising Process? In E. Dunning and C. Rojek, (eds.), *Sport and Leisure in The Civilising Process; Critique and Counter Critique*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hargreaves, J. (1994). *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, J. (1997). Muscles, Metaphors and Myths: Examining Women's sporting Bodies. *Inaugural Lecture*. Surrey. Roehampton Institute.
- Hargreaves, J. (2000). *Heroines of Sport*. London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, J. (2004). Querying Sport Feminism? Personal or Political? In R. Giulianoitti, (eds.), *Sport and Modern Social theorists*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillian.
- Harper, L. (1960). *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Oxford: New Windmill Series.
- Hemphill, D. & Symons, C. (2002). *Gender, Sexuality and Sport: A Dangerous Mix*. Australia: Walla Walla Press.
- Henrich, S. (2004). ICC saves women's world cup {Online} Available from www.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/cricket/3844103.stm {Accessed 30 June 2004 }
- Henry, J. and Comeaux, H.P. (1999). Gender Egalitarianism in COED Sport. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 34, (3), 277-290.

- Hey, V. (1997). *The Company She Keeps: Ethnography of Girl's Friendships*. Open University Press: Buckingham.
- Heyhoe Flint, R. and Rheinberg, N. (1976). *Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket*. Bucks: Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd.
- Heywood, L. & Dworkin, S. (2003). *Built to Win: The Female Athlete as a Cultural Icon*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hill Collins, P. (1990). *Black Feminist thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. London, Unwin Hyman.
- Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Houlihan, B. & White, A. (2002). *The Politics of Sports Development*. London: Routledge.
- hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre*. Boston: Southend Press.
- Howe, P. (2003). Kicking stereotypes in to touch: an ethnographic account of women's rugby. In Bolin and Granskog, (eds.), *Athletic Intruders: Ethnographic Research on women culture and Exercise*. Albany: New York Press.
- Howe, D. (2004). *Sport, Professionalism and Pain: Ethnographies of injury and risk*. London: Routledge.
- Hughes, J. (1998). Norbert Elias. In R. Stones, (eds.), *Key Sociological Thinkers*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- ISA (2006). Books of the Century. Available from http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/books/vt/bkv_000.htm. (Accessed 12 April 2006).
- Jarvie, G. (2000). Sport, Racism and Ethnicity. In Coakley & Dunning (eds.) *Handbook of Sport Studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Jarvie, G. and Maguire, J. (1994). *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought*. London: Routledge.
- Jenks, C. (1998). *Core Sociological Dichotomies*. London: Sage
- Johnson, M. P. (2005). Domestic Violence: it's all about Gender – Or is it? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 1126-1130.
- Joy, N. (1950). *A Maiden Over: A Short History of Women's Cricket*. London: Sporting Handbooks LTD.
- Kay, T. (2006). 'Where's Dad? Fatherhood in Leisure Studies', *Leisure Studies*, 25, 2, 133-152.
- Kidd, W. (2002). *Culture and Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

- Kilminster, R. (1998). *The Sociological Revolution*. London: Routledge.
- Kilminster, R. (2004). From Distance to Detachment: Knowledge and Self-Knowledge in Elias' Theory of Involvement and Detachment. In S. Loyal and S. Quilley, (eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kilminster, R. and Mennell, S. (2003). Norbert Elias. In G. Ritzer (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists*. London: Blackwell.
- Krane, V. and Barber, H. (2003). Lesbians Experiences in Sport: A Social Identity Perspective. *QUEST*, 55, 328-346.
- Krenske, L. and McKay, J. (2000). 'Hard and Heavy': Gender and Power in a Heavy Metal Music Subculture. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7, (3), 287 – 304.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
- Laker, A., Laker, J.C. and Lea, S. (2003). School Experience and the Issue of Gender. *Sport, Education and Society*, 8, (1), 73- 89.
- Lawler, S. (2005). Class, Culture and Identity. *Sociology*, 39, 5, 797-807.
- Lawson, M. (2005). Giants on a Dingy. *Guardian*, 14th September.
- Lawton. (1930). 'Why Women Should Play Cricket'. *Women's Cricket Association*, September 1930.
- LeBlanc, R. (2005). "The Sum of all Fears" Reconciling Sport and Sexuality. Unpublished Conference Paper presented at ISSA, December 2005, Buenos Aires.
- Lenskyj, H. (1986). *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality*. Toronto: Women's Press.
- Lenskyj, H. (1991). Combating Homophobia in Sport and Physical Education. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8, 61-69.
- Liston, K. (2006). Women's Soccer in the Republic of Ireland: Some Preliminary Sociological Comments. *Soccer and Society*, 7, (2) , 364 – 384.
- Lock, R.A. (2003). The Doping Ban: Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbophobia. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 38, (4), 397-411.
- Loyal, S. (2004). Elias on Class and Stratification. In S. Loyal and S. Quilley, (eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lyle, J. (2002). *Sports Coaching Concepts: A Framework for Coaches Behaviour*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonald, D. (2001). Extending Agendas: Physical Culture Research for the Twenty-First Century. In D. Penney, (eds.), *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonald, I. and Urga, S. (1998). *Anyone for Cricket? Equal Opportunities and Changing Cricket Cultures in Essex and East London*. London: Roehampton Institute for New Ethnicities Research. University of East London.
- MacDonald, M. (2000). The Marketing of the Women's National Basketball Association and the Making of Post Feminism, *International Review for Sociology of Sport*. 1, 35-47
- MacPhail and Kirk, D. (2006). Young People's Socialisation into Sport: Experiencing the Specialising Phase. *Leisure Studies*, 25, (1), 57-74.
- Maguire, J. (1988). Doing figurational sociology: some preliminary observations on methodological issues and sensitising concepts. *Leisure Studies*, 7, 187-193.
- Maguire, J. (1991). Towards a Sociological Theory of Sport and the Emotions: A Figural Perspective. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 26, 25-33.
- Maguire, J. (2003). Towards a Sociological Theory of Sport and the Emotions: A Process – Sociological Perspective. In E. Dunning and S. Mennell, (eds.), *Norbert Elias: Volume 3*. London,: Sage.
- Maguire, J. and Mansfield, L. (1998). "No-Body's Perfect": Women, Aerobics, and the Body Beautiful. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 15, 109-137.
- Malcolm, D. (1997). Stacking in Cricket: A Figural Re-appraisal of Centrality. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14, (3), 265-84.
- Malcolm, D. (2002). Cricket and Civilising Processes: A Response to Stokvis. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37, (1), 37-57.
- Malcolm, D. (2004). Cricket: Civilising and De-civilising Process in the Imperial Game. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington, (eds.), *Sport Histories: Figural Studies in the development of Modern Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Malcolm, D. (2005). The Emergence, Codification and Diffusion of Sport: Theoretical and Conceptual Issues. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 40, (1), 115-118.

- Malinowski, B. (1932/2001). *The sexual life of savages in north-western Melanesia : an ethnographic account of courtship, marriage, and family life among the natives of the Trobriand islands, British New Guinea*. Pacific: University Press of the Pacific.
- Mansfield, L. (2002). Feminist and Figurational Sociology: Dialogue and Potential Synthesis. In J. Maguire and K. Young (eds). *Theory, Sport, and Society*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching: Second Edition*. London: Sage.
- May, T. (1999). Reflectivity and Sociological Practice. *Sociological Research Online*, www.socresonline.org.uk/4/3/may.
- May, T. (2001). *Social Research Issues, Methods and Processes*. Oxford: Open University Press.
- Maykut, P. and Moorhouse, R. (1994). *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophical and Practical Guide*. London: Routledge.
- Maynard, M. (1999). Gender Relations. In S.Taylor, (Eds.), *Sociology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Maynard, M. & Purvis, J. (1994). *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- McCaughey, M. (1997). *Real Knockouts: The Physical Feminism of Women's Self-Defence*. New York: New York Press.
- McCrone, K. (1988). *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914*. London: Routledge
- McGinnis, L., McQuillan, J. and Chapple, C. (2005). I Just Want to Play: Women, Sexism and Persistence in Golf. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 29, (3), 313-337.
- McRobbie, A. (2000). *Feminism and Youth Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Mennell, S. (1990). The Sociological Study of History: Institutions and Social Development. In C.G.A. Bryant and H.A. Becker (eds.) *What Has Sociology Achieved?*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- Mennell, S. (1974). *Sociological Theory: Uses and Unities*. London: Thomas Nelson and Son Ltd.
- Mennell, S. (1992). *Norbert Elias: An Introduction*. Ireland: University College Dublin Press.

- Mennell, S. (2001). *The Other Side of the Coin: Decivilising Processes*. In T. Salumets, (eds.), *Norbert Elias and Human Interdependencies*. London: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Menesson, C. (2000). Hard Women and 'Soft' Women: the Social Construction of Identities among Female Boxers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35, 1, 21-33.
- Menesson, C. and Clement, J-P. (2003). Homosociability and Homosexuality: The Case of Soccer Played by Women. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 38, 3, 311-330.
- Messner, M. (1992). *Power at Play*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Messner, M. (2002). *Taking the Field: Women, Men and Sport*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mies, M. (1986). *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Mills, C.W. (2000). *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moghaddam, F. (2002). *The Individual and Society: A Cultural Integration*. USA: Worth Publishers.
- Murphy, S. (1999). *The Cheers and the Tears: A Healthy Alternative to the Dark Side of Youth Sports Today*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Murphy, P., Waddington, I., and Sheard, K. (2000). Figural Sociology. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning (eds.), *Handbook of Sport Studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. and Layder, D. (1994). *Methods, Sex and Madness*. London: Routledge.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing Women a Contradiction in Terms. In H. Roberts, (eds.), *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge.
- Orwell, G. (1937). *The Road to Wigan Pier*. London: Secker & Warburg Ltd.
- Patton, C. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Parry, M. and Malcolm, D. (2004). 'England's Barmy Army': Commercialisation, Masculinity and Nationalism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 39, (1), 75-94.
- Pawson, R. (2000). Methodology. In S. Taylor (eds.). *Sociology: Issues and Debates*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

- Pearsall, J. (1998). *New Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Penney, D. (2001). *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions*. London: Routledge.
- Perry, C., Thurston, M. and Green, K. (2004). Involvement and Detachment in Researching Sexuality: Reflections on the Process of Semi-Structured Interviewing. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14, 135-148.
- Pettus, E. (1998). From the Suburbs to the Sports Arenas. In L. Smith, (eds.), *Nike is a Goddess: The History of Women in Sports*. New York: Athletics Monthly Press.
- Pink, S. (1997). *Women and Bullfighting: Gender, Sex and Consumption of Tradition*. Oxford: Berg.
- Pollard, M. (1930). Women and Cricket. In R.D. Jardine (eds.), *Cricket how to Succeed*. London: Jardine for National Union of Teachers.
- Placek, J. H., Dodds, P., Doolittle, S.A., Portman, P. A., Ratcliffe, T.A. and Pinkham, K.M. (1995). Teaching Recruits' Physical Education Backgrounds and Beliefs about Purposes for their Subject Matter. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*. 14, 246-261.
- Prendagast, S. (1978). Stoolball – The Pursuit of Vertigo. *Women Studies International Quarterly*, 1, 15-26.
- Pryke, S. (2004). Some of Our People can be the Most Difficult. Reflections on Difficult Interviews. *Sociological Review Online*, 9, (1), 1-17.
- Puwar, N. and P. Raghuram (2003). (Dis)locating South Asian Women in the Academy in N. Puwar and P. Raghuram, (Eds.), *South Asian Women in the Diaspora*. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Quilley, S. and Loyal, S. (2005). Eliasian Sociology as a Central Theory for the Human Sciences. *Current Sociology*, 53, (5), 807-828.
- Ratna, A (2003). Young, Female and 'South Asian': An Investigation into the Experiences of Girls and Women of 'South Asian' Origin Playing Competitive Levels of Football in England. *Unpublished paper: Brunel University*.
- Ratna, A. (2006). There's no Racism in Women's Football, or Is There? British Asian Females' Gendered experiences of 'Race' and Racism. *Paper Forthcoming*.
- Rainsborough, J. (2002). Feminist Theory- A Question of Difference. In I. Marsh, (Eds.), *Theory and Practice in Sociology*. Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

- Ramsay, K. (1993). Emotional Labour and Qualitative Research: How I Learnt Not to Laugh or Cry in the Field. In S, Lyons and J, Busfield, (eds.), *Methodological Imaginations*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Rees, T. (1998). *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Market*. London: Routledge.
- Rich, A. (1979). *On Lies, Secrets and Silence: Selected Prose 1966-1978*. New York: W.W Norton.
- Roberts. K. (1999). *Leisure in Contemporary Society*. Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- Roderick, M. (2003). *Work, Self and the Transformation of Identity, A Sociological Study of the Careers of Professional Footballers*. Thesis (PhD). University of Leicester.
- Rojek, C. (1992). The Field of Play in Sport and Leisure Studies. In E. Dunning and C. Rojek (eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process: Critique and Counter Critique*. London: Macmillan.
- Rosenhan, D. (1973) 'On being sane in insane places', *Science*, 179, (19) 250-8.
- Roth, A. and Basow, S. A. (2004). Femininity, Sports, and Feminism: Developing a Theory of Physical Liberation. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 28, (3), 245-265.
- Sandiford, K. (1983). Cricket and the Victorian Society. *Journal of Social History*, 17, 303-317.
- Scraton, S. (1992). *Shaping Up To Womanhood: Gender and Girls Physical Education*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Scraton, S. (1994). The Changing World of Women and Leisure-Feminism, 'Post Feminism' and Leisure'. *Leisure Studies*, 249-261.
- Scraton, S. and Watson, B. (1998). Gendered Cities: Women and Public Leisure Space in the Post Modern City. *Leisure Studies*, 123-137.
- Scraton, S., Bunnell, A., Fasting, K. and Pfister, G. (1999). Is It Still A Man's Game? The Experiences of Top Level European Women Footballers. *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 34, (2), 99-111.
- Scraton, S., Caudwell, J. and Holland, S. (2005). 'Bend it Like Patel': Centring Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England', *International Review for Sociology of Sport*, 40, (1), 71-88.

- Shaw, S. and Slack, T. (2002). 'It's Been Like That for Donkey Years': The Construction of Gender Relations and the Culture of Sports Organisations. *Sport in Society*, 5, (1), 86-106.
- Shilling, C. (2005). *The Body and Social Theory: Second Edition*. London: Sage Publications.
- Shorter, E. (1982). *History of Women's Bodies*. London: Sage.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of Class and Gender*. London: Sage.
- Skeggs, B. (1999). Matter Out of Place: Visibility and Sexualities in Leisure Spaces. *Leisure Studies*, 18, 213-232.
- Snyder, E.E. and Spreitzer, E. (1989) *Social Aspects of Sport*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ Prentice Hall.
- Smith, D. (1984). Review Article: Norbert Elias-Established or Outsider? *Sociology Review*, 32, 367-389
- Smith, D. (2001). *Norbert Elias and Modern Social Theory*. London: Sage.
- Sparkes, A. (1992). *Research in Physical Education and Sport: Exploring Alternative Visions*. London: Falmer Press.
- Sparkes, A. (2002). *Telling Tales in Sport and Physical Activity: A Qualitative Journey*. Human Kinetics: Leeds.
- Sport England (1994). *Young People and Sport in England: A Survey of Young People and PE Teachers*. London: Sport England
- Sport England (2001) *Young People and Sport in England 1999: A Survey of Young People and PE Teachers*. London: Sport England.
- Sport England. (2003). *Young People and Sport in England; Trends in Participation 1994-2002*. London: Sport England.
- Stakes, R. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.
- Stell, M. (1991). *History of Australian Women in Sport*. Australia: Angus Robertson Book.
- Stoddart, M.C.J. (2004). Generalizability and Qualitative Research in a Post Modern World. *Graduate Journal of Social Sciences*, 1, (2), 303-315.
- Stokvis, R. (1992). Sport and Civilisation: Is Violence the Central Problem?. In E. Dunning and C. Rojek (eds.), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process: Critique and Counter-Critique*. Basingstoke: Macmillian.

- Strandbu, A. and Hegna, K. (2006). Experiences of Body and Gender Identity among Young Female Norwegian Basketball Players. *Sport in Society*, 9, (1), 108-127.
- Swingewood, A. (1999). Sociological Theory. In S.Taylor, (eds.), *Sociology: Issues and Debates*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sugden, J. and Tomlinson, A. (1999). Digging the Dirt and Staying Clean: Retrieving the Investigative Tradition for a Critical Sociology of Sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 34, (4), 385-397.
- Sugden, J. and Tomlinson, A. (2000). Theorising Sport, Social Class and Status. In J. Coakley and E. Dunning, (eds.), *Handbook of Sport Studies*. London: Sage.
- Sykes, H. (2004). Pedagogies of Censorship, Injury, and Masochism: Teacher Responses to Homophobic Speech in Physical Education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 36, (1), 75-99.
- Talbot, M. (2002). Playing with Patriarchy: The Gendered Dynamics of Sports Organisations. In S. Scraton and A. Flintoff (eds.), *Gender and Sport: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Taylor, S.J. and Bogdan, R. (1998). *Qualitative Research Methods; A Guidebook and Resource*. Canada: John Wiley & Sons, inc.
- Theberge, N. (2000:a) *Higher Goals Ice Hockey and the Politics of Gender*, New York State University Press.
- Theberge, N. (2000b). Gender and Sport. In J. Coakley & E. Dunning, (eds.), *Handbook of Sport Studies*. London, Sage.
- Theberge, N. (2003). No Fear Comes: Adolescent Girls, Ice Hockey and the Embodiment of Gender. *Youth and Society*, 34, (4), 497-516.
- Thing, L.F. (2001). The Female Warrior: Meanings of Play-Aggressive Emotions in Sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 36, (3), 275-288.
- Thompson, S. (1999). *Mother's Taxi: Sport and Women's Labour*. New York: New York University Press.
- Thompson, S. (2002). Sport Feminisms. In J. Maguire and K. Young, (eds.), *Theory, Sport and Society*. London: RSS.
- Thornham, S. (1999). Second Wave Feminism. In Gamble (eds.), *Icon Critical Dictionary of Feminism and Post feminism*. Cambridge: Icon Books.
- Thorpe, H. (2005). Jibbing the Gender Order: Females in the Snowboarding Culture. *Sport in Society*, 8, (1), 76-100.

- Tomlinson, A. (2004) Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Sport. In R. Giulianotti, (Eds.), *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Treibel, A. (2001). The Changing Balance of Power between Men and Women: A Figural Study of the Public and Private Spheres in Western Societies. In T. Salumets, (Eds.), *Norbert Elias and Human Interdependencies*. London: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Tseelon, E (2001). *The Masque of Femininity*. London: Sage.
- Twitchen, A. (2004). The Influence of State Formation Processes on the Early Development of Motor Racing. In E. Dunning, D. Malcolm, I. Waddington. (Eds.), *Sport Histories: Figural Studies in the Development of Modern Sport*. Taylor & Francis.
- UKSport. (2006). *Women in Sport > The State of Play 2006*. UKSport.
- Van Stolk, B. and Wouters, C. (1987). Power Changes and Self Respect: A Comparison of Two Cases of Established-Outsider Relations. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 4, 477-88.
- van Krieken, R. (1998). *Norbert Elias*. London: Routledge
- Vertinsky, P (1990). *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Exercise, and Doctors in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Veri, M. (1999). Homophobic Discourse Surrounding the Female Athlete. *Quest*, 51, 355-368.
- Vertinsky, P (2003). Body Shapes: The Role of the Medical Establishment in Informing Female Exercise and Physical Education in Nineteenth-Century North America. In E. Dunning and D. Malcolm, (eds.), *Sport: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Wacquant, L. (2004). Decivilising and Demonising: The Remaking of Black American Ghetto. In S. Loyal and Quilley, S (eds.). *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waddington, I. (2000). *Sport, Health and Drugs, A Critical Sociological Perspective*. London: E& F. N. Spon.
- Walkerdine, V. (1997). *Daddy's Girl: Young Girls and Popular Culture*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Weber, M. (1949). *The methodology of the social sciences*. New York: Free Press.
- Weedon, I. (1999). *Feminist Theory and the Politics of Difference*. UK: Blackwells.

- Whitson, D. (1994). The Embodiment of Gender: Discipline, Domination and Empowerment. In S. Birrell and C. L. Cole (eds.). *Women, Sport and Culture*. Leeds: Human Kinetics.
- Whyte, W.F. (1969). *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. UK: Gower.
- Williams, A. and Bedward, J. (2002). Understanding Girls' Experience of Physical Education: Relational Analysis and Situated Learning. In D. Penney, (eds.), *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, J. (1999). *Cricket and England: A Cultural and Social History of the Inter-War Years*. London: Frank Cass.
- William, J. (2001). *Cricket and Race*. Oxford: Berg.
- Wilson, T. C. (2002). 'The Paradox of Social Class and Sports Involvement: The Roles of Cultural and Economic Capital'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37, 1, 5-14.
- Women's Cricket Association (1930) Women's Cricket Monthly Magazine. May.
- Woodward, K. (2000). *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class and Nation*. London: Routledge.
- Woodward, K. (2004). Rumbles in the Jungle: Boxing, Racialization and the Performance of Masculinity. *Leisure Studies*, 23, (1), 5-17.
- www.ecb.co.uk
- <http://www.cricinfo.com/db/WOMEN/>
- http://www.worcestershirewomen.co.uk/Womens_Cricket_History.html
- Young, I. (1990). Throwing Like A Girl: A Phenomenology of Feminine Body Comportment, Motility and Spatiality. I. Young, (eds.), *Throwing Like A Girl and Other Essays in Feminists Philosophy and Social Theory*. USA.
- Zalawski, M. (2000). *Feminism after Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
- Zwann, Y. (2004). On Civilising and Decivilising Processes: A Theoretical Discussion. In E. Dunning and S. Mennell, (eds.), *Norbert Elias*. London: Sage.

Appendix One

Background to U15 Interviewees

Sophie

Sophie is 14 and is white, she started playing cricket when she was 11. She has been playing for the county for 2 years. Sophie feels an outsider in the county cricket team and prefers playing at club level, as there is more 'camaraderie'. She feels that lack of summer training has resulted in a poor 'team spirit'. She has often felt like stopping playing county cricket due to the internal politics of the team

Sophie has never played cricket at her all girls' school but her mum is trying to cooperate with the PE department to get a coach in to do some after school activities. Sophie still plays for her boys club and finds it an enjoyable experience. Sophie would like to continue playing cricket and hopes to play for the county women's 1st team and play in the super fours tournament.

Natalie

Natalie started playing cricket when she was 10. She got involved because the primary school team needed a girl on the team because of regulations that insisted teams were mixed.

Natalie is also involved in Eastcote club which is a boys club, she plays on the B side. She says she prefers girls cricket because it's easier for her to bond with the team, yet she feels satisfied when playing boys cricket because she likes proving people wrong by showing she can play cricket.

Natalie is involved in other sports including hockey rounders, netball and athletics. She enjoys cricket the most because she feels it has a good social side to it. She says that some people on the team meet up outside of cricket and 'hang out'. Natalie talked

about how at the end of this year she will no longer be able to play for the U15 team and since there is no U17.

Harriet

Harriet started playing cricket at a very early age as her dad is heavily involved in playing cricket. She started playing cricket for the county at 9 and has played at U11, U13 and U15, although Harriet is only 13 she plays consistently at U15 level. Her older sister has never been interested in sport. Harriet used to play boys football but due to restrictions that stop mixed football at the age of 11 she no longer able to play at school.

Harriet is most talented girl on the team and recently won the countrywide Natwest "Speed Star" competition to find the fastest girl bowler. Harriet is serious about succeeding in cricket yet people have told her she is throwing her life away by pursuing this pathway. Harriet really wants to play cricket for England, but she is aware she could not do this full time and would also need a career.

Sally

Sally started playing cricket when she was 11 as her mum was friendly with the coach at a local Club. Her brother started playing cricket there and occasionally played with the girls when they played. She started to go along and watch and then became involved herself.

Sally also plays hockey, rounders, athletics and tennis, she also played county hockey. She enjoys hockey more because she has played cricket since she was 7. Sally says being with friends is important to her. She says that she does not really tell people she plays cricket because she is not sure of the reaction she will get. According to her boys can be critical of her playing as they think it is a game for lesbians, she is quick to point out that she is straight... she thinks people think that about girls sports in general. When probed she says that men think they are superior to women in some sports and therefore they think that only they should play. Sally says she would not

want to play for England because no one cares about the women's game so there would be no point.

Helen

Helen was ten when she started playing cricket she got involved through playing on her primary school team and it went from there. Helen has played for the County since U11.

For Helen playing cricket is not serious its just about fun, playing cricket is not central to her identity, she is hoping to give up after U15 as she sees her involvement after this stage as being serious. Her father comes to every match and brings a camera to take photos. In order to get to training sessions it can take up to 2 hours to drive there. She says her father encourages her to keep playing especially when she no longer wants to play. She says her parents are supportive of anything she wants to do. She has no ambitions to be involved in cricket later in life at all.

Jodie

Jodie started playing cricket when she was 12 and she started playing as her brother played for a club. She started going along on Saturday mornings and then received a letter asking her to go to the county trails. She says that if her brother had not been involved with cricket it would be unlikely she would have become interested or known about girls cricket.

Jodie likes playing cricket because of the complexity of the game. She likes the fact it takes all day to play cricket because there are so many different skills required to play, batting, bowling and fielding. Jodie says she loves playing cricket and wants to stay involved at all levels. Also she expressed an interest in coaching or admin. She says that after U15 it can be difficult for girls to stay involved, as pressure from friends and boys can be immense.

Maddie

Maddie is 14 and started playing cricket at 10. Her brother played and she thought she would give it a go. She also played cricket for her primary school. Maddie's parent received a letter asking her to attend the county trials her dad took her a long and she played at U11, U13 and U15. She recognises that if her brother had not have played cricket then she would not have thought about playing herself.

Maddie also plays school netball and hockey; cricket is her favourite sport because it's the only sport she plays at county level. Maddie does not play club level as the nearest club is over an hour away and she doe not want to play with older females.

Nicki

Nicki is 14 and has been playing cricket for 4 years. She got involved as her dads friend coached at a club and she was 'dragged' along to play. From this club she was introduced to playing for the county.

Nicki is involved in a variety of school sports but also plays county hockey, and has played since she was eight. Nicki says county hockey is more competitive and played at a higher standard than county cricket. Hockey has more clubs whereas girls' cricket is according to Nicki looked down upon.

Nicki's parents are supportive of her playing and at times when she has felt like giving cricket up and her helped her stay involved by making her think about her decisions. Her parents take her to matches and training and always make time to do this despite having four other children.

Megan

Megan is 14 and started playing cricket at 9. She started playing cricket because she lives across the road from a cricket club and her brother played so she started playing. From this club she was encouraged to go to Hertfordshire trails and started to play for them. However, after about 2 years she moved county, as the coaching at Hertfordshire was poor. She was able to play for the county by joining a club in the

county area, so she joined Club A. Megan started playing for the county at 12. Megan is involved in both county hockey and netball and has played for over four years. She says she enjoys hockey and cricket the most. She mentions that the standard of coaching is better in hockey.

Clare

Clare is 15 and started to play cricket at 10. She got involved through a friend who went to Club three and she decided to go along. Through the club Clare started playing for the county and played at U11, U13 and U15. Clare also plays county football and has been involved with this for two years. She enjoys football better because she sees it as being more active and more fun.

Clare says that she feels that most people who play cricket are 'posh' she would like to see more 'commoner' people in cricket. She feels that the posh people correct what she says and tell her how to play cricket.

Clare's mum and dad are separated and she told me her father had no interest in what she does, her mother however is extremely supportive of her playing cricket.

Elly

Elly is 15 and she has played for the county for a few years. Elly parents are separated and Elly spends weekend with her father which means she cannot play as much because she is not always available at weekends. Elly also plays county football which she enjoys more than cricket. At football there is more team spirit and she enjoys playing with 'different types' of people.

Phoebe

Phoebe had recently stopped playing county cricket when I interviewed her. The reason for this was because the friendship she had with a girl on the team broke down and she no longer wanted to play on the same team as this girl. Phoebe started playing cricket when she was at primary school and got involved in the county through this

medium. Phoebe notes how cricket is not available for girls at her school because girls in general play girls sport which she identifies as being sports such as netball, hockey and gymnastics.

Whilst playing for the county Phoebe notes how there were often one or two good players and then others who 'made up the numbers'

Appendix Two

Introduction to Interviews: Adult Interviewees

Katie

Katie was in her thirties when I interviewed her and she started playing when she was nine with her male neighbours. Katie was lucky to have cricket provided at school and she notes that she played at school and then got involved in county junior cricket and I played until I was 19. She notes how at the age of 15/16 the move from junior cricket to senior cricket was a huge leap. In particular she notes that the captain was strict about etiquette and clothing.

Katie started playing for Club D when she was at university and had stopped playing for the county because of a knee injury.

Juliet

Juliet was in her forties when I interviewed her and was club secretary at Club D. she started playing cricket when she was 20 and has been involved in the same club ever since. Juliet played a pivotal role in the merger of Club D with the men's club after they realised their own club was not financially stable enough to continue on their own. The merger she mentions has not gone as planned, in particular she notes the enthusiasm of the men to begin with has now waned.

Juliet feels that the main difference between men and women's cricket is men's superior strength.

Jane

Jane was also in her forties when she was interviewed. Jane started playing cricket when she was 12 as her father was a cricketer and she would go to matches with him. She got involved through her guide leader who also played, then she met someone at Club D and went along and has played her ever since. From the club level she got involved in county and played junior England. She mentions that those involved in the

club have been playing for a long time and have remained loyal to the club despite the fact that the club now played in a lower league than in previous years. She mentions that cricket is still perceived by many to be a male sport and that she considers this to be problematic for young females who might want to get involved.

Heather

Heather, mid twenties was a teacher at a local secondary school. She had been playing cricket since she was 12. She got involved through school as the school provided most of the county girls team. She remembers how the school had to travel for miles to find opposition as there were not many local girls teams that played. Heather progressed through the county and played up until U21 including playing at university. She joined club D three years before 2004. Cricket is Heathers' second sport as she plays county hockey and is an active hockey player, she enjoys playing team sports because they are sociable.

Neve

Neve, mid twenties got involved in cricket when she was 8. She played kwik cricket first and then she got involved in girls cricket. Neve played at secondary school for the boys team but notes how opportunities were limited because in many tournaments they did not allow girls to participate.

Neve still plays county cricket although she has not played for a few years because of travelling. Neve finds that the politics within women's cricket are frustrating as if you do not make the England team then there is not any coaching or opportunity to improve your game. Neve has played at Club D for a few years although she originally played at Club A she only got to play as the 12th man and found this frustrating.

Eleanor

Eleanor is her mid twenties and was playing at Club D. She had only been playing there for a year. Eleanor started playing at school. From there she got selected for

county juniors. She stopped playing after school and then got involved at university and when she moved to the area she lives in now her and a friend found Club D. Eleanor recalls that at junior county level it was not taken particularly seriously.

Eleanor notes that Club D is an older club and a lot of the players seem to have been playing there for some time. She also says that people are often curious and patronising when they find out she plays cricket. She also mentions that there is a certain stigma about women who play cricket, the same as those who play rugby, football etc. Eleanor suggests that there are divides within the club between those who are what she describes as 'butch girls' and 'other girls'.

Catronia

Catronia, in her early forties used to play for England and was also chairperson for the WCA in the 1990's. Catronia started playing cricket at her grammar school. When she moved to go to University (1970's) she got involved in Club A and has played there since then. Catronia first played for England in the World Cup of 1978 and played in intermittent tours until 86. She recalls how the players had to take holiday from work and pay for their involvement in the team. Cathy got involved in the WCA but resigned as she felt concerned about the proposed merger with the ECB.

Emma

Emma was born in New Zealand but had been playing in England for the summer. She was only 19 and had been caught up in new rules that meant that clubs could only have one international player. This meant she was originally playing at Club A but was now playing out of the county as Club A already had an international player. Emma started playing when she was 10. She watched cricket and asked her parents if she could go along to the local cricket club. She played for province and move up the ranks. She played in England for Club A in 2004 and had returned for the 2005 season. Emma really wants to play for her country but she is aware that because of her job and career she cannot fully commit herself to cricket.

Louise

Louise works as a development officer for women's cricket in county A but she also plays cricket and captains Club C. Louise, is in her thirties has been playing since her late teens and got involved through her father. Louise notes that the facilities at Club C are good.

Mary

Mary, late thirties plays at Club C and has played cricket since she was young and played with male friends on holiday. She started playing officially when she was at university. When she moved into the county she started working in a bar in an indoor cricket centre and gradually started to play. She says this was a great experience and that matches would sometimes go on until midnight. She notes that she school did not think that girls should play cricket. Mary used to play county cricket but since having her son she has not been able to fit this in and plays just at Club C.

Annabel

Annabel, mid twenties, is American and is studying in the county. She got involved in cricket at university in Scotland. She mentions that she was looking for a new sport and so tried cricket. The university team, she recalls was not really serious and they did not have many games. When she moved into county A she looked on the internet and found Club C. Annabel also plays football and rugby. Annabel mentions that she enjoys playing at Club C and people were welcoming to her. Since being involved in a variety of male sports Annabel notes that there is a 'stigma' involved in playing male sports, she says girls in these sports are not considered feminine, interestingly she considers the stigma to be stronger in the UK than in the USA.

Susie

Susie is in her early twenties plays for Club C. Susie got involved through her father and brother who taught her how to play, after her father saw an advert for county A girls he took her along and she started playing. Susie played for a boy's team and played for county juniors and then she captained the junior teams and also played

boys cricket until 17. Susie played at Club C because in the junior team she met someone else who played in Club C so she decided to come along.

Molly

Molly, early forties started playing when she was 5 through an uncle who was a cricketer. She got involved in ladies cricket at the age of 12. Molly played through the county structure and moved up. Molly notes that the club has good facilities but that selection problems had meant not as many players were involved in the club as they used to be.

Leigh

Leigh, 19 a university student used to play for Club C and A. She no longer plays in the county due to a fall out with administrators. Leigh got involved through an advert at school and then started doing some cricket courses in the holidays. She got involved in county A junior cricket and developed through the age groups. She plays for the England A team and also plays county cricket and the super fours competition. Whilst at university she also has to fit in training for England, for club and county. She receives a small lottery grant to help with basic training costs. Leigh wants to play for England but is concerned about the fact that the sport is amateur.

Rachael

Rachael, late twenties, had only been playing cricket for one year and was playing in Club B. Although Rachael had always been interested in cricket and her father and brother played she had not come across women's cricket. She expresses an intense love of the game and is glad that she got involved. In Club B she notes that this is primarily a junior club and would like more adult women to get involved.

Fiona

Fiona, 25, is Australian and has been playing cricket in Club B for a few months. Fiona started playing when she was 14 although she had practise with her father

batting and bowling from a young age. Her school did not have cricket, as she mentions it was an old fashioned girls school. She has continued to play club cricket in Australia. Fiona also notes how the members in Club B are all predominantly juniors.

Appendix Two
Consent Forms and Information Sheet

Philippa Cook
Room 429 Faraday Halls
Brunel University
Uxbridge
UB8 3PH

07766080968

philippa.cook@brunel.ac.uk

May 2004

Dear

My name is Philippa Cook and I am a PhD student at Brunel University. My thesis is about girls who participate in cricket. I am particularly interested in the experiences of girls who are involved in cricket and why girls are no longer playing.

My research requires me to interview the U15 cricket team and as your daughter plays cricket in this team I would appreciate it if I was able to conduct a short 30-45 minute interview with her about her involvement in cricket. The interviews will take place at a time convenient to you and your daughter. Enclosed is a consent form and I would appreciate it if you could take the time to fill it in and send it back in the stamped address envelope enclosed.

I would like to thank you for your time.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Yours faithfully,

CONSENT FORM

Please read the following information. If you agree for your daughter to be interviewed, please sign below and fill in your contact details. Please fill in the consent form and return it. Please note the research is none judgemental, and is merely a chance to listen to your daughter's experiences of playing cricket.

1. Your daughter's participation in the study is voluntary. She has the right to withdraw at any stage of the research without reason.
2. You have the right to withdraw your daughter from the research at any time.
3. The interviews are confidential and NO personal information about your daughter will be disclosed. Pseudonyms will be used in the research so her identity would not be revealed to anyone.
4. The interview will be tape recorded, but once the research is written up the tapes will be destroyed.
5. No harm will come to your daughter during the research

Name of County Girl:

Address:

Telephone No:

Email Address:

Your Signature :

Please print your full name and relationship to player:

.....

Researcher:

Philippa Cook

Appendix Three
Adult Participant Sheets

Philippa Cook
Room 429 Faraday Halls
Brunel University
Uxbridge
UB8 3PH

07766080968

philippa.cook@brunel.ac.uk

Sep 2004

My name is Philippa Cook and I am a PhD student at Brunel University. My thesis is about females who participate in cricket.

My research requires me to interview cricketers who are currently playing within the county. I have been passed your information through the club secretary, who has already briefed you about the research. The interview would last around 45minutes and is about you experiences of playing cricket, from how you got involved up and your current involvement in cricket. The interview can take place at a time and place that is convenient to you. If you would be available for the research please could you fill in the information below, and send back in the stamped addressed envelope. I will then contact you to arrange an interview.

Please do not hesitate to contact me on 07766080968, philippa.cook@brunel.ac.uk. If you have any questions about the research or your involvement I would be happy to answer them in full.

Yours faithfully,

Philippa Cook

Name:

Club that you currently play for:

Contact Details:

CONSENT FORM

Please read the following information. If you agree please sign below and fill in your contact details. Please note the research is none judgemental, and is a chance to discuss your experiences of playing cricket.

1. Your participation in the study is voluntary.
2. You have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research without reason.
3. The interviews are confidential and NO personal information about you will be disclosed. Pseudonyms will be used in the research so your identity will not be revealed to anyone.
4. The interview will be tape recorded, but once the research is written up the tapes will be destroyed.

Name:

Address:

Telephone No:

Email Address:

Your Signature :

Please print your full name:

Researcher:

Philippa Cook