

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

"Looking Forward to Saturday":

A Social History of Rugby in
a Small New Zealand Township.

Piet De Jong

A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfilment of the degree of
Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology

Massey University

1986

Abstract

This study examines the history of club rugby in Eltham up to the Second World War. It is based on the life-review accounts of a small number of elderly, ex-Eltham rugby players and backed by a study of club-records and newspaper accounts.

The study was stimulated by events surrounding the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand and by a dissatisfaction with existing sociological attempts to examine the role of rugby in New Zealand society. Previous writers have too often uncritically celebrated the game, or succumbed to a number of recurrent theoretical and methodological shortcomings. "Cultural Studies" is introduced as a body of analytic theory and method with the potential to redress the limitations shown in existing writings on rugby. It directs the study of a sport to three critical emphases, all of which are evident in the current study.

Firstly, the sport needs to be considered in terms of the social-structural context it exists in. In the present study a strong link is identified between the development of the general social infrastructure and the form adopted by local rugby.

Secondly, we should approach sport as a significant dimension of local culture. Involvement in sport has significant effects on the way the people involved think about the world around them. In the present study rugby is discussed as a site where local men negotiated physical and mental responses to the class-characterised society they lived in. Rugby is addressed for the way it constructs and gives "common sense" meaning to ideologies like "egalitarianism", "community" and "moral asceticism".

Finally, Cultural Studies promotes a sensitivity to the historical dynamism of sport in both its practice and meaning dimensions. In this respect, Ingham and Hardy's recent theory of "Ludic Structuration" is employed to identify three distinct stages in the development of Eltham rugby up to the Second World War.

Overall, the study tends to discount the notion that "sport" and "politics" are clearly separated spheres. Rather, the notion of hegemony is used to explain how an ostensibly apolitical and enjoyable activity like rugby can, at the same time, be deeply implicated in the maintenance of existing patterns of power and privilege in our society.



Acknowledgements

I thank my thesis supervisor Steve Maharey for his hard work, constructive guidance and friendly support. As second supervisor, Brian Shaw gave a lot of valuable feedback throughout the design and execution of the study. At various stages helpful advice and comments were also provided by Dr Roy Shuker, Professor Graeme Fraser, Barbara Shaw, Henry Barnard and Dr Brian Ponter. Barbara Roberts assisted greatly with the presentation of Tables.

At a more general level I must express special thanks to my parents, and to the "community" of graduate students for their support and company during the writing of this thesis.

Finally, the study could not have proceeded without the generous cooperation of the respondents to the study. These were elderly men kindly prepared to divulge their interesting lives to me.

Organisations to generously assist the study were;

Eltham Rugby Club
Eltham Historical Society
Department of Internal Affairs
New Zealand Rugby Museum

Thank-you all.

Table of Contents

<u>Abstract</u>	ii
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	iv
<u>Table of Contents</u>	v
<u>List of Figures</u>	vii
<u>List of Photographs</u>	viii
<u>Introduction</u>	1
Footnotes to Introduction	10
<u>Chapter One</u>	11
<u>New Zealand Writing on Rugby</u>	
Idealisation of New Zealand Rugby	12
Functionalist Analyses of New Zealand Rugby	15
Problem of Holism	18
Problem of Grounding	20
Conservative Political Assumptions	24
Foreshadowed Problem of the Research	28
Nascent Marxist Approaches to Sport	31
Footnotes to Chapter One	33
<u>Chapter Two</u>	34
<u>Methodology</u>	
Sport in a Conflict-Characterised Society	36
Sport as an aspect of "Culture"	38
Sport as Socially and Historically Constructed	41
Description of Research	44
Discussion of Research	45
Problems with "Life Review"	46
Using "Life Review" in Analysis	51
Footnotes to Chapter Two	60
<u>Chapter Three</u>	61
<u>Local Rugby in an Establishing Township (1885-1900)</u>	
Village in the Bush	61
Early Rugby	63
Footnotes to Chapter Three	70

List of Contents Continued...

<u>Chapter Four.</u>	71
<u>Wavering Economic Development of Eltham and the</u> <u>"Institutionalisation" of Rugby (1918-1934).</u>	
The Social Structure of Eltham: A Sketch	80
The Consolidation of Rugby	86
Training	92
Travelling	95
Games	98
Socialising	106
Relational Strategies	113
The Importance of Rugby	120
Footnotes to Chapter Four	126
<u>Chapter Five.</u>	127
<u>Economic Recovery of the Dairy Economy and the</u> <u>Emerging "Commercialisation" of Rugby (1935-1939).</u>	
Economic Takeoff	127
Social Effects of Economic Changes	133
"Community" through Rugby	137
Effects of Public Support	150
Playing Time	150
Training	156
Day-to-Day Life	159
Foonotes to Chapter Five	166
<u>Conclusions.</u>	167
<u>Political Football</u>	
<u>Appendices</u>	182
Appendix A	182
Appendix B	187
<u>Bibliography.</u>	189
Empirical Sources	189
Secondary Sources	191

List of Figures

- 1 Location Map: Taranaki.. 64
- 2 Index of Export Prices, Dairy Products, 1915-1940.. . . 73
- 3 Administrator's Occupations: Eltham Rugby Club.. . . . 88
- 4 Population Growth: Taranaki Urban Hierarchy (1906-76). . 136

Introduction.

History is always written as if the doings of ordinary nameless, faceless persons such as the young unmarried couple looking for a juice extractor were a grey and ill-defined background, the stage on which the politicians strut and strike attitudes and make decisions...in reality it is the other way about, the politicians are the grey background to ordinary lives, however their strutting and posturing and decision - and law making may bear upon the availability of juice extractors (C.K. Stead All Visitors Ashore 1984:128).

The above polemic from C.K. Stead's recent novel provides a useful summary of the approach which has been taken in the writing of this thesis. The common departure point is how the thoughts, choices and actions of "ordinary" people are seen as decisive in the making of history. At an academic level the position has also been argued by E.P. Thompson and Stuart Hall [1].

This thesis is not about juice extractors however, but about a different aspect in the everyday life of thousands of New Zealanders through history; the game of rugby.

It is only recently that the role of rugby in New Zealand society has become problematic enough to attract serious sociological attention. Until about 1970, (when sustained opposition to sporting contacts with South Africa began to emerge), rugby was generally perceived uncritically as "our national sport". There was a widely known cliché to the effect that along with racing and beer, rugby was our national religion [Sinclair 1959:299, Smith 1961:151, Thompson 1969:272, Mitchell 1972:64, McGloughlan 1984:482]. As John Mulgan had earlier expressed it;

Rugby Football was the best of all our pleasures, it was religion and desire and fulfilment all in one [1947:7].

More analytically, M.N. Pearson has pointed to the years 1956 and 1965 as times when "nation" coalesced around "rugby". During those years the All Blacks played very widely followed games against South Africa and other leading rugby nations. Significantly however, he refers to those occasions as "still a time of innocence for New Zealand" [1979:290]. If there was resentment against rugby, it was yet to be visibly expressed.

It was all different fifteen years later, however. As the credits rolled up on the main television news programme for the day of 12th September 1981, the vocabulary and images of innocence and consensus, previously characteristic of the coverage of national rugby events, were nowhere to be seen. News coverage of the Third Test Match at Auckland between the All Blacks and the Springboks that day was a

confusing montage of diving aircraft, baton charges, tries being scored, cheering, blood, and barbed wire. Chapman has written of wars and depressions as disruptions to social order that encourage artistic effort and sociological thought. This was a conflict of that order. At moments like these claims Chapman, the "crust of complacency is broken, allowing artists to see what l[ies] beneath" [1973:72]. Sociologists speak more fashionably these days of "shattered mirrors" and "cracked ideological shells", but the effect is the same. The intense conflict around the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand has spouted a wellspring of religious agonising, intellectual debate, poetry, art and cinema [2]. In a like way the research presented in this thesis was stimulated by those struggles of 1981, particularly as they rebounded through Eltham, the small town I grew up in. The tour issue climaxed early in Eltham that year. A nationally organised campaign to oppose the tour was represented in Eltham by a march of 12-15 people on Friday July 3rd, 1981. Chapple in his book 1981: The Tour, evokes the events in Eltham that night with more detail and drama than is pertinent here. He describes a small anti-tour group that consisted mainly of local teachers, a minister, and several student "imports". They gathered at the town railway station and then;

Kyle and Ferguson led [the march] away. Directly towards the Eltham Hotel. Directly towards...the protest movement had a lot to learn. It was challenging New Zealand's most fundamental forces [1984:50].

As they turned left into the main street, the unpopularity of the anti-tour stance was revealed. All the footpaths were;

..packed, people spilling out onto the road. Cars with families hanging out of them...never seen the town so full, except for the Christmas Parade, Eltham's biggest event [1984:51].

The crowd was vociferous as well as large. A small-hard core dusted the marchers with flour, and several people threw eggs from the top of adjacent shops. Reaction for the most part however, was confined to verbal abuse; people yelling things like, "Why don't you fuck off back to Russia?", "Cowards!", and "Traitors!". Dozens of people who hastened out of the pubs to watch also sang snatches of "God defend New Zealand".

The experience of those who were at the centre of all this attention was that they felt,

..the whole town hunched over them, and it wanted to snuff that small flame [Chapple 1984:52].

One student in the march was incensed at being called a "red, fascist, commie, hippie bitch" and returned to Palmerston North to write a damning article about the people of Eltham. Her most memorable statement was;

If Goethe had been in Eltham he would have probably said, "There is nothing more frightful than ignorance in action", (emphasis added), [Anon., "Eltham Marches", in Chaff, volume 48, no. 15:6]

The statement is quoted because, in a sense, this entire study is a reaction to it. Against that woman's position of (understandable) outrage I have sought to use history to inform the present. There was a need for more information on the processes leading up to the visually recorded situation. In other words;

to be in intimate contact with our subject... means to be familiar with the history of the subject (emphasis added), [Karpati 1981:133].

A Cultural Studies perspective would assert that the people of Eltham on that July 3rd night were not acting in ignorance, but rather defending a culture, a way of thinking, acting and living with its own relative integrity, conditions of formation and behavioural prerogatives. There were two strongly held points of view about the rugby tour that night, two groups from the same town and country, yet it is possible without being derogatory to either, to talk of two distinctively different (cultural) worlds. This feeling of estrangement, of essential alienation, comes through very strongly in the comments of the elderly ex-rugby players interviewed in the course of this research [3]. From the way respondents commonly address protestors as a "collective" we get a strong sense of the way protestors are perceived to be a completely different "tribe";

At the back of Athletic Park in the one down there, they were all over in that vacant paddock that's behind there. There was a lot over there. But in Auckland I never saw a protestor. I walked from Balmoral to the ground, and never saw a protestor. I saw what could have been a bit of ruction at half-time, when I went out to the toilet. I saw a baton or something fly over the top of a barricade but I never saw a protestor. There was none there when we come out. They were gone. (LAUGHS)... We walked over and there was a crowd on that little park on Dominion Road corner... There was about thirty there with a big banner, just standing there, never said a word.

DID THEY SCARE YOU AT ALL?

Na. (QUICKLY) [John].

Another respondent, Reg, happened to be kindly disposed to the leader of the local protest march but is quite puzzled about how that person could possibly hold the views he does;

I saw a few of the eggs thrown, and the tomatoes thrown. And I thought it was most unfortunate because the Minister [of Religion] who lead that march is a hell of a nice chap. And I think he was a sincere man. But he obviously got carried away, he must have come from a different environment [Reg].

Elsewhere in the same talk Reg is more adamant in his views. Like many others interviewed, he perceives anti-tour groups as a real threat to his own world-view. In this instance he humourously prescribes a suitable remedial action;

I think rugby has been made a scapegoat for political purposes today. I'm not proud to think that some of the people who are in high positions in New Zealand criticise rugby and criticise the Springbok Tour and that...it's just so much huey! And I don't think I'd run the risk of libel but if anyone was to say to me, "What do you think of Minto?". I would say, "I think he's a chap who is using rugby and apartheid to get notoriety for himself and if I had

my way, I'd put him at the bottom, I'd throw him into the scrum as a ball". That's what I'd do (LAUGHS), [Reg].

Charlie similarly perceives the tour issue in terms of a contest of differing world views and is quick to declare his resistance;

The H.A.R.T. people always say, "We've got the majority behind us". I'd like to know how the hell they work that one out. I really do. I don't know that they've got a very big financial membership, I think they've got a fairly small one. But this chap Minto has got the mouthpiece and the media always run to him and say, "What do you think Mr Minto?". And that annoys me. Because he's only another man with an opinion of his own. And he's trying to ram that down my throat, and I don't like that. I've got my own opinions. And I can see no reason why he should try and ram his down my throat [Charlie].

Ernie is even more vociferous and personifies anti-tour institutions in terms of the angular features of a leading anti-tour personality;

It's the rat-face jokers like H.A.R.T. and C.A.R.E., you know, winning over [Ernie].

The carefully thought out words of Joe provide a balance to these more intense expressions. With quiet sincerity, in a way that evokes empathy, he describes rugby as a "way of life";

CAN YOU TELL ME A BIT ABOUT YOUR VIEWS ON THE RUGBY ISSUES OF TODAY? LIKE RUGBY SEEMS TO BE UNDER ATTACK FROM ALL SIDES?

Well, of course when you ask somebody that question who has been rugby-minded all his life and lived rugby and still lives rugby, its a question that's pretty hard to answer. Ahh, we've all got our views. I s'pose you're meaning the South African Tour and what have you?

YEAH

Well in my opinion, it's just a pity that rugby has been subject to this because after all, it's a game, and anyone that's played it as much as I have and got so much enjoyment out of it, it's just a pity, that in my opinion that it's been curtailed like it has, what with politics and protesting and all the rest of it... I don't think that rugby will ever be replaced as the top sport in New Zealand, not by any means. That might be a parochial (LAUGHS) way of looking at it, I don't know? [Joe].

The culture that Eltham people are expressing in these statements and in their actions on that July 3rd night was forged by cultural and economic processes in play from even before Eltham's inception as a bush-fellers camp in the 1880's. It is certainly not my claim to give any comprehensive explanation of the intense reaction Eltham people made that 1981 night. Rather, from the myriad of contributing factors, I have sought to analytically refine and explore just one important influence in the lives of Eltham People (and thousands of other New Zealanders); that of rugby [4]. One intention of my study is to assess the local social implications of strong dedication to the game. A rather more general intention is also to promote much-needed critical consideration of the role of sport in our society. A review of the existing writings about rugby (in Chapter One), suggests that there is a reverence for sport in this country which has been antithetical to serious study of what is, after all, an omnipresent social phenomena. The methodological premises and practises of my own study are outlined in Chapter Two. Chapter Three and Chapter Four then provide a historical account of Eltham rugby. They depict that "critical consideration of the role of sport", need not necessarily involve an attempt to "knock" sport at every opportunity. Rather, it is shown

here how the sport of rugby was a generally liberating activity within the constraining social climate of the time. In Chapter Five however, (which maps the period immediately prior to the Second World War), some rather more insidious developments in the local game are identified. Overall the study produces findings that would tend to support a recent claim made by Camille Guy that;

Failure to acknowledge the strength and cultural deep seatedness of working class resistance to sporting boycotts of South Africa leads to unrealistic action programmes [1985:8]

In other words it seems unlikely that recently deployed techniques such as physical confrontation will help to "change the mind" of a person who has seen the Springboks play in 1921, 1938, 1956 and 1965. In 1981, when one such person was introduced to the Springbok team in Auckland, he found them to be;

a decent lot of chaps... [Reg].

For the rugby it brings (whether involvement or spectacle), this person always has, and probably always will, "look forward to Saturday".

Footnotes

[1] See Thompson's Preface to The Making of the English Working Classes, Penguin, 1963, and Stuart Hall, "The Culture Gap", Marxism Today, January 1984.

[2] See for instance Chapple 1984, Edwards 1981, McCreedy 1981, Meurant 1982, Newnham 1981, and also Merata Mita's documentary film, Patu!.

[3] Excerpts from these interviews provide the main data for this thesis. Emphases shown are those of the researcher. This has been necessary to direct reader attention to particular aspects of the oral responses. Care has been taken to ensure such emphases are not insensitive to the intentions of the respondent concerned. In the interview excerpts, background commentary and the responses of the researcher are shown in upper case. The respondent's name follows the excerpt in square brackets.

[4] For some rather more systematic attempts to specifically analyse the Rugby Tour issue, see Pain (1973), M. Pearson (1979), Fougere (1981a and b), Tew (1982) and the work of the Victoria University History Department (1982).

Chapter One.

New Zealand Writing on Rugby.

In his highly regarded thesis Smashing the Audience, Wood perceives the New Zealand social research scene to be characterised by a "liberal stasis", propped up in part by the "ideological practice" of academics giving generally benign reviews to each others work [1982:33]. Following a favoured practise in Cultural Studies, Wood's own perspective begins to emerge from an accumulation of arguments about existing studies, which he then develops in the balance of his own study. As Clarke and Critcher put it;

That is our understanding of how critical thought does and should work. Existing work cannot be regarded as irrelevant; it has to be engaged in the act of criticism [1985:16].

Hammersley and Atkinson elaborate on this "constitutive" role of literature review. They point out that, in relation to research;

sometimes finding the right question to ask is more difficult than answering it [1983:34].

Given this problem, the significance of literature review is the way it can put up "foreshadowed problems" and suggest "sensitizing concepts" which will structure the entire research process [1983:32,174]. Such considerations underly the critical review of New Zealand writing on rugby that follows. Overall, some repeated shortcomings are identified in the two approaches which have dominated written thought about New Zealand rugby to date [1]. A third, (more recent) and decidedly nascent approach is also reviewed. It also has shortcomings but is seen as holding the potential to provide a much more comprehensive understanding of the role of rugby in our society. The balance of this thesis is a refinement and application of that third, Marxist, theory.

(i). The Idealisation of New Zealand Rugby.

In writing about sport in Western societies, it is far more common to celebrate rather than to analyse the phenomenon under study. Gruneau observes that it is common for these "celebrations" to;

dramatically proclaim that sports and games are notable forums for the voluntary expression of freedom, creative mastery, enjoyment, self-awareness and human development [1983:23].

The problem is that frequently these positive aspects are emphasised at the expense of considering sport as a "dependent" and "regulated" aspect of society. In sociological writing there is now a growing impatience with such an "ostrich" approach. John Hargreaves maintains that analysis should be aimed at stripping sport of its unwarranted

"aura of the sacred" [1982(a):33]. New Zealand rugby has been, and continues in some quarters, to be similarly idealised. John Mulgan's view (referred to earlier), which regarded rugby as "a religion and desire and fulfilment all in one", gets very broad dissemination in the hugely popular genre of the "rugby-biography" [2].

These books have commonly proceeded by regarding the game and our society as a given, and conduct their debate at the level of say, "who was a better fullback than who", or by offering the inside story on famous tries and matches. There is always a plethora of statements and anecdotes testifying to the transcendental "greatness" of rugby;

..the sacrifices I'd made over the years were all made worthwhile by those few magical moments when everything the individual and the team strived for combined in a few minutes of elation [Mourie 1983:160]

We have tried to write of rugby and our experiences in it and around it as we have played it, and as we think of it, it is an entertainment [Veysey 1984:268]

The relics of the memorable past were all around me in the house. The six All Black blazers hanging in the wardrobe, the engraved silver tray...jerseys boots and footballs, team photos...all there with the memories still thick on them [Clarke 1966:139]

If genius be described as the power of light striking through the gleam, then Nepia was that light [Mclean 1963:10].

The relative absence of analysis and criticism in these biographical works is undoubtedly connected to their production for commercial intent. (They are frequently released shortly before "Fathers Day" or Christmas in an attempt to boost sales). Ingham sees that the way the

writers of these kind of works are structurally related to the "sporting establishment" is a further reason for the partiality of these accounts of the game. He refers to sports writers of the type who "ghost" rugby biographies as being;

..so droolingly grateful for the opportunity to make their living as non-paying fans at sporting events that they devote much of their time to stepping on no toes [1975:374].

While the tendency to "idealise" is still prevalent in the sporting biographies of today, there is increasing evidence that the social relations which produce representative sport are beginning to impinge on these biographical accounts. This is particularly so in the case of Andy Haden, who recently wrote Boots "n" All [1983] without the intervention of a ghost-writer. Haden scathingly attacks the ageing rugby administrators who he perceives as imposing a redundant regime of amateurism on leading players. If leading players continue to experience relative financial deprivation we can expect even more forceful expressions of discontent in the future. Rugby biographies may yet show themselves to be a fecund source of information on the social relations that bring representative rugby to our playing fields and television screens [3]. However, because of the inherently commercial intent of these rugby-biographies they are never likely to be a source of information on the lives of the majority of rugby players in New Zealand; all those whose involvement does not go beyond turning out for a run with the local club team. The published biographies tell a stylised story about the "stars", they reveal little about the playing lives of the rugby "masses".

(ii) Functionalist Analyses of New Zealand Rugby.

There has been some serious analytical attention directed to the role of rugby in New Zealand society. In most cases this has proceeded explicitly or implicitly from a functionalist perspective on society.

A prime example of an explicitly functionalist approach is the work of political sociologist Les Cleveland (1966, 1972, 1979). He begins with the premise that New Zealand is an achievement oriented, democratic society [1966:24]. Working in the tradition of Parsons, he seeks to establish what "observed consequences" the institution of rugby has for the "adaptation" of that system [1979:70]. His analysis seems to show in fact, that adaptation occurs at two differing levels. At a macro-sociological level the game, organisation and social relations of rugby are very much an "illustrative model" of New Zealand culture (1979:68). This point is further developed by Fougere. For him it is possible, up until 1965 anyway, to speak of a "mirror" image between rugby and society. Both system and sub-system were characterised by male rule in participation oriented, rule-bound interactions stressing egalitarian rather than hierarchical relations [1981b:12].

Just as rugby has adapted to society, the individual is in turn seen as adapting to rugby. This is the second level to Cleveland's discussion of adaptation. He sees that participation in rugby has obvious consequences for the "successful" socialisation of the individual. He quotes Wilson Whineray (All Black Captain) on the subject of how, by learning the rules of the game, respect is also acquired for the rules of society;

In sport there are written and unwritten laws, if you abide by them there is a code for life [1966:24].

A second important "observed consequence" of rugby is the role it plays in securing the "goals" of society in respect to social stratification. For Cleveland, rugby acts as a kind of "symbolic utopia" where;

..the rich and the poor, the handsome and the ugly, the white and the black can subject themselves to tests of skill unhampered by accidents of wealth, poverty or skin colour [1979:69].

This "suspension" of social differences coupled with the simple rules of the game serve, supposedly, to afford all men an equal chance to succeed. This for Cleveland, is a patent demonstration of the "universalism" of our society; how our citizens are treated according to universalistic standards and not according to individual accidents or conventions of birth, race and class [1966:24]. From the ranks of these equally placed triers are free to rise the deserving to that "peak of social status"...All Black selection. This depiction to all, of the rewards available for the achievement-minded few, is the

contribution of rugby toward society's goal attainment.

The third function that rugby performs is that of integration [Cleveland 1966:24]. Just as Durkheim has said of religion, Cleveland claims that a rugby match can fulfill "the unifying, cohesive, dramatising purposes of a collective representation" [1972:130]. There is an emphasis on how the shared interest of rugby can bring many different kinds of people together [Crawford 1984:9, Swindells 1978:49, Howard 1981:25].

A final "observed consequence" of rugby is that it serves to manage tensions in our society. Cleveland speaks of rugby in this context as a "dramatic entertainment", where incantations like team hakas, barracking by supporters and the chorus-like rhetoric of radio commentators are seen as techniques for the successful management of conflict, not to mention the assuagement of physical frustrations on the field of play itself [Cleveland 1966:27]. This "tension management" theme has been expounded on by historians Chapman and Phillips. They explore variations on the idea that;

New Zealand men could find a cure for failing manhood in the country's rugby prowess [Phillips 1984:96].

Their argument runs that when the bush was beaten, cities grew, work lost its grinding physicality, women gained in power and an ascetic protestantism ruled the land. In the context of these changes, the hard-drinking, rough-talking, sexually promiscuous male became an anachronism. These "hard men" needed to be channeled into the socially acceptable areas of scouting, the military, and sports and service clubs [Phillips 1980, Chapman 1973]. Rugby for these writers then, is an institution of tension management which resolves the "problem" of hard men living in an urban Protestant society. As empiricist historians Chapman and Phillips do not draw explicit attention to the functionalist model which informs their work. This silence doesn't, however, save their work from some of the limitations of the functionalist parent tradition they share with the sociologists whose work I discussed earlier. There are three main such limitations, and while not all the writers mentioned exhibit them to the same extent, they are nevertheless tendencies that need to be redressed.

(a). Problem of Holism.

A major problem with several of the functionalist accounts reviewed is their brevity and the casual observational style they are couched in (reflecting their appearance in neo-journalistic periodicals and first year sociology texts). As the writers go about identifying "fits" between the "needs" of society and the "functions" performed by rugby, the game in New Zealand is all too easily characterised as an undifferentiated whole. The problems which come about from this very generalised level of analysis are depicted by the following example.

Cleveland insists on linking the values learnt in rugby with the needs and interests of the whole society. The broad sweep of this analysis is uncomfortable with situations where counter-cultural communities have appropriated the game to inculcate and reinforce their own values. McConnel's study of Matakaoa, for instance, found rugby to be a primary aid in the "survival of distinctly Maori values" [1962:81]. While functionalists could no doubt hasten to the defence of their theory with talk of latent functions and dysfunctional exceptions, a theory is needed that can better handle the heterogeneity which characterises New Zealand rugby. We need to be more sensitive to the fact that the same game, rugby, can be played in qualitatively different ways. Street rugby is socially different from organised recreational rugby, which in turn is different from representative rugby. (These are distinctions in sport recognised by John Hargreaves [1982(a):43] and Ingham and Hardy [1984:92]). That rugby can, in different geographic locations, have differing natures and meanings was shown in recent responses to the pending 1985 South African tour. A Fielding team boycotted a match to register their support for Black South Africans [Ansley 1985:17]. In Eltham, meanwhile, popular moves were taken to facilitate the departure of a local player on the tour [Laing 1985]. Future analyses of rugby need to be rather more sensitive to this patently differentiated nature of the game.

(b). The Problem of Grounding.

As well as being too generalised, in many instances functionalist assertions have been insufficiently backed up with research. Methodologically, this is known as a "lack of grounding" or "armchair theorising" [Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:23]. The problem is perhaps exaggerated in Cleveland's work because of his excessive erudition. Consider for instance, the problems inherent in operationalising the following statement;

Does the fact [that rugby] is played in winter, a time of seasonal inertness but also of hope for growth, renewal and continuity, suggest that it may also be a dramatic representation of a secularised myth of redemption which arises out of a primitive need to satisfy a longing for a meaningful cosmos? [1966:28].

While grappling with the possible philosophic significance of rugby may be important in its own right, it does not bring us any closer to recovering what rugby means to the people who are involved with the game in its more physical aspects. Others, like Carter, write far less grandiosely but still do not ground their statements in research. Is it research, or speculation and stereotype that produce the following kinds of statement?;

The Scots' zeal and determination is demonstrated by the high standard of Southland rugby, robust, vigorous players who play in a style akin to the nature of their outdoor occupations - ruggedly [Carter 1977:51]

Because of his extraordinary, not to say insensate, affection for rugby, the average New Zealander is quite clear in his mind as to the importance of tours to the Rugby strong-holds of the world (emphasis added), [Carter 1977:94].

In a more general sense the methodological shortcomings of Carter's M.A. thesis are suggested by his two line epistemological section;

Limitations of the Study

The researcher is a product of the system about which he is writing. This empathy may in some cases cloud objectivity [1977:8].

For his part, Fougere makes a series of quite credible points about structural changes in New Zealand society. He cites increasing economic diversity and changes to gender roles, ethnic and international relations as causing the place of rugby in society to be increasingly marginalised. His parting supposition makes good sense, but needs to be regarded as an incitement to further research rather than taken as a definitively stated conclusion. He posits that the structural changes noted have;

made some men cling more tightly to values of comradeship symbolised by rugby while increasing the disaffection of others [Fougere 1981a:4].

The generalised silence on how the players themselves understand rugby extends even to two historians who have at least done considerable empirical research on rugby. Swindells (1978) and Howard (1981) fastidiously recover the occupations of several thousand rugby players from two cities over a number of years earlier in the century (Palmerston North and Wellington respectively). They then use elaborate occupational scales to conclude that, indeed, rugby did bring the classes together and for this reason was an important force for social integration [1978:50, 1981:25]. There is a quite obvious ecological fallacy created from the mis-matching between the research technique and the substantive conclusions made. While numbers on a page can tell us that differing kinds of people did in fact come together to play rugby, it can never tell us how they actually got on together [4]. For many kinds of research problem, statistical analyses may be a necessary method but this does not imply that they will be wholly sufficient to learn about what goes on in rugby.

McConnel in his 1962 thesis on Aspects of Winter Sport in Matakaoa is one writer who does thoroughly "ground" his work. He does give analytical attention to the meanings held by the actors involved. It is ironic, then, that the flaws in his study seem to stem from insufficient theorisation. He uses participant observation and undirected interviews to provide excellent descriptive detail about matches, socialising and associated rituals. However, his lack of a clear conception of the kind of society, (a theory), this action is taking place in, makes it difficult for his study to reach a definitive

conclusion;

It is not possible to measure accurately the contribution of sport to the Matakaoa community. That it is a large one we have seen and that it is a wide one is also evident [1962:83].

Hence while, (as mentioned earlier), McConnel sees rugby as an "aid in the survival of distinctly Maori values", there is no sense of this positive creation taking place in a hostile wider social structure where policies such as "assimilation" are in the process of enactment. Because of the author's atheoretical, inductivist research procedure, Matakaoa emerges as ontologically independent from the rest of New Zealand Society. McConnel's problems in this respect mirror a problem that Gruneau identifies of symbolic interactionists in general. That they are perceptive in regarding play as an aspect of how people create a definition of the world, but that they are not so good at seeing;

the connections between [these] human interpretations and social practice as contested issues constituted in and out of historical struggles between agents having markedly different material interests [1983:57] [5].

A significant feature of the various writings reviewed is the recognition that more research is required [n.b. Thompson 1969:279, Carter 1977:95, Cleveland 1979:72, Phillips 1980:218, Crowthers 1983:32, Hall (et.al) 1983:189]. As a response to this call my own study has, in addition, recognised the need for differing research techniques. Also, as is argued in the following section, the theoretical assumptions of existing studies need to be questioned.

(c). Conservative Political Assumptions.

The Functionalist and "idealised" positions reviewed so far have between them defined the "orthodox view" on sport in New Zealand. They have also contributed to a limiting of debate about the role of sport in New Zealand Society. In many cases they affirm the common-sense view of sport as a sacred arena or at least an essentially benign social institution. In Great Britain, according to John Hargreaves, the existence of a similar orthodoxy has meant that;

accounts of sport which step outside the conventional wisdom [are] interpreted as an attack on society itself [1982(a):33].

This was certainly the case in New Zealand during debates regarding sporting contacts with South Africa. A widely held interpretation, (favourable to the rugby-establishment), was that politics should (or even could), be left out of sport. A consequence was that when Protest Organisations or other public commentators dared to suggest the implication of rugby in the maintenance of apartheid, there was popular rejection of that view and studied denial from the New Zealand Rugby Football Union [6].

A major problem with the writings under review is that they tend to embark from the unquestioned assumption that the existing structure of society is a "right" and "normal" one. Take, for example, Carter's view that;

New Zealand is a multi-racial society with a long-standing tradition of mutual respect, tolerance, and co-operation between various groups [1977:91].

A further example is provided in the statement put forward by Butterworth at a national conference which purported to debate The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand (1978). He claims we should celebrate rugby for the way it helps us all to "know our place". He sees the social interaction which goes on in rugby club-rooms as;

a microcosm of society at large, [so] at all levels, our citizens have experienced the social contract in operation (emphasis added), [1978:54].

Similarly, when Swindells and Howard recover evidence of a "continuing dominance" of "upper" and "middle" classes in the administration of rugby clubs since about 1890, it is posited to be for no more significant reason than;

their natural inclination for, and experience in administration and paperwork; as indicated by the nature of their occupation (emphasis added), [Howard 1981:25, see also Swindells 1978:35].

That this continuing dominance of the middle and upper class could be a phenomenon related in some way to struggles in society between groups with differing material interests, trying to impose their interpretation of the world on each other, appears to be precluded from the domain of considerations. This lacunae stems from the functionalist premises held by the authors. In regard to stratification, the Functionalist viewpoint par excellence is expressed by Cleveland. It is worth quoting in full to highlight its conservative implications;

To become an All Black representative is, in New Zealand, to reach a peak of social status which transcends almost all other considerations of class, rank and privilege. It is one of the supreme rewards for competitive merit in an equalitarian society where class distinctions are not rigid, and where people may attain status and power by their own efforts and skill (emphasis added), [1966:23].

Cleveland is expressing an archetypal meritocratic view of the role of sport in society. After Davis and Moore (1945), social stratification is seen to be functionally necessary for the maintenance of society, and differential rewards need to accrue to the varying positions and roles in society to act as an incentive for individuals to better themselves. The structure is seen to be an open one (n.b. Cleveland, "not rigid"), so that through hard work and effort the individual can improve their social position. Social stratification then, is dependent largely on merit. People get what they deserve (Gruneau 1975:130). With the stratification system conceived as open, and characterised by a continuum of positions rather than juxtaposed groupings, the way is free to conceive of society as an organic whole

with a set of functional imperatives that must be met for survival. That an abstract system like a society can be attributed "needs" is seen by critics of functionalism to be a profoundly "ideological" personification or hypostatization of society. Analyses departing with functional premises have consequently been seen as ignoring the interests of subordinate groups in society and as playing into the hands of dominant interests (Gruneau 1975:25). An example in relation to writing about New Zealand rugby is the way, when discussing the apparent functions of rugby, theorists departing with the organic or consensual model have been obstructed from asking the vital, critical question "functions for who?". In terms of the "observed consequences" discussed earlier, rugby adapts people to society, but which groups benefit from the maintenance of that society? How do the examples of "rocket mobility" dramatically advertised by an individual's success in rugby, obscure the extent to which the system is really open to all? How does the "integration" fostered by rugby contribute to a perception of shared interests that does not in economic reality exist? How does rugby as an institution of "tension management" contribute to maintaining the social conditions which cause tension in the first place? These are examples of critical questions we should ask about the same phenomena so benignly studied from the functionalist viewpoint. An important point about Marxist and functionalist viewpoints is highlighted here. It becomes apparent that the two perspectives can agree on the role sport plays in society but that they will always tend to differ in the moral evaluation of that role. For instance, from both perspectives sport can be seen as a shameless integrative device, but to put it simply,

from one perspective the supposed integrative power of sport is pictured as being "bad"; from the other perspective it is assumed to be a "good" and perhaps "necessary" thing. In both cases, it is assumed to exist, and these conflicting views seem to underline the fact that any theory of "class" or "stratification" has to be critically analysed in both its substantive and ideological forms, (emphasis added), [Gruneau 1975:144].

In terms of this observation by Gruneau, the reader will note that the substantive findings and conceptions of the functionalist writers reviewed, have not been rejected. Rather I have sought to re-focus attention on to the ideological premises underlying those analyses. From now on, analysts entering debate on the role of sport in New Zealand society need to first ask the question, (as Pete Seeger puts it in a famous song), "which side are you on?". Is it a meritocratic celebration or an egalitarian critique of society that the writer holds? In the following chapter I will be arguing my subscription to the latter view, but I need first to outline the substantive issue to which that perspective will later be applied.

Foreshadowed Problem of the Research.

Running through the literature already reviewed is a strongly stated and repeated view of what happens to men when they interact around the game of rugby. In a nutshell, the institution of rugby is characterised to be a kind of "melting pot" or "egalitarian domain" where people leave their social class, status and colour at the gate of the football ground or clubhouse door before they enter. This

perception of football emerges in both the biographical accounts of players and the frequently "ungrounded" speculations of New Zealand social historians and sociologists. It is seen in quotes like;

Social and occupational barriers are rare or non-existent, they are all simply All Blacks when they wear the prized blazer [Clarke 1963:111].

Judges, University Professors and Cabinet Ministers are as likely to be fanatics as Dustmen and Wharfies [Laidlaw 1973:24].

Rugby is a unique unifying force. Irish rugby [for example] is quite superbly classless and serves to enable a lad from the most wretched background to rub shoulders with the sons of the landed gentry...the spectacle of Tony O'Reilly, player extraordinary, now a business magnate and perhaps already a millionaire, exchanging ideas in the most relaxed and uncontrived manner with the boys of a very depressed village team [Laidlaw 1973:165].

..dignified gentlemen were introducing themselves to us as retired brigadiers, honorary physicians to the Queen and knights and barons and lords. We made a point of telling them about ourselves. "Are you really, Sir?" Loveridge would say with his angelic beam, "Well, I'm a pig farmer from Taranaki" [Wilson and Fraser in Veysey, A. 1984:99]

Football acts on New Zealanders like a steam roller on a newly formed road. All differences of class, wealth and position are levelled out [Smith 1961:151].

[rugby] In New Zealand is almost completely declassed; an upper middle class English game was taken over and democratised. The stock-broker plays with the fisherman, the doctor with the farmer, the graduate with the boy who left school at fifteen, the Maori with the Pakeha [M.N. Pearson 1979:281].

[Rugby] treats every man as an equal from whatever background he comes. There is no yielding to status in a rugby tackle, no privilege in a scrum [Right Hon. Sir Richard Wild cited by Butterworth 1978:55].

Players of all classes met in equality and keen rivalry on the field and in happy comradeship in the hours after the game [Carter 1977:42].

In affirming the kinds of attitudes expressed above, Crawford speaks of the "fraternal atmosphere" of rugby clubrooms [1984:9] and Fougere speaks of the interactions therein as "emphasis[ing] egalitarian rather than hierarchical relations" [1981a:3]. The view also receives support from Cleveland [1966:24, 1972a:69], Phillips [1980] and Olssen [1981:277].

The "constitutive" character of the literature review, referred to earlier, should now be apparent. From my review of the "idealised" and functionalist positions I have usefully culled the phenomena of egalitarianism, but seek to move beyond the methodological and political limitations of those positions. It will not suffice to benignly view egalitarianism in rugby as contributing to the "integration" of society, conceived of as a unity of interests. My case here is that if players do all get on as if they are equals, an analysis must proceed with the awareness that in other aspects of their daily lives people are not equal. Throughout our history, one class, gender and ethnic group has tended to unacceptably dominate all others. This is the underlining premise of the third, but still nascent, view of New Zealand rugby.

(iii) Nascent Marxist Approaches

In his latest work, Phillips is moving towards a more sophisticated appreciation of the possible meaning of "egalitarianism" in the context of a class-divided society. He sees the images of egalitarian comradeship constructed by New Zealand males in rugby and war as not necessarily being true, but as nonetheless being a central influence in the way people define the social world [1984:93]. This paves the way for introducing the concept of ideology whereby ideas are not viewed as the universal representations of a consensus-characterised society, but as outcomes of struggles in society between groups with differing material interests (n.b. his use of the words "important fictions" 1984:102). Where Phillip's earlier work characterised New Zealand as a moral community (n.b. 1980), the country is now perceived as a "capitalist world" [1984:102]. Further, Phillips concludes provocatively that there is "much" in the idea that rugby has provided a "model of behaviour" for this capitalist world [1984:101]. His ideas are shared, but not really developed by Gibbons who makes the ungrounded, throwaway declaration that sports clubs, libraries, newspapers and pubs, were;

places of recreation, entertainment and instruction... firmly in the hands of the ruling classes and mediated their values [1981:321].

While this comment depicts an awareness of society as characterised by ongoing power struggles, the statement is very poorly supported by evidence and thus exhibits the same lack of evidence characteristic of many of the functionalist accounts. Simpson is a third writer in the nascent critical school of sport study. While he is almost as deterministic as Gibbons, he does at least present evidence of the differential funding of leisure past-times. He also focuses on "elite" over-representation in the administration of rugby. This is used to back his claim that sport is no exception to the rule that;

There are no "free areas" to which it is possible to escape from the self-reinforcing influence of hegemony [1984:245].

Problematically, he has used the concept "hegemony" as a synonym for the "ruling class ideas" and there is little sense of the way it is a contested, not a one-way condition. Taken together, the few critical writings on New Zealand sport bring to mind Gruneau's warning that;

To murmur bread and circuses is no substitute for serious thinking on the matter [1983:38].

Such "serious thinking" would, I maintain, involve an attempt to generate and apply a more sophisticated critical theory. In addition more attention needs to be directed to the multiple forms and complexities of the sport and ineffective generalisations need to be avoided [Jennifer Hargreaves 1982:9]. Finally, the need for more empirical study is obvious. Too little is sociologically known about what goes on in rugby. These were all considerations which influenced the design of the current study.

Footnotes

[1] No attempt has been made to consider here, the themes raised in literary treatments of rugby. Other commentators have, however, found some such treatments strongly sociological. (See, for instance Cordery's [1985] discussion of Foreskin's Lament. Also see A.P. Gaskell's The Big Game for a literary treatment of the theme "looking forward to Saturday".

[2] For examples of these "rugby biographies" see Mckenzie (1961), Mclean (1963), Clarke (1963), Mourie (1982), Haden (1983), Veysey (1984).

[3] For a preliminary analysis of New Zealand representative rugby using published biographies as sources, see De Jong 1986.

[4] The distinction I am arguing here is based on that made by Gruneau concerning the difference between "distributional" and "relational" issues to do with social class and sport. Distributional issues are concerned numerically with who or "what kind" of people have been involved in a sport (n.b. the analyses of Swindells and Howard). Relational issues concern themselves with the nature of interaction of the involved groups [Gruneau 1983:81].

[5] See Mast (1982) for evidence of a recent New Zealand debate between "Symbolic Interactionist" and the more theorised position advocated by Gruneau, and adopted here.

[6] In a recent poll, 42 percent out of 600 respondents supported an All Black Rugby Tour to South Africa. Among their reasons for support; 31 percent said "Politics and Sport should not be mixed". 30 percent said it was "just a game" or that they "liked sport". See "Tour Questions", New Zealand Listener, June 22, 1985, pp14-15].

Chapter Two.

Methodology.

Procedurally, my study of Eltham Club Rugby has followed closely the methodological prescription that Paul Willis outlines in his Notes on Method (1981). It entails making explicit the "problematic" within which the study is located. By "problematic" is meant;

a definite theoretical structure, a field of concepts, which organises a particular science or individual text by making it possible to ask some kinds of questions and by suppressing others [Johnson 1979:201].

The current study is located within the problematic of Cultural Studies, particularly as it has developed at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (B.C.C.C.S). The intellectual focus of this tradition is on;

the production of consciousness - ideas, feelings, desires, moral preferences, knowledges, forms of consciousness of self [Johnson 1980:11], [1].

As "the production of consciousness" is obviously a wide brief, so there has been an extremely wide range of substantive applications of the problematic. Youth culture, popular culture, "racial issues", femininity, women's issues generally, media studies, historiographical practise, literature, and leisure are some of the main areas so far studied. In 1982 the publishing of Sport, Culture and Ideology [Jennifer Hargreaves (ed)], signified the arrival of sport as a new sub-"problem" within the wider problematic. An emerging Cultural Studies perspective on sport can be traced through the following works which have been formative influences in the conduct of the current study; Taylor (1971), Gruneau (1975), Cunningham (1980), (1982), Critcher (1982), Gruneau and Cantelon (1982), Gruneau (1983), Whannel (1983), Ingham and Hardy (1984), Clarke and Critcher (1985). Running broadly through these various works are 3 distinct ways in which the analysis of sport has differed from the orthodox views on sport reviewed earlier in this thesis [2];

- (1) Sport is consciously inserted into a distinctive neo-marxist theoretical model of society.
- (2) Sport is interpreted as an important aspect of "Culture".
- (3) Sport is approached in terms of the way it has been socially and historically constructed.

I will elaborate on these respectively.

(1) Sport in a Conflict-Characterised Society.

In the last chapter considerable attention was directed to eliciting the "world-view" that underlay the Functionalist analyses of New Zealand Rugby. They were seen as tending to accept, or at least not question the existing patterns of social stratification in our society. This was because they perceived society to be "open" and characterised by a consensus of values held by all of its actors. The theoretical model that Cultural Studies (and which the current analysis) proceeds from, is in direct engagement with such a point of view. Rather, the social world is seen as characterised by ongoing struggles between groups in societies with differing resources.

We are not "one society, one nation, one people", but rather divisions based on ethnic, gender and class inequalities are seen to be a primary defining aspect of our existence. "Racial" inequality has occurred as certain ethnic groups have appropriated desirable positions and social roles, and then defined other "races" and ethnicities as "out-groups". Similarly men have attained greater access to power and privilege than women. Accentuating these distinctions is the cleavage of social class. In the current study this variable of social class is accorded analytic priority. This was because, in the first instance, Eltham was an unsuitable location to study ethnic relations in rugby [3]. Comments in the interviews with elderly ex-players about the few Maoris who did play are enlightening enough, but the paucity of Maori-Pakeha interactions around local rugby precluded a systematic study.

Secondly, although rugby is a vital institution for the construction of images of masculinity (Chapman [1973], Phillips [1980, 1984], Fougere [1981]), it was impractical to deeply explore the gender issue. Such a study would require detailed recovery of the experiences and interpretations of women marginalised by the game as well as, (as I have striven to do here), the meanings held by the men at the centre. As things transpired, the elderly respondents were not prepared to share with the outsider interviewer, the intimate details of their domestic lives anyway. Consequently, although the feminist criticisms of Griffin (et. al.) were noted, they have hardly been addressed here [4].

In this study then, the problem of "egalitarianism" is to be examined with particular reference to the social relations prevailing between a group of mainly pakeha men who were differentially placed in the prevailing system of economic production. There is a Marxist account of class underpinning the analysis here. It is axiomatic that the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services in a society requires technical organisation. In the case of Capitalism the technical organisation of those processes has resulted in the continued formation of social groups which exist in relations of essentially conflicting interest to one another [5]. In specifying the source of this conflict within the system of Capitalism - Willis points out that typically;

labour is brought, detached from the individual and directed towards the production of commodities for the profit of

others....This labour is directed emphatically, not for the satisfaction of its providers, but for the profit of its new owners (emphasis added), [1979:187].

Gruneau refers to the social consequences of this technical division (between people who own, and those who work for Capital), as the "distributive" feature of our class society. Evidence of such ongoing "distribution" is for Gruneau, given by the existence of respective social groups with relatively enduring differentials in life-experiences, life-chances, levels of wealth, income and property [1983:168]. Books such as Working Men (Busch 1984) and A Southern Gentry (Eldred-Grigg 1980), when read in juxtaposition, provide New Zealand examples of the outcomes of these differentials. The salience of such structural divisions in society mean that no institution, not even sport, is immune to the influence of them. As I elaborate later, sport must be continuously analysed in terms of the context of the class divided society it exists in. As Gruneau and Cantelon remind us;

[we must not] focus on sport as an independent object of study [but rather] as a mediated cultural form located in an ensemble of social relations [1982:ix].

(2) Sport as an aspect of "Culture"

In the quote above Gruneau and Cantelon refer to sport as a "cultural form". We need to further explore here what we mean by that term. If we accept that the characteristic production relation of Capitalism has resulted in the formation of groups which have marked inequality of access to material resources, then a question is immediately posed

around the issue of how those unequal groups "get on" together. This problem of "getting on" is known by Gruneau as the "relational" feature of our class society. He defines relational features as;

the ways in which social groupings differentiated in a consistent way by [the productive relation] are interrelated in a systematic manner [1983:168].

A departure point of Cultural Studies is that certain representations of those "systematic interrelations" are amenable to study. Such representations include the way people interact with members of their own and other (unequal) social groups. They also include the way that people commonly think about the world and indeed the whole "way of life" of a group. These are, precisely, the elements which Richard Johnson emphasises in his exemplary definition of "culture";

By culture is understood the common sense or way of life of a particular class, group or social category, the complex of ideologies that are actually adopted as moral preferences or principles of life [Johnson 1979:234].

Especially as it has developed at the Birmingham School, the concern of Cultural Studies with aspects of the way that people "do things" and "get on in life" is not from any arid interest in description. Rather, because of the continued existence of fundamental structural divisions in social life, it is argued that even "everyday life" is inherently political. Arising in response to those structural divisions, and competing for the support of people, are a number of alternative proposals about ways of "doing things" [Gruneau 1983:169]. Gramsci whose work this conception stems from, refers to this process of

ongoing struggle as a "war of position" [Boggs 1976:52]. Social groups with markedly differing orientations towards the property relations of Capitalism struggle to unite significant fractions of society behind them into a "historic bloc" that will either challenge capitalism or cement its position as the social and economic organising principle of our society [Boggs 1976:81]. This contest of interpretations between Capitalist and alternative views of the world is also referred to as a "hegemonic" struggle and is played out at every level of social life: from huge formal institutions to the most intimate ways we conduct our personal lives. For example, as John Hargreaves describes hegemony, it is how;

a specific historical form of domination becomes sedimented and naturalised as "common-sense" in practical consciousness, that is, in and through everyday living, so that the seemingly most innocuous values, meanings and practices reproduce a particular class's hegemony [1982(b):115]

To speak of "innocuous" practices is especially pertinent when it comes to sport. The literature review has already shown a common tendency to naively celebrate sport as somehow above, separate to, and a respite from, everyday life. Far indeed from that idealised position is the departure point of this thesis, that;

[sport] derives its meanings from the character of the specific historical context of which it is a part, and...may be understood as a significant constituent of the totality of social relationships by which people produce and make sense of their world, (emphasis added), [Jennifer Hargreaves 1982:15].

We have clearly arrived at why sport can be considered an aspect of "culture". Sport embodies physical activities and social interaction which effect the way the people involved think about the world. Sport is therefore as much culturally as it is physically significant.

(3) Sport as Socially and Historically Constructed.

While it has been noted that the expropriation of labour has been a defining facet of life under Capitalism, the theoretical model of Cultural Studies also recognizes that Capitalism is a dynamic system. There is no such thing as a completely static, homogeneous and easily identifiable proletariat as some dogmatic Marxists claim. Rather processes such as technological development, tendency of the rate of profit to fall, and relentless pursuit for new areas for profit mean that the structure of places in the system of production is continually changing. This is evidenced by the emergence of white collar workers, the perennially unemployed and housewives as new productive categories [Przeworski 1977]. It follows that attempts to map the meaning of sport in society must be sensitive to the way the wider society has changed. As the historical struggle between dominant and subordinate groups in society alters, so must the meaning of sport alter.

A sensitivity to the way sport is implicated in and constituted out of historically changing struggles between unequal groups in society implies a possible resolution to a destructive dichotomy that has dogged the sociology of sport to date. The idealised celebration of

sport already documented sees sport as an innocent sphere where individuals have maximum freedom to spontaneously express themselves. This is a voluntarist emphasis which negates the extent to which sport is conditioned by the social relations it resides in. At the other pole, and equally flawed for their extreme views, are the analyses which see sport as wholly structured by society and having no constitutive component of its own [6]. There has been little sense of, or attempt to recover, the material and contradictory nature of sport. Hence these analyses overlook the fact that sport can embody both genuinely expressive moments and be conditioned by social relations outside the game, - patently games can both accommodate and resist dominant social relations. Further, these characteristics are not static and ahistorical but change! Empirical study is needed to find out what has, and what does now, prevail.

While three main features of a Cultural Studies approach to sport, have been identified it is only in a very recent theoretical work that the whole three elements have explicitly congealed. By reconstructing the different views expressed at a 1982 Cultural Studies conference on sport, Alan Ingham and Stephen Hardy conclude that an adequate theory on sport would contain the following elements;

a concern for the logic of capitalist relations as an ever-present constraint and a concern for the ways in which the logic is experienced, understood and acted upon by individuals and collectivities in the historical period in which they have their being, (emphasis added), [1984:89].

The single statement clearly incorporates the distributional (or structural) problem, the relational (or cultural) problem, and an awareness of the historical variability of both those dimensions. In embodying all three emphases in their own work, Ingham and Hardy derive a theory of how games tend to develop, or as they put it, are "made". They refer to this process of a game being "made" as "ludic structuration" [1984:90]. The theory identifies a number of stages or "moments" that typically characterise the development of a given sport. The categories developed by Ingham and Hardy proved to be an extremely useful heuristic tool for the examination of Eltham rugby. The research process was one of closely relating this still general schema of the social world of sport, to the actuality of Taranaki historical circumstance. In methodological terms Willis refers to the need to make this a "reflexive" process [1982]. There is an extended research moment in which, through a process of engagement between "theory", and "evidence" in the social site under investigation, the theory is hunted down to earth in a direction suitably sensitive to the reality of social relationships under investigation. This is the moment at which;

The academic is prised from his [sic] closet into the outside world [Thompson 1978:225]

It is characterised as a time of "tension" as we are brought back from the grand patterns of theory and history to "the awkwardly individual human lives which are its basis" [Thompson 1978:10].

Description of Research.

The methods selected for this study of Eltham rugby needed to be able to recover the structural, cultural and historical dimensions discussed by Ingham and Hardy, while still remaining respectful of evidence, seeking corroboration and minimising distortion [Willis 1982:81].

I began my research by reading two general histories of the town and skim reading local newspapers pertaining to the period of study (between the two World Wars). The purpose of this "inductive peek" was to compile a basic register of events and issues relating to Eltham between the wars. The knowledge acquired in compiling this register aided rapport and supplied points of focus for the major form of data collection that followed. Over June, July and August, 1985, the "topical" life reviews of 9 elderly ex-Eltham rugby players were tape recorded. The interviews were loosely structured dialogues with the intention that subjects were to be free to thematicise events as they recalled them. They were, however, "topical" reviews in the sense that they mainly focused on the subjects' involvement in rugby, its rituals and the social context of home and work in which it existed. Material collected on tape-recorder was transcribed in full on to computer to facilitate analysis. These life-reviews were augmented with a study of club records, coaches' notebooks and newspaper reports of games and club-activities. Wider social background of the locality and era was also recovered by reading newspapers. The Eltham Argus printed all the annual reports for major companies in the district, and maintained a

commentary on the economy and local business climate. It's reports on local body politics, employment fluctuations and social events were also useful in helping to situate Eltham rugby in its wider social context. Several theses on the economic, geographic and social history of Taranaki provided further material. (See Empirical Sources in the bibliography).

Discussion of Research

Life-review was chosen as a method for the way it permits a detailed recovery of many aspects of the cultural practices which characterised Eltham Rugby. Life-review is a method that gives elderly people the time and encouragement to reflect on and share their experiences and actions from some past time. As Allport puts it;

If we want to know how people feel: what they experience and what they remember, what their emotions and motives are like, and the reasons for acting as they do - why not ask them? [cited Watson 1976:97].

In a sense we can speak of the ex-players interviewed as "experts" on the site under study. For, as Bertaux-Wiame points out;

Social investigation is not a matter reserved to sociologists. Everyone is investigating all the time. But the results of these "investigations" are not construed into ideas, concepts or discussions they materialise [generally] as acts [Bertaux-Wiame 1981:264].

The process of collecting a life-review then, can perhaps best be seen as an attempt to encourage the subject to impart his or her "expert knowledge" to the researcher. Taken thus, the research method is best characterised as a social relationship; an engagement between the cultural systems of the subjects who have had practise in the specific site under study, and the cultural system of the researcher who has theory, an ability to meet people from different sites of practise and a desire to weld the lot into some kind of understanding of the "historical movement of the whole" [Bertaux 1981:40, Willis 1982:92, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:23, Watson 1976:98].

Recognised as the product of a social relationship, it makes nonsense of the idea that "life reviews" can be considered as any kind of "objective" account. Rather they need to be seen as "cultural texts" which reflect the social relations which have conceived them [Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:112].

1). Problems with "Life Review"

The analysis that follows is concerned to show how the social nature of the interview act presents problems for the reliability of the knowledge gained, but also how awareness of these problems can minimise the distorting effect they have. There are three main domains of problems;

(i) Generalised Context of the Interview.

The interviews were collected at a time when rugby was under attack. The proposed 1985 All Black Tour to South Africa was in an advanced stage of organisation and this was set in a context of sponsorship withdrawal, anti-tour street marches and a pending court order, that if successful (as eventually it was), would stop the tour. Compounding this threat was the simultaneous upsurge in the popularity of Rugby League. A widely publicised and successful test series had recently been played against Australia.

Given this context of "rugby in a crises", I was aware that potentially all or any of my respondents could seize the occasion to "rescue" their seemingly condemned sport by exaggerating some aspects or suppressing others. This awareness is exemplified in the words of Reg;

I think rugby is featuring too much the bad aspects of rugby. I think the newspapers are not treating the sport very correctly or else they haven't got a very high opinion of the reading population because if there's two things about rugby and one is good and one is bad they'll headline the bad news [Reg].

(ii) Immediate Context of the Interview.

Positivist research reports are often written up as if the presence of the interviewer has had no effect on the knowledge gained. This view would clearly be an oversight if applied to the gathering of life reviews. Interviews in this instance proceeded from a set of loosely directed questions designed to trigger the respondent into talking about a particular broad area. The way interviewees respond to these questions however, is inevitably conditioned by the perception they

hold of the researcher. The subjects are not unreflecting dupes but people who, as much as the researcher does, monitor the interview situation and structure their replies accordingly [Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:75]. An example of this "reactivity" is the common way that when making a vehement statement the subject would preface or append it with a modifying phrase or expression to reduce a feeling of over-exposure. This emerged strongly in relation to the contentious issue of the Springbok Tour, as the following excerpts testify.

Well I never, politics and that, as far as I'm concerned leave politics where they are and leave rugby where they are, carry on as far as I'm concerned. I might of been wrong, but. It's a shame though, for all these players who've been picked... [Ray]

I think you'll find that rugby will always be rugby and I mean we all talk now of League being popular after this series with Australia and that sort of thing, but I don't think that rugby will ever be replaced as the top sport in New Zealand, not by any means. That might be a parochial (LAUGHS) way of looking at it, I don't know? [Joe].

DO YOU THINK THAT RUGBY WILL COME THROUGH ALL THIS TROUBLE SURROUNDING THE SPRING-BOK TOUR?

Yes, I'm sure it will. Of course that's a biased opinion. (LAUGHS) [Reg].

There seems to be a strong awareness here, of how the researcher as a young and university educated person, might ridicule very-strongly held views. A common defence mechanism was to incorporate the researcher by soliciting his affirmation; "You know what I mean?". The inadequacies of the accounts gathered for commenting on the role of rugby in domestic relations, have been pointed to earlier in this chapter. This condition was exacerbated by about half of the interviews being in the presence of the wife of the respondent. This was definitely not a

setting conducive to candid confessions about, say, what went on with Flossie Bloggs in the back seat of the team bus. For the same reason I suspect a degree of self-censoring occurred;

And it gives you that bit of, if you went to a bloody city of course, I better not swear on this. If you went to a city, ahh, you might...

A further influence on what aspects of rugby life are articulated or suppressed is the consciousness that the subjects have of the eventual audience for the study being conducted. Above all, I recognised a strong commitment of the players to be loyal to each other, and if something bad had to be said, then it would be done off the tape rather than on.

down to Huttons you know. Actually, is this on tape now is it? Oh well I won't...

I'LL SWITCH IT OFF.

(HE TELLS THE STORY OF THE DOBSON BROTHERS, WHO ALTHOUGH GREAT BLOKES HAVE A BAD STREAK IN THEM AND TUNNEL UNDER THE BANK AND TRY TO ROB IT.) [....].

But all around the country-side home brew was made...but it wasn't significant in football. I don't think any of the footballers carried their home-brew around with them, but can you switch that off for a ...

(OFF TAPE HE REPORTS THAT JIMMY DUNCAN CAME FROM A VERY "ROUGH" HOME-LIFE AND HIS FATHER USED TO BREW AND DRINK QUITE A BIT, AND THAT THAT WASN'T AT ALL TYPICAL). [....].

These, and other more acerbic asides encouraged my interest. They were indicative that the researcher was being accorded the status of a privileged listener [7].

(iii) Life Review as a Recollection.

The third "social" problem with life review accounts is that as organised statements by the subject about aspects of his or her past, they are inevitably reconstructive in nature. Hankiss refers to the life review as the process of building an "ontology of the self";

Everyone builds his or her own theory about the history and the course of his or her life by attempting to classify...favourable and unfavourable elements of his or her fate according to a coherent explanatory principle and to incorporate them within a historical unit [1981:203].

In other words human memory selects, emphasises, rearranges and gives new colour to everything that happened in reality. This retrospectivity creates the possibility that ideological influences and life-experiences after the fact can change perception of an earlier time in one's life. An example will assist here. In the following excerpt Joe recognises retrospectivity as a problem in other people's life accounts and is troubled about how it is effecting the honesty of his own account.

WOULD YOU SAY THE GAMES WERE VERY PHYSICALLY TOUGH WHEN YOU WERE PLAYING?

Well, that's a question that is debatable. When you look back, you'll hear a lot of old-timers say, "Boy they're not as tough as they were in our day". Well, that might be so, but I don't know. They were tough in the old days, there was no beg-pardons in the forwards and that sort of thing. But, I wouldn't say overall, that, the football was any harder. No I wouldn't say it was any harder. But as I say, a lot of the old chaps say, "Oh, he's not as tough as we'd be playing"....So I wouldn't like to say if they were any more tough [Joe].

The depiction of the speaker as a thinking subject monitoring the interview situation strongly supports the assessment of the B.C.C.C.S that autobiographical accounts are "both richer and less strictly reliable" than many researchers have regarded them [1982:227]. These problems are only exacerbated if life reviews are naively regarded as "innocent deposits, like matter thrown up on a beach" [Thompson 1978:97]. In practice, however, the way a researcher engages with the life review accounts gathered can minimise the problems just enumerated.

2). Using "Life Review" in Analysis.

Given the above problems it is most fruitful to regard life-review as having an essentially dualistic nature, and hence as supplying two kinds of resource [B.C.C.C.S 1978:226, Szczepanski 1981:229, Kohli 1981:70, Watson 1976:99]. In the case of the present study we can speak of historical truths as being the essentially factual recollections of players about the recurrent processes of their everyday lives when they were young and played rugby. As Thompson points out, the human memory is likely to be accurate about such processes precisely because they are recurrent and hence are absorbed into memory in a relatively enduring way [1978:132]. Consequently we can expect to gather accurate information about aspects such as training programmes, the travelling, the social activities, the facilities, the nature of work, clothing, provision and housing. In practice these historical truths always come to us embedded in the second kind of data provided by life reviews. Factual information is

generally conveyed within interpretations. We can speak of these interpretations as situational truths in that although they are not "objectively" true, people have lived out their lives as if they are true [Denzin 1970:245]. Situational truths show us the way that the subject has thought about the domain of "things" and "ways of doing things" around him. As these ways people thematicise their lives are a social product (that is the outcome of economic, political and ideological processes), it follows that situational truths can tell us significant things about social relations in the site under study. Hall and Jefferson discuss how "biography" can be "read" for the story it tells about "structure" and "culture" in the site under study [1976:57]. In analysis of life review accounts then, it is not sufficient for the researcher to passively accept all s/he is told. Rather;

Our task [is] to detect the play of these social relations when they are hinted at, in implicit ways, in life stories [Bertaux-Wiame 1981:261].

An example will assist to show the way how, in this research, life review accounts have been engaged with rather than uncritically used.

It has already been noted that the interviews were collected at a conjuncture which contained pressures to defend rugby (n.b. controversy over the 1985 All Black Tour to South Africa). An obvious area where these and other social pressures have played themselves out is in relation to the way players have thematicised the risk of injury

they faced in playing club rugby for Eltham between the wars. Respondents employed a number of common avoidance and modifying techniques when they were confronted with the question, "Were there very many injuries in those days?". Some of these can be seen here;

Not, in those days, no, nah. You might, there was the, well, I mean it's a physical game and a contact game wasn't it? So you'll get that anywhere a certain amount. And there was a certain amount of jokers probably accidentally getting their heads knocked on a boot or somewhere, or falling, and the odd shin, you know what I mean. You always get that. Or a knee. And you might even have got the odd scratch with the boot, which were accidental sometimes, but..... [Ollie].

But I don't think rugby is a dirty sport at all and I don't think it's any more dangerous than most other sports. It's always been dangerous of course, but, well the fact that I had three breaks out of it means that it's a little bit dangerous [Reg].

Then they came down to the three-two-three [scrum] after that. I played that for a while. That was a bit tougher. Got sort of knocked about then. When you were a bit light eh? You know sort of breaks the old back a bit when the other team are a bit heavier than you eh? But as I say... [Ray].

But no, there was the odd broken leg and concussion and sprains and what have you, but nothing serious [Mick].

At other places in the interviews the enthusiasm of recollection would sometimes lead speakers to contradict themselves as they colourfully described how they got a particular injury, or had to give up rugby at marriage because of the risk of injury. These kinds of discrepancies between differing sections of the oral accounts are a good example of the way, in analysis, we constantly monitor for internal consistency in the accounts [Shaw 1980, Thompson 1978:210]. Coaches notebooks and match reports in the newspaper also can provide external checks on knowledge gained. In this case it was immediately obvious from

newspapers that injuries were very prevalent and frequently serious;

The game was stopped for a few minutes, two players, one from each team being knocked out simultaneously [The Eltham Argus June 30, 1924].

The game was marred by numerous injuries, Kaponga losing three men and Eltham two. R. Paterson suffered knee trouble but again appeared when Arnold was brought off with a broken jaw, a superficial scalp wound necessitated F. Bocock's withdrawal [The Eltham Argus May 17, 1937].

Probably no team in the competition has suffered so much from casualties as Eltham which consistently, right through the season, has lost up to as many as three players during the match. This factor has now reached a serious stage [The Eltham Argus June 9, 1939].

This process of external checking is called triangulation and is achieved by cross-checking with other life-review accounts as well as entirely different sources. Triangulation is one manifestation of the dialectical relation between the life history and the researcher, that actually produces the final historical account. In Watson's words;

[the researcher]... moves back and forth between his own position and that of the text he wishes to understand, in the process of which he adds accumulative meanings to the text as it becomes transformed into his own thinking. The ultimate and desired end-product... is a synthesis in which the investigator, while never totally abandoning his own pre-understandings, now understands the life history in a qualitatively different way, incorporating something of the texts context of reference and merging it with his own [1976:104].

In seeking to describe the same process Gruneau refers to "the way that the history presented is given continuity by the theoretical problematic which informs it" [1983:175]. Gruneau admits, (as I do here), that the reconstruction of the "history" has meant that some processes and facts have been selected out and emphasised at the expense of others. This, whether it is admitted or not, is a feature common to all historical accounts;

the historian and the agent of history, choose, sever and carve [facts] up, for a truly total history would confront them with chaos [Levi-Strauss, cited in Gruneau 1983:175].

This is not to say that historiographical practise becomes a cynical exercise of finding and concealing facts so that the theoretical problematic is confirmed or proven. The dialectic engagement between evidence and theory is one designed to question the very theory as well as specify it. Willis refers to the point at which the researcher is thrown into "surprise" [1981:90]. In relation to the current research a clear case of "surprise" was engendered by the discovery and subsequent confirmation (by triangulation), that "boozing up" did not figure largely in the week-to-week activities of rugby players at some earlier stages. Through an unconscious process of mental extrapolation from modern-day observations I had thought it axiomatic that drinking had always been strongly associated with rugby. This view was subsequently "scotched" by the research act. Similarly my personal mental equation of rugby with reactionary forms of political thinking was strongly pressured by examination of the "Depression" period where rugby emerges as a "defensive", secure arena for working people of the

time and hence, far indeed from reactionary. For a more typical example of the way research proceeded and how, as Watson put it, "accumulative meanings are added", refer to the section on football training in Chapter Five. Found there are a number of anecdotes where players talk of their techniques to shirk sprint training during supervised rugby coaching sessions. Taken in the context of generalised community pressures for players to show some discipline, and the coach's reaction of whacking offenders around the legs, a "symptomatic reading" of the situation is required. The story is told humorously by the speakers but my theoretical interpretation of the story is to see it within the broad terms of Gruneau's observation that;

although many of the pressures that players have brought to bear on rules and dominant interpretations can be understood as narrow expressions of personal interest [n.b. sneakily avoiding a run because they can't be bothered], there is a strong sense in which such pressures have often signified much broader forms of social discontent [resistance to Social Darwinism, bourgeois asceticism?], (emphases added), [1983:62].

An aspect of the study which has benefitted reliability is the way analysis is tied to a particular locality. Firstly there is the obvious fact of locality being, as Johnson puts it;

One of the central cultural configurations around which peoples' responses are articulated [1979:252].

He means to convey that "locality" is an important aspect of the way people define the social world. Analyses that ignore local and regional affiliations, (and make wide-ranging national generalisations instead), may be unduly insensitive [Oliver 1971:10, Pearson 1980:167]. A second advantage of the locality-rooted study is the depth and richness of analysis it affords. Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame allude to this property with their concept of the "saturation of knowledge". They claim;

Several life stories from the same set of socio-structural relations support each other and make up, all together a strong body of evidence [1981:187].

Stronger (if less general) evidence is gained from in-depth interviews of nine men who have played rugby in Eltham before the war, than if nine men were chosen at random from throughout New Zealand to make a study of say, "Rugby in [all] New Zealand". In this respect I can claim to have gathered life reviews from almost the entire locally-surviving population of over 65 year old ex-Eltham rugby players [8].

Most of the respondents clearly enjoyed the opportunity to advance their view of the world. Charlie saw the life review as an enjoyable kind of "This is your life", and Ollie took the opportunity to get out his old diaries and scrapbooks;

When I looked at these, there are some great, it's only blowing your own bloody trumpet but I mean they're all Paper reports and you think, "By God, I wasn't too bloody bad", you know, cos I had Truth reports and I had all different reports right through the different papers where I ever played. And some of them, you think, "I don't suppose you were such a bloody bad bugger after all". So its good to look back on, that's what I have them for. The boys got them out and I said, "Oh yes, that was your Father".

In this respect, research using "life-review" can be seen as capitalising on what is a recognised psychological phenomena anyway. Thompson claims that the economic inactivity bought on by retirement can cause "a sudden emergence of memories and a desire to remember" [1978:113]. Respondent enjoyment of the research exercise was of assistance in finding subjects. It was common for one respondent to "hand-me-on" to another. The following excerpt is typical;

HAVE YOU STAYED VERY GOOD FRIENDS WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MADE FRIENDS WITH IN RUGBY?

Yes, yes, yes, most of these I see around. Well not too many of them are around I suppose. Reg Kirk...Charlie Beathem, I always see Charlie, he's down in Hawera. He'd be okay to have a talk to you know... [Ray].

This classic technique is known as snowballing within a strategic population. "Strategic" in the sense that all the subjects are in some way "expert" on the site of Eltham rugby [See Appendix A for capsule biographies of the respondents].

The structure for the presentation of my historical account of Eltham rugby is as follows. From about 1885 to the outbreak of World War Two three obvious stages of social development in the locality are identified. Rugby as an institution effecting and effected by those developments, is seen as being similarly marked by three distinct phases. My analytic procedure for all three phases is the same. For each phase I begin by evoking the structural context of the time. In places this also involves reference to processes that are outside the immediate locality under study. As Franklin puts it,

The village still reflects, as it has always done, the pulsations of [wider] economic change and development [1969:108].

I then examine local rugby as one form of cultural response to the prevailing structural conditions. Reference is made to elements in rugby that reflect characteristics of the wider social environment and also to elements that challenge or act back upon the dominant relations of society. In this discussion of method, I have attempted to depict the insights produced as the outcome of a dialogue between a theory equipped researcher and people who have actually "lived history". This welding of "common-sense" and of "theory" is intended to produce an account which, as Hoggart puts it;

..tr[ies] to see beyond the habits to what the habits stand for, to see through the statements to see what the statements mean...to detect the differing pressures of emotion behind idiomatic phrases and ritualistic observances [1957:17].

Footnotes

[1] See Maharey 1982 for a more full, but still succinct overview of the problematic.

[2] Clarke and Critcher [1985:226] make these three points initially in relation to the way Cultural Studies' "Leisure" analyses have emerged. However they apply equally well to the emerging sport debate as will be asserted here.

[3] Historically very few Maoris have lived in the town because of a prevailing legend to the effect that Taranaki (the mountain) could one day move inland to join the wooded peak of Pihanga to which it is historically betrothed. People living in the mountain's path would be crushed [Standish 1984:11].

[4] In analysing the sociology of sport to date they observed [1982:101]:

- (i) an absence of women.
- (ii) token reference to women.
- (iii) a naturalisation or denial of women's oppression.
- (iv) failure to see that categories have to be rethought to accommodate women.

[5] This formulation has been explored in the New Zealand context by Steven [1978] and Bedggood [1980]. More recently the position has received empirical support in the findings of a major study conducted at Massey University. See Wilkes (et. al.), 1985.

[6] Such functionalism has come from both the politically "Right" and "Left". An example of the conservative functionalist position was that of Cleveland's work discussed earlier. Sport is seen to be unproblematically reproducing the values of the consensus-characterised social whole. Gibbons and Simpson were approaching leftist functionalist positions. The clearest example comes from overseas however. Especially Jean Marie Brohm's declamations of sport. He sees five main "political functions" of sport;

- (i) By promoting identification with its champions, sport subtly inculcates attachment to the established order.
- (ii) Sport diverts people from class struggle and hence is an opiate.
- (iii) Sport is a means of regimenting youth.
- (iv) Sport promotes class collaboration.
- (v) Sport assists the powers that be to promote chauvinism, racism, nationalism and xenophobia among the masses [1978:76].

[7] These "asides" have only been reported in the most general terms and with all names changed to respect confidence expressed in the researcher.

[8] However because of differential rates of mortality and geographical mobility, no extravagant claim is made regarding the nine men chosen being statistically representative of the original Eltham rugby playing population.

Chapter Three

Local Rugby in an Establishing Township (1885-1900).

A "Village in the Bush" [1].

Maori belief in the "restlessness" of [Mount] Taranaki lead to them avoiding permanent settlement in central Taranaki. The swamps of the area were however, a favoured hunting and fishing area for tribes to the immediate north and south. Many of those Maori strongly resisted the Pakeha incursions of the 1870's and 1880's. It was not until 1883 when a Colonel Whitmore had hunted the last resisting Maori from the Taranaki ring-plain, that government surveyors could move in. Eltham was decreed by a statute that year at the aegis of a surveyor called Cheal. The subsequent settlement period was one of general economic depression and hardship referred to as "the hungry eighties" [Standish 1984:29].

In its early development Eltham depicts many of the characteristics of the ideal type of "Village in the Bush" identified by Franklin [1969]. The proportion of males to females was initially about 10 to 1 [Standish 1984:25]. Economic activity was distinctively extractive and exploitative rather than productive as such. Five or six sawmills

operated in the locality, cutting out rich stands of native timber for supply to burgeoning towns to the north and south, and to the railway, cutting its way across the Taranaki ring-plain at this time. Settler farmers gradually moved on to mill-ravaged land. Most of these primitive farming units ran a few cows for milk, sheep for meat, and grew grass-seed for both their own use and sale as a cash-crop. It is Visser's contention that in the Central Taranaki area;

Farms did not become reliable and adequate sources of livelihood until the late 1890's, and only supplementary sources of income derived from road and rail building, bush-felling for neighbours, sawmilling and sale of edible fungus...permitted farmers to stay on the land and to continue to develop their holdings [1969:2.7].

In most cases these farming settlers were not people of "means". They brought their small holdings under deferred payment schemes from the Crown Land Office [Standish 1984:24]. Emblematic of the financial problems faced by settler farmers is the practice of selling fungus alluded to by Visser above. Chew Chong, a Chinese Merchant operating in the area at the time, recognised the similarity of local fungus to a highly prized edible fungus in China. The fourpence per pound he paid local farmers for the product was a penny more than they could get for their butter in the local market prevailing at the time. First businesses set up in the locality strongly reflect the "Service Centre" function Eltham has continued to perform. As Franklin puts it;

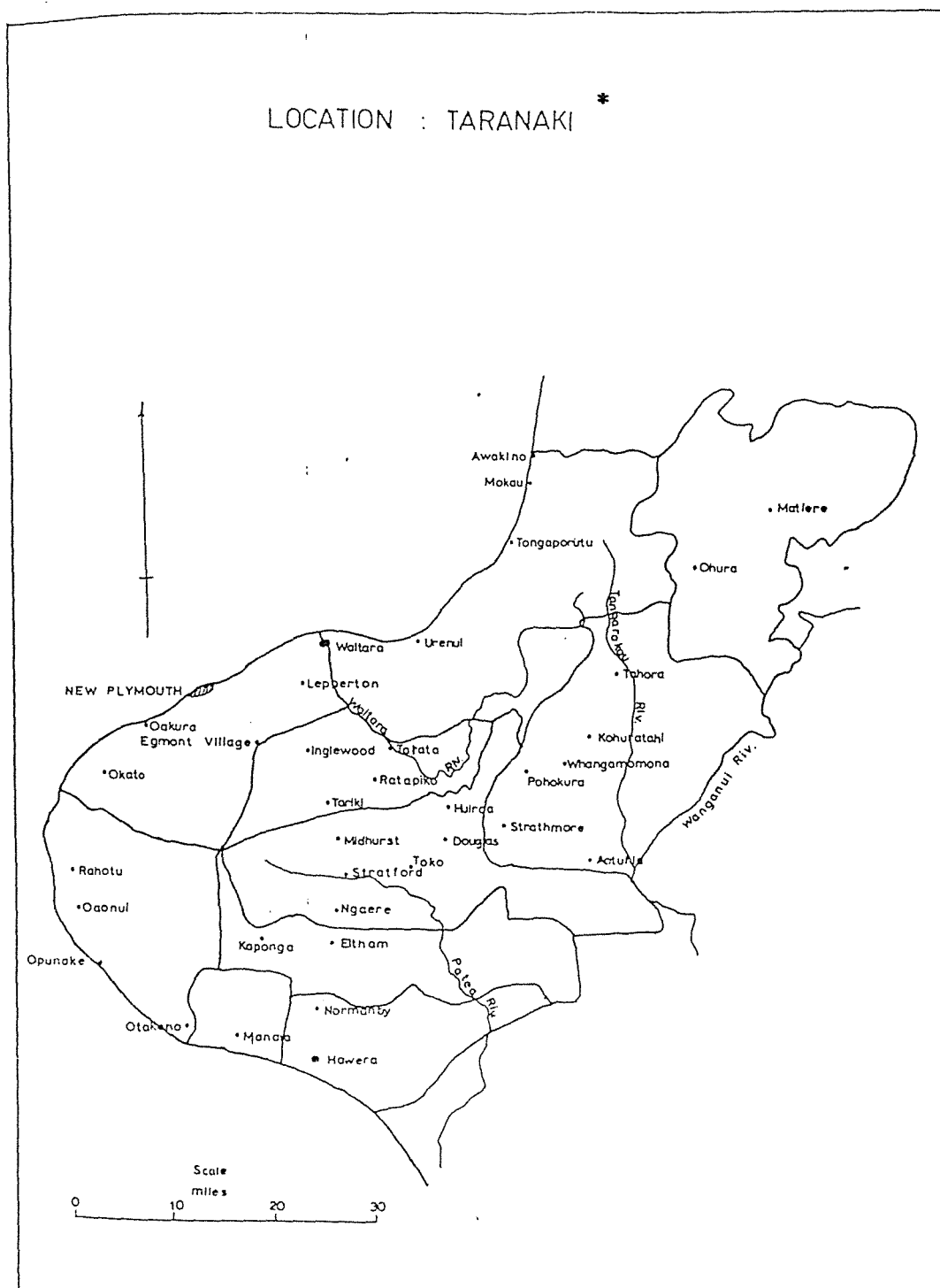
Serving the needs of the surrounding rural community, distributing or collecting some of its goods, processing some of its raw materials... [Franklin 1969:108].

In the main street of town were blacksmithing concerns, a saddlery, hotels, haircutting facilities and general provisions stores.

Early Rugby.

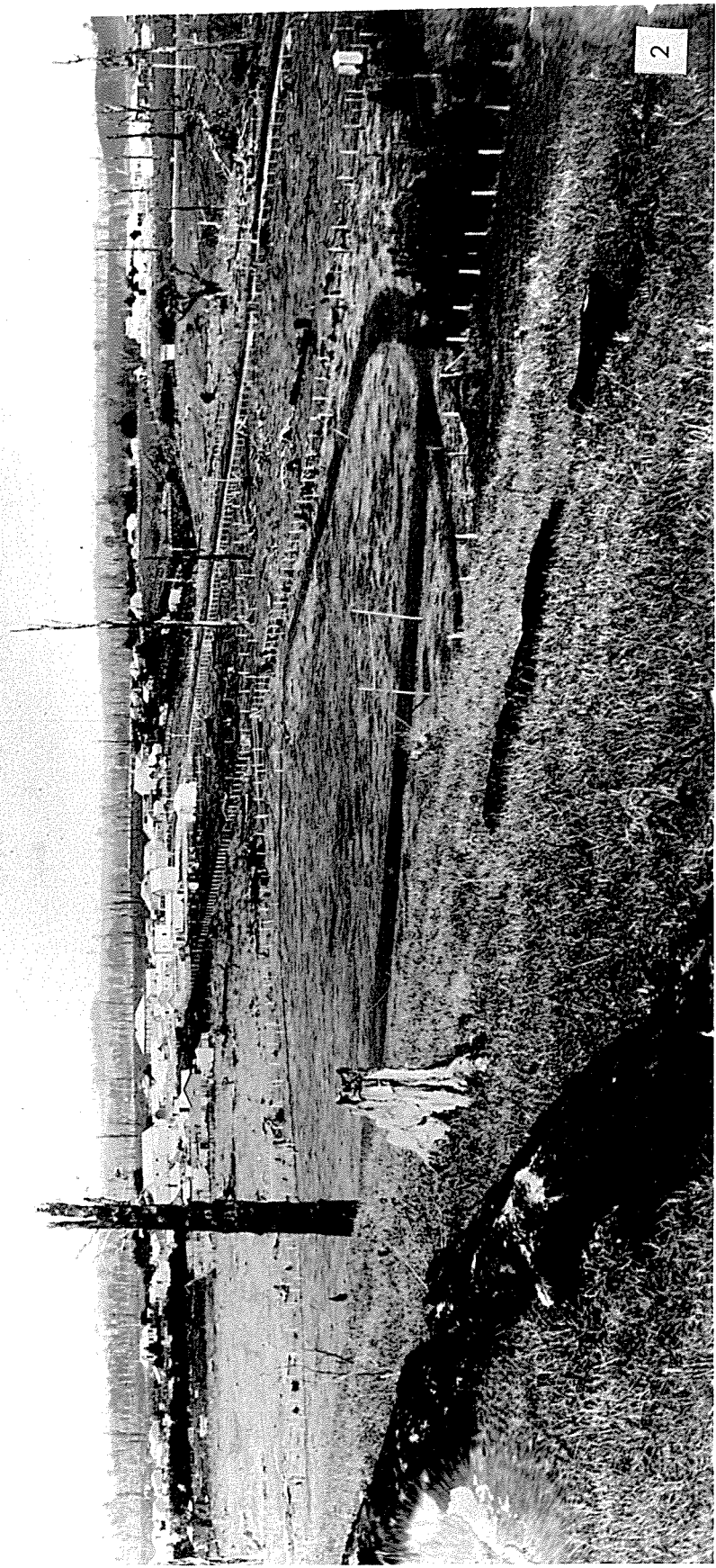
Any discussion of the role of rugby in this "frontier" society is necessarily hazy, as the required detail is difficult to recover. However, available evidence does suggest that men's involvement in the game of that time was in the nature of a "play ritual". The concept is the second of Ingham and Hardy's stages of structuration. Their first stage, that of pure "play" was not strictly pertinent as it refers to acts of pure innovation. (Rugby-like games had been played in England for hundreds of years [Dunning and Sheard 1979], and also in this Dominion for at least twenty years [Carter 1977:31]). Thus, when Eltham men initially gathered together for the purposes of a rugby-like game, we cannot speak of a "novel production" as Ingham and Hardy define "play" [1984:90], but rather of a game that has in all probability been witnessed in other localities or at least read about. The concept of play ritual then, is useful. It describes a group of men who play for fun in relatively habitualised ways, a game that is not yet bound by rigidly defined rules, or backed by a well developed bureaucratic or technical infrastructure. Hence we have a group of men turning out to toss a ball about in a paddock of stumps opposite the town railway station. Some are in barefeet and others in hob-nailed boots. Dress-wise there are short-pants, long-pants and underpants.

FIGURE 1



(Source:- Visser 1969: Figure 2)

* Note the dense cluster of towns on the ring-plain of Taranaki. The location of Eltham's traditional rugby opponents can be seen; Hawera to the south, Opunake and Kaponga to the west, Stratford to the north. Tukapa, a strong opponent after 1934, was one of several New Plymouth Clubs.



2



One player, Bill Sangster is almost mythologically celebrated for his participation in those early games [see photograph 3]. At the time he was head "chain-man" of a surveying party based at the Patea River some 15 miles east of Eltham. His involvement required crossing a swamp of several miles width, and then a rough bush walk for the balance. Then after the game, there was a singular slog back to his camp in the bush. The journalistic Jubilee account of this era refers to, "hard men, living hard, and playing hard" [The Eltham Argus, October 28, 1949].

With the formation of the Taranaki Rugby Union in 1889, the possibility of organised playing opposition was created. Prompted by this possibility, an informal society of keen players set about stumping and clearing the section in earlier use, opposite the railway station. Northcott, an employee at a local mill used his employer's horses "after-hours" to assist in these operations. Just three-years after these arduous lamp-lit clearing operations were finished, the owner of the land, a Mr G. Moir, foreclosed on it. He wanted to build a boarding house on the land to capitalise on traffic created by the railway. "To soften the blow", as a local historian put it [Andrews 1959:33], Moir then allocated the footballers another piece of his land near the street presently called Moir Street. More "back-breaking" work ensued before players again had a ground [see photograph 2]. The sense of anger felt by footballers when the same Moir turned around and sold this newly cleared bit of land, can be imagined. The displeasure incurred survives to this day in a general history of the town prepared for the 75th Jubilee [Andrews, 1959:33]. The serious point to these

events is the struggle that is required when a form of play appeals to a small social group and they seek to bring about the conditions where that form of play can become a regularly performed play ritual [2]

For the Eltham players, a suitable ground (which is still in use today) was secured by throwing their lot in with other discontented sportsmen who held a public meeting in 1889. The Caledonian Sports Society required a venue for athletic contests, cycling and wood-chopping carnivals. Several months of public subscription raised £170, which was matched by a Government subsidy. A public domain of 10 acres, bounded by a bend in a river, and walking distance from town, was duly created. Until 1905 the sole amenity on this "Taumata Park" was a "draughty, dilapidated shed" in-which the footballers changed [The Eltham Argus, October 28, 1949]. Then, by holding a series of Bazaars and well attended sports carnivals, sufficient funds were raised by the domain board to build a small wooden grandstand. Control of the park was ceded to the newly formed Borough Council about this time.

Transportation contributed to problems faced by Eltham footballers in this pre-1900 period. In the system of reciprocal challenges prevailing at the time, the Opunake team 35 miles to the West was a frequent opponent. Travel to those games was in a four horse open topped cart. This was a trip of between four and six hours over four rivers and occasional axle deep mud.

The extent to which rugby was in these times still a private practise, and relatively unfettered by bureaucracy and notions of regimentation is suggested by an anecdote in the Jubilee Supplement on Rugby;

There is the story of a team which assembled at about 11 a.m. with the intention of travelling to Opunake to fulfill an engagement. To assist them on the long journey, they decided to have one or two "tonics", but finished up by doing a round of the hotels, and at about 3 o'clock, decided it was time to get on the road, eventually getting away at 3.20. It was somewhere about 7.30 p.m. when they arrived at Opunake, and, meeting members of the local team, celebrated in appropriate style, arriving home again in the early hours of Sunday morning, feeling that they had kept faith with the home club. They had at least put in an appearance [The Eltham Argus, October 28, 1949].

There was a majority male population at this time and hotels were open until 11 p.m. In these circumstances we can expect that around rugby there were opportunities for uninhibited socialising and private, undisciplined fun that were later challenged by 6 o'clock closing, the consolidation of churches, and a moral climate that could support an active local branch of the Protestant Political Association [3]. In 1914 Eltham rugby went into recess on account of the number of men going off to the First World War. When it resumed, Eltham rugby would never be the same again. Processes of bureaucratisation which were earlier evident at the national and regional level, began slowly to bite at the local level as well. In the next Chapter I will be elaborating on Eltham as a small town which was vulnerable to wider economic fluctuations, and note the consolidation of rugby in the local social cosmos. From the crude beginnings sketchily mapped here, the game is now in Ingham and Hardy's terms, on the march towards institutionalisation.

Footnotes

[1] A caveat is required here. My evocation of this initial stage of social and sporting development is necessarily less comprehensive than the accounts given of subsequent stages in the development of Eltham rugby. In the first instance this initial period was outside the main focus of the study but has been sketched for the purpose of contextualising the discussion that follows it. Secondly, the events and processes sketched occurred so long ago that they were beyond the ambit of oral recall. Consequently this Chapter relies heavily on the two published general histories of the town and on a Special Supplement of The Eltham Argus, October 28, 1949, "Eltham Rugby Football Club Diamond Jubilee Celebrated". Many documentary sources cited in that supplement were subsequently destroyed by a fire that razed the Eltham Rugby Clubs gymnasium in 1979.

[2] In his work Carter provides interesting anecdotal material from Nineteenth Century newspapers regarding the difficulties of getting suitable playing grounds. N.b. the Hawke Bay ground with a,

..splendidly developed cart track running...corner to corner
[where] the ruts added considerably to the excitement of the
game,

or the ground where,

one player almost drowned in one of the pools [1977:33].

[3] See Phillips [1980] for a discussion of the "undesirable" associations attached to early rugby and how, with bureaucratisation, there were attempts to suppress these negative associations. N.b. a founding article of the NZRFU 1893;

That this Union discourage lavish expenditure on the
entertainment of visiting teams in the form of dinners or
smoke concerts [1980:230].

Chapter Four

Wavering Economic Development of Eltham and the "Institutionalisation" of Rugby, (1918-1934).

In her review of the "The Economic Structure of Taranaki Province", Janet Duncan presents evidence to show that;

The Taranaki Economy...is more dependent upon agriculture than any other province in New Zealand [1963:14].

This high-level dependence on agriculture developed in the period from 1895 to 1920 [Franklin 1969:131, Visser 1969:2.7, Cooney 1980:2, Lambert 1983:98]. During that time Eltham was at the epicentre of what Franklin would call;

a favourable conjunction of economic, technological and demographic factors [1969:132].

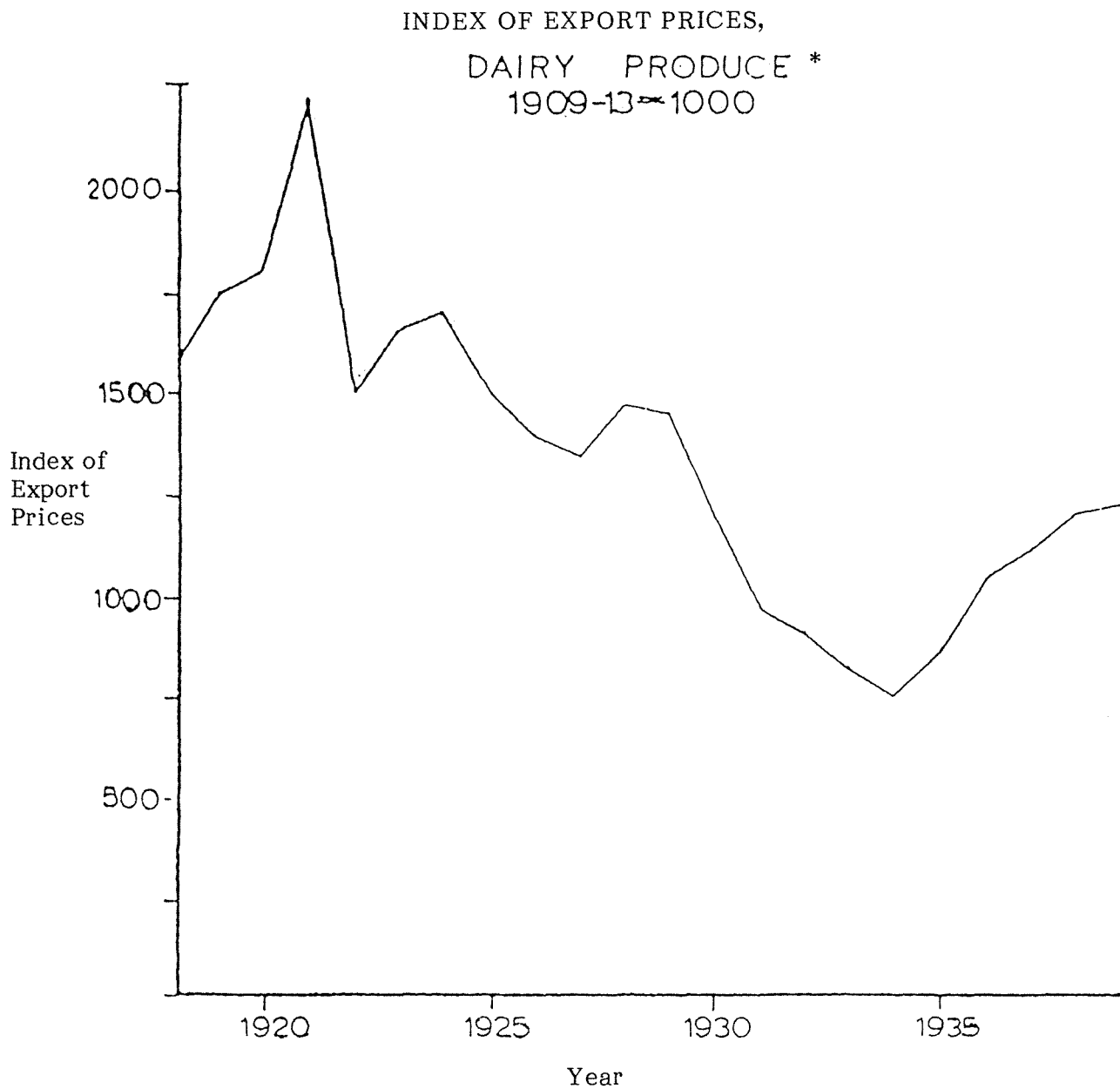
Population increased from approximately 1,000 people in the year 1900, to 2,050 in 1926. The invention of refrigeration, application of fertilizer and use of herd-testing were important technical innovations in farming at this time. Small groups of local farmers had now

combined their capital to process and market their own dairy products and employed hundreds of people to do so. A freezing works had also been located in the town, and World War One assured the immediate success of this and other commercial developments by providing a bouyant market for all available products. Confidence in the farming industry meant that about a quarter of all local farms were changing hands each year [Visser 1969: fig. 47]. The Lamberts' speak of the dairy industry in the above context as being, "the heart of Taranaki Prosperity" [1983:99]. As the '20's decade progressed however, those same structural characteristics became a source of despair. From 1925 onwards, world-wide crises of over-production and commercial confidence began to resound through the Eltham district. Massive dependence on primary production in this new context of fluctuating and uncertain world markets prevalent until 1935 (see Figure 2), meant that the lives of the majority of Eltham People were (again) to be severely circumscribed. I will be making these negative characteristics of dependence quite apparent in the review of developing Eltham industries that follows.

(i) Farming

"Generally hard-times" is the way Hall (et. al), describe the social experience of many farmers during the period of depressed prices in the 1920's and 1930's [1983:68]. In further examining the cause of those "hard-times" Visser concluded that while pastoral prices had continued to fall (see figure 2), there was no equivalent fall in any of the main farming costs [1969:3.1]. This problem was accentuated by the fact

FIGURE 2



(Source:- Visser 1969: Figure 6)

* Note the initial collapse of Export prices in 1922, followed by further steady decline until mid-1934. Recovery of prices is then a feature up to the outbreak of World War Two.

that the "slump" came very shortly after a boom period in farming. A mortgagor's sale was frequently the consequence of such a rapid fluctuation;

A sale of a farm property that took place a few weeks ago is worthy of record. Approximately 100 acres in area, the farm in question lies within five miles of Eltham, and an Argus rep. [sic] learned on good authority that it changed hands at £8 10s per acre, the point about the sale is that a few years ago it changed hands at £55 per acre [The Eltham Argus, June 10, 1931].

Heavy mortgage commitments made in the prosperity of the 1920's became in many instances, a burden too large to be sustained;

The present butterfat prices make it impossible to earn enough off the property to provide sufficient money for living expenses, interest and rates and at present it is probably impossible to sell the property for the amount owing thereon [The Eltham Argus, March 31, 1931].

A Dairy Commission held in 1934 maintained that for a farm to be profitable with the prices prevailing at the time, a herd of at least 70 cows was necessary and a per-acre butter-fat production of 175 pounds desirable (cited Visser 5.27). With most herds being smaller than this and 100 pounds of butterfat per acre the norm, it is not surprising that by 1933-34 more than 50 percent of Taranaki dairy farmers were insolvent and were only able to continue with the Government assistance that eventually came. The fact that so many farmers were in the same "boat" was another feature that made the conditions slightly easier to endure [Visser 1969:5.17].

An obvious feature of a rural locality such as the dairy-farmed areas of Taranaki is the way that the nature and conditions of land ownership influence the patterning of all social relationships in the locality [Hall (et. al), 1983:65]. Newspaper editorials of the time reinforce Hall (et. al)'s view but employ a more organic model of society in seeing the structural connections between the farming industry and the "lot" of those in the towns. There is a strong sense in which "farmers" and "townies", owners and workers, nearly everybody in fact, rely on farming and the farmers;

Our primary products saved the Dominion from bankruptcy during the war, and upon the output from the land we still depend for a continuance of prosperity [The Eltham Argus, September 20, 1924]

After the war [1914-1918], the high cost of living became acute, and it soon became apparent to everyone that farming was a matter to which not only the farmer was interested, but that the production and distribution of his products were matters of vital concern to the dwellers in the towns, and so the importance of farming was realised more forcibly [Ira Bridger, Mayor of Eltham, cited The Eltham Argus, May 15, 1929].

New Zealand is first and last a farming community and depends for her prosperity on her primary industries. If all is right with the farmer, the rest of the community need have no fear. Today, however, all is not right with the farmer...[he] is staggering under too heavy a burden; his interest is too high; his land in many cases, grossly over valued... [editorial, The Eltham Argus, April 8, 1931].

As would be expected, the progress of the processing and servicing industries in the town closely followed the circumstances of those in farming. With the depression came an almost complete break down of processes of profit accumulation.

(ii) Dairy Company

The Eltham Co-operative Dairy Company was formed in 1892 by local farmers organising themselves against the low butterfat prices paid by the only resident proprietorship factory. Nominal capital to launch the Co-operative was £2000 and every supplier had to become a guarantor to the Bank of New South Wales for the money borrowed. In this fashion farmers have continued to co-operatively own the factories that immediately process the milk they produce into cheese and butter. From 1900 to 1910 the Eltham Co-operative rapidly expanded and by the 1930's there were 14 branches of the Co-operative operating on the narrow country roads immediately around Eltham.

By the time of the Depression, the Dairy Co-operative was experiencing problems with transport, marketers and markets.

Shipping is naturally giving the board a great deal of concern, and whilst not a great deal can be done...the board will certainly do its utmost to eliminate the irregularities of past seasons [The Eltham Argus, July 29, 1924].

The Mangatoki Dairy Company recently circularised Dairy Companies [about its] opinion that under the present system small return was received by the producer for the enormous amounts allegedly spent in promoting their interests [The Eltham Argus, April 21, 1931].

All makes in heavy supply, no forward orders...stocks still accumulating, no forward business...market dull [Market Report, The Eltham Argus, April 21, 1931].

Surprisingly, given the above problems and massive falls in price, the Eltham Dairy Company remained a profitable concern up until 1929. At that time the Co-op could still;

congratulate suppliers on another successful season, although we are unable to supply to you as high a price for butterfat as we had hoped [excerpt from Chairman's speech, Annual General Meeting, 1929, cited The Eltham Argus, August 8, 1929].

The warning was timely, for the bubble soon burst as excerpts from the Annual Meetings of 1931 and 1933 show;

..I am sorry we are unable to show you a higher return for your butter-fat, we have not had such a low pay-out since 1912. When I advised you at the last annual general meeting to expect lower prices for some time, I little thought they would fall so low as they have. The so called slump has been brought about chiefly by conditions over which we have little or no control. There is a world wide trade depression and until conditions improve in the older countries we must expect a continuation of lower prices for our produce [excerpt from Chairman's speech, cited in The Eltham Argus, August 1, 1931].

Your directors regret being unable to show a better return for your produce, prices of dairy produce for the last season have been the lowest that a good many of you can remember. In fact I don't think they have been so since 1900, when we received 8, 1 and fourpence per pound of butterfat. However the position is much better than it appeared a few months ago when advances were down to fourpence [The Eltham Argus, August 5, 1933].

Problems for the Co-operative concern were made much worse by the the contingent investments it held in other, Dairy-related, local industries.

(iii) New Zealand Co-op Rennet Company.

Rennet is a vital coagulant used in the manufacture of cheese. Until 1919 it was imported by Dairy Companies at great expense. Accordingly, when a local scheme was floated to develop the manufacture of rennet, local dairy co-operatives were among the major subscribers to the £20,000 capital float. The concern was located in Eltham and for its first fifteen years incurred heavy losses as there were problems in securing ingredients, refining the product and getting cheese companies to accept the local product. The concern only began to become profitable, slowly, from about 1932 onwards. Broadly, these were also the circumstances of the local company which supplied packaging to the dairy industry.

(iv) Egmont Box Company

This enterprise was established by an affiliation of local dairy companies in 1902. The butter-boxes it produced were mainly consumed by the local dairy companies that owned it. Consequently its fortunes tended to follow closely those of the larger industry. 1906 to 1925 were boom years and then, in a now familiar pattern, problems occurred. As the Director of the Company put it 1931;

Owing to the prevailing depression experienced during the past season the demand for building timber has been much restricted...the year just past ha[s] been one of the worst in the history of the company. Business ha[s] been on a down-ward trend all through the piece...the working time of the men at the mills and factory ha[s] been reduced considerably [Annual General Report, cited The Eltham Argus, August 31, 1931].

(v) J.C Huttons Freezing Works

The portfolio of investments held by local farmers goes still further. Through their co-operative ownership of the Eltham Dairy Company they also had their finger in the meat pie. The Eltham Co-operative Dairy company was a significant investor in early slaughterhouse ventures in Eltham. This industry was plagued with takeovers however, and after about 6 changes of Corporate identity, the New Zealand Meat Packing and Bacon Company as it was then, became bankrupt. J.C. Huttons (N.Z Ltd) bought the entire assets and over the years considerably rebuilt and enlarged the works. Evidence in this local industry is of expansion rather than contraction throughout the depression years.

(vi) Taranaki Electric Power Board

Dairy Companies were a major instigator, and subsequent consumer of, a further important employing concern in the town. A public utility was formed to bring electricity to the town and convince the public that indeed, electricity was a useful commodity. This project to lay on electricity began in 1923 and was only achieved after considerable cost over-runs. Initially only 312 consumers could be secured and an "availability" rate had to be struck. This required people to pay for the opportunity to use electric power, even if they did not actually take any. The Depression was consequently a difficult period of establishment for the Power Board and the 33 employees were subjected to considerable cuts in their wages and salaries.

The Social Structure of Eltham: a Sketch.

I have characterised Eltham township as performing important service functions for a district with an overwhelmingly agricultural base. The organisation of production deriving from that service function, combined with the world economic crisis prevailing in the 1930's can be seen as having "distributed" [Gruneau 1983:168] Eltham men into six distinctive groupings [1].

The first category was numerically tiny, but composed of two immensely wealthy and socially influential people. Elthamites C.A. Wilkinson and Sir Walter Carncross were both highly articulate national politicians. In addition they owned between them a New Zealand wide franchise for cement, a chain of department stores, a newspaper, picture theatres, and numerous commercial properties [Andrews 1959:23,87, Standish 1984:85,160]. On account of this wealth we can identify such "gentlemen" as distinctive local Capitalists.

People in the second category owned merchant capital too, only less of it. By virtue of the fact that the members of this grouping owned small businesses or professional "practises" which employed a few (1-8) people, we can call them small employers [2]. In the local scene the category is symbolised by men like Ira J. Bridger with his cycle shop and Doctor Saunders with his 8 bed hospital. As typified by these two men, small-employers seemed to take a prominent role in local body

politics, business associations and the administration of sport's clubs. The depressed trading circumstances of the 1930's would considerably effect the livelihood of this group of men. Generally speaking however, they would have more in realisable reserves than individuals of the categories following.

In the conjuncture under review the third category mainly consisted of, Farmers. I use the term to refer to people with some kind of ownership interest in agricultural land who typically did the work themselves (utilising family labour for free), or employed a single worker. By dint of these owning and small-scale employing characteristics we can refer to this group as the petty-capitalists. As already mooted, the economic circumstances of many in this category, at this time, were poor. Many, while definitionally owning their own farms were servicing heavy debts held to private, profit-oriented money-lenders [Visser 1969:appendix 1.4]. As Mr Wilkinson put the case;

"it was money lending that had been the trouble with New Zealand right along. Personally...", if he had his way, he "would not allow a single penny-piece to be lent on farmland". He did not believe New Zealand land values would stand one pence interest. "Our land values have been built on a system of mild slavery, they had been built up by the ceaseless toil of the farmer, his wife and his children, the whole family. This was how land values had been built up and interest enabled to be paid. For heavens sake", he exclaimed, "do not let us get back to this borrowing, borrowing is an absolute curse to this country" [The Eltham Argus, April 11, 1935].

Many farmers, then, were paying heavily to private lenders while their own investments languished with the Co-operative Dairy Company in marginal secondary industries that were clearly subordinated to hostile world trading conditions (for instance, the Egmont Box Company, the Rennet Company). In these circumstances the share of rural ownership held by the lending agencies is extended while that held by those actually on the land is decreased. Maurie and Ernie, who were "Farmers" at the time, could recall the difficulties of the period;

..I was dairying, I went on to a place that was in a shocking shambles. And the price was eighteen pence a pound of butterfat I think it was, and then it dropped down to sixpence. And I had to get rid of me car and I had an old motor-bike I used to go into town with a bag over my back to get a few things. Oh no, it was tough that lot, really tough. Because I had to put a lot of improvements into it and if it wasn't for Dad behind me well I'd have been down the drain. Actually I sometimes wondered if I'd have done better if I'd got out of it [Maurie].

My Father was sick and died, and I went home on to the farm. Well before he died, he was sick...he got pyhrea in his gums and it poisoned his system. He couldn't work and I was home on my own from seventeen on...we were very short of money over that period because you had to pay your taxes, as well as buy your necessities and what not [Ernie].

J. Pearson (1984) rightfully raises problems with the whole concept of "Farmer", pointing out how it tends to obscure gradations of ownership, and conflate the economic and behavioural dimensions of farming. In this context for instance it is obvious that not all farmers were equally in debt, and when major structural changes occurred in 1936, some farmers recovered from the financial trouble with a lot more ease than others. The enduring point is, that the economic security of many Eltham farmers prior to 1935 was far from certain.

The fourth category, a semi-autonomous group, were people who still work for other people or institutions, but who were so placed in the organisational hierarchy that they were able to exert their own control over the working place. Many members of this group fit into what Oxley calls a spiralist life-style [1978:69]. That is, they depict rapid geographical mobility as they pursue promotion within the organisational hierarchy of their career area. Teachers, bank-staff and police are obvious examples here. With many as Government employees, wage cuts and threats of retrenchment leading to unemployment are obvious facets of their existence during the depression. Feelings of vulnerability for individuals within this group could be accentuated by their characteristic shorter periods of residency preventing them from finding acceptance in viable community support networks. Rugby is an obvious institution to counter such problems, as emerges later. Reg is an example of a spiralist. He joined the local power board as a meter-reader and later, by taking night classes and shifting around a number of power-boards in the central North Island, moved up through the ranks of accountancy to become a manager back at the local power board. He tells of the difficulty he had in first getting a job;

To give you an idea how difficult things were in those days, I passed what was known as the New Zealand, Internal Affairs-Government Department examination. If you received that, you were supposed to get a job with the Government on the Civil Service. Well I was fifth in Taranaki, and I suppose there would be about fifty went for it in Taranaki that year. I was fifth and there was no job available. And the chap who was first was an Eltham boy and he didn't get a job either. That was the unemployed period. So I was lucky enough to apply for a job with the Taranaki Power Board and get appointed as meter reader. That was my first job [Reg].

The Workers whose labour was the back-bone of the commercial concerns reviewed earlier in this chapter, are the fifth category. Again there are problematic gradations of remuneration, autonomy and security. However evidence suggests that many members of this category suffered in the depression also;

..there was a family of eight of us you see, so we just knocked off when we finished school at Standard Six, and knocked off and I done a few message jobs before I actually started work at Huttons.... Yes, yeah, I sort of, oh, pestered the life out of them. Went down there every day of the week and made a nuisance of myself. Sort of got there and you know, it was alright. I started off at fifteen bob a week. In those particular days I suppose it was good money [Ray].

Yes I suppose I was seventeen at the time, and time was running out. In those days unless you went to varsity or something like that you didn't carry on too long. But my Mum had to bring up a family of four of us on her own. She was a dress maker in Eltham in those days. And of course I had to get out and work, my other three brothers were all older than me, they were all out working. So it was up to me... I left in April 1931 and it was almost in the middle of the depression then. I got a job with the Power Board as meter reader for three dollars a week. Which of course was much more valuable than what it is today. You must realise that. But there were ninety six applicants for that particular job. As far South as Dunedin. And being a home town boy I suppose they favoured me and I got the job [Charlie].

I started work when I was fifteen. I only did about 18 months at Stratford High School. Those times, that was 1935, we were coming out of slump times and to get a job, well you grabbed what job you could get, and that sort of thing. So I had a chance of an apprenticeship at Pepperel's joinery...so I took it...There was a lot of kids scratching around trying to get jobs, you know, and I was a bit bloody lucky to get it. Yes at that stage my Father was only a box-maker and they were only on three days a week at that stage...There was quite a lot of swaggers on the road. You'd see them walking along with a bloody billy on their back [Ollie].

An obvious sixth category in the social structure of Eltham was those whose labour was never taken up, (or maybe discarded) by the commercial concerns reviewed. From 1929 to 1935 there was consistently about a hundred men registered as unemployed in Eltham. Each week about 90 percent of these men were allocated make-work tasks with Local Bodies, and on farms. Swamps were drained, a park created and roads levelled. From time-to-time relief funds were nearly exhausted or couldn't be stretched far enough;

The serious plight of unemployed single men was the subject of discussion at last night's meeting of the Eltham Unemployment Committee. There is at present no work for these men on the relief schemes and many of them have no means of sustenance. Relief workers' camps around the district were already full and yet men were incapable of getting work in town...."we hardly know this winter just what is going to happen", continued Mr Bridger [The Eltham Argus, May 3, 1933].

My categorisation of the various economic groupings of the time is somewhat crude, but a full descriptive and explanatory account would, of course, be outside the ambit of this study [3]. Rather, I have merely tried to give an indication of the stratificatory spread apparently holding during the period under review. An important feature of the social "distribution" holding in the locality [Gruneau 1983:168], was the obvious vulnerability of nearly all of the groupings to the hostile external economic conditions.

Eltham people were, and felt themselves to be, at the whim of distant markets, technological developments and political groups. One extra-ordinary response to the restrictive circumstances was to hold a "hard-up" dance. The function was a hugely attended affair in the town hall and designed to be;

emblematic of poverty and distress, and a hard up atmosphere was effectively sought. There were no bright decorations to admire, but across the room a few wisps of old Argus did service. On stage there hung the weekly washing on the line. A few cabbage leaves and the scheme was complete....a saveloy each, a few biscuits and cheese and a weak cup of tea was all the refreshment... [The Eltham Argus, April 21, 1933].

Participation in rugby was another response for many men. As a socially safe and familiar world of recurrent rituals, it was efficacious in a far more enduring way than a "hard-up" dance was ever likely to be.

The Consolidation of Rugby

On April 11, 1919, 15 people gathered for the purpose of resuscitating the Eltham Football Club after its expiry for the duration of the First World War. A match was arranged for the following week to stimulate interest, and then another, better-attended meeting was held. A new club was then formed with considerable organisational exactitude. The club was henceforth to be called the "Eltham Rugby Football Club".

In the short-term, blue and white stripes were to be the club colours as material shortages caused by the war had delayed the production of the more traditional black and white gear. Administratively representing the club was a president, 13 vice-presidents, assistant secretary, secretary, treasurer, and a general committee of 10. This organisational cadre numbered, in the first instance, more than those actually playing the game.

Club records suggest that in the 1920's and 1930's, the individuals most involved in these stepped-up patronage and administrative procedures were from the capitalist, small employer, and semi-autonomous groups. Distinctive cases in point are the two "mercantile giants", Wilkinson and Carncross. Through the years they worked to provide a second ground for rugby players [Standish 1984:99], provided transport, cheap publicity, donated trophies and generally endorsed fund-raising efforts. At a more mundane level an army of bank managers, teachers, accountants, shop owners and especially hotel proprietors could be found running meetings, passing accounts, selecting teams, arranging transport and dinners, and providing coaching [4]. This dominance is very apparent in Figure 3. It depicts that prior to 1929, as many as 40 men were Vice Presidents of the club at a given time. This position then, was an important avenue for people to express their involvement. Although an elected position, it was also effectively a "bought" position, entailing occasional donations to club-funds to secure re-election. In 1929 A.O. Casey, a hotel proprietor, ex president, and future patron of the club, lamented

FIGURE 3

ADMINISTRATOR'S OCCUPATIONS : ELTHAM RUGBY CLUB 1924 - 1939

YEAR	PATRON	PRESIDENT	VICE-PRESIDENT	SENIOR SELECTOR
1924	Hotel Proprietor (MP)	Hotel Proprietor	20 men	* * * * *
1925	Hotel Proprietor (MP)	Transport Contractor	30 men	* * * * *
1926	Hotel Proprietor (MP)	Hotel Proprietor	25 men	* * * * *
1927	Hotel Proprietor (MP)	Transport Contractor	40 men	* * * * *
1928	Businessman (Speaker of the House)	Hotel Proprietor	40 men	Clerk
1929	Businessman (MP)	Hotel Proprietor	5 men	Clerk/* * * *
1930	Businessman (MP)	Self-Employed Carpenter	5 men	Clerk/* * * *
1931	Businessman (MP)	Hotel Proprietor	Self-Employed Carpenter Labourer	Clerk/Labourer
1932	Hotel Proprietor	Carpenter	Labourer Self-Employed Carpenter	Clerk/Labourer
1933	Hotel Proprietor	Labourer	Clerk Self-Employed Carpenter	Clerk
1934	Hotel Proprietor	Self-Employed Carpenter	Clerk/Doctor	Bank Manager
1935	Hotel Proprietor	* * * * *	Doctor/Bank Manager	Bank Manager
1936	Hotel Proprietor	Doctor	Bank Manager Clerk of The Court	Bank Manager/ Doctor
1937	Doctor	Bank Manager	Clerk of The Court Meter Reader	Policeman
1938	Doctor	Meter Reader	Shop-Owner/Solicitor	Solicitor
1939	Doctor	Self-Employed Carpenter	Solicitor/* * * * *	'Farmer'

* Denotes Unknown Occupations

the cheapening of the position by so many people being able to attain it;

"In electing so many vice-presidents, over twenty last year, it makes the position very cheap", said Mr Casey who presided at the annual meeting of the Eltham Football Club...Mr Casey suggested five as the number and stated that others whom the club desired to honour could be elected as honorary members [The Eltham Argus, March 19, 1929].

There is an important question arising from all this. To what extent did the involvement, sponsorship and patronage of ascendent groups in Eltham imply the submission of all involved to their control and values? [Cunningham 1980:128].

The question takes on greater significance when a cursory analysis is made of the occupational composition of active playing members. Respondents recall of players that;

... the whole spectrum was covered [Ernie].

...they were a variety [Ollie].

Oh yes, oh yes, all sorts [Charlie].

These recollections are broadly confirmed by a simple occupational analysis of a couple of teams. Photographs suggest the involvement of small employers, farmers, semi-autonomous men, workers and members of unemployed groups [5].

In the senior team of 1929, for instance, there was a self-employed carpenter and the principal of a prominent local carrying business. "Farmers" (numbering 7), also featured strongly among the playing members of that year. It is impossible now to recover the financial situation, debt and ownership characteristics of this group. At least one (and probably more), we could really categorise as a "farm-worker". As well there was at least one more prosperous sheep farmer who travelled in from the east of Eltham. There were three clerical workers in the team (Banks and Power Board), two tradesmen, and several labourers.

The composition of the 1934 team was not dissimilar. Six members of the team were engaged in "farming" (with the respectively varying amounts of equity which that implies). Again there was a "carrier" and a carpenter. There was now a single clerk, but two teachers had joined the ranks instead. Three labourers and three unemployed people made up the balance of the active playing members.

Analytic limitations accepted, the lists suggest that relative to their involvement in playing of the game men from the "lower" strata of local society were under-represented in the administrative and patronage facets of the game. As noted in the literature review section of this thesis, Howard and Swindells have advanced "common-sense" reasons why this skew should develop. They cite the greater available time and the developed administrative skills of middle and upper occupational

groups. My analysis seeks to consider not so much the reasons for, but rather the implications of such a dominance. I focus on the activities that make up Eltham rugby as a protracted negotiation process between the dominant and subordinate groups involved. These contending groups, through a series of definite rituals, at various times issued challenges to and struck compromises with one another, as is shown in the discussion following.

An essential characteristic of rugby that emerged in this era was its reliability. It has already been shown that the time was one in which Eltham's mayor should have to make statements like;

we hardly know this winter just what is going to happen [The Eltham Argus, May 3, 1933].

Yet for those participating, rugby was one aspect of their lives of which men could be sure. In the given circumstances we can see rugby as entailing ritual which could, as Burns puts it,

..reduce the increasing range and strangeness of the individual's world to the synthesised and safely repeatable form of a composed story, or documentary or performance [1973:54] [6].

The extent to which the Eltham men involved could virtually measure the passage of their lives in relation to the ebb and flow of rugby games is suggested by the The Eltham Argus;

The call of rugby. Bright prospect for 1935
Though it seems but a few short weeks since the referees
whistle sounded the death knell on 1934 rugby football at
Taumata Park, the Eltham club has already awoken to the
necessity of setting in train its activities for the second
round of the two year provincial scheme as ordained by the
Taranaki Rugby Union [The Eltham Argus, March 2, 1935].

Appropriately enough with the end of summer time comes the
opening of the football season and with it is decided for
thousands of persons of both sexes in the community, the
question of the manner in which Saturday afternoon shall be
spent [The Eltham Argus May 3, 1935].

The passage of the football season incorporated four distinct but related kinds of activities for the players.

(i) Training

For John and his brother, both living on their father's farm, Christmas had more than its traditional religious significance. It also meant that the football was coming again soon. An image is given of self-imposed dedication, complemented once a week by a more formal kind of training;

As soon as Christmas was over we'd both go to the back of the farm for the cows, running, to get a bit fitter [John].

I was living at Mangamingi which was a fair way out, we used to train once a week, and it was left to the individual player likes of myself out in the country, what training they did apart from that you know. I used to go for a run up and down the road and all that sort of thing. You know I'd run away down the road and away back up. And then once a week we'd have a regular training in Eltham [Joe].

The training in Eltham was done at Taumata Park in the twilight after work. Sometime around 1925 a couple of bright electric bulbs were mounted on poles but the light they provided was nothing like the floodlights of today. The activities conducted at the Park are better described as "training" rather than "practice" as the poor lighting, and absence of complex game strategies meant that;

..the principle emphasis was on fitness. And just to make sure how fit you were, or how good you were, the coach would say "right, twice up the football field", or "twice around the park". And the last man in would certainly be frowned upon. But yes there was much emphasis on physical fitness... [Reg].

After lapping and lapping Taumata Park there followed the opportunity of a cold shower and a brisk towelling from the period equivalent of a team physiotherapist, known universally to local players as "Old Tom Bennet";

..they called him our masseur but he was just an old-bloke who carried the footballs around in the sugar sack and that sort of thing. And if you got a bit of a muscle hit or something, he might give you a bit of a rub, that was all [Charlie].

Later in this period facilities began to improve, and at the same time "public" pressures to bolster training efforts began to become apparent. The Eltham Argus was a popular forum for the expression of these demands;

Let us hope that the request for players to attend the gymnasium for training purposes will bear fruit. The club has converted the disused mart of Mr P. Marchant into a spacious and well equipped gymnasium where players will be put through the mill. Mr W. Ricketts will be in attendance to take the players for physical culture [The Eltham Argus, May 15, 1933].

A few days after this development the cantankerous football reporter of the Argus took it upon himself to further berate the players;

It would be all to the good if each individual practised the jerks at his home every day in addition to gym work. In connection with fitness for football there is often advanced a wide spread notion that the country-bred youth who aspires to rugby honours can very well dispense with training. This idea has been exploded as often as it has cropped up. What is there to the young farmer's everyday life to make him more fit than the town dweller...His wind is really no better than if he lived in a town. Why then his immunity from training? As a matter of fact he should train more to reduce the effect of heavy meals and an endless succession of morning and afternoon teas [The Eltham Argus, May 17, 1933].

While these kinds of pressures began to emerge in this era, it was after 1934 that they really began to intensify and become a significant impingement on the way players approached their rugby. For the time being, training, like most of the rituals surrounding the game remained a largely private, voluntary and ostensibly enjoyable affair;

Well with nothing much else to do, it was something to do if you can understand. Today of course, all the young fellows with their motor-cars and all this sort of thing. They are out-and-about with money to spend. We sort of concentrated our efforts on training. Then we'd play our games on Saturday and normally on the Sunday we'd go over and have a run to run the stiffness out of ourselves. But that was more or less a social little bit of a run together [Charlie].

(ii) Travelling

Travelling was the second round of rituals involving the players. It was required about every second week of the rugby season. Eltham club-teams were now reliable participants in a format of competitions that was from time-to-time re-organised by the Taranaki Rugby Union. Three formats of competition were tried in all. To begin with the province was divided into northern, central and southern sectors. This required that teams only play other teams that were in the immediate vicinity. Later, with roading improving all the time, the playing division became simply north/south, and later again, although it was criticised for the travelling involved, competition became provincial wide.

For an "away" match the Eltham team, manager, and a few supporters would meet at the Post Office. Transport was by Caleb Maslin's truck;

It had a canopy over the back and the breeze certainly blew through the canopy [Sharkie],

or by Dick Gower's old bus which the players called "Blue-Bird";

Oh the seats were pretty hard (LAUGHS). You know, you knew you'd been on a ride, they weren't padded, they were pretty hard sort of seats. But we seemed to always get there and enjoy it. It never worried us much I don't think [Ray].

The respondents hugely enjoyed these trips around the provinces and describe the miscellany of distracting activities they embodied;

Well, of course the latest yarn would be told naturally, but I would think that 80 percent of the time spent on the bus was spent singing. Singing songs...I can tell you that they were all local and popular songs but occasionally we'd put our own abbreviations in...a little bit of strategy talk. Sometimes the coach would give a little talk as we were going along in the bus, and on the way home it was a free-for-all and we would be singing [Reg].

Oh yes. Oh yes, yes. The old Football song "On the Ball, through scrummage, three-quarters and all". That one. The songs of those days were a bit different from the pop stuff of today of course. Yeah, there was a lot of singing on the buses. Bill Gower who was our Bus Driver, he was a great whistler. He seemed to be the whistler and kept us in tune [Charlie].

We sang songs and played cards..."Spring-time in the Rockies" was very favoured in the old days..."When its Spring-time in the Rockies I'll be coming back to you", that's about all I can remember [Sharkie].

..I wish I could remember that song. It was a corker, there was whole pieces you'd so much, and as it went along it got a little bit juicier, that's all (LAUGHS) [Maurie].

Or we just sat down and talked, more of what we were doing than about the prospects of the game or anything like that. We just talked between one another [Ernie].

A common trick on these bus trips was to crawl under the seat in front and tie to the seat, the shoe laces of the player sitting there. Other trips were marked by more spectacular happenings;

..I s'posse all those trips were fun, there was no doubt about it. We did some perhaps silly things at times. There's one instance...coming back from playing in New Plymouth. And we were in a big Hudson car. We must of went in cars. It was when I was playing for Kaponga and just out of New Plymouth, on the side of the hill, there was a lot of goats. It was raining actually...and one of the drivers stopped the car, they wanted to catch one of those goats. So

they stopped the car and they went up on this hill and they chased these goats around and they got one cornered. They brought it back and they put it in the car. You can imagine what a wet goat smelt like. I remember just when they were getting into Kaponga, there was a chap Hammersley. He was a bachelor. The Hammersley's were great football people. So they stopped and went in and put this goat in bed with him and carried on into Kaponga. You know that's one little instance I can remember. But oh, I think they all had a bit of fun you know [Joe].

One feature of every trip was a stop to buy meat-pies. The frequency with which this subject was brought up suggests the extent to which the respondents obviously savoured the memory of jostling in the pie queue, and the shared experience of standing around together - biting into the hot pastries on a drizzly Taranaki afternoon;

We engaged in eating pies of course. We were pretty good at eating pies (LAUGHS). Pies used to be bought from John Sheehy's. He made a round pie which was probably unique in New Zealand, and they cost fourpence each in those days [Sharkie].

Oh yeah too right. I remember we used to stop at the pie cart here in Hawera. On our way back, say from Patea or somewhere. Buy pies in the Saturday afternoon when we had Saturday afternoon football. They always had hot pies on tap. And nice pies too [Charlie].

You might buy a pie if we were down at Patea, and chew it on the bus...Well after a game we would buy one of Sheehy's Pork Pies....Yes pies would be the thing. A pie cost, about threepence or fourpence [Reg].

Oh yes, that's right, of course that was Sheehy's old pies... they'd try to get some of them before they went away... they always liked their pies [Ollie].

The whole focus of these interactions was of course the games themselves, which are the third round of rituals we can easily identify.

(iii) Games

The Eltham Argus had a whole series of cantankerous football columnists. Writing under endearing pseudonyms such as "Sideline", "Armchair" and "The Old-Un", they often severely criticised the senior team for its performances. "The Old-Un", for instance, accused local players of serving-up "a slip-shod, happy-go-lucky brand of football" [The Eltham Argus, August 9, 1933]. While it is impossible to preside on the value judgements embodied in such a statement, there is certainly evidence to suggest that the game was different, and far less sophisticated than the rugby game of today. Dribbling was one prominent feature of the playing style which we now see little of today;

Oh yes (YEARNING), you never saw the, well the forwards did handle but you'd never see them try to pick it up like they do today, especially on a wet day. Dribble, dribble, dribble from one end of the paddock to the other. Unless it come up into your hand, you know what I mean. There was more dribbling in the forwards than what there was trying to pick it up like they do today [John].

Yes, there was more emphasis on dribbling in particular. You know what I mean. You don't see much dribbling today, there's a lot of hand-to-hand passing but a dribbler coming along, he was a hard man to stop. Because you'd think twice. You'd think twice about going down in front of those chaps. And I had an Uncle who was a dribbler, who played for Taranaki, he played for the North Island. And his theory was, he'd be dribbling the ball along and as soon as he came to you, he'd just go straight over the ball into you, and the others would carry on with it, you know [Joe].

In other ways play was much less technical. Positional specialisation was much less rigid than is common today and respondents tended to summarise their achievements in terms of effort expended, rather than the results attained;

We did our best. As I say Eltham didn't have a strong team in those days. I used to go around on Saturday mornings, when we had Saturday mornings off, I used to go around with Doctor Saunders on his round with his patients. And we'd have to sort out what players we'd have for the afternoon. And we'd have to try and sort them out into what positions they could play in. We were short of players. I personally played in fourteen positions for the Eltham rugby team. The only place I didn't play was half-back. When we sorted them all out, there was a position left that wasn't filled, I had to take it...It was less technical, there's no doubt about it. All this jumping in the lineout, and specialist lineouts and all this sort of thing. You never heard of it in those days [Charlie].

..well in those days, I remember there was just one or two sort of positions, you know, developed for the backs. From the half-back to the wing, you lined right out, it didn't matter where you were....And the forwards didn't pick up like they do today. They used their feet, you know, dribbled more...I only had Jack Rye and Doc Saunders [for coach] and they were both, well they weren't tacticians. You were left to play, you know, as the team saw fit. But they brought the best out in the boys with encouragement [Ernie].

As a result of the simplistic approach of the Eltham team, it was lowly ranked within the hierarchy of Taranaki teams at the time;

The senior team last season put up a unique record for themselves, in fulfilling all their engagements, notwithstanding that Saturday after Saturday, not only defeat but a sure and certain trouncing was to be their portion at the final whistle [The Eltham Argus, March 19, 1929].

The Eltham Club's senior team continues to suffer defeat with monotonous regularity...It is not a matter for wonder that interest has dwindled almost to vanishing point, or that when a match is announced at Eltham, the attendance is a miserable affair...with only two matches to play there is no chance of

recovery, but hope springs eternal in the human breast, and the Eltham club, the players and the public will look forward to a revival in 1930 [The Eltham Argus, July 24, 1929].

The above excerpts suggest that associated with a lack of playing "success" was minimal support from the townspeople. Structurally this tendency was reinforced by the forty-four hour working week in force until 1936. Neighbouring towns, and even differing economic sectors within the same town could have their "half-day" through different times of the week. This was a major factor inhibiting the growth of potential mass support, even before the playing spectacle was to be considered.

But I suppose we had a fair support. But as you see we played on a Saturday, the shops were working. See. So therefore you never had the support of the town really did you? [Ray].

..after the [second] war when Roger Urbhan and Ron Cameron and all those, Vic Muller and those all played for Eltham. They brought the game alight in Eltham. I've always maintained that we were the one's who kept the game going in those depression years. And we kept it going, and the club going for future generations [Charlie].

The senior Eltham team played on Saturday afternoon while the juniors (Senior B), third grade and fourth grade played on a Thursday afternoon. Playing on a Thursday afternoon after half a day's work was certainly not an ideal arrangement for those players;

It wasn't very good really. By the time you'd knocked off work and rushed home and had a bit of lunch and got your gear ready and that sort of thing. You were really rushing. Especially if you had to go out to Toko or something like that. And the farming community in those days, they had to get home to milk or even though it was winter time, they

still had to get home to feed and do all sorts of things on their farms. So it was a bit of a rush. When Saturday full day holiday came in it was a different story altogether [Charlie].

During this "very lean" time as the Jubilee Supplement describes the period, the playing slump and disturbed working week confined the level of spectator support for the game to a decidedly "individualistic" rather than a "mass" level. The distinctive yells of individual barrackers would ring across the park, rather than the mass roar of a crowd. Distinctive barrackers like "Old Shorty Coad", "Old Roy Taylor", "The Gower Boys", George Peebles, Tom Glentworth, "Old Spike McGlone" and Constable Townsend;

Old Roy Taylor, that was Atholl Taylor's father. Of course he's dead now, but he'd be running up and down screaming like hell. Oh there was always that odd one. The Gower Boys they were pretty tough and they were, well they were, I say Gower Boys, they weren't old jokers they were in their thirties at that stage. But they were pretty vocal and say "Your tough ref", and all this sort of thing [Ollie].

..the big problem was to keep them off the sideline, because there were only one or two of them. And probably the most vocal of the lot was Constable Townsend (LAUGHS). And he was a man with a big booming voice. I can think often of me playing full-back, a high ball, I'd take the ball and just as he'd keep quiet until I'd taken the ball and then he'd say, "out this way boy". Before you knew what you were doing you were out that way (LAUGHS). You had to keep your wits about you not to do what old Towny told you...[Reg].

[He] was a great Eltham supporter, but one-eyed if you get me. And of course there is plenty of time he got, well he got put off at Okaiawa by the referee. Ordered off the ground altogether. His remarks and all the rest of it. He was a real stalwart alright, of Eltham... He worked at the curing rooms over here where the milk factory is over here. He worked there but he didn't play. He was sort of crippled eh? He had very a bumbled foot. He was a supporter, but too strong a supporter if you get me. There was a lot of horrible things that he shouldn't say and he got the club into more trouble than not in latter years [Roy].

I know my Mother always came. And Mum knew nothing about rugby whatsoever. Only because I was playing that she ever came. And I think a lot of other mothers and sisters all came, for the same reason. They wanted to see their sons and brothers play [Charlie].

Well before we got, won the championship, or got the top, there was just girl-friends or Mum and Dad and the players, there wasn't much following. Unless they were very keen football supporters, but once we got up to Taranaki Championship, well there would be as good as a rep game [Ernie].

In the mean time, just playing for themselves and the small crew of keen supporters and relations had its own compensations for the players;

And I can remember in the early days before we won recognition as good teams, we didn't have much following and it was left to the players to make their own fun and it was really good [Ernie].

Or as the Club-President put it in his annual report;

The 1930 Rugby Season as far as the Eltham Club is concerned, was satisfactory. Socially, the season was all that could be wished for. The teams entered in the competitions thoroughly enjoyed themselves even though they did not reach a very high point on the ladders [cited The Eltham Argus, March 19, 1931].

One problem was that gate-takings for the year dropped again, and the club was operating with a credit balance of around £10. This highlights the fact that, as a form of relatively privatised play, rugby could be a source of uncomfortable expense at these times of depression;

I had three jerseys ripped off me in three weeks. They cost me twenty-seven and sixpence a jersey. That was my week's wages. Three bloody weeks, three rudy weeks. I had a brand new jersey ripped off my back, ripped. I had to go and buy another one. It cost me twenty-seven and six and that was a lot of money...It was just a fluke that I got caught, other jokers probably only used one jersey right through their whole career.... I'll never forget that, it hurt me a little bit. Twenty Seven and six for a new jersey each week... [Ollie].

It was a problem, there's no doubt about that. Even though it was cheap, I think a pair of O'Brien Boots cost about a pound. Which was two dollars. It was still big money. It was big value in those days. No, it was hard work providing for yourselves. And for bus-fares [Charlie].

The very real physical dangers faced in rugby are another paradoxical aspect of a game which serves the latent function of escape from economic insecurity. Injury on the field was actually a much more real prospect than immediate starvation in a dole queue, as these graphic depictions show;

She was hairy for the first couple of seasons (LAUGHS), with a three front row. You'd stand back from here to the T.V there (ABOUT 3 METRES) and woof! Head in-on it was too bad (LAUGHS) [John -discussing scrummaging]

We were playing Tukapa that day and the chap was a lot taller than me and as he come down, he brought his elbow down and caught me, you know, on the nose and broke it and that was in the lower grades and I didn't go off, I kept on playing and it swelled that much after the game, I went to Doc Saunders, [AND IT WAS TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING] [Ernie].

I had my nose-broken, smashed in by a fist. Purely my own fault. Well, nobody's fault. I took the ball at fullback and a chap came hareing down after me and I thought to myself, "I'll side-step this joker". So I waited 'till he was reasonably close and made a little movement that way and he automatically went with me that way, and then I ducked this way, and I moved so late, out he went with his fist!! And I actually ran into his fist. I smashed my nose to glory, it was flattened all over my face [Reg].

Now there was a chap called Paddy Murphy out at Kaponga, yes Paddy was one of the bloody ugliest looking bloody jokers that you've ever looked at. He was! Paddy had hands that he could just about, he could pick the bloody football up in one hand, just like that, you know he could do anything. I mean a terrific bloody hand. He had a chest out to there [HOLDING ARM OUT]. He played for Taranaki...He was a big bugger. Well okay I was playing for Eltham, we went out to Kaponga and Paddy was out there....And, I got in this ruck, under this bloody ruck, and old Paddy come in and he put his boot, his foot right over me, and grabbed me by the scruff of the neck and he said, "come on you little bugger, you're not supposed to be in here". And he pulled me right. And he played for Kaponga you know what I mean. He said, "you'll get bloody hurt, if you get in here, come on you little bugger", and he pulled me by the scruff of the neck and pulled me out of the ruck. And yet to look at him on the field you'd think, "you bloody big brute". He wasn't an ape exactly but he was similar to Stan Ogden....That was the style of things in those days [Ollie].

The only injury I ever got was the last game I played. I was married then and my wife was pregnant and I played for Eltham against Stratford and I cracked my shoulder. And that was the last game I ever played, and that was the only injury I ever got [Charlie].

Of course these physical risks are a part of the very attraction of the game (as the enthusiastic retellings suggest). Physical risks build up the team dimension of the game. Under danger the team comes together;

..if you see a joker getting belted up, or getting rubbed up, well you're going to support him, and you're going to get that joker [and] your going to give him a little bit of knowledge that he's got some mates that are going to look after him. You know what I mean [Ollie].

Oh yes yes, there's been a few injuries. I had one or two. But not many. Likes of the shoulder, and a bad concussion once. Playing against a Hawera team and I kicked the ball up in the air and I started to watch it you know and this little chap who was a hooker for Athletic, and he just dived straight at me and I just when down like a pole-axe, and went straight down and I don't remember a thing 'till I woke up in hospital next day. And I'll never forget that game, we were playing with the wind and we were leading three nil when this happened and we finished up, I think it was twenty-four to

three we won by. And it was only because of this instance that the team just, you know, went mad [Joe].

No, I think the number of times a chap would have to leave the field and be replaced were few. They'd be injured and the Doctor would come out and he would have a look at him and he'd say, "oh your alright", and if a Doctor told you you're alright you must be alright, so you got cracking again. You'd limp along a bit, but the chaps would help you out a bit, they'd protect you until you were fit [Reg].

Patently, expenses and risks of injury were aspects of the game that players were prepared to countenance despite the Depression. Definite strategies emerged however, as players attempted to minimise the possible dysfunctions and maximise the enjoyment and benefits they got from rugby. One obvious product was that the Eltham men playing rugby were overwhelmingly single men. By abandoning the game at marriage it was felt that the possibility of really desperate economic deprivation could be avoided;

Yes, yes, they were all, I would say all single men. There wouldn't be one married man amongst them I wouldn't think....I've always maintained it's not a game for married men. Especially with a young family coming on. I've always maintained that. You see in those days there was no such thing as accident compensation. If you got hurt, you got hurt, and that was it. We did at one stage, I think we might have had a bit of an insurance thing but I think that fizzled out. I can't quite recall about that much at all. But mostly if you got injured that was yourself, you just had to look after yourself [Charlie].

Well as far as I was concerned, I got on to a farm that was in a shocking state. And I was flat out. We worked all hours of the day and night, trying to get this place into order. I had no time to go and play football then. Once I was married, that was it. And I was on the farm and concentrating on that and then of course we had the slump, that was the real knocker [Maurie].

But after I got married I sort of stopped. I only played about a couple of games after that. Doctor Saunders was our coach then. He was stuck, he come over one day. And I said, "oh I'll play if your short, but". Those days you didn't want to get hurt, we weren't insured, I don't think, in those days at all. Well I never had any.... In those days if you got hurt, unless you were in the Lodge or something, you were covered a little bit. But I never had any reason to lose any time at work for football. But I dare say, I dunno, the Company might have paid? I s'posse they would of. But once you got married, you sort of went out of it then eh? You know, you started to think, "Well, if you get hurt, whose going to keep the house going?", and so forth [Ray].

The socialising activities of players were another round of rituals where those involved experienced the economic situation and the involvement of dominant groups as constraints on the way "things were done", as I will now discuss.

(iv) Socialising

The conviviality surrounding Depression rugby was by modern day standards, circumscribed. Post-match sociability was frequently confined to just a "few beers" and then a rapid departure for home;

I didn't see any excess drinking at all, you know, not like it is now. As I say, by the time you'd played a game of football and time was over and you were changed, and had a couple of beers, well it was six o'clock, you had to get out anyway. In those days, they were pretty strict on six o'clock closing [Reg].

On an average Saturday, well?. After the game they would probably have a bit of home-cheer and such like. They might have sandwiches or something like that. Then there would be a couple of speeches at the finish and then they would go home [Sharkie].

Plenty of times we come home and never had a drink....The odd ones used to drink the top-shelf I s'posse... A lot did, and I did mostly in my football days, drink a portergaff...stout and lemonade, same as a shandy with stout instead of beer....You could get a fourteen ounce handle of that for sixpence [John].

Two important reasons for this diminution of activities were that players had little money and nowhere of their own to go.

I think because they didn't have the facilities in those days. You see you've got all your big club-houses and club-rooms today. With their own bars and all that sort of thing. Which we didn't have in those days. And there wasn't the incentive (TRAILS OFF) I dare say there was a wee bit of after-hours trading in those days, too [Joe].

Not having club-rooms like they do today, well there wasn't the opportunity really. [John].

They've all got their club-rooms there today and they all go over there afterwards and their friends all go in with them. In our day of course it was entirely different. As a game, the money wasn't around! And you just couldn't afford to go and spend it on, on a convivial half-hour. ..I think that perhaps that would be the main reason. I don't know that they would have been heavy drinkers otherwise. I wouldn't know that. But they wouldn't have the money to spend on drink anyhow. That was one of the main reasons that we didn't have all the socialising and what have you [Charlie].

Yes, well we didn't have the money. You see over that period there was the Depression and just getting over it and we didn't have much money to throw around. And I remember, my parents saying, "Fools and money soon part". And you didn't waste it because you didn't have it. I think that could be the cause of not so much drinking [Ernie].

In the depressed circumstances prevailing, the characteristic economy and civility would extend even to the annual "smoke concert" which was, "just a general get together to end the season" [Ray]. Ollie was just a youngster in the pre-1935 days and recalls,

All the kids were there, the whole club was there. And we, okay its silly to say things are changing, I know it's the same again. We were the Fourth Grade and the Third grade on one table, and we had cordials on that table. Yet the Seniors and the Juniors were over there, and they were over 21 and they had beer, and the top table had beer. We never worried about it [Ollie].

Reg meanwhile was up at the senior table and remembers;

Oh its just a bit of a concert, where you had some cigarettes and what have you and you smoked. That's not very descriptive today because you smoke any old where now, but at that time, you, well someone would say, "well you may smoke gentlemen". But after that five minutes, out would go your cigarette. You stopped smoking then...There would probably be about the equivalent of a bottle of beer for every two or three players, there was never enough to, you know, to get that excited on, but enough to brighten things up [Reg].

A statement Reg goes on to make is surprising in the light of the behaviour of modern-day footballers and suggests, perhaps, the extent to which other influences were at work here.

I can say quite honestly and sincerely that I don't recollect any misdemeanours occurring in a hotel when footballers were about [Reg].

Six o'clock closing and a coach who was a "stickler" against under-age drinking tentatively suggest elements of an enforced circumscription of social activity. Eltham's Mayor at this time, Mr Bridger, was an arch-advocate of the Protestant Political Association, a powerful religious organisation at national and regional level that had declared its intention to fight "rum, Romanism, and rebellion" (Richardson 1981:215). More locally the organisation was partly responsible for

the considerable acrimony that, at times, existed between Catholic and Presbyterian people in the district [according to Charlie]. At any rate it is apparent that ascetic ideologies of the kind pushed by the "P.P.A." were permeating the public side of footballers lives, (especially their socialising), with as much effect as perhaps even the generally prevailing economic circumstances. It shouldn't be supposed however, that it was easy for dominant groups to assert their ways of doing things. An incident at a Club-Dinner of 1929 suggests an immediate form of resistance working men could make if they perceived someone getting on their administrative "high-horse";

Mr Bridger was not on such safe ground when he referred to the fact that the Union was controlling the game and that it was an enterprising and progressive body of men. Cries of dissent, ironic laughter and ominous growls punctuated the speakers remarks, which were renewed when he said that the Unions efforts "met with our universal satisfaction" [report on Mr Bridger's speech at a club-dinner, The Eltham Argus, August 12, 1929].

Arch-public occasions such as the annual rugby Ball, were another scene where dissenting men, at times, could adopt gently subversive measures, as Roy recalls;

..then there was the Rugby Football Club Ball. But in those days there was no booze. There was no booze at 'em. They might have what they call a Claret cup. A bit of orange juice or something, you'd go up and get a little bit of that, but there was no booze. We wouldn't have a bar or anything like that. If you had any booze you had to take it yourself and if you were caught with it in the hall you'd be out like a shot because they had M.C.'s in those days, that run the place you know [Ray].

Notwithstanding these kinds of impositions on the precise style of socialising, the players manifestly derived huge enjoyment from the social rituals. Especially in the context of the prevailing Depression. In its other aspects the annual ball was of a scale and grandiosity that caused respondents to stutter in their description;

Oh terrific! You'd spend all Sunday getting that hall ready. And have a little Baby Austin in there with a sack of sawdust on with kids sitting on it, and pulling it around to make it shiny. Terrific! Yes...Yeah, a little Baby Austin and they'd drive round and round and there were little kids sitting on it. You know, making it slippery. (INAUDIBLE). If the floor was no good, then the ball was no good. Of course in those days they had pretty good orchestras. That was the yearly...I used to look forward to. As I say there was no bar or anything. You might have had one or two who took a little flask in there (LAUGHS). But if you were caught, you were out like a shot [Ray].

The big occasion I can recall was when we had a Footballer's Ball in Eltham. I can always recall we had it in the town hall. And getting the hall floor ready for dancing we had a great big bag of sawdust. It had a rope tied to it and drag that around. And three or four would drag the sawdust and one bloke would sit on it to add weight. I can see that in my mind's eye today as clearly as anything...You put the dust powder or whatever it's called on, and then rub it in to make a smooth surface for dancing. No, that was the big....Oh yes, oh yes, too right. That was quite an occasion. In those days we were all in dress suits and women in long frocks and all this sort of thing. Which of course you don't see today. But it was an occasion. There's no doubt about that. Had old Aussie Sates's orchestra sitting up on the stage there. Not quite sure whether that was the night he died? [Charlie].

Not even the death of the head orchestran could be allowed to detract from the success of such a ball as this, as Reg recounts;

It would be the tonkey occasion...and a most unfortunate occasion there one night. I was secretary of course at this time, and we had chaps from all around and the orchestra was playing. The drummer, Aussie Sates, conked out on the stage and we had to get him off of course. Doc Saunders was there of course, to have a look at him and we got him into the side-room of the town-hall. And there poor old Aussie died....we didn't let on. I was one of three who knew that he was probably dead. But the Ambulance came along and took him away and it was just assumed that he was pretty sick. So the Ball carried on...

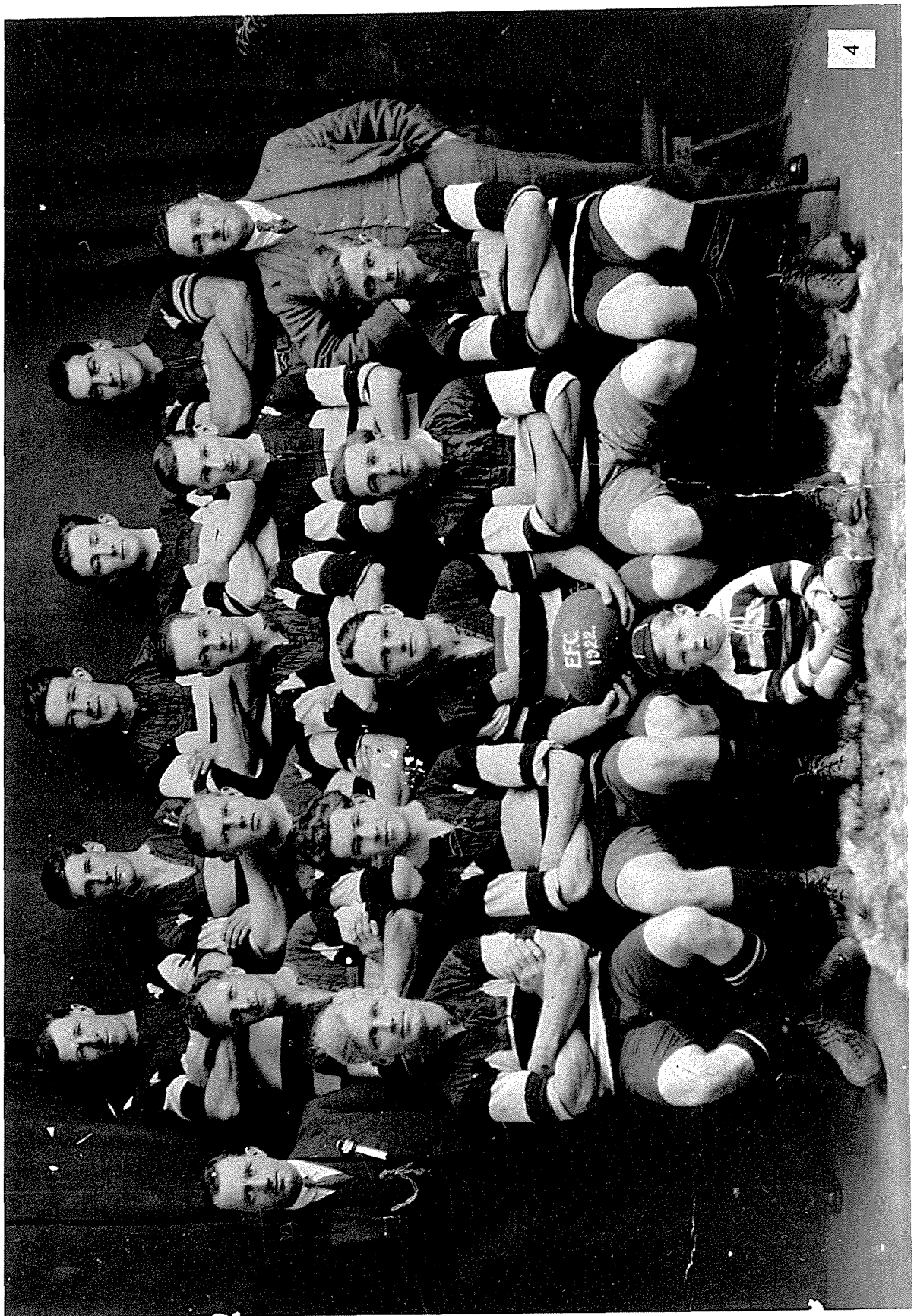
The ubiquitous Argus would review events at the grand rugby ball and each year the publishing of that write-up would signify that, once again, the rugby season was finished;

There was a very large attendance and the night being delightfully cool, dancers enjoyed themselves thoroughly...the interior of the hall had been tastefully decorated, and the colour scheme being worked out in black and white, the colours of the club. The decorations were very striking, the effect as the dancers moved gracefully under the overhanging lamps being very artistic....small hours of the morning before the function broke up [The Eltham Argus, September 4, 1924].

The rituals reviewed were not just ephemeral inanities, simple escapes from a restrictive economic climate. Rather, as games were won and lost, teams rose and fell, as training, travelling and socialising went on, a distinctive set of relationships was been forged between the unequal groups of men involved in the game. As Fougere puts it;

what endures are the practices and values embodied in the sets of relationships between men that the game creates and re-creates [1981a:3].

In the section that follows I extrapolate from the minutia of rituals, to the wider level of relationships built out of those rituals.



Relational Strategies

A repeated finding of "locality" studies has been the large extent to which the very smallness of a locality tends to equalise the exchange relation between dominant and subordinate groups [Oxley 1978:57, Pearson 1980:168, Martin 1982:98, Pearson and Thorns 1983:244]. Infrastructurally, and geographically, Eltham was too small for "hidey-holes" of leisure and residential exclusiveness to be established [Oxley 1978:xxiv, 57]. This means that both upper and lower strata were forced into face-to-face, personal relations from which they could not readily escape. As Oxley would otherwise put it;

The local leaders I have been talking about must find their human resources [labour] and obtain their esteem from one and the same group [1978:xxiv].

Oxley's analysis makes excellent sense then, of the situation where working class Eltham men needed financial assistance to pursue their joy in life; rugby, and upper class men sought acceptance and to extend their influence in a potentially disdainful community. As Oxley himself puts it;

The patron-client tie is a permanent and asymmetrical exchange relation maintained by the need of each party for the services of the other... the patron's services help the client's economic survival and the client's services make for the patron's socio-political aggrandisement [1978:189]

This notion of an "exchange relation" is perhaps ideally depicted in the kind of ritualistic expression of appreciation that would be given at the club-dinner each year. Like the one held at Mr A. Casey's hotel in 1935. To a large attendance of players and supporters a toast of;

"host and hostess" [was] proposed by Mr R.J. Taylor who stated that Mr Casey had always been a very keen supporter of the Eltham team and had been patron for a number of years. Mr Casey in replying said that he and Mrs Casey were always only too pleased to do whatever they could for the good of the Eltham Club [The Eltham Argus, August 29, 1935].

An outcome of these protracted processes of exchange was that the unequal social groups involved in rugby began to get on as if they were equal. Respondents recall that the interactions of Eltham rugby were characterised by egalitarianism. For Ernie a highlight was the regular contact he had with a prominent town doctor who was a coach of one of the senior teams;

He was, he was a, well all his days in Eltham, he followed Eltham, and as I said he wasn't so much a tactician but he kept harmony in the team, and I think that is one of the biggest assets, you know, a team can have. Because as I said we'd kill even if we knew one on our side caused the disturbance in the first place, you'd stick to him and you know, for your own sakes. He used to bring great club spirit. There was always enjoyment. I remember we'd have poker nights at his house, although he was a Doctor and we were just ordinary cow-cookies or you know young boys around, he'd have, you know, poker nights and we'd play poker at his place and really enjoy it [Ernie].

Other respondents also have their strong views on the egalitarianism prevailing, which they express through a variety of consensual images; "pretty compatible", "cobbers", "no distinctions", "all on a par", "knitley bonded", "same category", "all dubbed in", "welcomed for what you were";

..we'd come in at the weekend, and we'd all meet you see and all yacking about and saying all sorts of things and kidding each other on. Plenty of sling-off you know. That sort of talk all the time...We were a great crowd as far as that's concerned, we were pretty compatible the whole lot of us [Maurie].

They were cobbers. Oh yes, during the week when one chap's all dressed up you know and so forth and the other one might be in his working clothes, that sort of thing, yeah. I think rugby is a great social leveller. When I say leveller I mean an elevator [Reg].

..he was there for his football ability and you gave him credit for what he had. No distinction of class [Ernie].

.. when you got on the paddock you were all one, when you all got together you were all on a par as far as I could see [John].

..we were a pretty knitley bonded team. You know and everybody, we didn't go around saying we're the greatest or anything like that, but I mean everybody helped one another and everybody socially was the same category...It comes back to the same old story really, that there was not a lot of money about, so socially you all got on together pretty well. You know and you all dubbed in, yeah, yeah [Ollie].

Everybody, well they were welcomed for what they were. Whether this bloke had a couple of bob more than me, didn't matter. We all got on very well together...Nobody had an abundance of money, no, not by any matter of means...I mean, although I was a working class myself I was accepted in any sphere of the people that were around. I can't ever recall being snubbed by anybody because my mother was a dressmaker. And I was only a working meter-reader, which wasn't held in very bloody high regard, I don't suppose really. But no I can't ever remember being snubbed [Charlie].

These kinds of statements strongly support a case that Oxley makes about egalitarian groups. He maintains that most egalitarian groups do not object to some members being from superior class positions, so long as they do not claim to be better people because of it [1978:53]. Rather, all the involved individuals must earn their ranking in terms of criteria that have been developed by the egalitarian group itself and these may well be different to those used by the rest of society. As Reg explains;

No, there was no such thing as I've said here, there was no such thing as religious, colour, or social status discrimination. None. The principal thing was your religion had to be rugby [Reg].

Oxley elaborates that the groups will tend to honour those who exemplify collective virtues and who fulfill the heavy obligations of mutual support. In terms of Eltham Rugby of the time, the ultimate reward for appropriate social, financial, and physical sacrifice is to be accepted as one of the "boys", "jokers" or "chaps", be a "cobber", or a good "club man". In explaining what would happen when one of the players could not afford to pay the annual "sub.", Ollie charts the social terrain with a heavy reliance on such social categories. They are phrases that run off the tongue easily and for the people using them, the meaning is so apparent that they tend to be used tautologically. In the example following, for instance, take Ollie's explanation of why the All Black team are "good chaps". It is because they "know your capabilities", and, "um, they're all good jokers";

But most of the jokers in those days were either farm boys or working boys and we used to have a raffle, Mr Rye and that, and they'd have a little fund if anyone was really stuck. Well the boys, it would come out of the raffle fund, you know... Because they're all good boys, they're all good jokers. Its like, as I say these chaps who're in the All Black team, they're all good chaps. They all know you're capabilities and um, they're all good jokers [Ollie].

As noted above, the term is reserved for use for men who are prepared to "give of themselves". Further examples of usage follow;

We were compatible we seemed to go together pretty well, it was that and Herbie Ward himself, I think was the real reason. Because he inspired us and he looked after us and he wouldn't stand any nonsense, and the chaps they all knuckled down to him and did their best [Maurie].

The two Bococks, they were good solid players, nothing outstanding of course. But good solid players, good club-men. Good club-men...They were ideal club-men, you couldn't have got better. Oh they enjoyed their game! They were both farmers of course in those days... [Charlie].

I still occasionally run across one or two of the chaps from that era you know. Likes of Ron Campbell and the Bococks and these sort of chaps...Ron, we used to call him Ginger, he was only a young chap you know, yet he was 16 stone 1. He was a big boy [Joe].

The last excerpt raises the point that a sure sign of election to acceptance was being accorded a nic-name. There was Barney Potts, Derby Jones, Herbie Eliot, Hokey Casey, Trollopy Trolove, as well as Ollie, Sharkie, Charlie, Ernie and Maurie who I talked to in the course of this research. Even "mercantile giant", C.A Wilkinson earned himself the name of Wilkie but Sir Walter Carncross was always just Sir Walter. The nic-names above are of a genre where familiarity is denoted by a name ending with an "ie" or "y" sound. Another important kind is the type that suggest a player's on-field style. Players are

often likened to an animal: Turkey Burke, Spider Urbhan, Bunny Townsend, Weasel Campbell, Slow-Coach Slocum and Strangler Lewis. There was also Scaler Blakely who;

scaled along the bloody ground. (LAUGHS). He was only a little short blond-headed joker, but he chucked a beautiful pass... [Ollie].

The upshot of these processes is that men with differing access to social and economic resources, admittedly compacted somewhat by the depression anyway, are reconstituted into something approaching a rugby family;

..if one of your cobbers ever found you needed a bit of help you'd soon hear from them. I think you became what might rightly be described as a family. That was pretty broad you see, it wasn't just only fifteen players, you knew every player in your club. When you were a Senior you'd be helping the Junior Boys, go over to their practices and help them. So we all knew one another [Reg].

Everybody seemed to mix very well with everybody else. I think we had a very, very happy family in those years. I'm convinced of that really. I can't ever remember a dispute between a couple of players. Or the players and the administration. It was just one of those things where everyone gelled and pulled in together [Charlie].

..the coaches I remember, didn't know that much about the game but they were great for bringing out you know, the friendship in the game and making you know, a happy family and you'd practically kill for one another you know before you backed down. And it was really good. [Ernie].

In the above three instances, the notion of family is ripe with the positive connotations of belonging, of mutual support and of "warm" and "rich" interactions. There also emerges, however, a sense in which the "family" is a strongly controlling entity. Individuals who were new to

the club or perhaps slow in accepting the "family" way of doing things, could face real pressures to conform. The following exchange with Sharkie is particularly evocative of how egalitarian commitment to the family is actively fashioned;

And you didn't run away with any fancy ideas about what you could do and couldn't do. And it all more or less, well to put it plainly, it kept your feet on the ground. You didn't have any grandiose ideas about how good you were...

CAN YOU RECALL ANY PEOPLE AT ALL WHO STILL THOUGHT THEY WERE BETTER THAN OTHERS?

Oh yes, we had a number of those around.

BUT THEY DIDN'T SHOW IT SO MUCH WHEN THEY PLAYED RUGBY?

No, I don't think they did. Or they got hammered into a better class of thinking (LAUGHS)...And it was a thing that I think was always straightened out almost straight away. Like we didn't allow it to continue. Our main object was to have goodwill amongst all the players. I think that was a worthy objective too for any club... we'd try and bring him down a peg or too. And I think we'd usually succeed. Because we didn't like any show offs [Sharkie].

Other excerpts also depict this active fashioning process.

Yes, well if, on the whole if they didn't want to mix, well they were, that was there own fault. You'd try and bring them in, but if they didn't come? [Ernie]

No, generally we were all a pretty good team, you know what I mean. In all the teams I played in there was never anybody we'd call stinker. No, socially and playing wise, I'm being perfectly honest with you, I can't remember anybody that was really an outcast of any kind. If there was, I would say they would of got the message after the first game any rate, if there was anybody that came in saying they were going to play merry hell. They would get the message after the first game...Right from the start of '35, the Fourth Grade, we went

all up together. Right to senior. So the team pretty well stuck together [Ollie].

The images conveyed of players negotiating, building and defending their "egalitarian nest" suggests the importance rugby held for them in the insecure economic moment of small town New Zealand between two World Wars. We should now consider in more theoretical terms the sociological significance of the activities and processes reviewed.

The Importance of Rugby

The period of club rugby just reviewed suggests that in Ingham and Hardy's terms, a further stage of "ludic structuration" has occurred. By the end of the period a play ritual, because of its continuing strong appeal to a group of Eltham men, had developed into an institutionalised game (stage 3). By an "institution" is meant;

a distinctive pattern of social interaction whose structural features represent recognised, established and legitimated ways of pursuing some activity [Gruneau 1983:59].

In respect of such "recognised", "established" and "legitimated" ways of doing things, we saw how Eltham teams were now reliably taking their place in an organised competition, and how in doing this, recurrent rituals of training, travel, playing and socialising were established.

Although divided into a number of sub-groupings, the people broadly involved in Eltham rugby were seen as coming from both of two major productive groupings in the town; people who owned capital and those who did not. The involvement of both dominant and subordinate groupings required that a relational strategy be worked out.

Members of the dominant grouping were seen as taking a strong hold over administrative and patronage aspects of the game. In terms of resources they were better equipped to do so, and in return gained recognition for their efforts, fairly general acceptance, and opportunities to suffuse their own values in relation to "ways of doing things" (such as socialising and training).

Playing of the game on the other hand, was characterised by the involvement of many men from subordinate groupings, and the structural fact of a fractionated working week was noted as contributing to the game remaining (though less so than previously), a relatively privatised affair. For the working men involved, the game offered a respite from and a defence against the very real psychic, social and economic pressures of the Depression.

Cultural Studies theorists have employed a number of evocative images to describe this kind of defensive response adopted by socially subordinate groups. Hall and Jefferson (after Thompson), refer to a process in which the subordinate group is "warrening" into, or "winning space" from a hostile wider social environment [1976:12,42]. Gruneau also employs imagery that suggests the "taking" of social ground. He speaks of sport and play in its earlier phases of development as;

an assertive, expressive act that involves an attempt to expand one's personal powers and exercise a form of creative control over an immediate environment [1983:22].

Ingham and Hardy would go one step further and view the rituals of Eltham rugby as being some kind of cosy "chink" in the cold prison walls of a capitalist economic crisis [1984:89].

All these kinds of images make sense if we pause a minute, to listen again to the men of Eltham telling it their way. The following excerpts particularly emphasise the security of belonging to the rugby club.

..it's just remarkable how the players have rallied around and rendered assistance when anyone has been in trouble...Some player was burnt out in Eltham here one-time and I can recall we all gave as much as we could towards re-establishing him in another house. And the club also were behind us in all these efforts...I got friendship, I got physical fitness, I got comradeship and such like things as that. I actually got help when I needed it. If it was something like digging the garden or something like that, or I had an injury or something. Actually I didn't have many injuries but there was an occasion when I broke an ankle up at the Salvation Army Boy's Home playing basketball. Then

the team came and did various jobs for me around the place. Members of the team [Sharkie].

..we used to help this bloke Burke on the Railway you know and he was always unemployed and a bit short of cash, we always sort of, you know sort of got around and got him a bit somewhere, somehow. Yeah [Ray].

I know Old Doc Saunders, who was as I say our coach/selector, when my wife was giving birth to our only child. I rung him up and said, "I think Nancy's due to go into the hospital". I had an old car I paid fifteen pounds for. He said, "Well you're not going to bring her up in that bloody old car of yours". I said, "Well I'll have to get a taxi". He said, "No, I'll come and get her". So the Doctor came and took her up to the hospital. But you see, if it hadn't been that I was perhaps a footballer and Doctor Saunders wasn't keenly interested in football. I might never have got the opportunity of him coming down and taking her back up to the hospital. So those were the sort of things that happened in those days [Charlie].

Other respondents admit the unsophistication of the local game during this period but tell how that just didn't matter, and significantly, may have even made the game better! It was a part of the week to look forward to, shared with people they perceived to be socially equal;

We seemed to always turn up with gear and as I say, with some players it didn't matter if you had the sole of your boot or not (LAUGHS), but we seemed to all be, you know, happy...the old rugby grows on you...you always looked forward to your football on Saturday. And you looked forward to your training nights. I was young and single in those days and had plenty of time to get around [Ray].

It enabled me to meet people from a wide gathering. I suppose I was well known around, or I was as most people could be. It gave me social contacts that I might not otherwise have made. And that was quite important. No, I think socially was the great thing, the fact that you got to know people, they got to know you and you made friends. As I told you earlier I cannot recollect any occasion when I went off a Football field saying to myself, "I'll get you". I just don't recollect that. And we'd all go in together you see and we'd all change together. There were two teams, changed together. We'd push one another about, but we were

all coppers once the game finished [Reg].

(SIGHS), Well yes I suppose like any other player, there's the satisfaction that you did your best on the field, you were acclaimed for what you thought you could do, or what you did do. Your social life, you could guarantee, not guarantee it, but you knew very well that all the chaps would know you. You'd meet them, and you met after on the same footing as they were, and it was like anything else that you achieve, well you say, "I've done that". You know what I mean. "I scored the try today", or I did this, you know, it's just the satisfaction of sport that is all [Ollie].

..You've got to be a sort of an iron man to survive I reckon, nowadays. No, I think it was more of a sport in those days. Almost a recreation. Nowadays of course it's a different story. It's win at all costs half the time. Those days, if you didn't win, well you done your best, so what the hell...It was an enjoyable afternoon really. There's no doubt about that...we had a quite a lot of pleasure of playing rugby against other teams and other districts. They were all chaps like ourselves who didn't have much money or anything of that nature. We were all the same, so we enjoyed it...It was quite a talking point. There wasn't a great deal else to talk about in those days I suppose. It was one of those things that you got a bit of pleasure out of talking because it wasn't a depressing subject like the Depression was [Charlie].

A point that John Hargreaves makes about sport providing opportunities that are not given in everyday life, seems particularly apt. In rugby, Eltham men could demonstrate "basic human qualities";

merited achievement, skill, grace, cunning, courage, strength, imagination, comradeship, as well [the game was] enjoyable and exciting [1982b:132].

Around the game they could even relate as equals with men who were otherwise socially dominant about the town.

The spirit of egalitarianism that was developed at this time could be seen as being enhanced by three factors. Firstly, when men met around rugby, they did so to a certain extent, as "partial men". Association between dominant and subordinate groups was on the basis of the common attribute of interest in rugby, while as Oxley puts it; other differences could be "kept out of the picture" [1978:206]. Secondly, nearly all the men involved, both from dominant and subordinate groups could be seen to be suffering a relative circumscription of their livelihoods. Finally, running through excerpts from the respondents' accounts and newspaper stories is a perception of "common helplessness" against impersonal outside forces. These were the kind of influences which led to the emergence of a kind of egalitarian community or "family" of rugby followers. A point that Pearson makes of Johnsonville in the 1930's seems extremely applicable here;

..a collective system of mutual assistance coalesced around a community identification which severely diminished the importance of more transparent class divisions [1980:173].

This raises the issue of the extent to which Eltham working men had secured a symbolic rather than a material resolution of their problems [Critchler 1982:240, Hall and Jefferson 1976:47]. Still dynamic within and around the symbolic institutional solution they had secured were aspects of the problem they had tried to escape. In the following Chapter it will be shown how further changes in New Zealand's capitalist development resounded through the game, altering the local social significance of it and eroding the sanctuary that working class men had, during the Depression, found there.

Footnotes

[1] The categories I identify are broadly based on those identified by Wright [1979]. More recently the categories have been refined and specified for New Zealand conditions in a major study written up by Crisp [1986:12-22].

[2] More evocatively, but from within a more conservative conceptual framework, Oxley has referred to this category of people as "burgesses" [1978:69].

[3] The necessity of my making such a categorisation in the first place lends weight to Wood's assertion that "doing" Cultural Studies will be much "easier" and produce more satisfactory explanations when there have been more structural studies done [1981:3].

[4] Swindells [1978:35] and Howard [1981:25] found a similar historical dominance by "upper strata" people of rugby administration in Palmerston North and Wellington respectively.

[5] Reflecting its collation from respondent recollection, Post Office and Stones street directories, there are certain recognised limitations with the occupational analysis that follows. Primarily it is simplistic. The occupational titles recovered provide little awareness of the gradation of ownership and/or control of the workplace pertaining in each instance. Hence systematically reproduced stratification remains an assumption, but the analysis does depict the players as coming from almost the full variety of groupings identified. See Pearson [1980:186] and Hall (et. al), [1983:108] for a discussion of the limitations of street directories for stratification analysis.

[6] John Hargreaves [1982(b):122] and Gruneau [1983:26] point out that although the concept of ritual has traditionally been a functionalist one, it does have equal utility for Marxist perspectives. Where functionalists have examined ritual as a process where social actors learn about the "norms" of a consensus characterised society, Marxists insert the concept within a theory of hegemony. The repeated ways things are "done" in everyday life are, precisely, an important domain where hegemony is contested. My development of this chapter was considerably helped by Hall and Jefferson, (1976) (n.b. Resistance through Rituals).

Chapter Five

Economic Recovery of the Dairy Economy and the Emerging "Commercialisation" of Rugby, (1935-1939).

In the previous chapter the locality of Eltham was characterised as having a small population and a marked vulnerability to wider economic processes. In that context the rugby club had developed into what players felt to be a kind of "family", and what I described as an "egalitarian community". The intention of the current chapter is to map the further developments that occurred in the rugby club as industries in the town began to recover from the recession and the population continued to grow. The different economic climate introduced new pressures on the game, and demanded new kinds of responses by people involved in the game, as I shall now elaborate.

Economic Takeoff.

In 1935, George Forbes, the conservative "Coalition" Prime Minister of New Zealand claimed;

Confidence is steadily returning and I am convinced we can predict better times and that we in this Dominion will be able to look with satisfaction upon the manner in which we have faced apparently insuperable difficulties and to a large degree overcome them [The Eltham Argus, April 2, 1935].

Forbes was right about "better" times returning, but he wasn't to be the one presiding over them. In November 1935 the Labour Party swept into office. While it was ostensibly in support of working people, this Government enacted a number of social and economic changes which latently advanced the interests of existing ascendant groups. The example of capitalists, small employers and farmers in the Eltham area are a case in point. With the heavy reliance of the Taranaki economy on agriculture, moves like mortgage relief and guaranteed prices quickly brought a resumption of the processes whereby well placed local men could again accumulate profits.

(i) Farming

Hall (et. al), (after Toynbee, Pickens and Oliver) cite land ownership and acquisition as being, "crucial to the shift from a mobile frontier society to a more stable society within which clearer differences of class and position emerge" [1983:111]. In this respect two Government acts were of fundamental importance in stabilising the farming industry into relatively enduring patterns of ownership according to Visser (1969: Appendix Two). In 1936 the Mortgagor and Lessees Rehabilitation Act was passed. It was based on a Dairy Commission held in 1934, where it was found that the average Government capital valuation for Taranaki dairy farms needed to be reduced between £50 and

£75 per acre [Visser 1969:5.7]. The 1936 legislation enacted these suggestions, provided cheap credit at 3.5 percent and in effect acted as a;

"mopping-up" operation, finally doing away with the over-capitalisation of the 1920's and remedying further over-capitalisation of the lands productive value as a result of interest arrears and the debiting of interest [Visser 1969:3.5].

In addition to mortgage relief, farmers were also awarded Guaranteed Prices for their produce. This, the second important measure, came in as part of the Primary Produce Marketing Act (1936). Under this arrangement the state was to buy all the produce at a guaranteed price, market the produce, and hold on to any surpluses gained for repayment to farmers in lean years. [Barber 1978]. According to Visser the result of this measure was that;

there were still variations in the payments received by the farmer associated with individual factory efficiency, although the risk of dairy produce marketing was removed, [1969:3.3].

Or as a leader in the industry at the time put it;

it has brought.... a state of stability previously unknown. The farmer who in the past has sometimes had his income severely curtailed in a few months has this year been able to budget for his requirements for he was certain of his income [The Eltham Argus, June 7, 1937].

While farmers themselves were starting to do better, so too were the institutions where their frozen investments lay;

This increase in farm income enlarges trade in the products of secondary industry and large masses of frozen commercial credit begin to thaw. And this has helped to improve, or at least restore the standard of living previously enjoyed [The Eltham Argus, April 21, 1937].

(ii) Eltham Dairy Company

The operations of the Dairy Company at this time were proceeding most satisfactorily, as newspaper stories and company reports suggest;

Every improvement in price sees so many producers brought to the point where they can make ends meet but there will have to be a further advance in overseas markets before the industry is again on a satisfactory footing [The Eltham Argus May 13, 1935].

The directors congratulated the suppliers on the result of another successful season. Prices for dairy produce had not been as high as they could have desired but the recent slight rises in prices would improve the position as shown in the balance sheet....The position of our contingent liabilities is also in a more satisfactory position. The Egmont Box Company, the National Dairy Association and the New Zealand Rennet Company are all now showing a profit on their business and if the Taranaki Freezing Works continue to pay a rebate, our shares in that company should be paid up in a little over two years...I am very pleased to be able to report this improvement as it is a matter which has given both directors and share holders grave concern in the past... [excerpts from A.G.M., Eltham Dairy Company, cited The Eltham Argus, August 17, 1935].

Heavy buying of New Zealand butter on the London Market during the week has sent prices up as far as 104 shilling for butter and 67 shilling for cheese....Prices have appreciated 15 shilling for butter and thirteen shilling for cheese since last year [The Eltham Argus, April 12, 1937]

Another year of progress, and although there have been marked changes in the great dairying industry since the last annual meeting, chief of which is the control of the export of dairy produce by the Government and a guaranteed price, the company has enjoyed another successful season... realisations exceeded anticipations... a perusal of the balance sheet discloses a very satisfactory financial position...taking it right through, the 1936-37 season was a good one for the company and its suppliers and there seems no reason why similar conditions should not prevail in the season just commenced [Annual Report, Eltham Dairy Company, cited The Eltham Argus, August 4, 1937].

With the war a still distant threat, the outlook conveyed in these reports is a "rosy" one. In addition to better "farm-gate" prices, the contingent liabilities held by the Dairy Company were now also turning out to be paying concerns.

(iii) New Zealand Rennet Company

From 1933 onwards the Rennet Company "took-off". A newspaper story of that year could refer to Mr Fitzgerald, the manager of that concern as;

perform[ing] in the face of terribly keen competition the Herculean task of transforming a down at heel and well-nigh bankrupt concern to a flourishing business with an annual output of over 4,000 Kegs [The Eltham Argus, June 23, 1933].

By 1937 output and sales had climbed, profits were growing, there was a total extinction of losses incurred on earlier years and even a five percent dividend made on paid up capital.

(iv) Egmont Box Company

As the concern supplying the packaging for the expanded output of the dairy industry, it comes as no surprise that this company "took-off" as well. A report from 1935 detailed a lot of dead assets that had been disposed of. It went on to say that;

as the position was today, things looked very rosy [The Eltham Argus, August 26, 1935].

By 1939 the Box Company could proudly boast a "remarkable and gratifying feature" of its balance sheet; a profit of £1009 despite a disastrous fire in that year.

(v) J.C Hutton Freezing Works.

Between 1933 and 1935, Hutton's spent over £10,000 increasing their local killing and storage facilities. In those two years the number of pigs handled at the works increased over 100 percent: 500 pigs could now be killed each day and there was now storage for 10,000 carcasses [The Eltham Argus, March 13, 1935]. By 1937 the freezing works was having to shut down periodically as there was insufficient shipping space to carry all its produce overseas [The Eltham Argus, May 8, 1937].

(vi) Taranaki Electric Power Board

At the 1935 Annual General meeting of the Power Board, an improved trading position is revealed by the Chairman's words that;

I am of the opinion that the time has arrived when reductions in the salaries of several members of the staff made in less favourable years should be restored, further I believe that the prospects of additional revenue will justify this year a reduction in lighting charges... [The Eltham Argus, May 17, 1935],

and summing up in the equivalent meeting four years on;

After having overcome the initial difficulties of establishment, the Board reached a profit earning position in 1934, since when its policy has been one of expansion and consolidation [The Eltham Argus, May 15, 1939].

Social Effects of these Economic Changes.

Structurally speaking, the changes detailed had a most significant effect on the position of farmers in the social structure. Initially, in many cases as deprived as the workers they had taken to the rugby-field with, they were now shareholders in a series of highly profitable and secure commercial concerns. From having a distinctly contradictory position in the relations of property they had now moved firmly on to the "owning" side of the spectrum. They joined there the capitalists and small employers of the town who were also benefitting from the buoyant business climate prevailing.

In contradistinction to the extra-ordinary profits available to owning groups, workers of the town, despite a newly legislated 40 hour week, declining unemployment and new Union protection laws, still only had their labour to sell.

These, as Pearson found in the part of his study relating to post-depression Johnsonville, are precisely the kinds of pre-conditions capable of corroding the subjective feelings of community prevailing in a locality [1980:162]. The effect of class polarisation (or in Gruneau's terms, a more distinctive "distribution"), is accentuated by the population increase, occupational diversity, and geographical mobility also associated with continued economic development.

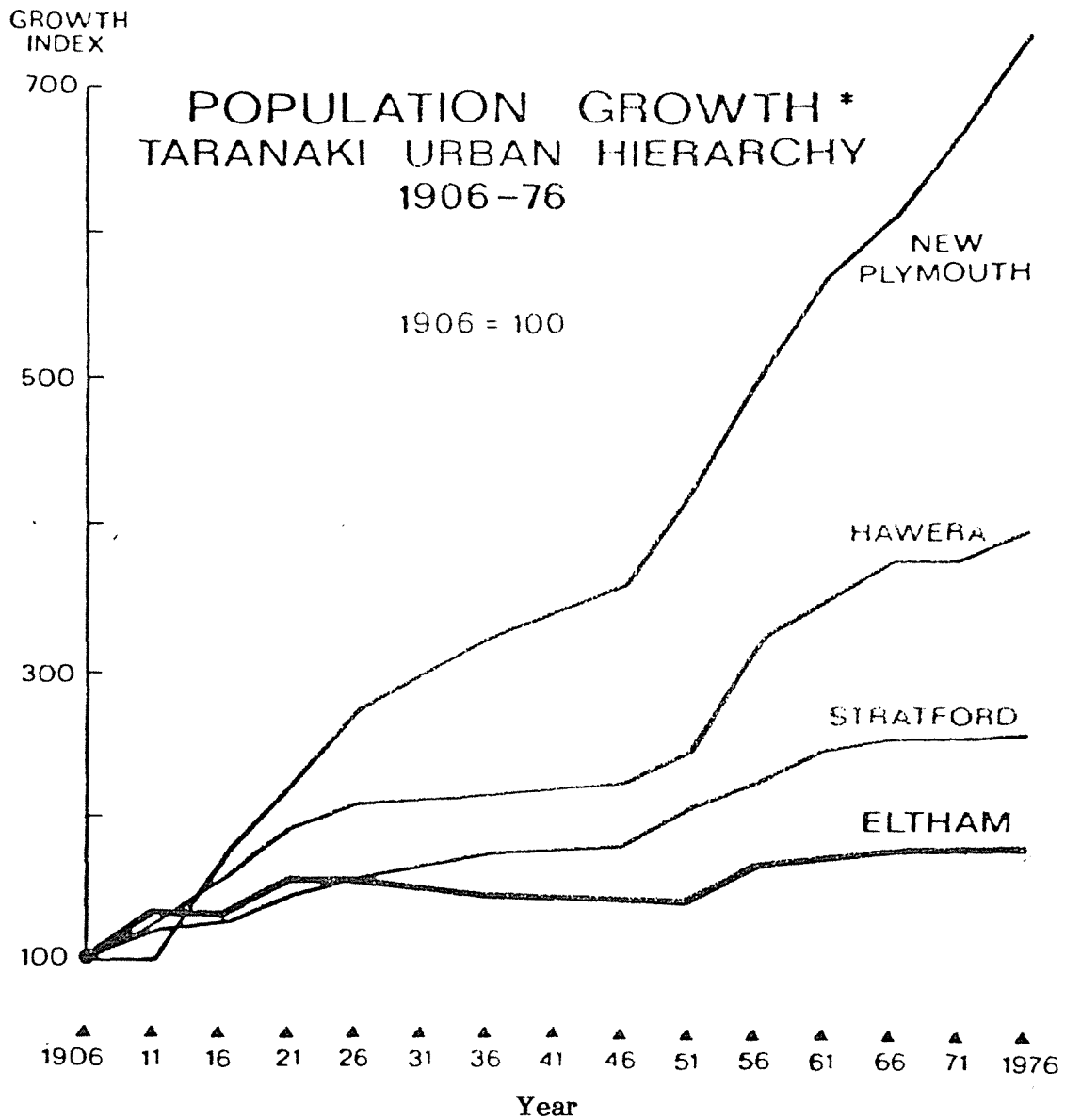
Pearson maps the emergence of a set of "community custodians" who, in response to threats posed by structural changes, take it on themselves to foster "community feeling" [1980:163]. In Eltham this custodial role was played by the Eltham Progress Committee. It sprung up in 1933 with the following remarkable membership pledge;

I believe in the town in which I live, its geographical location, industry and possibilities, in the soundness and the wisdom of its control and the unselfish interest in the welfare of the town by its governing officials and when I see anything going wrong I will try and think of some way of bettering the matter and offer my suggestions to the party interested instead of taking out my little hammer and knocking. I believe that if we all pull together as one large family each trying to help the weak ones and encourage the strong, we'll have a tendency to promote the welfare of all. That all people delight to live in the atmosphere of kindness and brotherly love and that the knocker and the

grump are different from me in as much as they have not given the matter due thought and consideration and it is my duty to help dispel his delusions by finding out what he wants and trying to remedy the matter, knowing that he has the same right to live and express his opinions as I have. I believe that I am not a freak and that the majority of mankind think similarly to myself, therefore I am going to be the first to smile and do the best I can to support the good old town that supports me and in which I live by choice knowing that if I do not like this town, its way and its people, that I have the right to leave it and go to some other that I will like. I believe that the future welfare of this town depends on the community spirit of co-operation exhibited by its citizens and that it is my duty to display this spirit on all occasions. [The Eltham Argus, June 14, 1933].

The Progress Committee was more or less an association of the capitalists and small employers referred to earlier. The hard, grasping, "common-sense" appeal of their membership pledge suggests the remarkable extent to which some people were prepared to go to promote "community" when "objective" bases for its existence were declining. Developments from within the town were not the only threats to community sentiment at this time. Surrounding Eltham on the densely settled Taranaki ring-plain were a number of towns strongly engaged in rivalry over economic resources and civic status (see figure 4). It is legion in local folklore for instance, that the interactions of Eltham and Stratford local body politicians have through the years been marked by personal and administrative squabbling. Competition for the kind of resources which could ensure the viability of a locality was particularly stiff. The intensive lobbying and allegations of "dirty tricks" surrounding the siting of the rail junction at Stratford, and the power-board head-quarters at Eltham are two manifest examples [1].

FIGURE 4



(Source:- Watson and Winchester 1979:5)

* Note the period from about 1930 to 1940 when a differential growth rate between Eltham and its close neighbours Stratford and Hawera begins to become especially apparent.

"Community" through Rugby

As much as local politicians and businessmen of the time were seeking to bureaucratically defend the commercial viability and "community sentiment" of Eltham from the colonising threats of neighbouring towns, the rugby-team too became an important site for the symbolic assertion of community. Whether the players liked it or not, their once relatively privatised game was increasingly transformed into an important vehicle by which the close-clustered, status anxious communities of the Taranaki Plain negotiated an order. Theorists have noted a similar role for sport in overseas contexts. Edgell and Jary go so far as to claim;

many supporters involvement with a football club is their most intense emotional involvement with any abstract idea of community [1973:215].

In a simliar vein, Frankenberg's study of soccer in a small Welsh village, found that;

the honour of the village and its place in the outside world [was] at stake in each game and in the day to day conduct of the club [1957:102], [2].

In New Zealand the case has been taken up by Hall (et. al) and Pearson [1980:161]. They see sport as one of a number of institutions that is;

local activit[y] that bind[s] the inhabitants into patterns of relations based on their place of residence [Hall (et. al) 1983:173].

These perspectives make good sense of the developing situation where, as Stewart puts it;

Rugby ranked very high among the sporting rituals of Eltham. Almost everyone in town trooped up the hill to the park on Saturday afternoons... You could hear the far, hoarse cheering right across the town as the Eltham forwards in their black and white jerseys surged against Inglewood or Stratford through the mud [1983:181]

Respondents recall that their most ardent rugby opposition was from the closely encircling towns of Hawera, Kaponga, Opunake and Stratford. Each of these towns had a catchment area for players that had been unequivocally set out by the Taranaki Rugby Union, and these were rigidly enforced;

Well those days you had to sleep three nights in the place you were playing. Perhaps one side of the road, you'd be all right this side, the other side you're no good. Therefore you'd have to come over here and sleep over here somewhere. How they ever proved it I don't know [Ray].

If you were living on one side of the road. Which ever it was, you know, you had to play. And the players took it as such. It didn't matter how good you were you know. You played for your club [Ernie].

From time-to-time, however, disputes would still erupt over these boundaries, principally in relation to the issue of whether a player's work or his residence should decide who he played for. The Dairy Factory at Mangatoki was a prime site for causing disputes. The

workers were housed on the Kaponga side of the boundary river and each day they walked across a bridge to the factory where they spent their working time. This was in the Eltham rugby "catchment". Only in exceptional circumstances such as this, could club-affiliation be decided by the player's preference.

In 1937 Joe found himself viciously embroiled in a dispute over this issue. At the time he was living in Kaponga but working in Eltham, and although he had previously played for Eltham, he now decided to play for Kaponga. His experience of physical intimidation and contempt shown him by his former home-crowd is indicative of the strength of the community sentiment. It also shows the sanctions to be faced by transgressors of the "community" code;

And I decided I'd shifted out to Kaponga, I'd play for them. Our first game against Eltham was a wee bit of ill-feeling going on. You know. I'll never forget it because I was warned that when we played Eltham, that Eltham were out to get me. See, and I'll never forget it. We played Eltham at Eltham. And the chap on the wing, he used to be a great friend of mine, I won't mention his name, he played on the wing. First time I got the ball. He came at me you know, and I knew he was out to get me so I just went straight into him, and, ah, he had to go off. Anyhow that was all right. They brought a chap, he's, you know him, John Haythorp. Well John was a lock. John came out on to the wing with his ear flaps and everything and he was marking me you see. And next time, or it might have been a little time afterwards, I got the ball and John came into me with such a whaaack! And I went down and I, ah, I got up. And anyhow after a while there was a hold up for an injury and I just sort of squatted down and when I went to get up I found I couldn't. And I had to go off and I remembered they clapped when I went off. (LAUGHS).

The same game received a lengthy review in The Eltham Argus. It interpreted things quite differently than Joe who was at the centre of the events had. The effort of the Eltham team had not just been directed at the one "traitor" but against the Kaponga team in full. As Kaponga was only 10 miles distant, the rivalry with that town was particularly intense;

Taumata Park on Saturday was the scene of a game that will go down in rugby-football history as one of the most thrilling encounters ever witnessed and which will not be displaced from the memory of spectators for many years, there was a large crowd and a battle royal amongst the forwards with Eltham beating Kaponga all along the line.... Fiercely loyal supporters became wildly excited and from the side-line issued a tremendous volume of cheering as the local team put every ounce of energy into the game...several times play was held up as spectators encroaching the field were moved back...Concerning the allegation that spectators clapped when a Kaponga player retired injured, "Armchair" has yet to meet the true football fan who would be guilty of so unsporting an action. What was evidently taken for derision was certainly appreciation of his efforts on the field and it would be safe to say that Eltham supporters regretted his incapacitation as much as did Kaponga followers [The Eltham Argus, May 17, 1937].

Two days later the Management Committee of the Eltham Rugby Club met in the Court House rooms for a special meeting and passed the resolution;

That Eltham Club protest against Kaponga Club playing [Joe] on grounds that [Joe] definitely resides in Eltham and works in the Eltham District for Mr J. Reardon [Minute Book:41].

This kind of incident suggests that the relation between the Eltham team and other nearby clubs was characterised by a definite "niggling" between the teams;

Yes, there was that little bit of, oh I don't know, but there was. Kaponga and Eltham were always, not at loggerheads like I was talking about, but there was always that pride, you know, between the two [Joe].

We always had a get to with Kaponga. It was always a blood match somehow or rather [John].

Stratford have been bitter. I won't, I shouldn't say this, but they're practically bitter in everything with Eltham. I don't know why. I may be cruel, I may be harsh in saying it's bitter but there's always something there that they like to down Eltham and Eltham like to down [them]. I had it in the Fire-Brigade....You see, you [also] notice it business wise. You could see that right through. If Eltham got something that Stratford wanted, or, I don't know why that is. I know a lot of good people in Stratford, yeah. Whether the two towns are too close? Ahh, and they want the same stuff?. You know what I mean. It started, now I'll go back, now Reg may not have told you this, or Sharkie, but the Honorable Mr Masters was Chairman of the Taranaki Power Board. He wanted right or wrong for the bloody Power Board Office to go to bloody Stratford...but it's always been Stratford that we've thought "Christ we'll get these buggers". Or they'll get us, you know what I mean. They always thought they were better than us. I don't know why. I don't know how it's crept in. I just don't know. There's been that feeling [Ollie].

..half-way through the game Jim Coull [Stratford] accidentally I presume, kicked Micky Muller [Eltham] on the head. And any rate he got a bit of concussion and I was captaining Eltham in those days and I said to Jim, "Oh come on, watch where you're kicking, you don't kick a man in the head". And he said, "B you!. You've kicked me before in your day". And I said, "that's all right, if you want it that way". Well we had a hang of a big strong physical side that time and I said to our Jokers, "Well if they want it that way, we'll mix it". So Harry Young was going through and the first five-eighths for Stratford, he'd been tackled and he was just getting up off the ground and Harry he was, you know, a bit uncouth and oh tough, at any rate he brought his knee up and knocked the first five-eighths, he was carried off [Ernie].

A comment Charlie makes is indicative of the fact that at times these rivalries grew independently of the players, and that they could become unwilling "pawns" in them. In spite of this, the game could still be fun;

Yes, I also think old Laurie Clapham, who was Mayor of Hawera. He was a very keen supporter of the Hawera team. And old George Peeble was a great supporter of the Eltham team. And they were, well I won't say bitter enemies, but they almost hated each other if you can understand. And I think it stemmed a bit from those two really. Old George would gee us on and Laurie Clapham would gee the Hawera team on and they'd get stuck in. I would say they would be our greatest rivals. But oh we had a lot of fun. Well anyhow we still enjoyed the game, [Charlie].

The Opunake team was also an intense rival as Joe tells;

I always remember Opunake was one team I always hated right through all the years I played football... playing Opunake at Opunake. They were a tough crew out there, not only the players but the spectators. You know, you were just as apt to get hit on the head with an umbrella as not on the side-line and this sort of thing. Oh they were tough at Opunake. I used to hate playing out there [Joe].

Confirming this The Eltham Argus tells of a game at that town where the Opunake team was;

..incited to a reckless disregard of the fundamental rules of rugby by the raucous encouragement of a numerically strong, leather lunged following of hooligans among the spectators, the Opunake team was entitled to very scant credit for its victory...Imagination fails to conjure up a more disgraceful performance on a New Zealand football field though it is said that a similar high class hooting effort was staged at the same grounds on a previous occasion this season. During the second half of the game the referee endeavoured to clear the ground of encroaching spectators and, failing in his effort, calmly seated himself upon the field and refused to allow the

game to proceed. The police force was requisitioned for a clearance... [The Eltham Argus, June 10, 1935].

It is obvious from these accounts that the numbers of spectators at the rugby were now much larger than they ever had been. Augmenting community pride as an incitement to attend were a number of other factors. Increasingly people could now afford to attend. The increased discretionary income of farmers is manifest, but other groups too, in a context of declining unemployment, statutory unionism and a recovering economy, could now afford to attend. Importantly also, the Labour Government introduced a mandatory 40 hour working week and created for the first time a relatively unified "week-end". Finally, the institution of rugby itself seemed to adopt a more spectator conscious orientation, as excerpts from The Eltham Argus show;

Football fixtures at Taumata Park will in future be made more pleasant for spectators by the presence of the Eltham Brass Band...rendered selections at intervals through the afternoon, and this innovation proved most popular with the football public [The Eltham Argus, May 3, 1937].

Later, in 1939 The Eltham Argus gave humorous attention to the finding of eminent London physician, Dr A.P. Spark after his study of English footballers. He concluded that falling in love is good for footballers because it "stimulates the glands". The message is stretched into an appeal for more women spectators;

"the thyroid gland...liberates energy-creating hormones"...It would therefore seem from the above, perhaps, that Eltham's success in the Taranaki Football competitions this season will depend not so much on our players but rather on the fair sex of the town!

"Side-line" who wrote for The Eltham Argus at this time was packing his accounts with anecdotal incident and intensely visual imagery;

The ball was placed in the centre of the sunlit field. Len White, Eltham five eighth retreated a few paces, approached the ball, and boomph, the Taranaki Football Season of 1937 was on! [The Eltham Argus, April 19, 1937].

Leathem's heel raising little clouds of dust as he dug a grave for a successful penalty kick...Peterson ducking his head to allow a high tackler to pass over him in a graceful high dive...Glentworth making sure he was within his twenty-five to find touch and then mis-kicking into mid-field...Southey side-stepping the defence in his run to the line...the ball caught by the wind in the afternoon kick-off landing behind the half-way mark...Glentworth claiming a fine mark in the face of a stern charge by three hefty forwards...a vicious rabbit-killer being brought down to break a tackle...referee L. Wells involved in a forward scramble...Club President Reg Lee pacing the line with extreme disappointment manifest in his expression. [The Eltham Argus, April 22, 1937].

The combined effects of burgeoning community sentiment, increased incomes, the creation of a week-end and the promotion of rugby were quite dramatic;

Oh yes! Look you wouldn't credit the crowds that went to rugby. You just couldn't believe that so many people would go to a game of rugby in Eltham. ..Now, I would think it would be a very, very poor crowd in those days, if there were not five hundred people [Reg], [3].

An important consequence of the community support behind Eltham rugby was that, increasingly the game there became a commercially viable one. The hundreds of new patrons at the matches were charged;

GENTS 1 SHILLING
LADIES SIXPENCE
CHILDREN OVER FOURTEEN, SIXPENCE

As early as 1933 the Annual Report for the club was exclaiming;

For the first time for a number of years a profit on the year's operations can be shown [The Eltham Argus March 28, 1933].

The club had commenced the year with a credit balance of £1 13 shillings and 5 pence and by practising a policy of "rigid economy" managed to end the year with a credit balance of about £4 [The Eltham Argus, March 28, 1933]. Hardly a viable commercial concern yet! Two years later came the real bench-mark for Eltham rugby. The year 1934 was the fiftieth jubilee of Eltham's official existence, and a number of activities were held to celebrate the occasion. A game between the Eltham Seniors and Taranaki champions, Tukapa, was arranged. This matching brought easily the biggest local crowd there had ever been crowding into the ground...and Eltham won! Most of the respondents clearly identify that match as the most memorable they ever saw or played in. The recollections of Reg and Joe are typical;

Yes, when Tukapa were the Taranaki champion team, and Eltham Jubilee was on. We played Tukapa on Jubilee Day and we were lucky enough to beat them. Now that was most important for us and that was a tense game. To win it on Jubilee Saturday, that was something. I remember that game very well... [Reg].

Tukapa were unbeaten and we beat them 15 to 12. Ray Burke kicked five penalty goals, no four penalty goals. And Bunny Townsend scored a try. Tukapa scored four unconverted tries. Because in those days a try was three you see. And we beat them 15-12, well that's one game I remember, and always will remember, because Boy it was a game! [Joe].

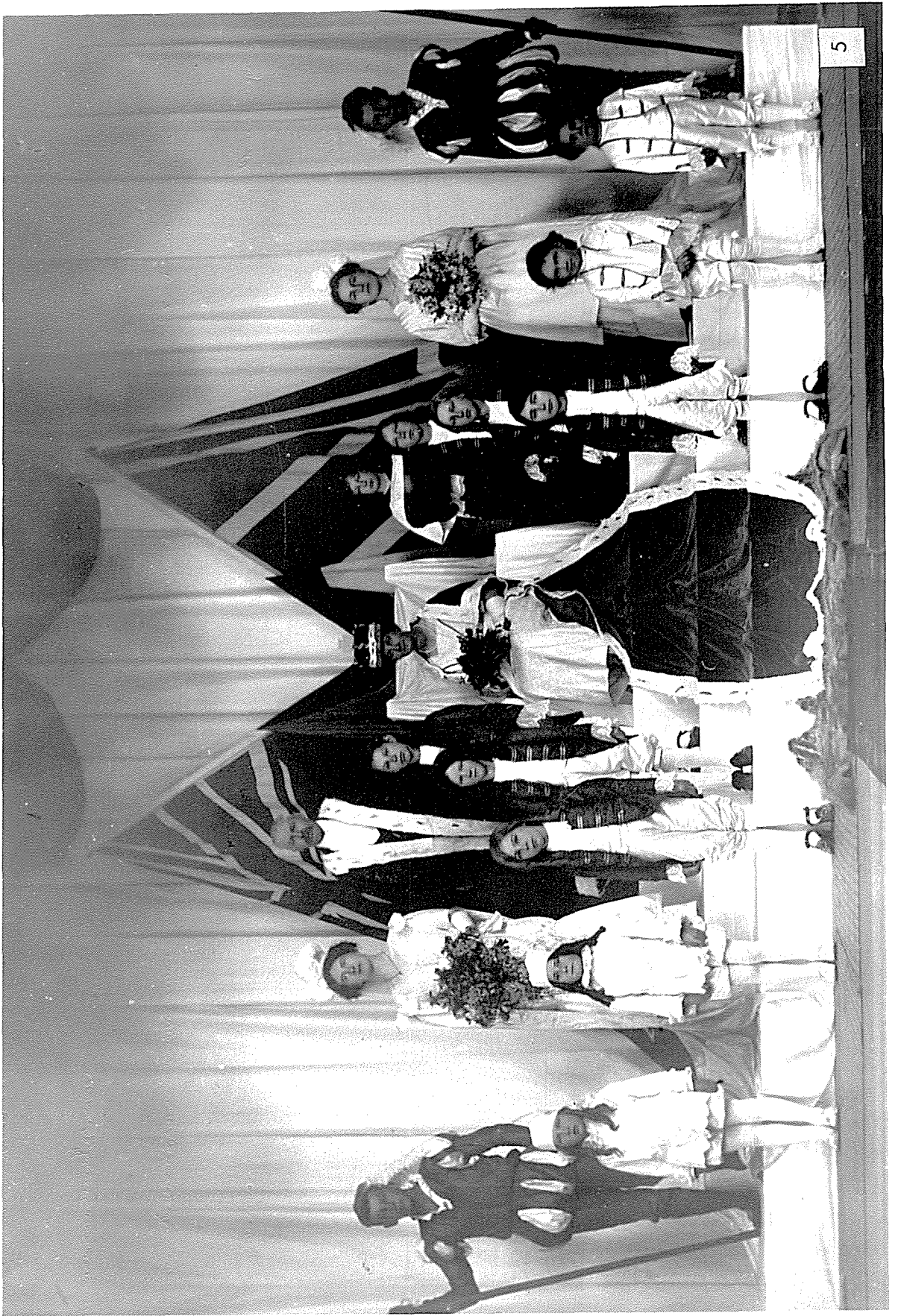
The report for this season of 1934 could afford to be far more ebullient;

It is with pleasure that we can state that the season under review has been the most successful one experienced by the club for many years. It is indeed gratifying to know that we have at last emerged from a series of depressing years and to realise that that long sought for corner has now been turned. The prospect at the commencement of the season did not appear to be too bright and a deficit of £10 did not improve matters. But with the loyal assistance of the members and the financial and moral support of honorary members and townspeople, our difficulties were overcome....by economic management on the part of the committee and an all round increase of revenue we are now in the happy position of having a credit balance of £17 with which to commence the new season [The Eltham Argus, March 4, 1935].

Gate takings for the year were up a healthy 260 percent!

The 1936 accounts divide up into ordinary and extra-ordinary incomes. A substantial credit of £52 accrued from match activities but, as well, a massive fund-raising venture showed the extent to which the "community" was behind Eltham rugby. The venture raised £402.

The main activity to raise money was the holding of a "Queen Carnival". This consisted of a large committee of Eltham men and women nominating three local "Young Women" to fulfill the roles of "Town", "Country" and "Sport's" Queen [Minute Book:14]. Each Queen would have an organising committee and an escort who would arrange fund generating activities in the name of that Queen. For example a "Calcutta" evening might be held at the Forrester Hall in the honour of Mabel Carter, (Town Queen). Crown and Anchor, raffles and "score cards" were other gambling games played so that over several weeks the Queen would accrue a significant but secret balance of money against her name. Popular rivalry over the looks, personality and representative capacity of these Queens seem likely to have contributed to enthusiasm for these schemes. After a number of weeks campaigning, the affair was wound up with a glamorous ball. At this occasion the Queen who had generated the most funds was crowned as the overall Carnival Queen [See Photograph 5]. The purpose of the Queen Carnival was to raise funds towards the purchase of a Club building for training and socialising. A disused dairy factory in Railway Street seemed ideal for the purpose and was bought for £430 in 1936. It required considerable alterations however, and again the whole club "gelled" together. Local "prominents" donated windows, skylights and timber, while many others offered labour. There was a dusty sawdust floor to be replaced, changing rooms to be built, and some immense concrete machine pads to be demolished.



In 1937, the club hosted the final of the Taranaki Club rugby Championships. In a single splash £200 was collected at the gate. There were 900 cars counted at the ground and there was an estimated 4,000 spectators. I mention this event not to suggest that all the money collected went to the Eltham club (as hosts they only received a "cut" of the gate takings), but the scale of events does suggest the scale of following for club rugby in Taranaki at the time, and suggests the even greater potential that was realised more fully after the war. The Eltham Argus noted that shop-keepers of the town "blessed the day" [The Eltham Argus, July 12, 1937], [4].

In the same year match programmes for the home games of the senior team began to carry the advertisements of local businesses [Minute Book:35].

For 1938 the club had another credit balance of around £45 but by now could boast of assets of £459 [The Eltham Argus, March 15, 1939]. The attainment of this position of security suggests the extent to which the game has indeed moved into what Ingham and Hardy refer to as the "commercialisation" stage. The game is one stage further on in its "subjugation" to the system of Capitalism, when in this way, it has become tied up with monetary considerations. As well, the pressures of placating an audience lead to distinctly new ways of playing the game locally.

Effects of "Public" Support.

It would be grossly inadequate to suggest that once public support and scrutiny began to mass around the originally privatised game of Eltham rugby, everything changed for the players immediately. The rituals of rugby documented earlier as characterising the Depression period obviously continued to prevail after the Depression. They did begin to embody new responses and new resistances to new pressures on the game however. Slowly, rugby began to be "done" in a different way. In the Depression days, "due" had been paid to the few notables who patronised the game by offering them recognition and acceptance in exchange. Those beneficent patrons were now largely replaced by a donating and gate-paying public who demanded playing results!

(1) Playing Time

In playing the game the players were introduced to a need for discipline, tactics and sacrifice that perhaps 10 years earlier would have been quite alien to the game. The players are beginning to be conscious of an "audience";

..you played for the supporters, well the honour it brought the team once you struck the top, you fought to stay there, not only for yourself but for all the support of the public that were following you. And you tried damn hard [Ernie].

I think you endeavoured to make fewer mistakes, when a crowd was there, but well I think that once you're on to a football field you forget the crowd. It has to be that very powerful voice that's the only one that penetrates you. I don't think it matters much to you what the crowd does or says, you hear them but its completely meaningless, you're concentrating too hard on the game... [Reg]

It is a big boost when you're out playing and you hear when you've done something good, "well done boy", it sort of helped you along a bit, it worked good [Ray].

Ollie particularly found things starting to get a little tough - when he couldn't even be excused a single game for a strongly held personal reason. The way Ollie expresses himself is to suggest the degree to which the team is starting to become something other than the players' own entity. In this excerpt he refers to the "coach's (bloody) team";

I can remember the only time old Doc went crook with me. My wife, she wasn't my wife then but I was engaged to my wife. We were invited to a wedding and she wanted me to come to this wedding. It was in Hawera, and we had to play football that next Saturday. And I said to the coach, "well I won't be available, I'm going to a wedding". He said, "You're not going to a wedding", I said "Yes I am, Doctor, I've been invited". He said, "You're not going to that wedding". You know. (LAUGHS) Well I suppose I was one of the vital men at any rate in his bloody team, which I knew after, and I didn't go to the wedding did I? No I didn't. It was the only time when Doc really, you know he was really wild with me. Well, I think he was wild. But he was only thinking of himself as coach of the team and the wedding was the same afternoon as the game of football [Ollie].

Although an excellent player and even a Taranaki rep, Ollie could find many of the games more a "dangerous chore" than an activity of great fun;

..I mean I was as scared as hell. Oh that's right. That's dead right. And I don't mind admitting it. I say I wasn't a big chap. You know and I've come off some of our club games pretty bloody sore. You know I don't mind admitting it. I've been belted... I mean there was a chap called Errol Rowles played for Hawera...He was a tackler, he didn't tackle so much that he hit. When you went past he sort of flicked like that at ya. And your bloody legs, he hit you there, and your bloody legs went out from underneath you. And you came

off that field playing against them, I felt as though I had a steel band, right around my hips just screwed, you know what I mean. They were bloody sore. It was actually an illegal tackle, it wasn't a tackle, it was just a flick with the bloody hip and the way he got ya, god, you went for a bloody skate. You know and it hurt. So I did come off the field on many a time, as I say, while playing rugby, and I was physically bugged, you know what I mean? And I often thought, "Is this bloody worth it?", you know what I mean? Because some times it really got at ya. You know. But we survived I suppose, yeah [Ollie].

The times that it really "got at ya" need to be put into perspective here. Obviously the numbers playing and the commitment of those playing depict the continued general enjoyment of participation in the game. We are examining here the immediate stages of "structuration" and hence are dealing with still evolving tendencies. The increasing similarity of rugby to areas of responsibility and discipline such as "work" is a feature that develops most markedly after the war. For the era under consideration here, however, the growing instrumentalism gripping rugby is most clearly shown by the pressures on players to turn to "science" to win. In 1937 a move towards positional specialisation and precision was heralded by the players turning out for the first time with numbers on their jerseys. During this period too, the lineouts came under a good deal of scrutiny and analysis. On one occasion The Eltham Argus berated the Eltham wingers for their casual approach to throwing the ball in, and compared it to;

throwing a biscuit to a dog.

There was a suggested need for "accurate, controlled throwing" [The Eltham Argus, May 18, 1939]. There were also problems with jumping, as the following excerpt testifies;

Good as the Eltham forwards have proved themselves on at least two recent occasions, there is however, a phase of the game in which much improvement could be effected and that is lineout work. Eltham is not alone in this respect for every forward team in Taranaki is tarred with the same brush. There are too many tall forwards in the province who could, if they would, be of inestimable value to their respective teams. But I venture to assert that there is not one of them who ever thinks of jumping for the ball in a lineout, all are content to wait till it comes to hand for a frequent knock-on or the more frequent and objectionable knock-back... [The Eltham Argus, June 5, 1935].

Elsewhere The Eltham Argus defines the innovative technique of jumping for the ball in the lineout as, "a consistently useful method of connecting with the ball", and again berates the local players for not using it [The Eltham Argus, August 14, 1935]. Eltham had a lot to learn from the city teams in the respect of "drill" application, as Ollie recalls;

And Eltham liked to beat Tukapa. Because they were the top city team in those days...They were a well drilled team. I remember seeing them and they were well drilled. Oh yes, they were well drilled. They went into a ruck, and every man, it was like a bloody army virtually. The ball was raked back and it was good... [Ollie].

Where once a player would take the field with the "sole of his boot on or not" [Charlie], the team was now on public display and scruffiness would be criticised;

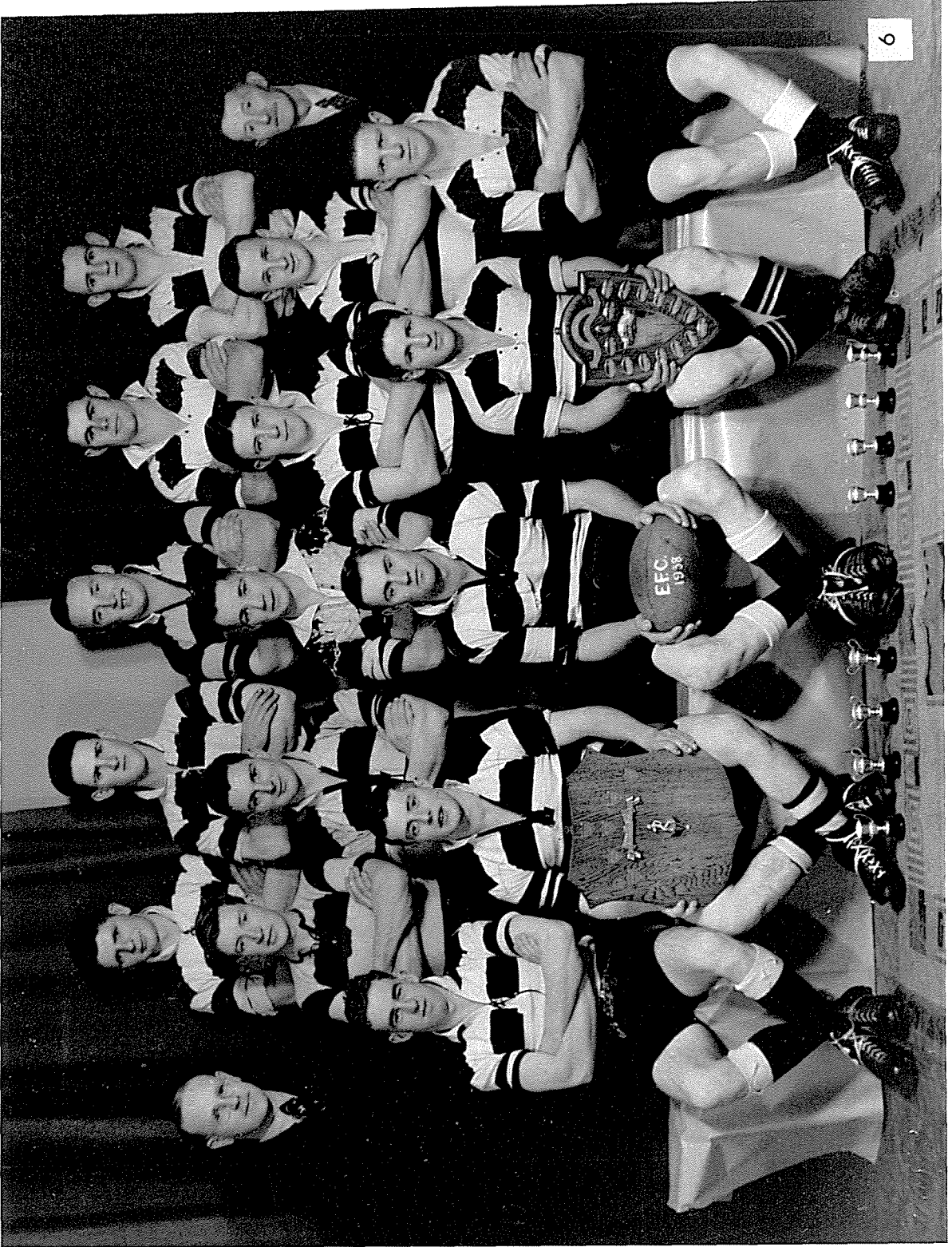
Oh yes, oh yes, by golly, oh yes, if our boots and laces weren't washed every rudy week, as far as our team was concerned we would look on any one. You know, "hey, you". You know. Oh no, no, the laces had to be washed and the boots had to be cleaned. Yep...You were proud to go on the field looking clean, anybody looked scruffy, "what a scruffy looking bunch of buggers", you know [Ollie].

Hardly a joker went out on the paddock without you could see your face in them nearly. Well I never anyhow. I've always been the same as far as work went too. A day never went by when I never polished me boots and I never went to football without polishing [John].

Occasionally, (just occasionally), in the face of all this critical attention, the team would manage to please its demanding audience. For the time it beat Okaiawa 27 points to 3, the team was lauded;

Not a disparaging shaft can be fired at the very best pack that Eltham has fielded this season. From Peniall, F. Bocock and Horrocks in the front row to Leathem as the lone back ranker, their was not one slacker. In the loose they were a compact, fast moving and thoroughly fit body of vigorous youth [The Eltham Argus, July 10, 1935].

Taking advantage of the patent example provided by such a large win, the report actually endorses the characteristics of "vigour", "fitness", "speed", and "co-operation" to the general youth of the town. [Photograph 6 usefully suggests the neatness with which the Eltham team was beginning to turn itself out].



(2) Training

As the decade progressed and public support for local football grew, commentators in the The Eltham Argus became increasingly insistent on the issue of training. For any marginal performance there were immediately questions asked;

Are the Magpies Training?

Rugby is like most other games, if it is worth playing at all it is worth playing well, and to do so it is imperative that the players should be physically fit. Members of the Eltham senior team commenced the season early and trained assiduously until meeting their first reverse in the rugby union fixtures. Since then a lamentable lack of training has become more and more apparent [The Eltham Argus, June 19, 1935].

Frequently these calls are couched in terms of obligation; to the townspeople that funded the gymnasium, or to the "honour" of the club. It is at clear at least, that the players are implicated in a web of obligation that involves considerable discipline;

..no more than half a dozen of the members of the senior team turned up for practice at the training Gymnasium on Tuesday. Evidently the remainder of the combination regard the other four opposing teams as "easy meat"...Those who strove long and earnestly to provide the local club with the facilities it required, or rather the wherewithal to secure them, will not view this slackening of interest with any degree of pleasure...Eltham players must realise once and for all the purpose for which last year's campaign was made and must show, by regular attendance at training evenings at least, that the efforts made on their behalf are appreciated. For these benefactors the disappointment of defeat will be less acute if there is revealed a genuine desire to make a showing worthy of the facilities placed at the disposal of the team. It is up to the players themselves. A full attendance for training tonight is essential [The Eltham Argus, May 6, 1937].

It is most discouraging to see the first games go by the board owing to a lack of condition on the part of some of the players...the unsporting aspect of this neglect has also to be considered. It is not fair either to the coach or to the players who are preparing to worthily uphold the honour of the club. No participant in the game would accept with equanimity the suggestion that he is not a sport. It is certainly not sporting to let one's team down just because of lack of training and if the defaulters do not spring to it, they will have only themselves to thank if they stop brick-bats instead of bouquets at the opening of the season. [The Eltham Argus, April 17, 1939]

Under these circumstances a place in the team becomes a place to be earned, rather than claimed as of right, for simple enjoyment;

Oh yes. It was a privilege to get into the bloody team. You had to earn your place, coz there was a number of emergencies to start with. And especially when you had success, they were all trying to get into the team. Okay it was only the fittest boys and the ones that stuck to the training, but you never had any trouble [Ollie].

Oh yes, it was very strong. You know, they were very strict on you. You know, you didn't turn up, and there was no trouble standing you down for a game. They had an abundance of players [Ray].

Later of course after we had brought, after the club had acquired what is now the present club-rooms, we knew it as the gymn. And we used to go to the park and do our gallop around and then come back to the gymn and train like the very devil on the sawdust...Running up and down passing, on sawdust of course. The sawdust was about, oh say roughly, about four inches deep, so it was very, it was good exercise. It was a big pull on the muscles. Yes I think we were as fit as we could be in that respect [Reg].

Under the new regime, coaches could occasionally resort to physical coercion to get the required effort. This occurred at the school level;

But it was good coaching... R.E. Thomas, he taught these boys that. I've seen him at dinner time with the bloody strap, chasing up and down the bloody [field], he was a fat chap, fitter than me. A little short joker. What did we used to call him? Ahh, not Dirty Dick. Hotspot Dick Thomas you see! But he chased these chaps up and down the bloody, not the word chasing but, followed them up and down the paddock at dinner hour, teaching them how to do it and if they didn't do it, bang!, across their bloody bum, you know, not hard but he would let them know that he was there... [Ollie].

It also occurred at senior club level as Ray and Joe tell. In 1938 and 1939, training would take place under the sharp eye of a local solicitor, and surreptitious tactics were needed if his strict regime was to be shirked;

Jim Hessel, he was the solicitor here. He was at Kaponga and then he came in here. He trained Kaponga for a number of years and then he come in here. Hessel and Simon Weir it was. And he was terrific...you'd be running around and he'd have a big switch in the middle of you running around, "boop", with the very tip eh?. (LAUGHS). He was terrific, you knew you were training with him. As I say it was all done straight after work. Five o'clock at night. But he had a big lot of success with Kaponga, but he didn't have success with us so much I don't think [Ray].

From what I can remember we just used to go through the basic exercises. We'd be all doing exercises and then he'd line us up on the...score-line and there'd be a chap posted say up about the half-way. And he'd come along behind you and give you a crack and you had tear up there flat out and flat out back you see. And you'd just go along, and after a while you'd think, "oh it's a bit dark out there". He couldn't see how far you'd gone you see. And you might go a little way up, and you'd think, "that's far enough" and you'd go back and you'd be standing there and next minute you'd get another whack on the backside as he'd seen what you'd done, you know. And this sort of thing... [Joe].

The sanctions referred to in these excerpts are further evidence of the development of the local game away from its hedonistic origins. (3)

Day-to-day Life

One consequence of the stepped-up seriousness of the weekly rugby game was that involvement in the game became more interpenetrated with "work", whereas earlier the sport had clearly been a respite from, and separate to, that sphere of necessity. A statement by Joe clearly depicts the emergence of such an interpenetration;

..in my work I met a lot of people that I'd known in rugby, and vice versa; a lot of people in rugby I met with my work. And I think my work was better off from my playing rugby because I made more contacts through people that knew me through rugby. Especially when I had the buses. And I think they both had their advantages, you know what I mean. As I say, through playing rugby it helped me in my work and in my work I think it reflected both ways [Joe].

Other respondents emphasised the homogeneity of physical demands made by work and by rugby. There was, to use a biological analogy, a kind of "symbiosis" between the two;

Oh yes, of course we had an all-timber joinery in those days. I mean and where we were working at Peperell's, which is upstairs, the yard was down. We had to cart all the timber upstairs, didn't we. We didn't have lifts and that sort of thing. Okay, those shoulders were really developed. I mean I've carted 9" by 3" Sill, matai, 10 feet long on my bloody shoulder up the bloody stairs. Okay I'm paying for it now, don't get me wrong. Of course my bloody shoulders are bloody sore. I mean I can feel a crunch, crunch in there now. So we carted all the timber like that upstairs by manual, so therefore it developed us. Oh yes, it must have strengthened us, that's right, yeah. You know, we wouldn't walk up the stairs, we'd run up the stairs. Or run down the bloody stairs...So it did develop us okay! [Ollie].

Oh yes, as I say, I was only a light weight, I was only ten and a half stone when I played football, but it seemed to work in all right with what work we did, you know. Even the parts around the freezers and all that. Whereas today they've got all forklifts and everything you had to carry them all and it was all manual. You know, everything was manual. Stacking them in the freezers etc. Whole pigs. Today they're all cut up. It assists in a lot of ways [Ray].

..I had to walk miles-and-miles to all these cow-sheds...Yes, I think the fact that I was outdoors working for the years that I was playing rugby, helped me tremendously. And, I would stop the car at the gate and I'd run in to read the meters, and so forth, and that got me fit [Reg].

For instance the work at Wilkinson's involved some heavy lifting and that was quite good training for rugby. For instance handling bags of cement, boxes of nails and such like, and bars of steel [Sharkie].

On the farm you were always fairly fit, and I remember I'd jump out of the wagon and run along beside the horses, you know, going two miles to the factory. To get fit. But I think you've got to be pretty careful that you don't do too much. Because I know one time there was trials coming up and I done too much and pulled a muscle and I'm pretty certain it was only over doing it. And I missed the opportunity [Ernie].

Given this "fit" of the physical qualities required for work and for rugby, it follows that rugby was an "acceptable" activity in the eyes of owning and employing groups. There is evidence that rugby was a distinctive point of commonality between players and their employers;

Old Man Tristram was our [boss] in those days, and a hell of a nice bloke. Once I remember Wellington/Taranaki were playing down in Hawera here. And it was a work day. And we went back to work after lunch. And he said, "What are you two doing here? I thought you'd be in Hawera today". We said, "Oh we've got work Mr Tristram". He said, "Well I don't want to see you. Get the hell out of it". So away we went. Yeah. Well he was the sort of boss you'd work for. He was quite an understanding old man... [Charlie].

But [Mr Peperell], the Boss was a work man. He took me to see the Springboks when I was an apprentice in 1938. Before I was a Senior. He said, "Do you want a ride up today?". I said, "Yes thanks Mister". He rang Mum. He said, "I'll take Ollie up to see the Springboks" and I went with the Family. He took me there...

This commonality was only the case so long as rugby did not threaten to seriously impinge on productivity. When Ollie was presented with representative opportunities, for instance, his employer brought him squarely back to earth with a rather blunt question: "what's going to keep ya?";

But he was also a stickler for work. That was it. Because I mean rugby at that stage did not keep you. And those days if I had to go to Wanganui or to Palmerston, we were working forty-four hours a week. Okay, I might have to get off Friday Night to go to Wellington. Wanganui wasn't so bad, but I had to make that four hours up that I'd lost...And I'll never forget Mr Peperell. I got this telegram up the shop there. This is upstairs. And I got a telegram, "New Zealand Rugby Union". Opened it up. "You have been nominated for the North Island Team", Trials. Crikes!, I thought, "shhhhoool". Well the boss wasn't very far away. He said, "Hello, what've ya got there?". I showed him, he read it. "This is good isn't it?", I said "Yes". He said, "What's going to keep ya, your rugby or your work?". Huh!, I was just flattened. You know. That was the attitude in those days of course...I'll never forget that as long as I live, because I was flattened. Never mind, then the war broke out and the trials were all wiped, so it was just one of those things that is bad luck or good luck, or one or the other [Ollie].

One obvious sign of the corporate acceptability of rugby was that after that wonderous Eltham-Tukapa match of 1934, an astute manager of the local freezing works donated a small trophy. For the subsequent fifty years, there has each year been a well publicised game between Eltham and Tukapa for the [J.C.] Hutton cup. Ray, who worked for that company

was still a little nervous about approaching them for time off work to play rugby, however;

Yeah I had no trouble but they always, the coach always rang up you know. I wouldn't approach 'em. I said, "well if you want me, you've got to ask the boss", you know. It always seemed to work. I was never turned down [Ray].

There was a new pay-off for players that came from their new role as town representatives. Where once relative anonymity but collective security had been the lot of the players, there was now considerable status to be accrued from successful participation in the game;

I think that rugby was a good way, and that applies equally to hockey and to cricket, it's a good way to become known to everybody in the town. You see it's difficult to appreciate today, but I will say, just mention say a solicitor, they were all senior men, they were all "Mr So-and-So, So and So". Well, if "Mr So and So" would say to me "Hello Reg", well I'd be tickled pink. He knew me as Reg because he knew me as a footballer, otherwise he might not have known me at all. So I think rugby, all sports for that matter, certainly made you better known in the town and it's a fact and a credit to sport in Eltham that all sports fraternised [Reg].

Ernie agrees that there was status to be gained from playing rugby, but reveals in his case that as a (now) prosperous farmer there was little need to cash in on it;

I've never had to use it to get anywhere, we were farming and, I never had to use rugby, you know, to get anywhere because of that....Some do, but we were farming and had no need of it [Ernie].

On a representative trip to Wellington Ernie hints at opportunities he got to meet "girls". He didn't take them up;

I did play a bit for Taranaki, I might of got a bit further if it hadn't been for the war, but I think it depended on the person himself. I mean I was a man's man more than, I used to you know, just play for the comradeship. I remember one time we went to Wellington, we had to go down on the rail-car and got into Wellington about midnight and a lot of them shot downtown you know looking for girls. I thought, "Well this is where they pick their All Blacks from", so I got into bed fairly early. But I think it just depends on the person themselves [Ernie].

Ollie similarly recognises the "amorous" opportunities that go with status but similarly swears his abstinence;

..I never worried, because I had me one and I was running pretty steady. (LAUGHS). Ahh, yeah I've been to, dances and [I've] been pointed out, you know, and, ahh, it never worried me. I mean, because I was one of these sincere sort of kids that I didn't fluff around and love them all as you might say. You might say I should have...Oh yes, that was so, especially when you went on the Taranaki team, when you went away. Oh yeah. I mean I know now, there's lots of women I knew when I was playing Rugby who still know me. They know me through bloody rugby [Ollie].

An important aspect of the game for Ollie was the publicity he got in the newspaper and he then elaborates on the enduring benefits of the publicity;

When I looked at these [indicating newspaper clippings], there are some great, it's only blowing your own bloody trumpet but I mean they're all paper reports and you think, "By God, I wasn't too bloody bad", you know, cos I had Truth reports and I had all different reports right through, the different papers where I ever played. And some of them you think, "I don't suppose you were such a bloody bad bugger after all". So it's good to look back on, that's what I have

them for. The boys got them out and I said, "Oh yes, that was your Father"...Cos I mean I can walk around Taranaki now, and a joker will say, "Goodday Ollie". You know what I mean. They're as old as I am. Or some are younger than I am and they remember me playing. So you know it is important, ahmm, psychologically I suppose, or not necessarily that, its just that, well, jokers still recognise ya. You know? [Ollie].

Never far from these benefits, again, are the attendant responsibilities.

..if you were playing well, well you were a hero. I can give you cuttings that have been saved up over the years and oh I was a champion lots of times. But there again you had to live up to that reputation, if you kicked goal after goal well you were a hero... [Joe].

From time-to-time, and this was generally when they were out of the "public eye" or at the end of the season, the players were provoked into resisting the ascetic life of training and sacrifice that was continually suggested to them. Newspaper stories refer to increased under-age drinking in the period leading up to the war and the respondents generally agreed that from about shortly before the onset of the war there were more occasions where;

..you let your hair down and really enjoyed it [Ernie].

Ernie went on to assert that at times;

We were just as bad in those days and destructive under beer as they are today I think [Ernie].

He recalls a momentous smoke concert held in one of the local halls;

Well, Fatty Dudding he was the baker in those days and he was a good supporter of the club and I remember at the toasting part of the night it was let linger a bit long and they got a bit full and before the toasts were all finished there was saveloys, there was cheese you know, getting thrown at the speakers if they were too long. And I remember this night. Old Fatty Dudding, they started pelting him with a few saveloys and bits of cheese, and there was an old straw broom standing in the corner and old Fatty Dudding grabs one of these bloomin brooms and they were chucking sausages and cheese and they got tired of chucking them at the broom and started pelting him and he made a swish and he let the broom go and it spun round as it was going and just about took heads off and later in the night Wally Campbell and I, we went out into the hall part and we put down a bowling mat that belonged to some of the indoor bowling clubs and we put kitty up right and we were bowling properly and Albie Muller had been outside...and he came back in and said, "This is not the way you play indoor bowls", and he picked it up and he let it go over-arm like cricket. And there was a chap coming out of the toilet at the other end and it must have bounced six-feet high and hit on this beading around the door. And he looked at it stupidly and he picked it up and he let it come back and it went through the stage, well that night, oh she was a rowdy... And Old Dudding, I remember him getting on a dinner wagon that these women had. Oh they spun it 'til it broke the wheels and all sorts...there was no holds barred in language or anything else [Ernie].

Along with the occasional tricks used to avoid training runs, we can understand these occasional blow-outs as more than just "narrow expressions of personal interest", rather, as Gruneau puts it;

..there is a strong sense in which such pressures have often signified much broader forms of social discontent [1983:62].

They are, precisely, symptoms of the ongoing struggles over ways of "doing things" within the local game. It was by no means an inevitable process, but slowly, (combined with conditioning influences on the game from without), the game developed from its spartan, spontaneous origins to new concerns for performance, for satisfying an audience, for constructing and trying to meet new standards of play and of socialising. In the conclusion that follows I will be making this process of "ludic structuration" even more manifest as I review the empirical data gathered more explicitly in terms of the theoretical premises that have informed this study throughout.

Footnotes

[1] These are referred to in a recent "50 Years Ago" column in The Daily News, [May 31, 1986].

[2] See also Dunning and Sheard [1979:282] and Mason [1981] for elaborations of this point.

[3] Some caution is required here. While Reg is making clear the dimensions of the crowd in relation to previous attendances, it is evident that he is either exaggerating or has mis-estimated somewhat. 500 people, even paying the minimum entry fee of sixpence would generate about £20 per match, a figure that doesn't square with club incomes noted in the minute book for this period.

[4] For an extremely detailed account of the immediate economic significance of rugby in a small town, see McConnel's study of Matakaoa [1962]. By studying the accounts of local businesses he establishes how general cash flows in a small town are strongly influenced by the weekly institution of Saturday rugby.

Conclusions.

Political Football?

In Chapter One of this thesis, I reviewed the efforts of others who have set out to study rugby, an omni-present social phenomena in New Zealand. What was encountered, really, was a series of celebrations.

The idealised position, was the first reviewed. Because of the way it divorced rugby from its social context and focussed on the achievements of the star players, it tended to celebrate rugby. The functionalist position, on the other hand, did assess the wider social implications of rugby but through its premise that our existing society was both acceptable and a given, it tended to have the hidden agenda of celebrating society. Finally, the neo-marxist observations of rugby were so brief and instrumentalistic as to be little more than an unjustified celebration of the power of their own theory.

The current study has attempted to transcend those kinds of limitations. After Ingham and Hardy, the Hargreaves's, and Gruneau, it embarked with the generalised view that the sport of rugby in the chosen site would be connected to wider processes of struggle between those with, and those deprived of, economic, ideological and political power in our liberal-capitalist society. Further specification of this society-sport connexion demanded empirical study, an examination of history. This was conducted by a hearing of a small group of people who had actually been involved in the historical processes under study, and augmented from other sources such as newspapers, club-records, and academic theses. In the course of the study, Ingham and Hardy's theory of "Ludic Structuration" emerged as a useful explanatory principle.

The concept of Ludic Structuration emphasises the typical movement of a leisure or sporting activity through a number of stages. In each of those stages the dominant and subordinate groups involved in the activity must develop a relational strategy or way of "getting on". As the game develops it tends to become increasingly complicated and organised, and depending on the outcome of struggles within and outside the game, is increasingly penetrated by, and implicated in the system of Capitalism. Addressing the sport "problem" from the Cultural Studies problematic has resulted in a radically different view of club-history to that which would be given by an empiricist club-historian who conceived of history in terms of a benign linear development. The game was seen, rather, as being shaped by struggles both intrinsic and extrinsic to the immediate local rugby scene.

Those involved in and around the game for the fifty-odd years reviewed were seen as coming from both the "winning" and "losing" sides of the property relations characteristic of the system of Capitalism. For fifty years the two fundamental groupings involved, negotiated over ways of "doing the game". While some anecdotal evidence of resistance by subordinate groupings was recovered, the overwhelming impression given is of a prevailing "truce". These were the circumstances in which the respondents recalled a rugby "family" and I discussed "egalitarianism" as a relational strategy or way of "getting on". Egalitarianism was a kind of status-bargaining where everyone was treated alike, even if, away from the game, they had fundamentally different life chances. Because of the absence of more overt struggle, especially after "community" gelled around the game to create a "rugby public", it might be tempting to concede that rugby in Eltham was marked by a genuine and equitable consensus about the way things should be done. This is where the Marxist sociological de-bunking motif comes to the fore. I have argued and will elaborate here, a case that the existence of such a genuine and equitable consensus was more apparent than real. As Ingham and Hardy would put it, what appears to be a "conjoint articulation" between the dominant and subordinate groups involved was, by the end of the period reviewed, a distinctly "sectional ideology" [1984:93].

By "sectional", I refer to the way involvement in the game was distinctly non-threatening to capitalist hegemony and in some ways substantively contributed to it! Rugby's effect in this respect was all the more insidious precisely for its apparent innocence [Cunningham 1980:198, Jennifer Hargreaves 1982:9, Whannel 1983:2]. The case I am making here (after Clarke and Clarke [1982:63]), is directly addressed to those who continue to demand that "politics should be kept out of sport". The people holding that popular position do so on the erroneous assumption that sport and politics have traditionally been clearly separated spheres of life. They typically define politics as the realm of political parties, parliaments and international conferences. A more comprehensive definition of politics is required to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the issues at stake. The notion of "hegemony", in particular, usefully extends the sphere of politics to include;

the maintenance of social patterns of power, domination and subordination throughout the whole of society, [Clarke and Clarke, 1982:62].

The way such patterns of power are maintained is through the very basic ways we think and live;

...a specific historical form of domination becomes sedimented and naturalised as "common-sense" so that the seemingly most innocuous values, meanings and practices reproduce a particular class's hegemony [John Hargreaves 1982b:115].

In recapitulating the history of Eltham rugby before the Second World War, I will be emphasising that although continually contested, the terrain of Eltham rugby was by the time of the war, safely in the power of, and working for, the ascendant social groups of the town. (See Appendix B for a summary of important dates and events in Eltham rugby).

Although my discussion of the establishment phase of rugby in Eltham was sketchy, the manifest simplicity and spontaneity of the game still emerged to confirm Ingham and Hardy's points about the development of a game. This was seen as the play-ritual phase of Eltham rugby.

From about the First World War on, the game became more organised, with a new "club" entity formed which had carefully designated administrative procedures to oversee the playing of a once spontaneous game. This "institutionalisation" phase of rugby was occurring at a time of world economic crisis, and although perhaps the lives of all Eltham men were circumscribed by the depression, definite socially dominant groups still existed. Individuals from such dominant groups, when involved in rugby, tended to do so in administrative and patronage positions. However the very smallness of the locality and their own vulnerability meant that members of ascendant groupings could not afford to act in an ascendant fashion. In some instances they still, however, attempted to impose their own definitions of the world, though this was generally an activity fraught with the possibility of

resistance. As evidenced by the prevailing ethos of "egalitarianism" there were many accounts on which the "elite" had to kow-tow to the "common-man". The operation of egalitarianism characterised a small town game which was still an escape site for working men physically, psychically and socially threatened by the depression. A set of recurrent rituals in that site constituted a "warm nest" or collectivised security system at the time. The game at this time was still a relatively private affair and characterised by fun, spontaneous playing methods and crude facilities.

Economic recovery was a feature of the locality from about 1935 onwards, with the enactment around that time of mortgage relief and guaranteed prices resounding through the town's infrastructure. The way farmers benefitted from those measures was then cited as one example of the way feelings of "community" constructed during the depression could be subjected to erosion. In the face of a potential decline of "community" affinity, several agencies emerged to champion the concept. The Eltham Progress Committee did so in a conscious, explicit and decidedly crude manner. For the numbers it attracted, rugby though less explicit, was probably a far more efficacious agency for the symbolic assertion of "community". Many writers have questioned the ideological implications of attempts to promote "community" when "objective" bases for that form of affinity are declining. As Mason puts it;

It seems reasonable to suppose that such identities and loyalties might have inhibited the emergence of other kinds of loyalties which could have attracted all working people [1981:259].

Hall (et. al) are less tentative. They speak of a real "tension" between "class" and "community" as "bases for affective identity" in a given locality [1983:172]. A strong sense of the way "community" was in this way existing in a relationship of tension with other social tendencies is suggested by the way Douglas Stewart, poet and Editor recollects the Eltham of the period;

Clustering together in this little town between the snowy, stormy mountain and the wilderness of Mangamingi, we were, in spite of such inevitable social, religious and personal divisions as beset us, nevertheless a community, (emphasis added), [Stewart 1983:90].

The efficacy of "community" in obstructing the growth of those other affinities (especially class), has sometimes induced interest groups to deliberately cultivate it. As Pearson puts it;

Indeed "community" can be an ideological force that masks a variety of inequalities and power differentials. Sectional or individual interests can be disguised by reference to the community label [1980:165] [See also Pearson and Thorns 1983:243 and Martin 1982:91 for further discussion of this view].

The same argument applies equally well, of course, to the ethos of egalitarianism constructed in Eltham rugby throughout the period studied. Indeed Pearson [1980:172] and Pearson and Thorns [1983:244] see the two forms of ideology as buttressing each other. While chary

of retreating to a "conspiracy" position, they still take available evidence to suggest that "egalitarianism" and "community" can serve to;

soften or indeed totally disguise the conflicts and social distance inherent in stratification systems, local or otherwise [Pearson and Thorns 1983:244].

Elsewhere this position receives major support from Phillips [1984], Fairburn [1985:37], (who views the egalitarianism associated with rugby as being one influence contributing to the failure of the Labour Party to win Office until 1935), and Martin [1982:97]. Pearson and Thorns [1983:240] recognise that a significant problem with the position under review here is the difficulty of proving, (or of empirically measuring), the allegedly insidious ideological effects of "egalitarianism" and "community". This has also been a problem for the current study. While proclamations by the Eltham Progress Committee are manifestly expressions of the "local executive of the ruling class", it is far more difficult to appraise the effect of rugby in cementing the hold of a class-obfuscating ideologies. The qualitative type of research conducted necessitates that conclusions deriving from the current study are couched in fairly general terms. I am left to suggest the apparent relevance of the following statement to the long-term effect of rugby in Eltham;

[sport] draws on and gives a symbolic value to particular local identities, constructing communities of interest and support...local cross-class loyalties are established...it is our town, our team, no matter what the real patterns of ownership and power are [Clarke and Clarke 1982:64].

An important consequence of the way rugby became implicated in the symbolic assertion of community is the way money flooded into the game. In Ingham and Hardy's terms, a stage of commercialisation had come about. They use the term to refer to a game where participation is still socially meaningful for players, but where money values and a kind of instrumentalism are starting to intrude. In the case of the Eltham Club, the spectator value of the game was increasingly exploited to provide extrinsic rewards for the players; a new gym, subsidised transport and increasing levels of hospitality.

For the players there were definite costs associated with these extrinsic rewards. Notably, what was once the private exertion of energy for fun was taking on more and more of the characteristics of a form of productive labour [Ingham and Hardy 1984:91]. In this respect I noted how training was intensified, and how rugby and work were increasingly interpenetrated. Mention was also made of the "pay-offs" available for achievement minded individuals in this increasingly instrumental world. Commitment, abdicating from drink and womanising could bring "rep" status with the social status and travelling which that involved. There were job contacts too, and "jokers just recognised ya" [Ollie]. These are all examples of the way, as Ingham and Hardy put it, recreational sport is all about the construction of moral "direction" over everyday life [1984:94].

Overall then, rugby was an ostensibly enjoyable activity which provided those involved with spectacle, a feeling of involvement and the potential for considerable fame. Along the way though, the compromising values of "community", "egalitarianism", "work", and "achievement" were subtly inculcated as principles for the players to live by at the expense of a potential for forms of "class", "hedonistic" and "political" action. This is the operation of hegemony I referred to. As Willis would see it, the game has provided;

..a tailor-made opportunity for transforming ideological belief into an aspect of concrete reality at the plane of the common-sense [Willis 1982:130].

Although Eltham rugby has been a site of the valorization of bourgeois norms of behaviour, we must not, on the other hand, exaggerate its effect. A major difficulty with a study such as this is that by focussing primarily on rugby, there is a risk of hypostatizing that institution. The effects attributed to rugby in this study must be seen as operating on a social terrain being continually constructed by struggles in other sites such as education, work, politics, etc. A real danger is that, as much as earlier writers have ignored the political implications of sport, one could go the other way and become almost a sport's determinist. Caveat accepted, it is still valid to talk of how the "common sense" of many Eltham men has been effected by their involvement in the game. The respondents themselves realise this. Joe speaks of the discipline that the game instils;

Well, I'll put it this way, I wouldn't of missed the years that I played rugby for anything in the world. I think they did a lot for a chap. It makes him more disciplined I think and I suppose (SIGH), you, I think the number of people that you meet, ah, would be one of the big things as far as my rugby has been concerned and the different incidents that you recall. You know, you like to think back of different little things that happened. I think its made me far more broad-minded than if I'd never played [Joe].

Sensitively, Ollie talks of the values and attitudes he acquired in rugby as complementing other aspects of his socialisation. A prominent attitude, significantly, was that "authority" should not be questioned. This, which comes towards the end of the excerpt, shows itself to be an attitude that restricts the domain of possible responses to strongly felt dissatisfactions;

I mean Dad and Mum told me how to, like your own mother and father, a way of living if possible...but I would say it cemented or complemented the other attitudes to it - the sportsmanship. Therefore you met these jokers and you sort of cemented or you sort of formulated character around that you know. And as I say I'll never forget Charlie Brown the Taranaki Selector when I was first selected... He said "Righto, Boys", and we all got around, and he said, "You're all pretty young puppies, you've all come down here as gentlemen, as ambassadors", he said, "When you get on that field", he said, "When you get on that field, forget the gentle but play as a man". And that was true you know. And all the jokers respected that, and they did that....That's the fundamentals, I was brought up by my father and my mother to treat anybody in life the same way, that sort of cemented that. I would say it would help, probably like a lot of other jokers they didn't go off the rails afterwards. I mean if they got into a rugby team and they had those principles, well they sort of carried on as pretty good jokers, right through.There was a discussion when war broke out, and the political party that was in power at that time, there was a bit of animosity at that stage, because we all found that some of them were conscientious objectors, you know what I mean. So everybody was a bit up-tight about this thing, but what could you do?, we were just all innocent sort of people and we discussed it. We didn't get in arms like they do today and walk down the streets with banners and god knows what. That was never thought of you know. That wasn't our

philosophy, we were told to do, we were brought up to do as we were told, you know....I mean we were that type of people we wouldn't get guns and go and shoot them or burn anything down or anything like that. You know, we used to have to accept them till the next election. That was all there was to it [Ollie].

For Reg, the "moral" teaching of rugby emerges as paramount and the political tolerance engendered is also important;

I'm not quite sure just what you'd call character in this respect. But one thing for sure you wouldn't do a thing that would bring you into disrepute socially in the town. You wouldn't. Not under any circumstances would a rugby player get drunk and walk up the street. I'm sure of that, his mates wouldn't let him to start off with, and of course 6 o'clock closing helped stop it. Yes I think it helped develop character. I'm sure it did. Quite sure. It helped develop physique. There's no question about it, after you've taken a few knocks on the rugby field, you're tougher and you learn how to avoid the danger....[in] politics, you were either Labour or you were Reform. You were one of those two. But being as rugby players they didn't give two hoots...[Reg].

In the given context an important aspect of "common-sense" was a sense of duty to "King and Country". When a war, commonly construed as an attack on those principles broke out, the rugby players of Eltham were prominent amongst those "answering the call". Phillips [1984] and Crawford [1985] have noted a wider homology between "rugby" and "war". At the national level footballers have always been prominent in the country's fighting forces, and the attributes required for both activities are seen to be quite similar. Basset [1984] has mapped the continued prevalence of "battle" imagery in the televised rugby commentaries of today. Respondents in the current study had these things to say of the events of the war;

The war took a lot of members away too. I think the rugby generally lost very heavily in the war, with all its members, and a lot of rugby administrators became great army officers too [Sharkie].

Oh yes, Jack Horrocks served. Old Jack went away early. I think he might have gone with the first echelon. Jack McCook went. The Bocock boys didn't go. They were on the farm and they were in a reserved occupation... And they had to stay home. They were drafted into these positions on the farm... I think it was a damn sight easier for those going away. They just had to go and perhaps get killed or wounded, and that sort of thing. But they didn't have to slog it at home providing food for those away...I would have said that about 50 percent of the team went overseas during that period [Charlie].

There was three of them killed during the war. One of the Frost Boys, Doug Crozier and there was Kieth Cross...Yeah, they were killed in the war, there was quite a few... [Ollie].

I was in the last echelon, was home for our final leave. Come home Friday night, I was in camp six months, they kept us there six months. They must have known it was going to be over I think, because I come home Friday night and there was a farewell on the Monday night, and Saturday morning she was all over. (LAUGHS). So I didn't go back. They sent all our gear back and that was it...Oh I was looking forward to going after being all that time in camp. Camp we sort of got fed up with it. We were just going around and around the same thing. We thought something was on, because they were sort of holding us back all the time [Ray].

Or, as it was all summed up in the Diamond Jubilee Supplement;

A notable contribution to the war effort was made by the club, the majority of those playing senior football in the early days of hostilities, serving overseas, and a number who rendered grand service during a difficult period just prior to the break, made the supreme sacrifice. They are remembered with pride and gratitude [The Eltham Argus, October 28, 1949].

Hard-core orthodox Marxists would be quick to label many of the expressions and behaviours detailed above as "false consciousness". The Cultural Studies perspective demands that we reject such a label. To call it that, Jefferson and Hall assert, would be to;

..impose an abstract scheme on to a concrete historical reality [1976:45].

Against such a position I have viewed rugby as the outcome of an ultimately asymmetrical negotiation between dominant and subordinate groups. Both working men and capitalistic interests have contested the terrain of Eltham rugby and the latter, slowly, have won out. This is not to suggest there is not still much in the game for working people. The summary by John Hargreaves seems apposite;

sports do represent real material gains for working class people [but] which could not be achieved without conceding influence to dominant groups in the cultural sphere [1982b:133].

If the game did not continue to mean something to them, why would working people so vehemently defend the game? The intensity of reaction to those few brave protesters of 1981 testifies to the continued meaning of the game for many. The same game, as I have shown, is also implicated in the circumscription of the lives of many. It is a mean paradox, but remains nonetheless, the crux of the rugby "problem". It is a credit to the perception of James K. Baxter that he was aware of these paradoxical dimensions of rugby long before they began to burgeon in the minds of New Zealand's more academic social

commentators. His poem Elegy for an Unknown Soldier, deals precisely with rugby as an avenue of escape, a site of bravado and comradeship, but also as a kind of "trap". The poem delicately distils the nuance of meaning I have sought to convey in this conclusion. There have been too many of these "Unknown Soldiers" in New Zealand's short European history;

....

....

Awkward at school, he could not master sums.
 Could you expect him then to understand
 The miracle and the menace of his body
 That grew as mushrooms grow from dusk to dawn?

He had the weight, though for a football scrum,
 And thought it fine to listen to the cheering
 And drink beer with the boys, telling them tall
 Stories of girls that he had never known.

So when the War came he was glad and sorry,
 But soon enlisted. Then his Mother cried,
 A little, and his Father boasted how
 He'd let him go, though needed for the farm.

Likely in Egypt he would find out something
 About himself, if flies and drunkenness
 And deadly heat could tell him much - until
 In his first battle a shell splinter caught him.

So crown him with memorial bronze among
 The older dead, child of a mountainous island
 Wings of a tarnished victory shadow him
 Who born of silence has burned back to silence.

Appendix A.

In these capsule biographies, as throughout my use of life-review material in this thesis, the names of the respondents have been changed to respect privacy. The pseudonyms used have been chosen to preserve the informal quality of the names the players went by in their playing days, and which have stuck to the present day.

CHARLIE

born 1914

educated Eltham Convent School. Stratford High School.

employed Meter reader for Taranaki Electric Power Board.
Served Overseas in World War II.
Serviceman for Automobile Association in Hawera.
Retired.

rugby -mainly as "breakaway"
Eltham Third Grade 1931
Eltham Juniors 1932
Eltham Seniors 1934-1939

Club Secretary 1937-1938

ERNIE

born 1920

educated Eltham Primary School.

employed On his father's farm which he later bought and farmed till retirement.

rugby -mainly as loose forward

Eltham Third Grade	1933-1937
Eltham Seniors	1938-1951
Taranaki Rep	1941-42, 1945-47
Club Captain	1942, 1953-62
Club Patron	1977-1985

JOE

born 1911

educated Kapuni Primary School. New Plymouth Boys High School.

employed Farm worker.
Owned Bus Contracting Business.
After the War, car salesman in New Plymouth.
Retired.

rugby -mainly as fullback

Kaponga Fourth Grade	1927-1930
Kaponga Seniors	1931-1932
Eltham Seniors	1933-1935
Kaponga Seniors	1936-1948
Eltham Seniors	1949-1954
Taranaki Rep	1939-1941

JOHN

born 1912

educated Ngaere Primary School.

employed Worked on his father's farm for his keep.
Labourer on bridge building sites.
After the war, linesman for the Post Office.
Retired.

rugby -mainly as prop or lock forward
Eltham Fourth Grade 1928
Eltham Seniors 1929-1938

Taranaki Rep 1934-1935

MAURIE

born 1903

educated Mangatoki Primary School. New Plymouth Boy's High School

employed Worked on his father's sheep farm, who gave him
assistance to buy his own in the mid 1920's.
Travelling Salesman.
Sports Shop Proprieter.
Retired.

rugby -utility back
Eltham Third Grade 1924
Eltham Juniors 1925

OLLIE

born 1920

educated Eltham Primary School. Stratford High School.

employed Joiner's Apprentice.
Joiner.
After the war, purchased his own small timber joinery
which he still manages.

rugby -first five eighth and half-back
Eltham Fourth Grade 1934-1937
Eltham Third Grade 1938
Eltham Seniors 1939-1947

Taranaki Rep 1940-1947
Club President 1946

RAY

born 1914

educated Eltham Convent School.

employed Message boy.
48 years in Hutton's Freezing Works; labourer,
supervisor, labourer, van driver.
Retired.

rugby -hooker or wing-forward
Eltham Third Grade 1932-1933
Eltham Seniors 1934-1940

REG

born 1909

educated Eltham Convent School. Stratford High School.
Took night classes in accountancy.

employed Meter Reader for Taranaki Electric Power Board.
Served overseas for duration of war.
Accountancy and management positions in Power Board.
Retired.

rugby -as fullback or second five eighth
Eltham Seniors 1929-1933

Club Secretary	1929-1936
Club President	1938-1939
Club Auditor	1964-1984

SHARKIE

born 1906

educated Eltham Primary School.

employed Message Boy.
Shop Boy.
Store-man at prominent local business.
Served Overseas for three years during the war.
Returned to be store manager of the same business
he left.
Retired.

rugby -fullback
Eltham Third/Fourth Grade 1922-1941
Eltham Seniors 1942

APPENDIX B

IMPORTANT DATES : ELTHAM RUGBY

PHASE	DATE	EVENT
'Play ritual'	1883	Eltham township emerges as a 'Village in the Bush' rugby is 'irregular' and spontaneous
	1889	formation of Taranaki Rugby Union struggles to establish a playing ground
	1905	construction of a small wooden 'grandstand' at Taumata Park
	1914	cessation of rugby for World War I
'Institutionalisation'	1919	rugby club re-formed on bureaucratic basis
	1922	dairy prices slump
	1925	simple light at Taumata Park for night-time training
	1933	severe retrenchment of local industry The Mayor: "We hardly know this winter just what is going to happen" rugby still a simple game and a site of 'social security'
	1934	Tukapa/Eltham Jubilee Match: gate takings for year are up 260%
'Commercialisation'	1935	Labour Government in Power
	1936	Mortgage Relief/Guaranteed Prices stimulate local economy 40 hour working week initiated creating a 'unified' weekend Queen Carnival raises £402 ordinary income of Club is £52 Rugby 'Gym' procured; better facilities
	1937	4000 spectators at finals of Taranaki Rugby Club Championships at Eltham players get numbered jerseys match programmes carry advertisements for local businesses

PHASE	DATE	EVENT
'Commercialism'	1937	increasing 'instrumentalism' in rugby : growth of discipline, use of science, 'competitive' orientation 'community' rivalry strong
	1939	World War II : many local players enlist

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Empirical Sources.

- Andrews H.J., The History of Eltham, New Zealand: Cradle of the Dairy Industry, Eltham Borough Council, 1959.
- Anon., "Eltham Marches", in Chaff, vol. 48, no. 15: 6, 1981.
- Anon., "50 Years Ago", in The Daily News, May 31, 1986.
- Ansley B., "Fielding's Rugby Blacks Protest", New Zealand Listener, June 22, vol. 110, no. 2366: 17, 1985.
- Bennet D.H., The City Region as a Geographic Unit: The Case of New Plymouth, M.A Thesis, Geography, University of Auckland, 1968.
- Carlyon J.T., Demographic and Occupational Structure of Eltham, B.A. Honours Paper, Geography, Victoria University, 1964.
- Chapple G., 1981: The Tour, Reed, Wellington, 1984.
- Cooney D.J., An Exercise in Oral History: Rural Life and Labour in Taranaki From World War One to the Depression, M.A. Thesis, History, University of Auckland, 1980.
- Duncan J.E., The Economic Structure of Taranaki Province: A Study of Structural Change and its Effects on Employment, M.A. Thesis, Geography, Victoria University, Wellington, 1963.
- Laing D., "Milk of Human Kindness" in New Zealand Times, 14 July, 1984.
- Lambert G. and Lambert R., An Illustrated History of Taranaki, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1983.
- New Zealand Listener., "Tour Questions", vol.110, no.2366: 14-15, June 22, 1985.
- New Zealand Post Office Directory., 1923, 1934.
- O'Riley B., A Comparative Study and Insight into Participation in Winter Sport in the Taranaki Province in 1893, 1913, 1933, Unpublished 'History 316' Paper, Victoria University, 1983.

Standish R., Eltham: One Hundred Years, Eltham Centennial Committee, 1984.

Stewart D., Springtime in Taranaki: An Autobiography of Youth, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1983.

Stone's Wellington, Hawke Bay, and Taranaki Directory., October 1923, October 1933.

Visser, S., The 1930's Depression and Pastoral Farming in Taranaki, M.A. Thesis, History, University of Auckland, 1969.

Watson M.K. Winchester D., Small Town Images, Interim Report to Eltham Borough Council, Geography Department, Victoria University, September 1979.

Woods H.A., The Life of a Pioneer Farmer, Unpublished Autobiography, Eltham Public Library.

Life Review Accounts - Main tape-recording sessions in Eltham;

John	19/6/85
Sharkie	4/7/85
Reg	5/7/85
Joe	1/8/85
Ernie	2/8/85
Ollie	3/8/85
Ray	10/8/85
Maurie	17/8/85
Charlie	19/8/85

Minute Book 1936-1960 - Eltham Rugby Football Club

The Eltham Argus;

May 6	-	1919
March 24	- Sept. 25	1924
March 12	- Aug. 15	1929
March 19	- Aug. 31	1931
March 21	- Aug. 31	1933
March 2	- Aug. 30	1935
March 11	- Aug. 30	1937
March 15	- Sept. 15	1939

October 28, 1949, Special Supplement, "Eltham Rugby Football Club Diamond Jubilee Celebrated".

March 4, 1959, Special Supplement, "75 Years of Business in Eltham".

Secondary Sources

- Ball D.W. and Loy J.W. (eds.), Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1975.
- Barber L.H., New Zealand's Economy Since 1918. A Study in Economic Development, Reed Education, Wellington, 1978.
- Basset G., "Screen Play and Real Play: Manufacturing Sport on Television", Sites. Issue no.9, Spring 1984.
- Baum W. K., Transcribing and Editing Oral History, American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, 1977.
- B.C.C.C.S., Unpopular Education, Hutchinson, London, 1981.
- _____, Making Histories, Hutchinson, London, 1982.
- Bedggood D., Rich and Poor in New Zealand, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1980.
- Bennet T., (et. al.), Culture Ideology and Social Process, Open University, London, 1981.
- Bertaux D (ed.), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- _____, with Bertaux-Wiame I., "Life Stories in the Bakers Trade", in Bertaux D. (ed), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- Bertaux-Wiame I., "The Life History Approach to the Study of Internal Migration", in Bertaux D. (ed.), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- Boggs C., Gramsci's Marxism, Pluto Press, London, 1976.
- Brohm J.M., Sport: A Prison of Measured Time, Ink Links, London, 1978.
- Brook E. and Finn D., Working Class Images of Society and Community Studies, in B.C.C.C.S., On Ideology, Hutchinson, London, 1978.
- Burns T., "Leisure in Industrial Society", in Smith M. (et. al), (eds.), Leisure and Society in Britain, Allen Lane, London, 1973.
- Butterworth W.L., "The Place of Rugby In New Zealand", in Hinchcliff J., The Nature and Meaning of Sport in New Zealand, Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland, 1978.
- Busch G., Working Men, National Art Gallery, Wellington, 1984.

- Carter S., The History of Rugby Union Football in New Zealand, M.A Thesis, Dept. Of Physical Education, California State University, 1977.
- Cashman R.I. and Mckernan M. (eds.), Sport in History, University of Queensland Press, 1979.
- _____, Sport: Money, Morality and the Media, New South Wales University Press, 1981.
- Chapman R., "Fiction and the Social Pattern", in Curnow W.(ed) Essays on New Zealand Literature, Heinemann Educational Books, Auckland, 1973.
- Chrisp P., Class of '84: Class Structure and Class Awareness in New Zealand, 1984, M.A. Thesis, Sociology, Massey University, 1986.
- Clarke D.B., The Boot, Wellington, 1963.
- Clarke J. (et al.), Working Class Culture, Hutchinson, B.C.C.S, London, 1979.
- _____, with Clarke A., "Highlights and Action Replays - Ideology, Sports and the Media", in Hargreaves Jenn. (ed), Sport, Culture and Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- _____, with Critcher C., The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain, Macmillan, London, 1985.
- Cleveland L., "Political Football: The Role of Rugby and the Press in New Zealand", Comment, 7(3): 23-30, 1966.
- _____, "Sport and Politics" in The Anatomy of Influence, Hicks Smith, Auckland, 1972.
- _____, "Sport, Leisure and Society In New Zealand", in New Zealand Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, vol. 12. no. 3: 68-72, November 1979.
- Cohen S. Taylor L., Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life, Allen Lane, London, 1976.
- Cordery G., "Tom Brown's Schooldays and Foreskin's Lament: The Alpha and Omega of Rugby Football" in Journal of Popular Culture, vol. 19, Fall 1985, no.2.
- Crawford S.A.G.M., "Pioneering Play to Sporting Ethos", in New Zealand Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, vol. 16, No. 3: 7-12, December 1983.
- _____, "The Consolidation of Sport and the Expansion of Recreation in Colonial New Zealand", in New Zealand Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, vol. 17, No. 3: 5-11,

November 1984.

- _____, "The Game of Glory and Hard Knocks: A Study of the Interpenetration of Rugby and New Zealand Society" in Journal of Popular Culture, vol 19, no. 2: 77-92, Fall 1985.
- Critcher C., "Football Since the War", in Waites B, (et. al), (eds.), Popular Culture: Past and Present, Open University Press, London, 1982.
- Crowthers C., "Reflections on Barbed Wire and Riot Squads", New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group Journal, no. 7, Spring 1983.
- Cunningham H., Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, Croom-Helm, London, 1980.
- _____, "Class and Leisure in Mid Victorian England", in Waites B. (et. al), (eds), Popular Culture: Past and Present, Open University Press, London, 1982.
- De Jong P.W.J., "Making Sense of New Zealand Rugby" in Sites, no. 12: 29-42, Autumn, 1986.
- Denzin N.K., The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods, Aldine, Chicago, 1970.
- Dunning E. and Sheard K., Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players. A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football, Price Milburn, 1979.
- Edgell T. and Jary D., "Football; A Sociological Eulogy", in Smith M, (et. al), (eds.), Leisure and Society in Britain, Allen Lane, London, 1973.
- Edwards J., Racist Rugby: Front Line Poets Respond, James Edwards, Auckland, 1981.
- Eldred-Grigg S., A Southern Gentry: New Zealanders Who Inherited The Earth, Reed, Wellington, 1980.
- Elley G. and Nield K., "Why does Social History Ignore Politics", in Social History, vol. 5, 1980-81.
- Fairburn M., "Why did the New Zealand Labour Party Fail to win Office until 1935?", Paper Presented to History Department, Massey University, 1985.
- Forster J. (ed.), Social Process in New Zealand, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1969.
- Fougere G., "Barbed Wire and Riot Squads - What is being defended? The Springbok Tour of 1981" in New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group Journal, Issue no. 2, 1981(a).

- _____, "Shattered Mirror", in Comment, November, 1981(b).
- Frankenberg R., Village On The Border, Cohen and West, London, 1957.
- Franklin S.H., "The Village in the Bush", in Forster J. (ed.), Social Process in New Zealand, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1969.
- Gaskell A.P., The Big Game, The Caxton Press, Christchurch, 1947.
- Gibbons P.J., "The Climate of Opinion", in Oliver W.H. and Williams B. The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981.
- Griffen C. (et al.), "Women and Leisure" in Hargreaves Jenn. (ed), Sport, Culture and Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- Gruneau R.S., "Sport, Social Differentiation and Social Inequality", in Ball D.W. and Loy J.W. Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport, Addison-Wesley, Reading, 1975.
- _____, with Cantelon H. (eds.), Sport, Culture and the Modern State, University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- _____, Class, Sport and Social Development, Massachussets University Press, 1983.
- Guy C., "Protest Politics and the Political Culture of Rugby", in The Republican, July 1985.
- Haden A., Boots "n" All, Rugby Press, Auckland, 1983.
- Hall B. (et. al), Community Formation and Change, Working Paper No. 4, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, September 1983.
- Hall S. and Jefferson T., Resistance through Rituals, Hutchinson, 1976.
- Hall S., "The "Political" and the "Economic" in Marx's Theory of Classes", in Hunt A., (ed) Class and Social Structure, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1978.
- _____, "Cultural Studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems" in Hall S. (et. al), (eds.), Culture, Media, Language, Hutchinson, London, 1980.
- _____, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms", in Bennet T. (et al.) (eds.), Culture, Ideology and Social Process, Open University, London, 1981.
- _____, "The Culture Gap" in Marxism Today, 1 January, 1984.

- Hammersley M. and Atkinson P., Ethnography: Principles in Practice, Tavistock Publications, 1983, London.
- Hankiss A., "Ontologies of the Self: on the Mythological Rearrangement of One's Life History", in Bertaux D. (ed.), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- Hargreaves Jennifer., Sport, Culture and Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- Hargreaves John., "Sport, Culture and Ideology" in Hargreaves Jenn., Sport, Culture and Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982(a).
- _____, "Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems", in Gruneau R. and Cantelon H., Sport, Culture and the Modern State, University of Toronto Press, 1982(b).
- Hawke G.R., Evolution of the New Zealand Economy, Heinemann Educational Books, Auckland, 1977.
- Hoggart R., The Uses of Literacy, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1957.
- Holt R., Sport and Society in Modern France, Macmillan, London, 1981.
- Howard B., Changing Social Composition in Wellington Rugby, Unpublished "History 412 Paper", Victoria University, Wellington, 1981.
- Ingham A., "Occupational Sub-Cultures in the Work-World of Sport" in Ball D.W and Loy J.W., Sport and Social Order, Addison-Wesley, Reading, 1975.
- _____, with Hardy S., "Sport: Structuration, Subjugation and Hegemony" in Theory, Culture and Society, vol. 2, no. 2: 85-103, 1984.
- Ingram W., "The Growth of Sport", in New Zealand Heritage, vol. 5, No. 66: 1832.
- Johnson R., "Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working Class Culture", in Clarke J (et al.), (eds.), Working Class Culture, Macmillan, London, 1979.
- _____, "Cultural Studies and Educational Practice" in Screen Education, 34:5-16, 1980.
- Karpati Z., "The Methodological Use of the Life History Approach in a Hungarian Survey on Mobility and Urbanisation" in Bertaux D. (ed), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- King M., "Oral History in New Zealand; Some Cultural and Methodological Considerations", in New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 12, no. 2: 104-123, October 1978.

- Kohli M., "Biography: Account, Text, Method", in Bertaux D. (ed), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- Laidlaw C., Mud in Your Eye: A Worm's Eye View of the Changing World of Rugby., Reed, Wellington, 1973.
- Maharey S., "Cultural Studies: Mapping the Field", in New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group Journal, no. 3: 13-15, Autumn, 1982.
- Martin J., "Development from Above: God Made the Country and Man Made the Town" in Shirley I., (ed), Development Tracks: The Theory and Practice of Community Development, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1982.
- Mason T., "Football and the Workers in England" in Cashman R.I. and McKernan M. (eds.), Sport in History, University of Queensland Press, 1981.
- Mast S., "Rendering the Problematic Programmatic", in New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group Journal, no. 3: 6-9, Autumn, 1982.
- McClellan T., George Nepia; The Golden Years of Rugby, Reed, Wellington, 1962.
- McConnell R.N. Some Aspects of Winter Sport in Matakaoa, M.A. Thesis, Anthropology, Auckland, 1963.
- McCready A., The Tour, Thames Publications, Wellington, 1981.
- McGloughlan G., New Zealand Encyclopedia, David Bateman, Auckland, 1984.
- McKenzie N.A., On With the Game; The Rugby Reminiscences of Norman McKenzie, Reed, Wellington, 1961.
- Merrington J., "Theory and Practise in Gramsci's Marxism", in Socialist Register, 1968.
- Meurant R., The Red Squad Story, Harlen Publishing, Auckland, 1982.
- Mitchell A., The Half-Gallon Quarter-Acre Pavlova Paradise, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1972.
- Mourie G., Captain, Moa Publications, Auckland, 1982.
- Mulgan J., Report on Experience, Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Nelson E.L., A Country District: Some Aspects of Joker Culture, M.A. Thesis, Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1972.
- Newnham T., By Batons and Barbed Wire, Real Pictures, 1981.

- Oliver W.H., Towards a New History?, Hocken Lecture, 1969, Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1971.
- _____, "Oral and Other History", in New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 12, no. 2, October, 1978.
- _____ with Williams B. (eds.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981.
- Olssen E., "Towards a New Society", in Oliver W.H. and Williams B. (eds.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981.
- Oxley H.G., Mateship in Local Organisation, 2nd edition, University of Queensland Press, 1978.
- Pain A.D., Attitudes towards the 1973 Spring-Bok Tour of New Zealand; an exploratory survey of attitudes to issues associated with the proposed Tour and the relationship between these attitudes and other Variables, M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1973.
- Pearson D.G., Johnsonville; Continuity and Change In a New Zealand Township, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1980.
- _____ with Thorns D.C., Eclipse of Equality: Social Stratification in New Zealand, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983.
- Pearson J., "The Crisis of Capitalist Agriculture", in Incontinental Press, 25 June, 1984.
- Pearson M.N., "Heads in the Sand: The 1956 Spring-bok Tour to New Zealand in Perspective" in Cashman R. and Mckernan M. Sport in History, University of Queensland Press, 1979.
- Perkin H., "The Condescension of Posterity" in The Structured Crowd, Harvester Press, Sussex, 1981.
- Phillips J., "Mummy's Boys: Pakeha Men and Male Culture in New Zealand" in Bunkle P. and Hughes B. (eds.), Women in New Zealand Society, George Allen and Unwin, Auckland, 1980.
- _____, "Rugby, War or the Mythology of the New Zealand Male", in New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 18, No. 2, Oct. 1984.
- Przeworski A., "Proletariat into a Class" in Politics and Society, no. 4, 1977.
- Richardson L., "Parties and Political Change", in Oliver W.H. and Williams B. (eds.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington, 1981.
- Samuel R. (ed), Peoples' History and Socialist Theory, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981.

- Shaw B., "Life History Writing in Anthropology: A Methodological Review", in Mankind, vol. 12, no. 3, June 1980.
- Simpson T., A Vision Betrayed: The Decline Of Democracy in New Zealand, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1984.
- Sinclair K., A History of New Zealand, Penguin, 1969.
- Slatter G.C., On the Ball: The Centennial Book of New Zealand Rugby, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1970.
- Smith C.V., "Kiwi Recreations" in Reid J.C. (ed), The Kiwi Laughs, Reed, Wellington, 1961.
- Smith M. (et. al), (eds.), Leisure and Society in Britain, Allen Lane, London, 1973.
- Snyder E.E. and Spreitzer E.A., Social Aspects of Sport, 2nd edition, Prentice Hill, Englewood Cliffs, 1983.
- Somerset H.C.D., Littledene: Patterns of Change, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1974.
- Sparks C., "The Evolution of Cultural Studies", in Screen Education, No. 22, 16-30, 1977.
- Stacey M., The Myth of Community Studies, British Journal of Sociology, vol. 20: 134-147, 1969.
- Stead C.K. All Visitors Ashore, Harvill Press, London, 1984.
- Steven R., "Towards a Class Analysis of New Zealand" in Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, vol. 14, no. 2: 113-129, 1978.
- Swan A.C., History of New Zealand Rugby Football, Vol. 1, 1870-1945, Reed, Wellington, 1948.
- _____, History of New Zealand Rugby Football, Vol. 2, 1946-1957, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1958.
- Swindells N., Social Aspects of Rugby Football in Manawatu from 1878-1910, Honours Paper, History, Massey University, 1978.
- Szczepanski J., "The Use of Autobiographies in Historical Social Psychology", in Bertaux D. (ed), Biography and Society, Sage, California, 1981.
- Taylor I., "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism", in Cohen S Images of Deviance, Penguin, 1971.
- _____, "Football Mad: A Speculative Sociology of Football Hooliganism", in Dunning E. (ed), The Sociology of Sport, Cas, London, 1971.

- Tew S.J., New Zealand and South African Rugby Exchanges 1960-1981: a Study of a Sporting Relationship with Far Reaching Consequences, M.A. Thesis, Recreation Administration, Victoria University, 1982.
- Thompson E.P. The Making of the English Working Classes, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963.
- Thompson P., The Voice of the Past, Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Thompson R., "Sport and Politics" in Forster J., (ed.), Social Process in New Zealand, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1969.
- Veysey A., Ebony and Ivory: The Stu Wilson, Bernie Fraser Story, Moa Publications, Auckland, 1984.
- Victoria University History Department., Counting the Cost: The 1981 Springbok Tour in Wellington, Occasional Paper No. 1, Wellington, 1982.
- Waites B. (et. al), (eds.), Popular Culture: Past and Present, Open University Press, London, 1982.
- Watson L.C., "Understanding Life History as a Subjective Document", in Ethos, 4(1): 95-131, 1976.
- Whannel G., Blowing the Whistle: The Politics of Sport, Pluto Press, London, 1983.
- Wilkes C. (et. al), Working Paper One: The Demographics of Class Structure, The New Zealand Class Structure Project, Sociology Department, Massey University, 1985.
- Willis P., "Shop Floor Culture, Masculinity and the Wage Form", in Clarke J (et al.) (eds.), Working Class Culture, B.C.C.C.S, Hutchinson, London, 1979.
- _____, "Notes on Method", in Culture, Media, Language, B.C.C.C.S, Hutchinson, 1981.
- _____, "Women in Sport in Ideology", in Hargreaves J. (ed.), Sport, Culture and Ideology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
- Wright E.O., Class, Crisis and the State, New Left Books, New York, 1979.
- Wood B., New Zealand Historiography and Cultural Studies, Working Paper in Cultural Studies, Massey University, 1981.
- _____, Smashing the Audience: The Political Economy of New Zealand Television, M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Massey University, 1982.