Women's Rugby and the Nexus Between Embodiment, Professionalism and Sexuality: An Ethnographic Account

P. David Howe
University of Gloucestershire
Cheltenham, England

Abstract
Contact sports such as rugby union have long been considered a male domain. With ever increasing numbers of women participating in the game of rugby, attitudes towards women, and their relationship to the physicality that rugby entails, are changing. This article reports on the nexus between the issues of embodiment, professionalism and sexuality as it relates to the game of women's rugby union at a club in South Wales. A structured interactional approach has been taken, focusing upon the interpretations and meanings within the sporting environment, with data gathered through participant observation and interviews in a variety of settings. This research identifies a number of barriers that confront women who play rugby at the highest amateur level[1] as they attempt to gain the sort of recognition that until now has been reserved for elite professional men.

Introduction

Participation in the game of rugby union for women is a recent phenomenon but the numbers of women playing are increasing, particularly in those areas where the male game has a strong tradition (Hargreaves, 1994; Kew, 1997). This trend has been paralleled by a greater acceptance of women's rugby by male rugby players. Research into women's rugby subcultures has shown that the women's game, at the elite level, is culturally similar to that traditionally associated with men (Carle & Nauright, 1999; Taylor & Fleming, 2000; Wheatley, 1994; Wright & Clarke, 1999). This paper, however, challenges the findings of this work and argues instead that the men's and women's games are distinctive, as evidenced by the advent of professionalism in the men's game and the continuing amateur status of the women's. The professionalisation of rugby has been shown to be a result of the male players' desires to be financially rewarded for the sacrifices that they have made in an effort to enhance sporting performance on the field of play (Howe, 1999).

Using evidence from ethnographic research into elite rugby for women in the context of South Wales in the United Kingdom, this paper explores the impediments to the game of women's rugby achieving the same professional status as the men's game. The observations on which this paper is based were gathered over the period 1995-7, during which I shared a house in South Wales with three professional women who all played rugby for the same club.[2] These women played the role of 'gatekeeper' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) as they

furnished me with access to the rest of the team. Both the gatekeepers and their teammates comprised the key informants in this study. Observational data were gathered in a variety of settings including the shared house, at matches, and social events in the clubhouse. The data is presented in the form of quotations, thoughts and ideas that are transcribed from the 'field notebooks', a principal tool in anthropological research. The use of ethnographic methods is not unique and they have been increasingly deployed to develop further understanding of sporting cultures (Klein, 1993; Sugden, 1996; Mennesson, 2000; Howe, 2001).

The article initially describes the game of rugby as it has developed within Wales. Attention is then focussed on the relationship between gender, sexuality and sport with particular reference to rugby. This is followed by a consideration of how women's bodies are influenced by the media and the sporting environment that surrounds rugby. Informants' attitudes towards professionalism and the impact of this on elite performance are investigated in the penultimate section. The paper concludes by suggesting that forces, both external and internal to the game of rugby for women, impede the development of the sport to a professional level.

Cultural Context

To the people of Wales, rugby union[3] has been a vehicle to establish national identity (Williams, 1991; Andrews, 1991; Andrews & Howell, 1993). For a number of historically significant reasons surrounding England's treatment of colonised regions, there has often been a quasi-revolutionary reaction in the form of nationalism when games were played in the colonies (Williams, 1991). Although the English introduced rugby, it became a symbol of Welshness as it became apparent that the Welsh were just as good at the game as their English oppressors. For this reason success on the field has become a focus for Welsh nationalism. This is evidenced in both the male and female game and is illustrated in the following comment of one female player:

> When I play for my club or country nothing is better than getting one over on the English. They gave us the game but took a lot from us [the Welsh]. Our victories on the pitch may be symbolic but they are still sweet (Notebook 4:25).

Unlike England, where the game developed at Rugby School in the mid-1800s for the enjoyment of upper middle class schoolboys, rugby in Wales is often referred to as 'the people's game' since it transcends the bounds of class. Yet, the expression has been rather at odds with traditional Welsh society considering that it has only been in the last decade that participation by women as players and spectators has become significant. Recently, participation in rugby by women has made it one of the fastest growing sports for women in Britain as a whole and Wales in particular (Kew, 1997).

The rugby club that is central to this research boasts more than half a dozen international players and has resulted in the women's team having a high profile at the club. The men's team at the same club has no elite players and they play in the lower divisions of the Welsh League. The social background of the club is largely middle class, making it similar to clubs in England (Dunning & Sheard 1979), but distinctive from other clubs in Wales. Most women who play for the club are in higher education or are graduates, which is in keeping with the background of the male members of the club.

After watching my first game of women's rugby I recorded in my notebook that 'The performance of the women in the rugby match today was reminiscent of the games that I have watched Pontypridd Junior school boys play' (Notebook 3: 45), highlighting a tendency to compare the men's and women's game. It takes time to be enculturated into the distinctive world of women's rugby. In the investigation of the social organisation of distinctive sporting environments such as a rugby club, and in particular the participation of women in rugby, Pierre Bourdieu's[4] notion of habitus (1984, 1992) is a useful tool. Habitus can be understood as habitual, embodied practices that collectively comprise and define a culture.

> The habitus, as society written into the body, into the biological individual, enables the infinite number of acts of the game – written into the game as possibilities and objective demands – to be produced; the constraints and demands of the game, although they are not restricted to a code of rules, *impose themselves* on those people – and those people alone – who, because they have a feel for the game, a feel, that is, for the immanent necessity of the game, are prepared to perceive them and carry them out (Bourdieu, 1990: 63).

In the context of the social investigation of sporting culture it is helpful that Bourdieu refers to 'game' but it is important to remember that habitual activity can be observed off the field as well as on it in the context of this rugby team. A first step towards understanding the habitus of the women's rugby team is through examination of the relationship between gender, sport and rugby.

Gender and Sport

Historically, women have been systematically excluded from many social institutions including sports, particularly contact sports, and have been channelled into others that concur with societal norms of femininity and heterosexuality (Hargreaves, 1994; Birrell & Cole, 1994). Scholars have attributed this to inequitable gender relations within society as a whole and sport in particular. In the United Kingdom over the last twenty years, however, 'acceptable' activities for women such as aerobics have been challenged by a

growing number of female participants in sports such as bodybuilding and contact sports like rugby (Hargreaves, 1994). This illustrates how expectations of female body image and musculature change over time and challenge the essentialist view that physical characteristics such as strength, stamina and hand eye co-ordination are inherently masculine. One informant suggested:

> I can mix it with the best of them on the pitch. The fact that I tackle rigorously does not in my opinion take anything away from my belief that I am all woman. To say that I am strong and fit and as a result must be masculine is a touch silly (Notebook 4:27).

In this way, 'sport can be used to serve as a social and historical theatre for feminine struggle to challenge traditional forms of gender oppression' (Cohen, 1993: 16). Increased participation of women in sports such as rugby and boxing (Halbert, 1997; Mennesson, 2000) appears to offer a means of resisting hegemonic masculinity and to offer instead an active female physicality that can challenge the gender order (Hargreaves, 1994; Wheatley, 1994), however, closer examination of rugby and women's involvement within it suggests that this transition is far from complete.

Gender, sexuality and rugby

The relationship between gender and sexuality, which is all too often conflated within analyses, is a key to understanding the slow development of women's rugby. Women who participate in rugby are confronted by a two-fold stigma. On the one hand, they are viewed as unfeminine and on the other as homosexual. Rugby has long been rooted in masculinity (Dunning, 1986) and this is widely acknowledged (Nauright & Chandler, 1996). Indeed, the game 'is diametrically opposed in its style and purpose to everything that traditional society has encouraged a women to be' (Potter, 1999: 84). Women who participate in rugby are therefore 'masculinised'. According to Kari Fasting and Sheila Scraton (1997: 2), the "'problem' for sportswomen has long been defined as 'masculinisation' through the display of muscle, active physicality, aggression and competition, attributes traditionally associated with both masculinity and sport".

One consequence of this masculinisation is that female rugby players are frequently confronted by homo-negativism, the 'purposeful, not irrational, negative attitudes and behaviours towards non-heterosexuals' (Krane, 1996: 238). In their research on women's soccer, Kari Fasting and Sheila Scraton (1997) clearly show that there is no direct relation between contact sports and sexual orientation. An explanation for the homo-negative attitudes towards women's rugby may lie in the 'look' of the game, which leads to it being labelled as a lesbian sport.

Although other traditionally masculine sports such as bodybuilding have tried to maintain the distinction between genders through styles of sport clothing, sports such as boxing and rugby have not done the same (Mansfield & McGinn, 1993). Whereas make-up and feminine provocative costumes appear to be the performative norm for the female bodybuilder, women who play rugby wear the same style of clothing as their male counterparts. In fact it is the adornment of this male attire that many of the women who play rugby believed lead to the public perceptions that rugby was a game for lesbians:

> Look at the uniforms that we wear on the pitch. There are some really attractive women out here when we get cleaned up. The use of uniforms cut for men certainly doesn't do the image of the sport any good. We look like a bunch of dykes (Notebook 4:17).

Such opinions were frequently expressed throughout my time with the club and highlights how, to some degree, homo-negative attitudes are perpetuated from within the team's membership. It was evident from observations that new recruits to the club often had to struggle with the stigma associated with contact sports played by women. Once a woman had joined the club, because of encountering homo-negativism she could have difficult time being accepted in the broader social world. One informant, a former gymnast, stated:

> I have not changed. Who I am, as a person has not changed – only my body has changed – a little. You know it is really hard to do gymnastics when you are over twenty and since my brothers play rugby I thought I would give it a go. Now all my old friends react strangely when I am around. It is very upsetting (Notebook 4: 19).

Homo-negative attitudes in society generally have had an adverse impact upon women's rugby. These attitudes relate to the image that the game portrays, as described above, and also to perceptions of aspects of the team's habitus, which might be understood as 'the closet' (Sykes, 1998). The closet is a figurative expression, which denotes a place that is liminal (Turner, 1967) to the activities of everyday life. The habitus of the rugby team under investigation provided the safe surroundings, or 'closeted environment', that made it acceptable for some of the women who played on the team to be open about their sexual orientation, whilst concealing it in other situations. The social and physical environments surrounding the team, therefore, provided a safe haven for difference. To the outside world, however, the closet is a social space with which some people are uncomfortable.

Although the women who lead the recruitment of the team had no difficulty accepting the full continuum of sexual orientation in new players, they were concerned about the image of the game because the broader society

is seldom as open-minded as the members of the club. Image management is important in attracting more players, as highlighted by one informant:

> We have real difficulty attracting high school girls to the team. It would be great if we could because by the time they are in there mid twenties they could be really accomplished at the game. Most of the current team started playing at university. . . . I say the earlier the better but there are many rumours that circulate that suggest this club is just a disguise for a lesbian love-in. We really have to work hard to change the image of the game (Notebook 4:20).

The image of women's rugby is also important in attracting commercial sponsorship. A similar situation, defined as the 'image problem', has been observed by Todd Crossett (1995) in his ethnography of women's professional golf. Those in charge of the LPGA are concerned with the game's image because it is seen to attract a large following within the lesbian community. The fear is that the corporate world will stay away from the game if the lesbian community is encouraged to celebrate the game of golf. Therefore the LPGA goes out of its way at charity events to celebrate heterosexuality. Crossett (1995: 127-133) shows that the marriages of high profile players or the relationships the players have with men are fundamental in marketing the LPGA. An organised image overhaul has yet to take place in the game of women's rugby, which is still very much an amateur concern.

In the case of rugby the women's game suffers by being compared to the men's. One informant was clear that this comparison was inappropriate:

> People seem to make comparisons between our level of ability and that of the men. This does not do us justice. The rules of the game are the same but women's rugby should be seen as a derivative of men's. That is how the game should be marketed (Notebook 4:7).

Both gender and sexuality have an impact on how the game of women's rugby is portrayed to the public. Women are derided in two ways. On the one hand the femininity and sexuality of the female player is brought into question due to the assumption that physical aggressive behaviour is masculine. On the other women are seen in a negative light because the physical skill is not as developed as it is for men. This struggle for acceptance is embodied by the women at the rugby club under investigation.

Rugby and Embodiment

An additional means of examining the relationship between gender, sport and rugby is through consideration of the notion of embodiment. Like all other

sports, women's rugby is mediated through bodily performance and this section explores two aspects of this process: consumerism's impact on cultural norms of the gendered body; and how the concepts of discipline and training are fundamental to elite, and in particular professional, sporting performance.

In consumer culture, the body is the primary vehicle of display. As John Hargreaves (1986: 14) argues:

> The body is clearly an object of crucial importance in consumer culture and its supply industries: and sports, together with fashion . . . dieting, keep-fit therapy, . . . advertising imagery, . . . are deployed in a constantly elaborating programme whose objective is the production of the new 'normalised' individual.

Although the 'Greek god' aesthetic no longer stands alone as the bodily ideal since the individuals behind the forces of commercialism have realised the limits of marketing only one ideal bodily form, it is nevertheless evident that consumer culture's bodily ideals remain fairly narrowly constructed (Gruneau, 1993: 98). Furthermore, the pressure for social conformity of the sporting and non-sporting body has a greater impact on women (Hargreaves, 1994; Hall, 1996). It was apparent that many of the players at the women's rugby club felt devalued by the culture of consumerism because their bodies did not reflect the bodily norms within this culture. Women who play rugby seldom possess the idealised physique of the thin, waif-like female:

> Because I am a prop[5] people outside the club will struggle to see the value of me being as big and strong as I am. My size and the strength that in part is related to it is one of the major reasons that I have played for Wales. On the pitch I am valued for my physique . . . off it I am not (Notebook 4:13).

This comment highlights a paradox for the players of women's rugby: although devalued off the pitch, their 'non-conforming' bodies are assets on it.

The physical training of the body to play rugby at the elite level can transform a player's physique away from the bodily norms prescribed by wider society. Training the body for elite level, and in particular professional, sport requires great discipline. This is illustrated in the following statement made by one of the aspiring internationals at the club:

> I work my body so that it will act as it should under pressure. The reality is that I do not have natural talent and as such must train so that my body will do what I tell it when I don't have time to think (Notebook 4:39).

Explorations of the training regimes of elite sportswomen can be usefully informed by Michel Foucault's (1979) conceptualisation of the socially disciplined body as described in *Discipline and Punish* (Andrews, 1993; Hargreaves, 1987; Turner, 1992; 1996). This concept has been, in one form or other, perhaps unconsciously, a focus for good coaches' training procedures for generations and entails a:

> system of expansive discipline and surveillance [that] produces normal persons by making each individual as visible as possible to each other, and by meticulous work on person's bodies at the instigation of subjects themselves (Hargreaves 1987: 151).

The habitual training of the body is a by-product of involvement in sporting culture (Bourdieu 1990: 157). Thus, it is fundamental to see the body as much as a product of the self as it is of society. Bourdieu's concept of habitus may be seen as related to Foucault's concept of discipline since 'the body is used (walks, carries itself) differently by different social groups, and sport is one of the most important ways that the body's habitus is learned' (Blake, 1996: 23).

The bodies of women who play rugby may be seen as disciplined on a personal level through training. One type of training that rugby players undertake is designed to give the player the fitness to perform at club training and on match day. Another type of training with club members sees the body disciplined on a level where a specific social code is followed, the rules of the game of rugby union. In these two distinct environments, habitus of the body is established where exercises and drills are repeated until they become automatic. As a result of this automation the body becomes disciplined.

Discipline, as achieved through training regimes, takes the female rugby player's body away from culturally inscribed norms, and towards the game being played at a professional level, however, disciplining the body in training does not in itself lead to the professionalisation of the women's game.

Towards Professionalism

The argument between those who advocate amateurism over professionalism has long been rooted in the principle of equality. An amateur has a job and therefore is left with little time for sport. As long as individuals who are in the same circumstance, with regards to their work/training time ratio, play rugby, teams and competitions of near-equality will generate 'fair' matches that are exciting and entertaining. This principle is at the root of the establishment of leagues and divisions that typifies British sport.[6] To have a team that includes professional players in an amateur league is to create inequalities.

Since rugby union is now professional, talented men can make a good living. None of my female informants, some of whom were international players, were able to do so because the women's game lacks media attention:

> We do not get the money and seldom do our exploits make the press. The guys get all the headlines and praise. Our game, in spite of being more competitive, is not seen as worthy of attention (Notebook 4:38).

As indicated above, attracting the attention of sponsors to a sport such as women's rugby is tremendously difficult. Many of the women at the club felt that increased sponsorship would facilitate their training and a move towards professionalism. The women who play rugby at the club are extremely devoted to their training. In order to represent Wales on the world stage, international players train six days a week. The lack of financial support for diligent training regimes has frustrated many:

> When I first started playing for Wales 8 years ago, I could understand the lack of interest in the game. It was relatively easy to make the Welsh squad. Now with so many younger and stronger girls around that we really have to train our arses off to keep our places. My commitment to the cause is no less than that of the men (Notebook 4: 4).

This attitude was echoed by many of players who were internationals, or had high aspirations. Indeed, the training regimes that disciplined their bodies for weekly matches were not dissimilar to those undertaken by professional men.

While the women's dedication to their training regimes mirrors that of elite male sides, and created disciplined bodies that adopted an on-pitch habitus parallel to professional men, their social behaviour is different and not akin to the modern professional expectations of the men's game. For many of my informants their attitudes off the training field are more aligned to the amateur days of men's rugby (Dunning, 1986). The female players' commitment to the game was such that the majority of the time spent socialising was with fellow team members. This in itself does not seem out of the ordinary since both men's and women's sports teams exhibit this behaviour. In the professional world of men's rugby heavy alcohol consumption, and all the behaviour that may be associated with this activity, are components of club habitus that are in decline. My research suggests that at some elite women's clubs the socialising with alcohol is paramount to the club habitus.

Amateur-professional tension

Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard analyse post-game party rituals, which play a major role in the men's rugby subculture (1973; 1979). They highlight areas such as enacting clubhouse songs after a match; initiation ceremonies; drinking beer to excess; and singing obscene songs with recurring images of subordinating women and homosexuality. Rugby culture allows 'behaviour

with impunity in a manner which would bring condemnation and punishment were it to occur among other social strata . . . or social settings' (Dunning & Sheard 1973: 7). Deviance is a ritual and an integral facet to rugby that sanctions fighting, obscene language, nakedness, drunkenness and the vandalism of property. Outside this distinctive environment, these ritualised behaviours are seldom tolerated. This behaviour is part and parcel of the habitus of many male sporting clubs who perform at the amateur level.

Elizabeth Wheatley's (1994) research on women's rugby illustrates that women can achieve a position of power and control in sport, by adopting the same ritualised behaviour as highlighted in the work of Dunning and Sheard (1973). Masculine hegemony and sport links maleness to highly valued skills and sanctions the use of aggression, force and violence, which in turn makes females inferior. Female intrusion into male subcultures such as rugby deconstructs the practices, which are considered quintessentially male domains. Indeed 'as marginal and peripheral participants, males are usually surprised and shocked by the profanity, drinking habits, absence of modesty, and apparent approval of homosexuality' (cited in McPherson, Curtis & Loy, 1989: 256). On many occasions I observed women singing profane drinking songs traditionally associated with men's rugby. The women who were leading the singing stripped to the waist, as it was their turn for the solo. As alcohol continued to flow the players' behaviour became less and less like that associated with traditional stereotypical images of femininity.

The drinking of alcohol and the associated social games, which have been part of rugby culture for over a century, recently are being marginalised in the world of professional rugby in Wales. As the game of rugby for men professionalised, the desire to maintain a lifestyle based on physical prowess, rather than more traditional employment, put a strain on the 'drinking' culture associated with the game. This shift in attitude is emphasised by the fact that it is no longer acceptable to be fit because rugby was 'merely' a pastime: now players must be extremely fit to have a chance to play professionally (Howe, 1999). Heavy drinking and associated behaviour, however, is still very much apparent in elite women's rugby. While professional male players see the abuse of alcohol as detrimental to their training, elite women see it as one of the benefits of playing the game: 'We train real hard. We play hard and we drink hard. The men have been doing it for years' (Notebook 4:16). Another informant commented:

> I am really dedicated to my training but as an amateur I realise that 'life is too short' not to live it up! . . . If we were treated as we deserve [as professionals] I think this heavy drinking would be out the window (Notebook 4: 15).

Although female athletes face a challenge in constructing a community because society considers their endeavours to be ambivalent in comparison to their male counterparts (Theberge, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; Hall, 1996), the drinking behaviour associated with women's rugby contributes to the slow progress towards professionalism in the sport, in part because such behaviour has traditionally been seen as masculine. More importantly, it is not the sort of behaviour that is considered appropriate for contemporary elite athletes. If the women who played rugby at the elite level adopted a fully professional approach, then the distinctive female rugby habitus evident here would be transformed. Having said this it is important to remember that the entry of women onto the pitch marks an important change in society.

Conclusion

This article has sought to explore the factors that impede the development of women's rugby into a professional concern. These factors can be divided into external and internal influences upon the game. Societal attitudes towards women involved in sport in general, and highly 'masculinised' sports such as rugby in particular, are perhaps the most obvious external barriers to their participation and the game's transformation from pastime to spectacle. Specifically, the issues of sexuality and embodiment are of prime importance. The physical demands of the game have led to stereotyping of the women who play rugby as lesbian. This may be seen to be a result of homo-negativism, which has a significant impact on the outward image of the game. As in the case of women involved in professional golf, 'it is easy to see that the curiosity about the players' sexuality stems from assumptions about the essence of athletic prowess, independence and ambition' (Crossett, 1995:126). Important progress has been made in realising that these traits are not gender specific and as more women become involved in sports such as rugby these social stereotypes will hopefully begin to fade. Sport should no longer be assumed to be a male domain and the women who played for the team which was central to this study are determined to prove this to be the case.

External barriers to participation, which hinder women in South Wales from playing rugby, are largely social. Yet, often their lives would be simpler if these barriers were corporeal as these can be readily confronted. My informants were eager to dispel myths about their sporting activities because their perception was that by doing so they can convince the general public that they should be taken seriously as sportswomen and not, as one informant suggested, as 'a sexually deviant side show pretending they were men' (Notebook 4:6).

Internally, the habitus of the women's team central to this investigation also has an impact on the development of the team as a professional concern. Off the pitch this team exhibited traditional rugby club 'drinking behaviour', which makes the team's claims for elite and ultimately professional status harder to sell. Training regimes that create a disciplined and well-organised

team on the pitch are offset by unprofessional conduct after matches. This unprofessional behaviour was part of the men's game before it became professional (Howe 1999). For women to be seen to merit the same professional status as the men's game, they too must abandon the off-pitch behaviour associated with amateur pastimes.

It has been seen that the women central to this study exhibited disciplined bodies, emblematic of a specific sporting habitus, and the manner in which these bodies are managed is a product of both external and internal constraints. The lack of social acceptance for female physicality (Young, 1997; McDermott, 2000) has meant the women who enjoy playing rugby are stigmatised. Media images of the female form in texts related to sport (Mikosza & Phillips, 1999; Markula, 2001), highlights the social importance of the avoidance of physicality if normality is the goal and the women studied here fell foul of this representation. For the women in this study, acceptance as elite, if not professional, sportswomen is paramount. By adopting a more professional attitude off the playing field these women will eliminate an important internal barrier that may be hindering their goal of attaining professional status for their sport. In fact these women occupy a liminal state between amateurism and professionalism. Identity negotiations that are highlighted in this paper relate to the tension that exists between professional sporting attitude and the game of rugby as the women in the team embody it. This middle ground might be usefully conceptualised as serious leisure (Stebbins, 1992). It will take time to extinguish the traditional dichotomy of masculine/feminine as it relates to sport but ever increasing participation levels by women in confrontational contact sports such as rugby will go a long way toward achieving this end.

NOTES

1. At this stage in the development of women's rugby the game is considered 'open' which means that players are eligible to receive payment for playing. At the particular club discussed in this chapter all the players were amateurs to the extent that they were paid for jobs other than rugby and these jobs were key to their livelihood.

2. This was a men's rugby club with a women's team. While the men's teams at the club were amateur, the women's team was elite and aspired to be professional.

3. The sport of rugby union does not have any particular association to trade unions but rather the term union is a reflection of the game's history. When the game was being developed each rugby club in Wales had an equal say as to the direction that the development of the sport would take. For more detail see David Smith and Gareth Williams (1980).

4. Over the last twenty years there has been increased attention paid to the value of the ideas of Bourdieu within social scientific investigations of sport (Laberge & Sankoff, 1988; Jarvie & Maguire, 1994; Clement 1995; Wacquant 1992). This might be partially attributed to the theorist's own fascination with sport and society (Bourdieu 1988, 1993).

5. This is a rugby position that is central to the physicality and full contact that is part of the game.

6. The North America the league structure is different with no demotion or promotion into elite professional team sports. What happens as a result is often to the detriment of community ties. The sporting franchise if it is not making money will move to a city where it feels it can, with no regard for its supporters.

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