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GOLF:

Gentlemen Only Ladies Forbidden

or is it

Golden Oldies Live Forever?

A 152.800 (100 point) research thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Business Studies at Massey University

GAIL HELEN ALDRIDGE

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Definitions¹

General

The game of golf consists of playing a ball with a club from the *teeing ground* into the *hole* by a *stroke* or successive strokes in accordance with the Rules.

The Spirit of the Game

Unlike many sports, golf is played, for the most part, without the supervision of a referee or umpire. The game relies on the integrity of the individual to show consideration for other players and to abide by the rules. All players should conduct themselves in a disciplined manner, demonstrating courtesy and sportsmanship at all times, irrespective of how competitive they may be. This is the spirit of the game of golf.

Committee

The “*Committee*” is the committee in charge of the competition or, if the matter does not arise in a competition, the committee in charge of the *course*.

Course

The “*course*” is the whole area within any boundaries established by the *Committee*.

Hole

The “*hole*” must be 4 ¼ inches (108 mm) in diameter and at least 4 inches (101.6 mm) deep. If a lining is used, it must be sunk at least 1 inch (25.4 mm) below the putting green surface unless the nature of the soil makes it impracticable to do so; its outer diameter must not exceed 4 ¼ inches (108 mm).

Line of Play

The “*line of play*” is the direction that the player wishes his ball to take after a stroke, plus a reasonable distance on either side of the intended direction. The *line of play* extends vertically upwards from the ground, but does not extend beyond the *hole*.

¹ Definitions as per the book *Rules of golf and the rules of amateur status 2004 – 2007* as approved by the R&A Rules Limited.

Putting Green (Green)

The “*putting green*” is all ground of the hole being played that is specially prepared for putting or otherwise defined as such by the *Committee*. A ball is on the *putting green* when any part of it touches the *putting green*.

Stroke

A “*stroke*” is the forward movement of the club made with the intention of striking at and moving the ball, but if a player checks his downswing voluntarily before the club-head reaches the ball he has not made a *stroke*.

Tee

A “*tee*” is a device designed to raise the ball off the ground. It must not be longer than 4 inches (101.6 mm) and it must not be designed or manufactured in such a way that it could indicate the *line of play* or influence the movement of the ball.

Teeing Ground

The “*teeing ground*” is the starting place for the hole to be played. It is a rectangular area two club-lengths in depth, the front and the sides of which are defined by the outside limits of two tee-markers. A ball is outside the *teeing ground* when all of it lies outside the *teeing ground*.

Acknowledgements	i
Definitions.....	iii
1 Introduction	1
2 Literature Review.....	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.1.1 Gender	8
2.1.2 Liberal feminism.....	10
2.1.3 Radical feminism.....	12
2.1.4 Patriarchy	14
2.1.5 Hegemony	16
2.1.6 Psychoanalytic feminism	17
2.1.7 Marxist feminism.....	19
2.1.8 Socialist feminism	21
2.1.9 Summary	24
2.2 Gender in organisations.....	26
2.2.1 Introduction.....	26
2.2.2 Marxist feminist theories	26
2.2.3 Psychoanalysis feminist theories	29
2.2.4 Summary	29
2.3 Gender and sport.....	31
2.3.1 Introduction.....	31
2.3.2 Evolution of sport in New Zealand	35
2.3.3 Evolution of golf in New Zealand	40
2.3.4 Summary	44
3 Research aims and objectives.....	45
3.1 Aims.....	45
3.2 Objectives.....	46
4 Methodology.....	48
4.1 Overview	48
4.2 Research Design.....	52
4.3 Limitations	59
5 Discussion/Analysis	61
5.1 Current environment of the golfing community and the impact of history	61
5.1.1 Introduction.....	62
5.1.2 Historical influence	64
5.1.3 Traditional expectations	70
5.1.4 Social expectations	70
5.1.5 Social environment of golf.....	81
5.1.6 Summary	88
5.2 Transforming the face of golf	91
5.2.1 Introduction.....	92
5.2.2 Diverse structures of golf clubs.....	95
5.2.3 Power relations in golf	101
5.2.4 The future of integrated golf clubs	104
5.2.5 Summary	109
6 Conclusion	111
7 References.....	122

Figure 1 Golf clubs segregated & integrated continuum line.....	53
Figure 2 Summary of key characteristics of each club	57

Appendix A: Statistics on club membership fees for men and women 1967-2002	
Appendix B: Fifa rules women out of team	
Appendix C: Human Rights Act 1993, Club and sport exceptions - necessary evil or unjustified erosions of the principles of non-discrimination	
Appendix D: Newbroook gets green light to play	
Appendix E: NZ body wants Newbrook back in men's competition	

1 Introduction

The focus of this research will be on gender relations that affect the organisational processes of golf in New Zealand. This area of research is of interest to me because during my experience both as a financial member of a private golf club and as a woman, I have experienced restrictions in the availability of playing opportunities. As an avid sportsperson I decided to play the game of golf in the late 1990s. Initially, I took up the game as a replacement sport due to a severe leg injury I received while playing squash; hence I now limit my involvement in sports that involve sudden movements and quick changes of direction. I have been involved with a large number of sporting organisations. Being a white New Zealand female, then in my late 30s, I found the traditional and reserved nature of the golf environment both fascinating and frustrating. For example, the times when women are allowed to play are restricted to specific times of the day during the working week and weekends. This format is known as the *designated playing times for women* and normally represent a smaller time percentage of the week when compared to the times that men are assigned as specific to them for the playing of golf.

Generally, golf clubs perceived women as additional members, and their membership is considered as an associated membership rather than a full-playing and financial membership. This perception was reflected in the dollar value that women paid for their membership fees as they generally paid a lesser amount than did men (Appendix A). The assumption was that because women did not pay the same as men they did not therefore have the right to full access to the course and resources. The limited membership for women meant that golf clubs were perceived as being organised and controlled by men for the benefit of men and their golf, and women's golf was considered secondary to the

development of the club membership and the promotion of the game (Alliss, 1989; Campbell, 1986). Having talked with a number of women members and women from other clubs it became apparent to me that the majority of clubs at that time operated in this manner and very few had what is now known in golfing circles as “equal rights” for men and women.

To elaborate on the concept of “equal rights”, the meaning in the context of private golf club membership is that some golf clubs adopt an open membership policy, where men and women pay the same membership fees, as well as instigating an open playing schedule for men and women. This means that men and women can play at any time as opposed to the traditional allocation of time slots for when men and women are permitted to play golf. The initial reasons “why” golf clubs chose to operate in a segregated time allocation format for men and women was, at that time, not clear to me as my perception of sport was that it did not matter with whom you played sport as the sports I played - such as internal club squash competitions – were based on the ability of the person not his/her gender. However, most golf clubs in New Zealand still adhere to the traditional organisational practices of allocating resources and playing times according to gender. To emphasise this point the next paragraph will describe an actual event that occurred to me while I was on holiday in Auckland.

The golf club for which I played became an “equal-rights” club in 1999. One of the main driving factors for this move was to increase the income from membership fees, as well as to restructure the golf club’s organisational framework, as communicated by the

Chairman of the Board. The motivation for the restructuring of the club's organisational structure arose from historical internal struggles of past committees, which meant the club had lost direction and vision for its future. I started playing at this point in the club's transformation process. During this time I saw the golf club's struggles and debates over what was considered the "right" way to organise the playing of golf for men and women as well as the resistance to the instigating of integrated golf for men and women. These changes meant that the traditional times for when men and women played were slowly being eroded. There still, however, remained a strong emphasis that women should play at particular times and not when these times clash with when men desire to play golf - but this too was being challenged by some women who were choosing to take advantage of the opportunities of the new integrated time frames. I was one of those women.

The entrenched expectations of the segregated allocation of time frames for the playing of golf by men and women did not become apparent to me until I tried to play golf on a Saturday morning at a golf club in Auckland during the year 2000. The general practice of when men and women play golf is that men play golf on Saturday, and women play during the week and have specific allocated times during the weekend when they can play on the course. Also, for a woman to play during the weekend she must apply to the women's committee for a *player's dispensation* which is normally granted to "working" women so that they can have a game of golf at the weekends. However, the expectation is that when she ceases work she will revert to playing during the week. This practice does not occur at the club to which I belong; so segregated gender times for playing golf on Saturday morning was not an obvious issue for me or for them. At my club, there is

an allocated time slot for women who wish to play in the club competitions. It is through the playing of club competitions that players can be considered for “Pennant”² golf competition. Club competition is considered as serious golf and is different from those times when players desire to play a game of golf for social reasons and have their cards assessed for handicap purposes.

Upon my arrival at the Auckland club I proceeded to pay “green fees” - but the club official did not accept my money. Consequently I was also refused access to the golf club and the course. I was taken aback because I had never encountered this restrictive and controlled access to a golf course before, and the refusal of entry onto a golf course confused me. When I asked the reason why I was not allowed access to the course the club official indicated to me that it was not the designated time for women to play golf, therefore I was not allowed to play even though my name was on the “Start sheet”³. It was indicated to me by this same official that I would be allowed to “walk the course” while the men played their game, but I was not permitted to play a game of golf. Hence, I left with one of my male playing partners and located a club that would accommodate both men and women playing golf together on Saturday morning. His reaction to the situation was that of disgust as he could not see the problem with men and women playing together regardless of the time, but the other two players of the group (who were men) chose to remain at the course and continue their game. These two men could not see that I was disadvantaged by not being allowed to play, as the problem did not affect their game. What would have affected their game would have been to have left the

² “Pennant” golf is the selection of players to represent the club at interclub competition level.

³ A Start sheet is the official daily playing register which identifies the time for groups of players to tee off as well as who is playing in a particular group of golfers.

course, as I and one of my male playing partners did, as this would have meant that time was wasted while locating a course that would accommodate men and women playing together. In my opinion this was obvious gender discrimination - as the golf club to which I paid membership fees allowed men and women to play on Saturday mornings as recreational golfers, but women were not eligible to enter the respective competition of the day. I left feeling confused and annoyed because of the lack of flexibility in the club rules of men and women playing on Saturday morning. It was not until several days later that I became curious as to the formal and informal structures within which the playing of golf is controlled organised at the various golf clubs around New Zealand.

On returning to my local club I started to investigate the problem that I had experienced at the Auckland golf club and found that this practice of gender discrimination is not restricted to golf as it does occur against women in other sporting codes throughout New Zealand. For example, a female soccer player was playing in a male-dominated grade in a Palmerston North competition. Apparently her abilities and skills were equal to, if not better than, those of some of her male colleagues. It was not until a formal complaint was made by an opposing team objecting to her involvement in the team that she was prevented from playing ("Fifa rules women out of team," 1997) (Appendix B). This scenario supports the claim that gender discrimination exists in New Zealand sport, and that these continuing examples and restrictions of male-dominated environments still reinforce the accepted segregated spheres of men's and women's sport. The choice of some local clubs to continue to organise and play golf in segregated time slots appears to be the reinforcement of society traditions in the area of sport. The resistance of local golf

clubs to changing the organisational practices and traditions of golf, in my opinion, is an example of discrimination against women in sport and therefore against women in society.

Having pondered the many possible reasons for my rejection by the golf club in Auckland and the acknowledgment of the continuing practices of some golf clubs which operate in a segregated format for men and women, I came to the conclusion that the segregated gender environment of golf is an issue of gender discrimination. The opportunity to enjoy the freedom of choice is not available for women in today's golfing community. Due to my rationale and my desire to play golf I have taken this opportunity to conduct research into the organisational practices and processes that occur within private golf clubs in New Zealand today.

The Human Rights Act (1993) of New Zealand indicates that discrimination against another person because of race, gender, cultural identity, religious belief, or class is considered as an offence in New Zealand society. This component of the Act, however, does not apply to private clubs and sporting organisations, as they are considered exempt from this legislation. Molloy (1997), who is a lawyer specialising in sport, highlights the issue of discrimination in the context of women in sport and uses examples of discriminatory behaviour against women in Australia and New Zealand, which in her opinion is undermining the advancement of women in the sporting arena. Molloy rejects the Human Rights Commission's suggestion that the inequalities and discriminatory practices which women experience in sport will be rectified as greater numbers of women

participate in their respective sports. This position by the Human Rights Commission not to take any direct action against private clubs to resolve the inequalities and discriminatory practices within sports has meant that sports clubs are not required (by legislation) to ensure that women are given opportunities equal to those available to men for participation in sport. Molloy suggests that until sporting codes are held accountable for their discriminatory practices the advancement of all sport will be restricted. Also that the benefits to which minority groups and individuals are entitled under the Human Rights Act (1993) should be addressed in all spheres of life, regardless of participation numbers or historical male/female sporting codes practice (Molloy, 1997) (Appendix C).

The next chapter identifies the theoretical concepts that were used to understand the research question. Identified as the key theories in this research were gender and feminism, as well as the relationship of those theories in the social and work environments (Game & Pringle, 1983). The study of the relationship between the theories is then undertaken and applied to the context of sport organisations.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this literature review there will be discussion on the development of the concept of gender. As this research is based on the belief that gender discrimination is occurring within the golfing community of New Zealand there needs to be an understanding of the foundations of the concept of gender. In order to achieve this, the development of the concept will be based on research that defines the concept of gender. This understanding of gender is in turn founded upon feminist theories. This literature review therefore identifies what the concept of gender is perceived to be, and what the feminist theories are that contribute to the development of the concept of gender. The main feminist theories identified in this review are Liberal feminist, Radical feminist, Psychoanalytic feminist, Marxist feminist and Social feminist. I acknowledge that there are many more feminist theories, such as Poststructuralist and Postcolonial feminism, but for the context of this thesis the discussion on the foundation of the concept of gender will be undertaken for the five identified main feminist theories, as well as discussion on the concepts of patriarchy and hegemony.

2.1.1 Gender

Gender is one of the concepts we use in society to make sense of the world. The study of gender is the study of actions and interactions of the social signifiers associated with men and women, in both social and organisational contexts (Aaltio & Mills, 2002; Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Calas & Smircich, 1996; Scott, 1986). The increase of research into “women’s history” has meant that *gender* as a research term is constantly evolving. This is because the term *gender* reflects different social attributes of different cultural groups

of people based on the traits and behaviours considered as “normal” for men and women in a variety of cultural and social contexts over time (Aaltio & Mills, 2002; Aaltio, Mills, & Mills, 2002; Calas & Smircich, 1996; Scott, 1986). Other social signifiers that are used to identify a specific society or social group include culture, class, race, ethnicity, and social structures within a society. To understand how the term *gender* can be interpreted, there needs to be consideration of, and reflection upon, the specific social structure in the context of an identified social group (Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Calas & Smircich, 1996; Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; Kimmel, 2000; Scott, 1986). This research aims to highlight the issues of gender within the context of the current sporting society of New Zealand, specifically golf. Other concepts identified previously will be discussed as they arise from the literature review and research analysis.

Gender studies have evolved from the study of feminism (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Kimmel, 2000; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1998). The understanding of the ways in which the meanings of the concept of gender, and the different types of feminist theories will be identified and discussed within this section. Calas and Smircich (1996) usefully provided an overview of these approaches; they are (1) liberal feminism, (2) radical feminism, (3) psychoanalytic feminism, (4) Marxist feminism, and (5) social feminism. These approaches are (1) outlined in the following section, and (2) discussed in relation to the application of practices and process within golf. These two sections are linked together because the discussion of feminism forms the basis upon which the concept of gender is formed, and the analysis of gender issues in the golfing community is linked to the social practice that has influence over the playing of golf for and by women.

2.1.2 Liberal feminism

The first feminist theory identified by Calas and Smircich is *liberal feminism* which evolved out of the liberal movements founded in the 17th- 18th centuries. The emergence of this movement occurred as church rule was giving way to the concepts of capitalistic, civil societies. Equality, freedom of rights, and the removal of societal barriers were the driving motivations behind liberalism (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992). Liberal feminists are generally concerned with equality and fairness for women. For the liberal feminists the changing of society's views on the roles of women is of primary concern, rather than radically changing the social structure of men and women within society. They believe that to exclude or treat people differently because of race, gender, or ethnic difference is unfair and oppressive (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992). They claim that men as well as women are suppressed and oppressed by the gender stereotyping of roles within society (Grainger, 1992; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Wilson, 1995), and they advocate the creation of gender-neutral environments as ideal environments in which individuals can achieve their fullest potential. The goal of the liberal feminists is the removal of any barrier that restricts or hinders an individual's efforts. They advocate that the giving of opportunities for individuals to achieve their full potential is important for the attaining of a society that has equal opportunities for both men and women (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992). The example of being told that I could not play a round of golf with men, but that I could "walk the course" is evidence of the restrictive environment that a liberal feminist would seek to change. The traditional role of the women being the supporters of men in pursuit of activity is perceived as men's receiving preferential

opportunities over women. These actions reinforce the traditional roles and customary practices of New Zealand's early 1900s (Daley & Montgomerie, 1999). Liberal feminists confronted with these practices in current society would see that environment as an opportunity to develop an aspect of society where women are accorded the same rights and privileges as their male counterparts. They would seek to improve the environment through organisational and procedural change both within local golf clubs as well as at the national sports organisational level. Although liberal feminism is perceived as providing an opportunity for the equality of women within a social context it does not consider the diverse number of social factors such as the division of labour, or the economic status of a community, both of which could impinge on the "ideal" environment for all.

The liberal feminists could perceive the golfing community as an ideal place where women and men could achieve equality in the playing and organisation of the sport. For instance, there would be no restrictions on time allocation for men and women to play golf. People would have the freedom to choose when they desired to play and resources would be allocated on a "first come, first served" basis rather than "men on this day, women on that day". This availability of options would not necessarily see the elimination of men- and women-only groups as each could still desire to play their respective peer group because of comradeship, socialisation, or just the freedom to choose with whom they wanted to play golf. The only danger of unrestricted access for either gender group could be the space invasion from other dominant groups. For example, I observed a group of elderly men, who always played on Monday morning at

9.00 a.m. arrive to “tee off” only to find the course had women playing their “pennants” competition that day. The men became agitated and aggressive because this was “their time” to play as they always play at this time. It was not until the club’s general manager stepped in and indicated to the men that the programme book had reserved this time that they stepped aside and waited for the women to “tee off” before they commenced their “round” of golf. This example challenged the accepted practice of the men as it prevented them from practising what they perceived to be their “right” to play golf at their time.

2.1.3 Radical feminism

The radical feminists view the “ideal” environment of cooperation between men and women held by liberal feminists as unrealistic because society is structured towards the success of men; hence a gender-neutral environment is unattainable (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Olsson, 1992). Radical feminist theory evolved during the 1960s when there was political unrest, and an increasing dissatisfaction with sexism (Calas & Smircich, 1996). Radical feminists claim that patriarchy is central to the oppression of women, and it is through the assumed power and dominance of the masculine behavioural traits over the feminine behavioural traits that women were considered as subordinate to men (Blackburn, Browne, Brooks, & Jarman, 2002; Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Lerner, 1986). A discussion on the theory of patriarchy is undertaken in the next Section. The radical feminists’ view of the oppression and domination of women is different from that of the liberal feminists, because liberal feminists view the oppression and domination of women from the standpoint of the individual status of women, whereas the radical feminists view the

restrictions on women from the position of women as a whole in society (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Olsson, 1992).

The radical feminists advocate that it is the structure of society that needs to change, and that without change, society will continue to do as it currently does. They demand a new social order where women are not subordinate to men, but rather women have their own governing role for the position and status of women in society (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992). Apply this view to the golf example, and the radical feminists could advocate that maintaining the distinct governing structures of the golf clubs in New Zealand is paramount, and that the continued structure of segregated spheres of golf would mean that women would have the autonomy to decide their own destiny in relation to golf, and provide themselves with unrestrained access to the golf course. This could also lead to women's having their own golf courses. Radical feminists would perceive that anything less could mean that women would become marginalised as women would be the "minority group" in the golfing community of New Zealand.

The radical feminists would continue to argue that the women's behaviour, values characteristics, and traits are just as important as those of men, and that women should not change to fit into a male-dominated system. Radical feminists promote and encourage the development of "women only" golf clubs so that women can play on, and have access to, golf courses as and when they desired. The radical feminists would view

the refusal of male-dominated golf clubs to allow women to play at times convenient for women as just another example of the patriarchal rule that men exert over women.

Although this view focuses on male domination and the suppression of women's rights as the core issues, it neglects to consider other influences that may affect the operations and organisation of men's and women's golf. For example, it may be that the playing of golf at designated times by men and women is a matter of function, and the best utilisation of club resources, or the cooperation of the different user groups rather than a matter of suppression and domination of women (Abrahamson, 1978; Smith, 1973).

2.1.4 Patriarchy

The theory of patriarchy, as identified in the previous section, has a historical background to its development (Lerner, 1986). Historically, patriarchy was explained by the traditional roles by which men and women used to operate within the context of husband and wife. The outworking of that relationship was that the man was the master of the home, and the woman was submissive to his authority and subject to the limitations of that relationship which was governed by the man. Some researchers referred to this repressive relationship as *oppression and domination by men over women* (Gherardi, 1995; Lerner, 1986). However, patriarchy under this model does not, and did not, apply to all male and female relationships. It was applied only in the context of husband and wife, master and serf, because patriarchy exists where there is domination by men over women, women over men, men over men, and women over women. It can occur in any relationship that displays masculine and feminine behavioural traits that demonstrate a dominant and submissive relationship (Lerner, 1986). This demonstration of patriarchal

relationships can be observed in a class-structured society where the position of the man, within society, has a dominating effect within relationships according to the position or rank of the man within that society. Therefore, “according to the ranking of that man within that society” also means the wife has certain powers or authority over aspects and over certain relationships, for example, a woman whose husband employed servants would have authority over them. This would be because the woman had authority within the household to ensure that all domestic duties were properly undertaken; she therefore would have the authority to direct and order the servants to perform specific duties within the context of her being the “lady of the house”. Effectively a transference effect of the man’s authority to the woman - namely his wife - occurred (Gibson, 1992; Lerner, 1986). Hence, some women can have authority over lower class men as well as over other women, but ultimately the high-ranking woman is still under the authority of the high-ranking man, although a variation of this is the position or ranking of a Queen in a patriarchal society as her position would give her authority in all aspects of life provided there was no King (Lerner, 1986).

Some researchers suggest that this model of hierarchal and authoritative practices is also transferred into the organisational environment (Game & Pringle, 1983; Gherardi, 1995; Lerner, 1986). Dominant groups, considered superior, have power and control over other subordinate groups, which are considered inferior. The underlying emphasis of patriarchy is centred on the oppression of one group over a submissive other group (Lerner, 1986). Therefore, the term *patriarchy* in feminist writing focuses on the men who hold dominant positions of organisational power, as well as being based on

patriarchal values and practices that impact on subordinate groups of women (Blackburn et al., 2002). Gherardi (1995) draws attention to the fact that the degree of power that men have and their subsequent suppression of women vary between organisations. For example, what is observed in one organisation as a very hierarchical and male dominated structure may not be evident in another organisation, such as a flat organisational structure which tends to focus on discussion and consultation rather than decree (Inkson & Kolb, 1995). In an hierarchical structure organisational environment women may experience suppression in both environments - but to a greater extent in a very male-dominated authoritarian organisation as opposed to an organisation where men are in positions of power but choose to exert their power through consultation (Game & Pringle, 1983). These power relationship are referred to as *hegemony* and an outline of this concept is expressed below (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Coakley, 1998; Coakley, 2001; MacNeill, 1994; Theberge, 1997). Therefore, according to followers of patriarchy and hegemony, the gender-neutral environment is an example of false idealism as all organisations have some form of patriarchal structure that suppresses women and limits their authoritative powers (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Coakley, 2001; Gherardi, 1995).

2.1.5 Hegemony

Hegemony is a controlling and governing dynamic that is evident in any relationship where individuals or groups exert power over another group of individuals to achieve a desired outcome (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Coakley, 1998; Coakley, 2001; MacNeill, 1994; Theberge, 1997). Hegemony relates to power and generally arises where one group of individuals exerts power or has control over another group of individuals. The practice of hegemony generally is confined within a specific group of people, such as women, and

generally has influence over the way people think and act. This influential power generally is seen where there are accepted practices of the way the “norm” of a group out works the daily “common sense” organisation of a club (Birrell & Cole, 1994). Those members of the societal group that either do not accept the “norm” or try to alter the “common sense” way a community operates are considered disruptive and become the minority group within the larger group (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Cameron, 1992). The minority group then has little influence over the organisation of the larger group and has limited, if any, power to encourage or facilitate change within that community (Coleman, 1988; Knoppers et al., 2001). Apply this concept to the golfing community and the elements of control and power from men and women are evident on all levels in the organisation of golf.

2.1.6 Psychoanalytic feminism

The difference between liberal feminism, radical feminism and psychoanalytic feminism is that liberal and radical feminists look at the external factors that influence the actions and situations of women within a given environment. The psychoanalytic feminists, however, tend to look at the internal driving motivators that influence an individual's interpretation of the world and how the individual makes meaning of that world (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1998).

Psychoanalytic feminist theory is based on Freudian theory. Freud argued that an individual's expectations and actions are based on his/her experience as s/he develops during childhood. He states that the developmental stage known as “Oedipus” has the greatest impact on boys' and girls' interpretations of society and how they start to reflect

the social roles of each gender (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998). They acknowledge that each is biologically different, and that it is these differences that impact on how each is treated. Each individual develops a relationship with his/her respective parents, and it is from this time frame that boys and girls start to become aware of the social roles of men and women in society. For example, if girls perceive that boys are treated as being more important than they themselves are, then they will develop the perception that men are superior to women, hence, male superiority arises because the father's role is perceived to be as head of the house and the mother is subservient to the father (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998). Therefore, it becomes the norm that men's "rights" to leisure are paramount.

Some psychoanalytic feminists reject this interpretation of the evolution of gender. They argue that the Oedipus stage of development is not the root of male rule, but rather that it is the product of men's imagination and own self-importance (Tong, 1998). They suggest that gender distinction is the reinforcement of society's social structure, and it is during the Oedipus stage that the greatest impact of gender roles is reinforced (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1998). They also suggest that to change the social structure of society the social imbalance between men and women would have to change. Psychoanalytic feminists are interested in the whole person, his/her experience and view of how members of society relate to one another (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1998). The psychoanalytic position of the golf club example could be interpreted as the importance that men and women have traditionally perceived men as having within a community.

2.1.7 Marxist feminism

The Marxist feminist interpretation is that historically men have been the breadwinners and women are the domestic help in the “master and serf” roles in a capitalist society. The traditions and the socialisation of boys and girls into the respective roles that men and women have in society could explain why women are not being welcomed on the golf course when men are playing. However, in the traditional role of domestic help/serf women could be tolerated as supporters of their men as they play the game of golf - such as in the earlier example of men playing golf while women are allowed only to walk the course.

Marxism is different from liberalism, radicalism and psychoanalytic feminism in that it focuses on the external forces, as do liberalism and radicalism, but its core emphasis is the economic environment that is influenced by the capitalist mode of production. This is where the struggles between the classes, genders, and races, as well as many other groups which debate the issue over labour and capital production exist (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998). Marxist theorists contend that society is a consequence of history, and that the organisation of society is a consequence of economic conditions that include social, political and intellectual life (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998). Marxists say that if we eliminate capitalism, or eliminate class differences, there will be true equality.

Marxist feminist theory is centred on the discussion of gender differences as a result of a capitalist society. It states that the roles of men and women within society, the division

of labour, and the distribution of power are all components of the male domination of society through capitalism (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Scott, 1986). The belief of Marxist theorists is that the patriarchal and gender concerns of women are issues, but they believe that the core of all inequality is founded in capitalism. They seek to highlight the plight and oppression of women through time and within current society as a result of capitalism (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1998). To apply this to the environment of golf, Marxist feminists' perception of gender relations in golf could be explained as nothing more than an example of capitalism at work in the community. It is because of capitalism that women are relegated to playing at times when the course is underutilized and restricted to playing when the demand for the course is high. Women's rights both on and off the golf course could be said to be nothing more than the division of labour, and the exertion of power, being demonstrated in the private and domestic lives of men and women (Connell, 1990; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999; Gibson 1992).

To explain the historical perception that the game of golf has in the wider community, golf has been traditionally considered as a "sacrosanct refuge" for men from women (Alliss, 1989; Crosset, 1995; Hall, 1993; Patterson, 1999). The sacrosanct refuge evolved during the industrial revolution when men were afraid they were losing power and sport was seen as a way of retaining masculinity and thus the right to dominate. Therefore, it has been seen as a 'right' to leisure for men (part of their development from boys to men, and because they take part in the paid workforce they "deserve" to "recreate" their position of power); for women leisure was seen as a privilege (Hall, 2002; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002). Now that women are gaining greater opportunity to enter the paid work

environment it is suggested that men want to restrict the availability of access for women onto the golf course, as it is the “final refuge” of the male domain. The men could perceive this invasion of their space as women’s wanting to encroach into men’s leisure arena too (Phillips, 1999). In the golfing example the actions of the course official could be interpreted as the course official’s being the guardian of men’s rights to participate in an activity without intrusion, by and from, women. This perception by men could be seen as valid because men may feel that they have lost their grip on their identity as the “breadwinners” in the paid workforce, and as they still feel they are physically superior to women they should have the right to participate in sport without women’s interference (Daley, 1999; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999; Phillips, 1999).

2.1.8 Socialist feminism

Socialist feminist theory has evolved from Marxist theory (Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998). The socialist feminists emphasise the fact that the social structures of human interaction are founded upon the oppression and exclusion of women - which ultimately benefit men (Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Kimmel, 2000; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1998). They perceive that Marxist theory explains “how” capitalism separated men into the work environment and women into the home, but this theory does not address “why” women have been – or continue to be - oppressed (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Tong, 1998). The social feminists believe that the plight of women is a result of the social environment as well as of the political and economic structures in which women live (Grant & Tancard, 1992; Tong, 1998). Socialists believe Marxists are too narrow in their view of the economic determination of women as they focus on the economic issues of society

and tend to neglect how relationships between men and women are influenced within a social context. Socialist feminists could describe the golf example as a result of social and economic acceptance in the environment of certain gender logic. For example, men play golf on Saturday morning because generally men are working and do not have time during the week, and women play during the week days because, stereotypically, women do not work in paid employment, and the course is not used to its full capacity during the paid working week, therefore, it is available for women to play their games of golf. The economic implication of "who" in the household could play golf could be based on the availability of money to pay for subscription costs. It could be perceived that the man, as the "breadwinner" of the family, has first rights to discretionary funds and therefore any paid leisure activities should be available to him as he needs to rejuvenate himself for the following week's work (Phillips, 1999). This reinforces the gender stereotyping of women in domestic roles and men as "breadwinners" and heads of their households, and also that women feel compelled to "serve others" as part of their socialised role as nurturers. The impact of a decision based on this scenario could be that women are prevented by socialised roles and internalised expectations from playing golf, hence demand is not high for women to play and men become the dominant participant group. This reinforcement of gender-segregation within golf practices and process could be contributing to men's demands to continue to operate as they have done for many years. Current and traditional arguments could centre on the fact that men were full financial members before women, and that they have the larger percentage of membership numbers, therefore, men should have "first right" to access the course - whereas women could claim that because women's rights to leisure activities have been neglected through

the historical organisation of golf, bringing a balance into the “now” golfing community is the balancing of women’s rights. The expectation of continuing in a segregated format would serve only to reinforce the gender-spheres of golf. The socialist feminists point out that most women are generally excluded from most sporting arenas, and within the golfing community this has been specifically due to restrictions placed on women - predominantly by men - and because of patriarchal ideologies.

This interpretation by the social feminists is not necessarily a positive or negative way to evaluate a community. There is an assumption, though, that through the concept of the socialising of individuals within a community, which is the learning of behaviours within society and transferring them to the next generation, there would never be any change and society would not then evolve. However, another interpretation of the socialising influences on people is that because behaviours are learned, change does occur because different behaviours are learned from others in different social communities (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Kimmel, 2000).

2.1.9 Summary

In summary, all the discussions and theoretical positions of feminism and gender issues are the result of theorists voicing their views of the political position of women within society (Gherardi, 1995; Scott, 1986). When contemplating various theories and concepts associated with feminism and gender the constraints and perceptions of the individuals reading the text must be considered, as it is their perceptions and experiences that will define what *feminism* and *gender* mean to the individual within a society (Rosenfeld, 2002). These are the results of the personal understanding and knowledge of the individual. Some individuals believe that gender is created by an overarching ideology such as patriarchy or capitalism (radical, Marxist), yet others believe that gender is created and developed by our interaction with our parents (psychoanalysis) and/or with culture (socialists) (Aaltio & Mills, 2002; Aaltio et al., 2002; Calas & Smircich, 1996; Jaber, 1998; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Olsson, 1992; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1989; Tong, 1998).

The analysis of the various gender feminist positions is wide and varied. For the interpretation of this thesis the position of the researcher is that of a liberal feminist, however, the theoretical analysis and discussion for this thesis will be undertaken through the Marxists' and social feminists' interpretations of gender. This is because although the literature interprets the interaction of men and women through the various theoretical positions, it is considered by the researcher that the gender dynamics of golf through the organisational process and practices are best analysed through the Marxist and social feminist theories.

It is the belief of the researcher that an analysis of the golfing environment using this approach will identify the foundational issues that impact on the golfing community. In understanding these issues, and the development of that knowledge, there will be gained an understanding of the environment in which the golfing community operates. In the identification of these foundational issues there will come a clearer understanding of the operational processes that define the golfing community, and therefore some insight will be gained into the issues that may influence the future advancement of golf in New Zealand.

2.2 Gender in organisations

2.2.1 Introduction

To develop the theoretical position of this research thesis on gender in the organisational sporting context an analysis of the concept *gender in organisations* will now be presented.

Discussion in this section will focus primarily on the variants of the theory for Marxism, as well as how psychoanalysis theory are related to feminism and gender in the organisational context. The term *gender* has been identified as a concept that is evolving in the context of its surroundings. To understand the term in the organisational context discussion will be founded on the Marxist and psychonalytic feminist theories, as these theories are considered as the central feminist theories that relate to the organisational environment (Gherardi, 1995; Lerner, 1986; Scott, 1986).

2.2.2 Marxist feminist theories

Marxism is historically based on capitalism, and capitalist organisations are concerned with production and reproduction of goods that return economic growth to the elite few (Connell, 1990; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). Marxist feminists focus on the division of labour, segregation and exclusion of women, and domination by men in the organisational environment, and the impact that these factors have on women and their freedom, suppression, and paid work opportunities (Gherardi, 1995; Halford & Leonard, 2001; Watson, 1992). Researchers who analyse organisational environments under Marxist feminist theory claim that women are viewed by those organisations as a reserve labour force. The underlying assumption of employers in organisations who perceive

women as the reserve labour force is that women are to be exploited when there is a shortage of male employees, such as in war times (Connell, 1990), and when there is a need to increase production at minimal cost to the organisation (Gibson, 1992; Halford & Leonard, 2001). Apply this view to the golfing environment and women in the past have been viewed as the supporters of men and the providers of the tea and scones once the real work has been completed. For example, the club to which I belonged, prior to my joining, suffered a severe flood which covered the course leaving silt and mud over all the fairways and greens. It was imperative that the sludge and mud be removed from the greens and fairways, because to leave it could have meant the ruination of the course and huge costs in terms of redevelopment. Members talked with pride about how all the club members got together to clear the course. The men provided the manpower to run the machinery while the women got together to draw up tea rosters to ensure that food and drink were supplied to the hard-working men. All worked co-operatively and contributed to the restoration of the course. The interesting observation as these stories were told was the division of labour that occurred; the allocation of tasks was along the lines of manual labour for the men and domestic labour for the women, the supporters. The primary role of the women was to restore the male workers to wholeness so that they could continue to contribute to work.

Another view of women and their roles in the capitalist organisational environment is that of the supportive wife and the domestic worker. According to the division of labour concept, women are located at home undertaking domestic duties and fulfilling the carer role for men, and children (as the future labour force). This role of women effectively

ensured that the male labour force was free of domestic duties and that the men could optimise their work capabilities to maximize production (Connell, 1990; Gibson, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). In this capacity women are viewed as an extension of the organisation, but they are seen as unpaid employees who support the operational functions of the organisation (Gibson, 1992). Organisations that perceive women in this manner generally offer limited incentives for women to leave their homes and enter the paid working environment. These limitations are generally in the range of the jobs available for women, - for example - office clerks, secretaries, cleaners; generally the paid employment that is offered is in support roles that reinforce the gender division of labour, and the women's role as the domestic workers in private life (Connell, 1990; Gibson, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). Generally, the positions of paid employment for women are at the lower end of the pay scale, which means that women in these positions are still reliant on the men to earn the greater portion of the money that is brought into the home (Gibson, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). An example of this application of a Marxist organisation enforcing the division of labour, domination by men, and the subservience of women can be seen in Gibson's (1992) article on the mines in Australia. The organisation reinforced the "master and serf" roles of men and women, but also actively encouraged the women to remain in the supportive role of the domestic help in the new work production roster. The organisation focused on the potential increase in the men's wages to encourage the women to support this organisation's change in work production (Gibson, 1992). However, with the changing roles of men and women as more women are entering the male dominated paid work force the influences of capitalism are altering also. Domestic duties such as laundry, cooking and cleaning are

giving rise to another level of the division of labour as some women no longer have the time to perform the traditional role of domestic wife and mother and they therefore pay others to perform those duties for them (Hearn & Parkin, 2001).

2.2.3 Psychoanalysis feminist theories

Psychoanalysis is a clinical psychological term that is used in psychoanalytic theory to understand the socialisation of men and women, and the inequalities that exist between male and female (Chodorow, 1989). Researchers in feminist studies have sought to find a theory that underpins all the other theories that contribute to the oppression, suppression and the lack of awareness of the organisation of behaviours between men and women (Chodorow, 1989; Kristeva, 1996). Chodorow suggests in her writings that the development of male and female practice and accepted social “norms” are the result of socialisation practices that occur during childhood development, and continue as the reproduction of those practices is outworked in the community and within organisations. Organisational structures within business are perceived as reflections of the family structure. The division of labour, inequality, the patriarchal oppression of women and the continued hierarchical nature of organisations are all founded upon the psychoanalytic theory (Chodorow, 1989; Kristeva, 1996).

2.2.4 Summary

This section has provided some understanding of the three feminist categories identified by Scott (1986) as discussed in relation to gender and organisations. The researchers in the area of psychoanalytic theory suggest that all the other theories in feminist theory are built upon the foundations laid down by the psychoanalytic theorists, who maintain that

the issues of patriarchy, the subordination of women, the division of labour, the suppression of women, and the domination by men can all be traced back to an individual's early childhood development. However, a Marxist may say that childhood experiences are constructed in a certain way because of capitalism, and gender relations are reinforced by capitalism.

Psychoanalysis seeks to understand the "*why*" in feminist theory, whereas the theories of patriarchy and Marxism are areas of theory that seek to comprehend the "*how*" in the understanding of gender difference in the wider social, political and economic environments. For the purposes of this thesis the key feminist theories that will be used to analyse the gender relations within the golfing community are Marxist and social feminist.

2.3 Gender and sport

2.3.1 Introduction

An analysis of gender in the social context of sport assists in the deeper understanding of gender as a concept. This section on gender in sport contains a discussion on how women are perceived in the sporting environment, and is central to the development of this thesis. To begin with, the discussion of women in sport will be developed through the availability of time that women have to undertake leisure and sporting activities (Hargreaves, 1989, 2002; Henderson, 1991). Research has shown that most women undertake such leisure and sporting activities only when time has been generated and/or planned to fit around domestic and working responsibilities (Hargreaves, 1990; Hargreaves, 2002; Henderson 1991). This dynamic of finding or planning time for women to undertake leisure or sporting activities revolves around the traditional social acceptance of women in the home as the domestic help, and this perception remains the main obstacle to women's participation in leisure and sporting activities (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1998). This suggests that women are perceived as operating in different working and social spheres from men, as men's traditional role is to be the provider for the home. Hence, any leisure or sporting activity undertaken by men is separate from that of women, and the added pressure of allowing the man of the house to refresh himself for the next working week is perceived as important to the overall domestic family situation (Hargreaves, 1989) - whereas women's leisure is seen as a luxury/privilege because the underlying perception is that she does not "need" leisure (Hargreaves, 1990; Phillips, 1999). This perception of women's access to leisure opportunities is changing; with more women entering the work force the need for restorative activities for them has now become an opportunity for the enterprising

businessperson, for example women only gymnasia, and advertising promoting women's needing a leisure break from work and the daily domestic duties of home life.

A different perception of how women view the use of their time outside of domestic commitments is that women are more likely to view a leisure activity such as reading a book, or finding time to have a coffee with a friend, or just sitting down and enjoying a relaxing time without family as important to them rather than doing a physical activity such as sport, because sport has been perceived as the "masculine" or a "male" leisure choice (Hargreaves, 1989; Henderson, 1991). Women will not necessarily view sport as an option to be undertaken as an activity of leisure because it requires physical activity and this is something they do when completing domestic duties. The different perception of how women may undertake leisure could reinforce the view that men dominate sport because of its physical nature - whereas women tend to view sport not as a leisure activity - hence the majority of women would prefer to do something that is not physically demanding (Hargreaves, 1989). "Sport thus reinforces traditional male and female gender identities by supporting the idea that the existing sexual division of labour – at work and at home – is the 'natural' state of affairs" (Hargreaves, 1989, p. 141). This socialised perception of how women view sport is dated as many women are now challenging the traditional roles of women as the domestic help and are entering the paid work force in greater numbers. This change in the social expectation of some women is challenging and changing the social structure of society as well as sporting activities in New Zealand (Hargreaves, 1989; Phillips, 1999). Hargreaves suggests that society, and the way in which it is structured, have an impact on how sport is perceived by men and

women. To overcome these perceptions women theorists have tried to explain the environment in which women are viewed both in the home and within the wider society. Marxist and social feminist theorists focus on the domination and suppression of women, patriarchy, and how equality for women can be achieved in the sporting arena (Hall, 2002; Hargreaves, 1989; Henderson, 1991; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002).

Feminists reviewing the area of sport, and the participation levels of women in sport, would have varying interpretations of why women are limited or restricted in their participation in sporting activities. The reason for the focus on the participation of women in sporting activities is because the level of women's participation is generally restricted to the traditional bounds of what is acceptable for women to participate in, and the restrictive practices of sporting clubs in providing opportunities for women to participate in sports which are normally considered the domain of men (Hargreaves, 1990; Hargreaves, 2002; Henderson, 1991; Molloy, 1997). The analysing and interpretation of feminist theories cannot be viewed as separate concepts that address individual situations (Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Calas & Smircich, 1999), but must be discussed and equated to each different theory as all feminist theory contributes to the overall understanding of the various issues in relation to women and their participation levels in sport (Hargreaves, 1989; Henderson, 1991; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002). For example, the liberal feminists' view of sport is interested in equality in terms of equal opportunity and participation for women in sport. Researchers in this area of sports studies advocate that sport is good for the health of individuals (Hargreaves, 1989; Scraton & Flintoff, 2002). Liberal feminists, therefore, champion the idea that all

females should have the opportunity to participate in sport, as do their male counterparts (Scruton & Flintoff, 2002) - whereas radical feminists are interested in power and male domination of sport, and how these suppressive influences impact on women's experiences in sport. Radical feminists focus on how women are marginalised and the fact that the promotion of women's sport is only through the exploitation of women as sex symbols in the sporting arena (Hargreaves, 1989; Scruton & Flintoff, 2002). Radical feminists advocate that sport should rise above the minimisation of women and promote equal opportunity for both men and women to participate in sport (Hargreaves, 1989; Henderson, 1991; Scruton & Flintoff, 2002).

The final area of feminist thought is concerned with the social structures of sport. This area is becoming dominant in the discussion on women in the sporting arena. Socialist feminists are interested in the wider context in which sport is played (Hargreaves, 2002; Henderson, 1991; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). They perceive that society is structured in a certain way - and it is that social structure that influences and supports the organisational structures of, and participation in, sport in general (Hall, 2002; Hargreaves, 1989; Henderson, 1991; Scruton & Flintoff, 2002). The main area of concern for the social feminist is embedded in the equality and opportunity issues for both men and women in their respective participation in sporting activities. The social feminists argue that it must be socially acceptable for men and women to participate in sport with equal status before beneficial changes will increase the acceptance of women in sport (Hall, 1993, 2002). Thus feminist theorists are focusing on the equality of women with men. Liberal feminists are concerned with equal access and opportunities

for women. The radical feminists are concerned with the elimination of patriarchal domination by men and embrace the feminine acceptance in sport, and the social feminists are concerned with the equal acceptance and attitude towards men and women, via the social structures of society.

To bring the concept of gender and sport into the New Zealand context the next section consists of a discussion of the evolution of New Zealand sport from the sociological perspective of the evolution of New Zealand society. Once this has been achieved the discussion will address the specific environment of golf in New Zealand. Initially an outline of how golf was introduced into New Zealand will be presented as this information defines the foundations upon which golf is played in New Zealand. The identifying of the current organisational structures at club level will follow this information as the defining of this information is important to the understanding of the foundation of the organising and playing of golf for both men and women in New Zealand.

2.3.2 Evolution of sport in New Zealand

Hall (1993) states that gender issues in the sporting arena must be viewed from the perspective of the environment from which they arise. For this section an understanding of the evolution of sport in New Zealand is necessary because the foundation upon which sport now is played and organised has influence on the organisation of sport today. This understanding of sport in New Zealand contributes to the understanding of the participation levels of men and women, as New Zealand society has evolved from

migrants who came mainly from Britain (Gidlow, Perkins, Cushman, & Simpson, 1990; Hindson, 1999).

Historically, in New Zealand sport has been the domain of the males who desire to conquer and succeed in the physical show of strength and power, and women were traditionally assigned the roles of the audience and the supporters of the men (Clegg, Hardy, & Nord, 1996; Gidlow et al., 1990; Hindson, 1999). Women were to make polite conversation and display their middle-class ladylike behaviours, which were deemed acceptable for women at sporting fixtures (Daley, 1999; Gidlow et al., 1990; Hargreaves, 2002). This perception of the roles of men and women was considered as the transfusion of the Victorian ethos and male-dominated society of Britain into the fledgling New Zealand settler/frontier communities (Trenberth & Collins, 1994).

Daley (1999) builds upon this discussion of the Victorian ethos and the frontier society through her article debating the socially accepted roles of men and women as they outwork in their respective realms of gendered sport. She highlights the struggles that women have to overcome the perception that their sport is recognised only as complementing that of men, as men's sport is perceived as the pinnacle of serious competition. This struggle to change the perception of women's sport means a change in society - expectations need to be challenged (Daley, 1999). This constant battle to advance women's sport as a serious activity rather than as a charitable social event - a token game to appease women who desired to play competitively - is a battle against the masculine ideas of sport being for men and their pursuit of heroism (Daley, 1999; Daley

& Montgomerie, 1999; Wellard, 2002). This perception of women's sport could be linked to the view that the displays of masculine qualities, such as strength and power, are the domain of men, and it is this view that reinforces the perception that men are superior to women, and that displays of the masculine qualities are not acceptable in women as women are to display the finer qualities of finesse and grace (Wellard, 2002).

The reason for this acceptance of the roles that men and women developed in New Zealand history can be attributed to the mainly British immigrants - who brought their customs, cultures, and sporting activities with them - all of which reinforced the gendered society from which they came (Gidlow et al., 1990; Hargreaves, 2002; Hindson, 1999). Sporting activities such as rugby, cricket, golf, and horse riding, were all activities that were dominated by the gentry and the white middle-classes of British society. Therefore, women fulfilled their socialised role of supporter, while men fulfilled their role as the dominant masculine member of the wider society that also dominated the sport arena (Gidlow et al., 1990; Hindson, 1999). Hargreaves (2002) supports this view in an article on early colonial history where the Victorian tradition of suppression and domination of women was reinforced in New Zealand society with the women undertaking their role as the domestic helpers and supporters of men. Cameron (1992) develops the discussion further by supporting the concept of male domination, especially in the sporting environment of New Zealand. Here the reinforcement of the male as the active sporting person is explained, with women being allowed to play sport only within the confines of the structures that support men and their sporting activities.

Encouragement is found in Phillips' (1999) article on the evolution of New Zealand society and sport after World War II. He discusses the social segregation of men and women and how that segregation was reflected in the sport and leisure activities of New Zealanders. Highlighted in his article are the accepted organisational and socialisation practices of segregated activities for men and women. Women tended to find satisfaction in activities such as knitting and baking, while men enjoyed the more physical nature of outdoor team games (Gidlow et al., 1990; Phillips, 1999). Both spheres are described as leisure activities, however, many of the activities that men took part in could be identified as sports because rules and competitions were developed and adhered to (Gidlow et al., 1990; Phillips, 1999).

The playing of sport in New Zealand society tended to reflect the culture in which the community accepted what were the normal societal roles of men and women (Gidlow et al., 1990; Phillips, 1999). For example, during the 1950s-1970s social occasions were segregated events where men could be found in groups close to the "keg", while women gathered near the "kitchen" to give a hand should it be needed (Phillips, 1999). These different spheres in which men and women found themselves were reflected in their respective sporting activities. It was claimed that women preferred netball, dancing and cultural activities, whereas men preferred mate-ship and the competition of the game, such as rugby and cricket (Gidlow et al., 1990; Hargreaves, 2002; Hindson, 1999; Phillips, 1999). Therefore, the gender roles and relations of the dominant groups in New Zealand society were also reflected in the sporting contexts.

Phillips (1999) continues to blend the social and sporting environments, suggesting that women now move freely in areas that were once thought to be the domain of men. For example, social environments such as public bars, male-dominated sports, and jobs that were defined as male, such as mechanics, were now seeing women frequenting, playing in, and working as part of what once were considered 'masculine' areas of leisure, sport and work. The ever-changing environment of New Zealand's society is impacting on all aspects of life and both genders (Gidlow et al., 1990; Phillips, 1999). Men are experiencing new freedoms in the changing environment. They are able to express interest in areas that were once considered the domain of the women without fear of social ridicule and rejection. For example, there has been an increase in the number of men who take an active interest, and play a major part, in family matters. The term "house-husband" is in common use and is evidence that some males defy the masculine stereotypes rather than being compelled to conform to the expectations of their fellow males in general. Sporting events and social activities are being integrated, for example, touch rugby, equestrian events, and horse racing, with jockeys now being both men and women. Hence the expectations of the traditional separation of men's and women's spheres of activity in sport and other areas are decreasing. The accepted segregation of sport and cultural activities of the past is slowly dissolving, but has not entirely disappeared - as is reflected in the current structures of New Zealand society (Phillips, 1999).

2.3.3 Evolution of golf in New Zealand

Golf as a sporting/leisure activity was originally founded in the countryside of Scotland. As time progressed the activity of golf evolved into a game that the newly established middle-class of Britain adopted as theirs during the British Industrial Revolution. It was during this time that the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (R & A), at St. Andrew's in Scotland, emerged as the governing authority. The game became regulated with standards and rules being developed to help make it uniform throughout Scotland and England, thus institutionalisation of the sport occurred with uniformity meaning that golf now had a standard and regulations by which people could now play the game (Kelly, 1971).

The colonial settlers originally brought the game to New Zealand from Britain in the late 19th century (Gidlow et al., 1990; Hargreaves, 2002; Hindson, 1999; Kelly, 1971). The first official club was founded in Dunedin during the 1870s (Kelly, 1971). However, the club's limited success, as participation numbers were low and the cost of establishing the game was high, meant that it did not gain enough members in New Zealand until two decades later when the next wave of migrants from Britain reintroduced the game. These migrants were from the newly established middle-classes in England, and golf quickly established itself in Christchurch and Dunedin. The number of participants playing golf grew as the game spread to other urban areas, and women were taking it up in ever increasing numbers. The women became part of the clubs in association with their husbands and assisted in establishing permanent courses for the playing of golf (Kelly, 1971).

This position of association as golf club members due to their husbands' membership did not sit well with women, and the formal segregation of men's and women's golf occurred when the women chose to take control of their own sphere of the game and formed the Ladies' Golf Union (LGU) in 1905. They then affiliated themselves to the British Ladies' Golf Union in that same year because New Zealand's ties with our colonial parent nation were still strong, and New Zealand British immigrants still tended to look at England as providing "Best practices models". This was evidenced by women's adopting the rules and protocols of the R & A as the approved interpretation of the game, as with the men. It was said at that time that the women had a finer grasp of the rules that governed the sport than did their male counterparts. The women's membership stood at 193 affiliated members, and of that number twenty different golf clubs were identified as being represented within the newly organised governing authority of the New Zealand LGU (Kelly, 1971).

One of the dynamics for participation in the game was the segregated spheres in which the men and women played. This could be linked back to the reliance on the accepted method for the playing of golf from Britain, or it could be the reinforcement of the socially accepted practices by which golf is played. The daily activities of men and women in different spheres were deemed to be accepted occurrences. This was reflected in the choice of when men and women played, with men playing when work was completed and women playing when they could fit it in and around their domestic duties (Gidlow et al., 1990; Kelly, 1971; Phillips, 1999). Both men and women did, however, enjoy the opportunity to play social events together such as the "mixed foursomes",

which occurred on a regular basis at Hagley Park in 1896. By 1929 the total number of men and women playing golf was 16,000. That figure represented a 50% increase in participation numbers since 1924. Kelly (1991) claims that most of the increase had occurred through the larger number of women taking up the sport as a leisure activity. Kelly also suggested that women saw the game as an opportunity to bridge the gap between themselves and men, as well as the gap between town and country communities. This liberation was not confined to women, but men also took advantage of the changing of New Zealand society at that time which saw the establishment of the New Zealand weekend (Kelly, 1971).

The segregation of the men and women in their respective governing bodies continued, and in 1922 the New Zealand Golf Council, which represented the men, proposed that they should have the power to alter the rules of golf of the R & A. This proposed action was of great concern to their members because they saw the game being isolated from the traditional foundations of the R & A. One of the council-men pointed out that the United States of America (USA) had reserved their right to alter the rules of the game within the USA, and as a result that action had not brought the demise of the game – rather, it had enhanced the global acceptance of the sport as an international game (Kelly, 1971). Hence, today both men's and women's golf operate under their respective authorities: the New Zealand Golf Association (NZGA) for the men and Women's Golf New Zealand (WGNZ) for the women. In 1996 the NZLGU changed its name to Women's Golf New Zealand (Women's Golf New Zealand, personal communication, April 2003). Both men's and women's golf eventually chose to continue to abide by the rules that govern

the game of golf as defined by the R & A, but reserved the right to organise the operational activity of golf in New Zealand. Unfortunately the operational activities between 1920 and 1990 of both governing authorities are unclear as there is no literature defining the operational process of that time.

The use of resources by both men and women has been one of the significant issues of debate. Back in 1908 the allocation of resources to play golf was as topical as it is now. The changing occupational habits of men and women meant that the changing opportunities for both genders to play golf needed to be constantly evaluated and alterations made to accommodate both men and women (Kelly, 1971). An example of the changing environment occurred during World Wars I and II, when men were away fighting at the war front, and the role of women changed from domestic service to the providers of manual labour for the country's work forces. It was times like these that women were considered the reserve labour force and that they were to be called upon for the good of the nation. However, upon the return of men from war women were expected to return to their traditional roles of domestic service, but these experiences had meant that women had had a taste of independence and they wanted more (Bardsley, 2000; Kelly, 1971). During these changing times of women in the work force there was also a change in demand from women for increased leisure opportunities. Women's leisure time altered because the vacuum left by the men and the changing roles of women meant that women could play at a variety of times. Even in today's society the roles of women are changing (Phillips, 1999), and the call to make resources available in the golfing community throughout the week for both men and women is still being heard.

2.3.4 Summary

The development of sport in New Zealand today is founded in the knowledge that British immigrants initially brought their enjoyment of games and sport with them when they came to New Zealand in the late 19th century. The underlying emphasis on the introduction of sport into New Zealand was through the social expectations of the early British settlers. This social acceptance meant that the social roles that men and women performed in their native land were transplanted into the newly established settlements of the emerging New Zealand society. This saw women maintaining their role of domestic help, mother, and wife, which in turn gave little-if any-time for them to participate in leisure activities such as sport - whereas men continued in their roles of breadwinner and master of the house and they were free to undertake leisure activities such as sport.

Philips then focuses on the development of the social roles of early New Zealand to the present day. His article highlights the mirroring of society in sports and undertakes to demonstrate the changing roles of men and women in society and how these now impact on the opportunities for both to experience the different spheres of New Zealand society. To emphasise the establishment of sport in New Zealand the highlighting of the development of women's golf in New Zealand and their affiliation links to the British Ladies Golf Union in 1905 was then undertaken. This action was seen as reinforcing the research which highlighted the traditional roles of women in society and sport.

3 Research aims and objectives

3.1 Aims

The aims of the research are to understand the organisational function and relationships between men and women and between women who play golf, and to gain knowledge of their rationale, expectations, and reasons for the current organisational processes of men's and women's golf. It is suggested that in today's society sport in New Zealand is an environment of activity in which both men and women have a passionate desire to participate, yet the organisation of golf maintains a segregated environment where men and women are organised in relation to their respective genders. For this research the understanding of that environment, and its development, are central to the focus of understanding the golfing community in New Zealand. It is hoped that this research will add to the research conversation on gender issues in sport. Gender as an issue in sport must be considered with an understanding and appreciation of all the implications of the different feminist views as the culture of sport is male (Hall, 2002; Hargreaves, 1989; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002). For women, sport has become an environment where the opportunity to have increased access to the diversity of sporting opportunities is ever increasing (Molloy, 1997). For this to occur there must be an evolution of the understanding of gender issues in sport (Hall, 2002; Hargreaves, 1989, 2002; Henderson, 1991; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002; Scranton & Flintoff, 2002). The research question is "What are the gender dynamics of golf and how do they impact within the golfing community?"

3.2 Objectives

The research objectives identify the different participatory and organisational aspects of the golfing community. This was identified as an appropriate base to gather data from because individual local golf clubs are managed under a diverse array of organisational practices. The collection of the data was designed on a qualitative in-depth interview approach, because this approach had been identified as the foundation upon which women's history has been written, which has led to greater research in feminist theory and gender issues within the wider research community (Lather, 1991; Stanley, 1988).

As the research was based on the qualitative approach it was decided that the research participants would be prominent and influential women from selected golf clubs within the Manawatu-Wanganui District. The Manawatu-Wanganui District was chosen because of its locality and ease of access for the researcher. On this basis four golf clubs were selected for the research. This representation gave the researcher a selection of the different organisational structures that are present in the golfing community. With regard to the selection of prominent women within the respective golf clubs it was identified as appropriate and each prospective research participant was approached specifically. This action was taken because these women were identified as "information rich" and they would therefore be able to provide a deeper understanding of each golf club in which they were involved.

The objectives of the research were to gain an understanding of (1) the impact of the current organisational structures on golf for women, together with (2) how the

organisational functions impact on men's and women's golf at club level, and (3) how women perceive the current organisational environments of men's and women's golf.

To gain an understanding of these objectives the research method chosen was identified as the preferred option because of the opportunity that it presented to explore the dynamics of the golfing community in New Zealand. An explanation of the chosen research method and the implementation of the research approach are identified in the following section, along with the steps taken to devise the research approach and actions taken to analyse the data gained from the research participants. The method was structured to gain an understanding of the golfing environment from a woman's perspective. It is acknowledged that the data collected have come only from women and it is their perspectives upon which this research is founded.

4 Methodology

The methodology section identifies the type of research being undertaken and the method by which the researcher chooses to undertake the research. This section also frames the theoretical context within which the research is analysed, and is also vital for the understanding and interpretation of the data collected (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 1991). Therefore, to understand the processes that occur in the gender-segregated golf context, and to gain an in-depth understanding of why gender amalgamation is resisted or encouraged a qualitative, thematic approach was taken.

4.1 Overview

The data collection process was designed to gather information for an analysis on the current segregated gender spheres, as well as the perception that women have on issues that surround the New Zealand golfing community (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Lather, 1988). The focus on women was chosen because the real environment in which women play golf is generally restricted to women and because the access to research participants was greater due to the researcher's involvement in the sport at that time.

Lather (1991) and Stanley (1988) contend that to undertake research from a woman's perspective the research design should be approached from a qualitative stance. They suggested that this approach is best suited for gender research because the study of gender is founded upon women's history, and the historical documentation of women's history has been recorded from the oral accounts of women, and their life and social experiences through history (Lather, 1991; Stanley, 1988). Other researchers support the

qualitative approach to the study of gender and social dynamics that surround communities in general as the research is undertaken to provide an understanding of the dynamics of a community within a specific sphere of social interaction (Coakley, 1998; Coakley, 2001; Phillips, 1999). However, these researchers also advocate caution in using the qualitative approach to this form of research as it tends to provide a “snapshot” of a specific social environment, and does not allow for the wider social influences that continually interact with, and alter, the community under research (Coakley, 1998; Coakley, 2001; Phillips, 1999).

The foundations of gender research are based on women’s history, and as a result the progression of understanding women’s history has led to the research paradigm of feminist theories (Kuhn, 1996; Lather, 1988, 1991). Under this progression of gender research development the approach chosen for this thesis research was based on a qualitative stance, with a semistructured in-depth interviews design as the data collection process. The purpose of the semistructured in-depth interview approach was to gather data to obtain an understanding of the culture of golf clubs in New Zealand (Creswell, 1998; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Finch, 1999; Smith & Noble-Spruell, 1986). The rationale behind this approach was based on the need for interactive discussion between researcher and the participants to record an oral account of the community under research (Lather, 1991; Stanley, 1988). This approach explores the identified social community in depth and at a personal level (Coakley, 2001; Darlington & Scott, 2002; Stake, 2000).

The purpose of this research was to provide an understanding of the phenomenon, from the women's perspective, of the segregated spheres in which men and women play and organise golf in New Zealand. The in-depth interviewing approach requires face-to-face meetings between the researcher and interview participants. The advantage of this method was that it gave an immediacy of responses to questions, and helped to develop a rationale of understanding between the researcher and participant, as well as giving both the flexibility to develop information areas that enhanced the research aims and objectives (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Finch, 1999; Stake, 2000). The in-depth interview approach was recommended because it develops a good understanding between the researcher and participants, within the framework of the research, and allows for the drawing out of valuable information that could otherwise have been misinterpreted by the researcher during the interview process (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Stake, 2000).

Finch (1999) documented an example of the benefits that an in-depth interview can have during her research on women who are clergymen's wives. In her article she discusses her observations made with the different types of responses that women gave when participating in qualitative (open-ended questions) or quantitative (closed questions). She noted that women were more forthcoming with information and opinions when the interviewer was a woman, and when the interview was conducted in a relaxed, informal environment. Also noticed was the richness of data given when the participants found out that the researcher could empathise with the participants in regard to a certain phenomenon. For example, during her research on clergymen's wives she found that the quality of data improved once the participants found out that she herself was the wife of a

clergyman. Finch (1999) claims that the information of her being a clergyman's wife contributed to the participants' displaying an increase in their level of trust towards her. Hence, with this increase in the depth of relationship between her and the research participants the quality of data given improved and added to a deeper understanding of her area of research. For this reason, research in the approach to qualitative interviewing, and because of the researchers involvement with women's golf, it was hoped that the same levels of trust would be evident in the responses of the participants and that it would benefit the research findings in this thesis.

When Finch (1999) compared the qualitative research approach with a quantitative research interview to which she was witness, she noted that participants in the quantitative interviews tended to be hesitant and uneasy with the interviewer, and the responses by the participants were inhibited due to the restrictive format of a formal interview approach, even though the researcher was a woman. She surmises that the observed hesitancy of the participants could have been because quantitative interviews are generally directed towards information gathering that can be measured statistically compared with qualitative interviews which are directed toward information generating (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Finch, 1999).

4.2 Research Design

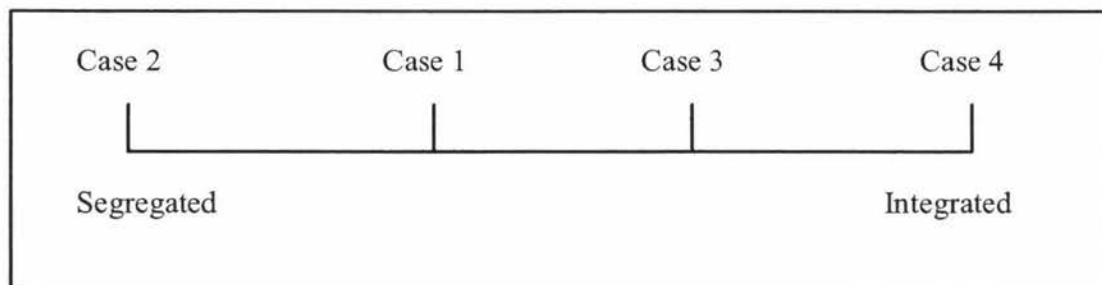
The design of a research project is generally related to the type of research being undertaken (Brannen, 1992a, 1992b; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). This research was based on an in-depth interview process in which an understanding of the phenomenon of the separate spheres of men's and women's golf in New Zealand was sought. The research was conducted by means of a multiple case-study approach, which is considered appropriate because of the varying forms of the phenomenon being studied and to obtain some understanding of the diversity of the phenomenon in specific golf clubs (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Mason, 1996; Yin, 1993; Yin, 1994). The golf clubs selected for this research were considered as being representative of the diverse social and organisational structures that exist within the golfing community.

The number of clubs considered as representing the diversity of the golfing community for this research was four. The clubs were selected from the Manawatu-Wanganui District and each club represented a different organisational structure of golf clubs within the district. Also considered in the selection of the clubs were the roles and status of women in regard to their influence within each club. The clubs ranged from a segregated men's only club which was demonstrated by the lack of women in decision-making roles in the daily organisation of the club's activities, to a fully integrated club where women were actively involved in the organisation of club activities.

To assist in the demonstration of the variation in the organisational structures the clubs have been placed on a continuum line. The line represents the level of integration from

the predominantly segregated golf club to complete integration of men and women within the club. Each place represents the perceived position of a club in relation to the gender-integrated continuum of the golfing community. The clubs were also placed on the continuum in regard to their respective organisational structure and practices. These organisational aspects of the individual clubs influenced the way in which each club viewed the manner and belief of “how” golf was to be organised in their respective environments. For example, one club operated as a committee-based club and women had limited inclusion in the organisation of the club. Yet another club operated as a board governed club, but women in this club elected not to be involved in the organisational function of the club (see Figure 1). A discussion and identification of the different organisational functions of the clubs is undertaken in the Discussion chapter in the “Diverse structures of golf clubs” section.

Figure 1 Golf clubs segregated & integrated continuum line



This research, however, has not been undertaken as a case-by-case analysis but rather as a thematic analysis of the four golf clubs within the research. The identification and conducting of in-depth interviews of the research participants from the respective golf clubs was important in providing the thematic overview of the diverse behind the organisational practices within golfing community. The identification and outlining of

the different golf clubs provides the researcher with a greater knowledge of the varying perspectives of the golfing community, and from that the themes of the respective communities have enhanced the analysis of this study. For the purposes of this research the understanding of the diversity of each club is imperative. It was also considered important to maintain the anonymity of each club, as this research is a “snapshot” in time and reflects only the time that the research was undertaken. For this purpose each golf club has been assigned a case number and a brief discussion outlining each club has been provided.

Case 1.

Case 1 on the continuum line represents a club that has adopted in recent years a “Board” governed structure for the overall organisation for the club. Representation on the “Board” is through election and all financial members are eligible. The Board is predominantly men, but women can be nominated and elected to any position on the Board. At the time of this study there were no female board members. With this move the club has engaged a General Manager whose responsibilities function around the daily operation of the club’s activities. The organisation of the club’s playing structure is defined by a single playing members’ committee which represents men’s and women’s golf. However, the club still operates a separate subcommittee for the playing of women’s golf.

Case 2.

The second case represents a club that is a men's only club according to their constitution, but in practice they do have women as associated members. The club is organised as a "committee-based" club, and all operational functions are controlled through the club's respective subcommittees. Membership is divided along gender lines with the men paying a higher membership fee than that of women. For women to be affiliated to the main club they must join an established associate club for women and operate their playing activities within the guidelines of the men's club. Women do not have any voting or decision-making rights regarding the club's activities and are governed by the decisions of the men's club. The only representation of women on the men's club committee is the Women's President, and her position is for observation and information purposes only. Playing access to the golf course for women is limited to specific time slots and these slots are at the discretion of the men's club committee; any alteration to the timing of when women can play golf is not encouraged as the identification of the club as a men's club is paramount.

Case 3.

The third club has recently adopted a "Board" governance structure. However, they continue to operate as a committee-based club with a specific subcommittee set up to organise the operational and playing activities for men and women. Appointment to the Board is through election along with designated positions being reserved for assigned appointments within the club. For example, the positions of Club President; the men's and women Club Captains, the Club Treasurer, and Secretary all are appointed to the Board because they hold positions of responsibility and leadership within the club. The

elected positions are limited to two with one position available each for a men's and women's representative. An additional two positions are reserved for club representatives, which are filled through the democratic process of elections. Men and women pay the same fees and are eligible for full voting rights. The club operates with a gender-integrated playing committee and playing times are organised in defined time-slots with the flexibility of both men and women being able to play when the course is not reserved for defined time allocations.

Case 4.

The final club is a committee-based club with all positions being elected from the club membership, which comprises both men and women. Election onto the main committee is open; meaning that there is no designated number of men or women who can fill the positions available on the committee. Women fill the majority of positions on the committee and the role of the committee is to organise the operational function of the club. The club is divided along gender lines for the organisation of playing golf, but there is no evidence that the club restricts members from playing in mixed men's and women's groups for competitions. The club actively encourages men and women to play together as they perceive the integration of men's and women's golf as being conducive to the social interactions of club life. Another aspect of integrated golf for this club is their belief that the golfing ability of men and women improves as each group displays the different aspects of how golf is to be played competitively.

To summarise the key points of the four golf clubs the following Figure highlights the key characteristics of each of the clubs.

Figure 2 Summary of key characteristics of each club

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4
Type of structure for organisation	Governance board	Committee based	Governing board & committee	Committee based
Gender balance	Male (appointed)	Male plus one female (non-voting)	Male & female (appointed & elected)	Male & female (elected)
Subcommittee	For women's golf organisation	Associate club for women	Male & female subcommittees for playing	Male & female subcommittees for playing
Fees	Gender-equivalent	Men = members Women = associate	Gender equivalent	Gender equivalent
Gender playing conditions	Equal access and flexible gendered	Limited to specific times. Men have priority	Equal access and flexible gendered	Gendered but flexible (mixed groups)

The selection of the research participants was based on the perception of their influence within the respective clubs and golfing community. It was decided that each club would be approached to allocate four prospective research participants. The criterion was to identify women in positions of power and/or who were considered influential in the “everyday” running of each club's activities. The final make-up of each group of research participants from the respective club saw two of the four research positions were currently women who had been elected to positions of power and the other two research participants were women who were identified as influential in their respective golfing community. This method of selection allowed for information regarding operational activity to be gathered and allowed for the diversity of environments and cultures to be expressed. The selection process was designed to provide quality data on the beliefs, values, and opinions of women in the varying golf clubs, and was deemed valuable to the

understanding of the current gender relations in the organisation and playing of golf in New Zealand (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Stake, 2000).

Each research participant was interviewed once and the interview was conducted in an informal manner, as this approach assisted in the drawing out of information that would contribute to the research objectives (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Finch, 1999; Yin, 1994). The semistructured open-ended questions were designed to help facilitate conversation and to keep the interview within the framework of the research (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Smith & Noble-Spruell, 1986). Each participant was invited to contribute to the research, at which time a consent form was signed either accepting or declining participation. An information sheet was provided which outlined the purpose of the research, its objectives, and the rights of the participant during and after the research process. All information, data, and reference to research participants, as well as the research standards have been dealt with according to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) guidelines.

The interviews were tape recorded, with the participants' permission, and field notes were obtained during the course of the interviews (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). Upon completion of the interviews the tapes were transcribed for the purposes of thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998). The thematic analysis of the transcripts was completed with the aid of the HyperRESEARCH computer package, which is designed to assist in qualitative analysis of data. Each interview was numbered to ensure anonymity, and any reference made to the participants by name was removed (Darlington

& Scott, 2002). The researcher undertook the transcribing of the interview tapes, and the tapes are held in a secure environment. This action was undertaken to ensure that the anonymity of the research participants was preserved and that no repercussions to the research participants could occur because of the revealing of information.

4.3 Limitations

The limitations of the research are that the research was undertaken in only one golf district, as defined by Women's Golf New Zealand, and that the findings may not represent the views of women golfers in other districts in New Zealand. For example, Auckland has the highest number of affiliated women members in New Zealand and is a metropolitan region. Women there may perceive the structure of the golfing community differently from the way in which it is perceived in a semi-urban and rural district such as the Manawatu-Wanganui region – also, the Southland District has a smaller number of women affiliated to Women's Golf New Zealand and, as they represent a totally rural community, their perception of the golfing community may also differ (Women's Golf New Zealand, 2001). It was also envisaged that the responses of the participants would reflect a specific age group as the majority of women who play golf in New Zealand are in the over-60 age group (Hillary Commission, 1999). However, it is these women who tend to hold positions of power and influence within golf clubs. It was anticipated that there might be some resistance to the research gathering process as some women could have perceived the research as a threat to the current status of women's golf. This expected resistance, however, did not arise - with all identified participants agreeing to

take part in the research. Moreover, they made every effort to accommodate the time frame of the data gathering process.

5 Discussion/Analysis

5.1 Current environment of the golfing community and the impact of history

A local golf club, of which I was a member, was in the process of making full-playing membership an option for both men and women. This action required a constitutional change and the implications of that change were that men and women would have in-principle - the same access, privileges and playing rights regarding the golf club's resources and facilities. Having talked with other members within the golf club, I became aware that this change was unusual compared with the wider golf community, because most golf clubs in New Zealand have a form of restricted membership for women. The constitutions of those clubs generally favour men, giving them official power and positions of authority over women. The restricted membership for women usually means that designated days and times are assigned to them for the playing of golf. These assigned days for women are normally days during the working week, and times are generally specified to ensure that their golf does not interfere with men's golf. Should a woman not be able to play during the week, special dispensation has to be sought from the Ladies' Club Captain to allow her to play during the weekends. Limitation of playing access for men would occur only when women were allocated the course or specific competitions were being played, for example, District club competitions such as Pennants. As indicated earlier, the club to which I belonged was working towards having women as full members to allow equal access, rights and privileges for men and women. However, I cannot stop thinking about my initial reaction when I heard of the move to have the constitutional change that would allow women such rights. I thought, "Why, in this day and age, are these discriminatory practices still occurring within golf clubs such as this one?" That was in 1998.

5.1.1 Introduction

As an introduction to the discussion and analysis section of this research thesis the selection of specific incidents that occurred during my involvement in a local golf club will be documented in an attempt to illustrate the dynamics that the golfing community struggles with in the everyday operation and organisation of golf for men and women. These examples of the golfing community are actual incidents that occurred while I was a full financial member of a local golf club. For this section I have chosen this incident to illustrate the constant struggle within local golf clubs over the amalgamation of men's and women's golf at club level and within the general golfing environment in New Zealand.

The golfing environment of New Zealand is segregated along gender lines. Golfing competitions are generally kept separate, with the occasional amalgamated competition which is perceived as a social occasion. To have a segregated environment such as in golf, and resistance from established members to any change from what has been accepted as the "right way" to play golf has meant new players of the sport are left confused and wondering what golf is all about. Attempts to intergrate men's and women's golf have met with resistance. If players desire golf to be a truly gender intergrated sport the social and organisational structures need to change. These changes, in this study, are percieved by some players as being long overdue - especially when you consider the current climate of New Zealand society as one in which people strive for gender equality and equal opportunity (Henderson & Bellamy, 2002; Mulholland, 1999; O'Neill, 1992; Palmer, 2000). The incident cited above emphasises the changing

practices of some golf clubs in New Zealand, as well as how those previously accepted practices of the past are slowly evolving to accommodate the integration of men and women in the same sphere of golf.

This section will consist of a discussion on the foundations and perceived practices of the New Zealand golfing community. These perceptions are centred on the operational practices and accepted “norms” of “how” golf is to be organised when considering the relationship between men’s and women’s golf. It is the belief of the researcher that the foundations upon which the organisation of golf in New Zealand is grounded are the result of the strong historical and traditional ties based on traditional gender relations of golf. This section includes a discussion and demonstration of the traditional ways that golf is organised and how the past accepted organisational practices continue to impact upon the current organisational structures and functions of local golf clubs around New Zealand.

The interpretation and analysis of the golfing communities is undertaken here using Marxist and socialist perspectives. Liberal feminists advocate the removal of any barrier that restricts or hinders opportunities for an individual to reach his/her full potential as highly desirable and essential for any individual. These environments are known as *gender-neutral environments* as the removal of any barriers that restrict individuals’ desires to reach their full potential is considered as a positive step toward equal opportunity for all. The opportunity for an individual to advance regardless of gender, race or culture is considered by the liberal feminiss as ideal for providing space for

personal development (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Grainger, 1992; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Wilson, 1995). It is the belief of this researcher that the creation of such an environment, where men and women are treated equally and have the same opportunity to play golf at all levels, is essential for the advancement of the game as individuals will have the opportunity to reach their potential. However, there is a reservation that ownership and control of the different spheres of golf for men and women is still important as each sphere brings unique and different aspects to the game of golf. For example, when women's cricket was intergrated with men's cricket during the 1980s, although women's cricket profile was lifted at national level, the impact on the organisation of the game at club level meant women were removed from the operational level of club activity and the participation numbers for women decreased (Cameron, 1996).

5.1.2 Historical influence

Phillips (1999), in his study of New Zealand society during the 1950s to 1970s, identified that the society of that time tended to reflect, and be shaped by, the prevailing sporting culture. It is suggested in this research that these societal expectations and reflections from the early 1900s to the mid-1970s still have influence over the accepted sporting culture of the current golfing environment of New Zealand. This research was conducted during 2003, and it was identified through statistics obtained from Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC) that 28% of people who play golf are aged 50 years and over, and 29% of the golfing population are aged between 35 – 49 years, with the balance of 43% being golfers under the age of 34 years. It is noted that the proportion of men represented in these figures is 73% and women account for 27% (Sport and Recreation New Zealand,

2003). A breakdown of women who play golf indicated that 65% of women are over the age of 35 years, and 34 % of that percentage are over 50 years of age, with 31% being between 35-49 years of age (Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 2003). These figures indicate that golf is played by people of all ages, however, the figures are based on participant numbers and not affiliated membership to golf clubs. Participant numbers normally refer to people who play golf on a casual basis (green fee players⁴) as opposed to people who are affiliated members⁵ of a local golf club and therefore have access to the golf course because of their membership affiliation.

The numbers of women who play regularly and belong to a club represent 53% of the total number of women who play golf. Of this group 65% of women who play golf regularly represent the over 50 years age group, and 35% represent women 49 years and under (Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 2003). These statistics indicate that the majority of women who are affiliated in local golf clubs are over 50 years of age and it is these women who have the time to organise the way women's golf is played at club level (Cameron, 1996). The data revealed that the values and beliefs of the majority of the research participants representing the over 50 age group tended to reflect the accepted social practices of their social structure. It is this expected social structure that is currently regarded as the "norm" in the golfing community, as highlighted by a research participant: *"It has been that way since 1965-66, and I have never found any fault with it. Hmmm, it is just the way it has been and I have probably just accepted it and gone along with it."*

⁴ Green fee players are people who pay as they play and are not affiliated members of a local golf club

⁵ Affiliated members are members of a local golf club and have an affiliation to the respective national governing body - Women's golf New Zealand or New Zealand Golf.

In this research the majority of the research participants identified as influential women represented the over 50 years age group. Hence, this research has tended to reflect the values and beliefs associated with their social expectations. Any assumptions and expectations of “how” golf should be played, organised, and managed are reflected in the strongly held beliefs and expectations that these women have regarding appropriate behaviour expectations of gender relations within the context of the golfing community. They consider that proper behaviour and the sense of women’s identity should be fostered and encouraged for the betterment of the game. It is suggested that these perceptions of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable can be linked back to the accepted standards of a society that reflected an era of British middle-class society of the 1900s (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988) - as it was during the 1900s that the game of golf was introduced to New Zealand through Scottish and British immigrants. Initially, the game started in Otago, but it was not until it was re-introduced, some years later, in the town of Christchurch that it became established as a part of New Zealand society (Kelly, 1971). The rules and protocols of the game were interpreted through immigrants’ version of “how” golf should be played. The organisation of the sport in New Zealand was, therefore, based upon their experiences with the traditions and protocols of golf in Scotland and England which were governed through the authoritative influence of the R & A golf club at St. Andrew’s in Scotland (Gidlow et al., 1990; Kelly, 1971).

As indicated earlier, the majority of the research participants represented the over-50 years of age group of women who play golf. However, several of the research

participants were women under the age of 50 years, and it was during the data collection that their frustration with the traditional expectations and historical influences, which are part of the culture of women's golf, became evident. The following comment highlights the simmering frustrations that women under 50 years of age experience when those accepted traditional and historical practices overshadow their enjoyment of the game:

"I am just out there to have fun and play golf. I am very relaxed about most things and I must admit that I find it really hard, all the rules and regulations. So I (being the Ladies' Club Captain) have just said to the group of women who have difficulty with other women's expectations 'there is nobody to go to anybody and say you can't do this or you can't do that' I said 'you must come to me first. If you think someone hasn't got it right, come and see me first and I will soon sort it out'."

This comment, while highlighting the simmering frustration of the younger women who play golf, identifies that conformity with the social standards of the golfing community is expected. Her comment, which is centred on the expected standards of "how" women are to behave while playing golf, highlights the social gap between younger and older women. An example discussed in the varying social stands of women playing golf was the type of clothing that is to be worn on the golf course. The expectation is that the "proper dress" must be worn all the time, and that the only way that golf can be played is with this "correct" clothing. This reinforces the standards of a society which are reflected only in the older generation of women golfers. As the participant rightly pointed out, if

women desire to play golf it should not matter whether they are adhering to the “correct” social code of women’s golf but rather it should be a matter of “why” younger women play - as most younger women who play golf are just out there to “*have fun and play golf.*” This example and the comments also indicate that women’s golf is influenced by the informal expectations of other (older) women golfers which could, in turn, be said to be influenced by their accepted social structure of an era which has ended (Phillips, 1999). It is these views of what are the accepted practice and standards - of what is considered the “norm” within the golfing community - and accepting and encouraging the continuance of these which reinforce the historical and traditional values, and expectations, of a past era of golf in New Zealand.

The research participants also emphasised that the continued segregation of men’s and women’s golf is still contributing to the formal organisational practices of golf in New Zealand. Kelly (1971) identified the fact that men’s and women’s golf became two separate organisations in the early 1900s, and that the practice of the gender segregated organisations continues today as both authorities function as separate governing authorities (New Zealand Golf Association, 2003; Women's Golf New Zealand, 2002). The research participants who were over 50 years of age emphasised that women’s golf should continue to be separate from men’s as their style and the manner in which they play golf are different from those of men, “*golf has always been like that and that is how women’s golf should be organised.*” Yet some research participants identified a frustration with the continued segregation of men’s and women’s golf as they claimed

that some women have the capability to compete with the men - especially as the rules that govern what "tee" men and women play from has changed within the last few years.

"It is quite a segregated sport, particularly in the older generation who have sort of never got over the women being second-class citizens on the golf course type of thing."

"Well, they (women) are not keeping up with the times, they just don't keep up with the times. They have been doing it like this for 100 years- why should we still be doing it?"

This continued segregated structure of golf in New Zealand could be contributing to the organisational practices of "how" golf should be played, in that golf has always been organised along gender lines and therefore it will continue to be so. The continued reinforcement of the traditions and practices of golf by the older members can be said to contribute to the continued socialisation of younger women into the sport (Gidlow et al., 1990; Phillips, 1999). It is this socialisation of younger women in golf which reinforces the gender-segregated environment of golf with the historical expectations of traditions still shaping the organisation of the game in New Zealand (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Tong, 1998).

5.1.3 Traditional expectations

To continue to develop discussion on the environment of golf in New Zealand it is necessary to explore the different reasons for the continued emphasis of the golfing community on enforcing the traditional expectations in the organisation of golf for men and women within local golf clubs. The understanding of the traditional and historical “norm” and “values” within the golfing community is the foundation upon which the majority of golf is played (Crosset, 1995; Knoppers, ten Boom, Buisman, Elling, & De Knop, 2001). The segregated spheres of golf and the accepted social order and practices in the golfing community have links to the socially accepted roles of men and women (Deem, 1988; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). To develop this concept of social order and segregation an analysis of the data revealed that the entrenched “values” and “norms” of the golfing community associated with gender relations have a strong influence over the organisational structure of golf.

5.1.4 Social expectations

The historical influences and traditional expectations of men and women on the golf course can be attributed to the social expectations of men and women in society which shape the roles that men and women have in certain social institutions, one of which is the institution of sport (Deem, 1988). To effect change in a society’s social order where the dominant and expected roles of women are more fluid from the domestic help to that of an accepted equal within society, and sport, requires a shift in society’s expectations. Some feminist movements advocate that society must first change before women can reap the benefits of an equal and fair society (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Olsson, 1992). For example, the radical feminists argue that the creation of separate governing

authorities for women is essential for the development of the new social structure where women are in control of their own destiny. This new social structure will ensure that women are not subject to the influence of masculine behavioural traits that impact upon women (Blackburn et al., 2002; Calas & Smircich, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Lerner, 1986). However, a Liberal feminist will argue that the evolution of the social structures within society must begin with the changing of the social environment and communities that restrict or hinder the progress of women or ultimately all individuals who may be disadvantaged because of their gender, race, class, or culture (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Grainger, 1992; James & Saville-Smith, 1992).

Traditionally the golfing participants of New Zealand were exclusively male and women were allowed to undertake the game only under the protective umbrella and authority of men (Kelly, 1971). However, as more women chose to take up the game of golf in the mid-1900s, they also chose to move out from under the men's authority and become a separate organisation and be affiliated to the British Ladies' Golf Union (BLGU) (Kelly, 1971). Some researchers maintain that creating a separate sphere for women was not a demonstration of "for women, by women", but rather it reflected the fact that women wanted social acceptance of an area of their lives which was free from the influences of domestic chores and expected social behaviour (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). This change of governing authority for women demonstrated that women wanted to have control over their own sphere of the game and assists in understanding the preciousness of how they perceived their right to have their own authority (Deem, 1988; Kelly, 1971; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). One research participant confirmed this development of women's golf in

her recollection of how women's golf started at her club, and how the BLGU initially governed women's golf in New Zealand. This authoritative structure has evolved into a governing authority where women of New Zealand now control the game of golf in New Zealand through the organisation known as Women's Golf New Zealand (WGNZ).

"The way golf started was men, and gradually they let the ladies come into it, but it was very 'rare' that you saw a lady golfer. Well, by the time our clubs in NZ started the women were playing golf. You see, this is going back in history - we took our golf from the English Ladies' Golf. I mean, you go back for so many years, and OK maybe the young ones might want to change it, but I don't think they could. I really don't, because I think the men have had it 'that way' for so long, that it is just one of those golf things. It sounds strange, but that's just how it has always been."

The participant also says that the continued segregated environment of men's and women's golf reinforces the accepted "norm" of how golf is played and efforts to alter this segregation would be met with resistance and create difficulty for those who have become accustomed to the segregated spheres of golf. Implied in this comment is the suggestion that it would be the men who would resist any changes to the way golf is played. Yet the comment below suggests that the restrictions on women's playing of golf can also be attributed to the restrictive nature of how women organise their golf, as well

as to the suggestion that women cannot play and compete *“to a standard that is comparable with men.”*

“Even our women's association needs to get a couple of those old ones off there; they are away back in the ancient days. Things have changed; there are a lot of women there who are just as good as some of the men, and in fact, better. And those men have got to accept that, they don't like getting beaten by a woman but they have got to accept that women are playing golf to a standard that is comparable to men. They have just got to accept it - times have changed.”

In continued discussion on the diverse perceptions of how and why division of labour, and the separate spheres of society and sport can occur, it is difficult to assert that any one explanation is central to the continued segregation of men's and women's golf (Game & Pringle, 1983). For example, another explanation which could account for the roles that men and women have in society and in the sporting arena could be found in Marxist theory. Marxists claim that society is a consequence of history and the driving motivators for its existence are the economic factors which have influence over the functions of society (Connell, 1990; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). Marxists maintain that the division of labour, the segregation and exclusion of women - including the suppression and the lack of freedom of women in all social, political, and intellectual life - are outcomes of a capitalist society (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Gherardi, 1995; Halford & Leonard, 2001; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1998; Watson, 1992). Marxists would claim that the

segregated spheres of local golf clubs are nothing more than a reconstruction of men and women fulfilling their historical roles in society of “breadwinner and domestic help” (Cameron, 1992; Gibson, 1992). Justification for this interpretation lies in the perception that men are “masters” of their homes and women are the “serfs” or servants who maintain the homes for the men and their families. Therefore, men are entitled to unrestricted access to the golf course during weekends as they have the right to pursue sporting activities which ensure that they are healthy and fit for the ensuing week’s work (Gibson, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 2001). Hence, Marxists would conclude that the playing of golf is a result of economic drives and the function of a capitalist society (Connell, 1990; Gherardi, 1995; Gibson, 1992; Halford & Leonard, 2001).

These perceptions of capitalism’s interfering in the lives of individuals come through the Marxist interpretation of the golfing community. Marxists would claim that the golfing community and its structure are influenced by society’s economic function and historical factors that were introduced to the game in New Zealand during the 1900s. Other historical factors - such as women’s choosing to be governed by the BLGU rather than conforming to the umbrella and organisational control of men - contributed to the segregated spheres of golf. These are just reflections of the capitalist society in which we live - that the organisation of the segregated spheres of golf is nothing more than a result of the division of labour for men and women as women chose to operate under a separate authority (James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Scott, 1986). This segregation of golf for men and women could be attributed to the capitalist mode of production and the natural way in which the division of labour occurred in the early development of the game of golf.

Comments such as “*women always played golf during the week as it was the men’s turn at the weekend*” implied that women played only when their domestic duties were finished, and when the men did not want the golf course because they were at work. This view is supported by Philips’ (1999) work on the gendered nature of New Zealanders where he identifies the fact that during the early to mid-20th century men and women fulfilled traditional roles of “breadwinner” and “domestic help”.

“Basically I feel it stems back to your older generation when the women’s place was at home, and once golf started, well, OK, they did eventually allow ladies to play golf as well. Generally, it is some of the ‘die-hards’, isn’t it?”

“But, as I say, there still are men who don’t like playing with women. They are more of the old school ‘golf is for men not women - why don’t you go home and do the dishes and do the washing and do the cleaning?’”

These comments that a woman’s place is in the home washing and doing the cleaning demonstrate the perception that the traditional roles of women are still expected to be adhered to even in today’s society. The time frames within which men and women are expected to play golf reflect the traditional expectations of an older society (Deem, 1988; Phillips, 1999; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). The evolution of golf through society has had - and still continues to have - an impact on the availability of playing time for both men and women. This can be seen in the continued segregation of playing days regardless of

whether or not either men or women work in paid employment. Women have started to play, and still do play, during the week. In part, this is to accommodate the larger portion of women who play golf as they are often either no longer in the work force, because they have chosen to retire, or not in paid employment because their husbands/partners can support them. This, therefore, reinforces the perception that women play during the week and men at weekends because the majority of women have the time during the week to play, therefore, they should leave the weekend for the men. There is also active encouragement from older women towards younger women, or those women who are not in paid employment, to play during the week, as this was *“when women should play.”*

The overriding assumption in all these perceptions is that all men are in paid employment and women are not, although figures released by SPARC (2002b) indicate that the majority of men and women who play golf are of “retirement age” and therefore both could play during weekdays. This view is supported by the comments of the research participants when they referred to the expectations that both men and women had on the availability of playing days. These comments demonstrate that there are restrictions on when women can play and that the restrictions continue to have an influence over expected playing times, particularly during the weekends.

“Like I say, a Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, but only if there is a gap (can women play), because that (time) has sort of always been given to men.”

"On Saturday and Sundays (yes). No, the men's Saturday is definitely men's day, women are not allowed on the course on Saturday."

"We just find at times we don't have that tolerance thing with the men folk, but when it comes to your specific day, if we did it to them on a Saturday they wouldn't be very happy either."

"As far as during the week goes the women have always played, way back in the dark ages when there were a lot more golfers they had Tuesdays and Wednesdays as women's golf, and now there are not so many women golfers and they have Tuesday starting tees times and a Wednesday morning for 9-holers."

These segregated time slots are not just restricted to the weekends. Women are just as jealous about their playing times during the week as men are about their times during the weekends, as the comments below suggest.

"I often approach them when I have seen that there are men coming. And I think, now, are they going to get on and I will just approach them and say 'You do know it is ladies' day?' 'Oh yes, yes, yes, but we will get out of your way.' And I say, 'Oh well, if you hold us up (meaning playing golf slowly)', they respond 'We'll let you through, we'll let you through.'"

Also the protectionist attitudes of men and women over time slots during the week were evident in an interview conducted on a Monday morning at a local golf club. The particular group in question “tee off” on a regular basis and this was the comment by the research participant at that time.

“It's like this group of men here now, (looking out club house window at lunch time Monday), If you came down to go on the ‘tee’ they would probably tell you that you can't because it is our ‘tee time’, but it is not their organised day. And that is the sort of thing that happens here, and on a Thursday if you come down say 11.15 a.m. their ‘tee off’ time is 11.30 a.m., it is not an official competition day, but some of them would be quite irate about it. And if they were following you they would ‘hit-up’ on you, and just do ‘narky’ things. But I think that's the same in a lot of clubs.”

Yet in highlighting these segregated expectations of “tee off” times for the playing of golf there is a strong understanding of companionship between men and women who participate in golf. The remarks above generally represent the “minority” of men and women golfers, but the influence of that minority is powerful. Comments such as, *“It is only the minority (of men and women) that feel like that”* or *“Most men are fine about playing with women - it is only a few who don't like it”* support these claims. These comments can be seen as supporting the liberal feminist position of an equal environment

free from barriers and restrictions, as well as supporting the combining of men's and women's golf.

"In our club the men are very good, for example, on Sunday we play with men if we don't have all four women. We will have two women and two men or we might only have one woman and three men, but they mix up on competitions days. This probably wouldn't occur in other clubs around NZ, but I mean they (men) are very good out there."

"I've probably got a slanted point of view because my husband and I have always done things together. And therefore we want to play golf together as well. So we have never had a problem with 'you go and do your thing and I'll go and do my thing', it's just something that you do. And it is excellent that we have got a club day on Sunday and we can both go out there together if we choose to."

"I don't know. I really don't know, because husbands and wives play in the Thursday club. We get 120 there most Thursdays. It is a fantastic day, and it's really never waned. In the wintertime if it's really raining you will only get a few stalwarts out there. But, it's been just marvellous, and that's been going since 1984 – 1985."

Marxist interpretation of these actions and the current structures within golf could be reflective of the historical context of the game and the age of the majority of men and women who play golf. However, the changing social environment could be interpreted by the Marxist to suggest that the demand for women to have greater access to golf courses is just another reflection of the capitalist society in which they live. As more women are entering the work force the need to have them fit and healthy for the working week is vital to ensuring that the economic demands of society are met. Therefore, the changing demands from men who are retired, and the greater number of women who are in paid employment during the week mean that the social environments of men and women are changing, and that changes in the organisation of access for both is becoming an ever increasing demand.

The main emphases of these data are the implied status of women's golf being formed out of women's desiring to have their space to play golf away from the commitments of domestic chores and the roles that they outwork as the main caregivers in the home. Others would also suggest that the spheres of golf were segregated because women of the 1900s had the vision to create an environment controlled by and for women. How women see their sphere of golf and the golfing community in general can be interpreted through various feminist theories none – or all – of which can be said to have an influence over the social and sporting environment of golf. History has proven that through the actions of women during the 1900s women's golf has developed and grown to the current situation where they have their own authoritative and organisational structure in New Zealand today.

5.1.5 Social environment of golf

Given that golf has been influenced by and through the social expectations of the society in which it is played, and the continued discussion of the context of the social environment of golf, there now needs to be a further explanation of the social context of golf through the theory of socialist feminism. Socialist feminism evolved from the Marxist theory of “how” the division of labour and the capitalist mode of production affected women and created a suppressive environment for women (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Kimmel, 2000; Scott, 1986; Tong, 1998). The socialist feminists argues that the limitation of women in society is because of the social expectations of that society which restricts the women to the role that they have in their everyday lives (Tong, 1998). Social feminists believe that the plight of women is more than the economic and capitalist expectations of society; it is also linked to the political and social expectations of others around them. The stereotyping of men and women also affects the attitudes and functions of any society, and it is stereotyping which supplies the reason why women are oppressed in the functions of their daily lives (Kimmel, 2000; Phillips, 1999.)

The socialist feminists could argue that the women within the golfing communities operate in this manner because the majority of women prefer to function within segregated spheres – and that they do so because that is the way that they have always organised golf. Hence, the accepted practice within the social structure of the golfing environment remains as a powerful organisational structure within golf. Some could suggest that these accepted practices of separate spheres of golf for men and women is a

matter of function and organisation rather than discrimination against either men or women - that the organisation of women's golf on separate days contributes to the optimisation of resources and an efficient use of the local golf club. It is this functionalism of women's golf that contributes to the social reinforcement of the segregated environment of golf. Comments highlighted in the previous chapters reinforce this interpretation and suggest another interpretation of the data collected.

Another suggestion about "how" the organisation of golf is managed and played could be found in the acknowledgements of the past efforts of women who played golf. Kelly (1971) stated that women chose to become part of the BLGU and that decision effectively meant that the management and organisation of women's golf became the domain of women. The research participants identified the fact that the past efforts of women were important in maintaining the integrity of women's golf, and implied that they did not want to lose what they had gained through being marginalised (Daley & Montgomerie, 1999; Hargreaves, 1990; Spoonley, Pearson, & Shirley, 1990). Hence, the maintaining of the status quo as regards men's and women's golf, with the emphasis on keeping the spheres of men and women segregated, has meant that women who play golf are encouraged to conform to the expected protocols and functions of women's golf.

"That went back years ago when women first came into the club. They were given a time that women could use on certain days and that they could play their games. It is still there and to some extent the ladies like their club days and they like to be playing together."

It is also suggested that it is because of these women of the past and their efforts to seize the opportunities for women to play golf in the first instance that the women of today need to respect their efforts and ensure that women's golf remains as a separate entity. The suggestion for this came from a fear that women golfers could lose their autonomy and right to play as they choose.

"As the men developed the club, the wives of those men decided that they wanted to play so the women were added on, and it has been that way ever since. This occurred way back in 1800s something, and we wouldn't have wanted men to organise us."

Another opinion that supports the social feminist view of the golf environment is that even if women wanted to change the structure of golf, they would not be successful because of the restrictions imposed - and suppression exercised - by the men, and their resistance to changing the environment in which they have domination.

"I mean, you go back for so many years, and OK, and maybe the young ones might want to change it, but I don't think they could. I really don't because I think the men have had it 'that way' for so long, that it's just one of those golf things. It sounds strange but that's just how it has always been."

These perceptions based on historical assumptions, and their reinforcement by the organisation of the golfing community, are strongly influenced by the actions and expectations of the past. In saying this, it is important to remember that the majority of men and women who play golf are of the older generation, and it is these people who have the time and sense of loyalty that keep the social structures and organisational functions operational within local golf clubs. It was observed in the course of this research just how much the organisation and function of the local golf clubs are influenced by the availability of people to organise and maintain the social and playing environments of each club. *"People work over the weekends, they work through the week, and there are too many people in that category and they haven't got time to be on a committee."*

The impressions of the strong historical ties of the past and the old authoritative structures were, in some of the research group, held as being the right way that golf should be played and any deviation from this way is wrong. The older research participants generally held these views, and they consider the nature of golf to be set firmly in the traditions and expectations of the past. Comments such as those below support their belief that golf is what it is because of where it has come from.

"Well I do in a way, but it is so ingrained in people. The way golf started was men, and gradually they let the ladies come into it, but it was very 'rare' that you saw a lady golfer."

One research participant, who was identified as part of the older group of participants, had an interesting contribution concerning the historical organisation of golf. Her comments expressed how she held onto the traditional views of organising women's golf - but they also reflected a change of opinion and attitude once she had experienced a positive change in the organisation through the evolution of accepted administrative practices, such as.

"That was it, and now when I look at it, look back now, the women have just as much say, although the bank balance is all in one, the money goes into one bank, and the women can get anything they want - but they didn't see that. We didn't see that, I was one of those too, and we didn't see it like that in those days."

Another link with the historical roots of women's golf, and another reason for the continued conformity of women in playing their golf separately from men, was the rigorously upheld rules and regulations of the Ladies' Golf Union (LGU) medal competition rounds. This competition has strong links to times when the New Zealand Ladies' Golf Union (NZLGU) was governed by the protocols and rules of the British Ladies' Golf Union. It was during this time that golf for women in New Zealand had affiliation to their British counterparts and the NZLGU adopted the practices and competition rules of that time. One of those competitions was the LGU Medal: this competition round is where the participants are required to play a "stroke" playing competition while in strict handicap order. This meant that players of equal capability

were playing together and created an environment of keen competition with players taking the “honour” when “teeing off” for each hole. This form of competition still exists and with it the influences of “how” women can play. This competition reinforces and supports the hierarchical nature of women’s golf and it is this hierarchical emphasis on who can play with whom that decides the playing schedule of the day. Although one group of research participants indicated that this strict adherence to the playing format was not observed at their club, it was the “norm” at the other three clubs in the research group. The research participants in the three clubs indicated that the LGU medal rounds were vital to ensuring that women played with each other and that playing with men during this competition was not an option, as it would have affected the playing order requirement of the competition.

“Yes, on the whole that is right - but there are days when we (women) have to play in a set order. There are certain rules that say you must play in your handicap divisions such as the LGU medal round.”

“Like we have got LGU Medal, and my son says to me ‘Why do you have to play strictly in your handicap order for LGU Medal’, I said ‘It is just the way we do it’, I couldn’t tell you why we do it.”

These comments underline the way this particular competition is held as a women’s only event and strict adherence to the rules is demanded. The other research club indicated that to mix up the groups with men of a similar capability did not restrict, or impact on

the playing ability of the women - if anything, it assisted in encouraging women to perform better - while another group indicated that playing with men intimidated them and because of this they preferred to play in women only groups.

"Now there is a ladies' sheet as well because they have their LGU rules, you know what I am talking about (referring to the strict rules), they have the LGU rules and then there is a men's sheet. Then what we do is we have a starter every morning and they just pick the names off the start sheets and send them off in fours."

"Yeah, if you are going to play (with the men) you are going to have to work harder, and you play a better game. Just like any game - if you are playing a better person you up your game, don't you?"

The impact that the LGU medal competition rules has on the segregation of men's and women's golf, along with the firmly held belief of three of the research clubs, indicate that the traditions of the game are important to the majority of those women who play golf. This is despite the fact that the NZLGU has severed authoritative ties with the British LGU and has become known as Women's Golf NZ within the last ten years. The ability of Women's Golf NZ to change "prized" competitions - such as the LGU medal rounds - has been limited, with individual golf clubs holding on to the past expectations and accepted norms as the right way to play golf. These expectations do, in some clubs, affect the way in which women view their environment within the golfing community.

These impressions of the old hierarchical structures and the traditional format for golf are held by the older research participants to be the “right way” that golf should be played. Yet the younger or newer participants in women’s golf see them as a restriction on the social environment as well as a restriction on their being able to advance their own game of golf should they desire to do this. The participants were generally of retirement age or older, and they consider that the nature of golf is firmly set in the customs and expectations of history.

5.1.6 Summary

In summary, in this section the historical and traditional nature of golf in New Zealand has been discussed. Reference has been made to the link between New Zealand society of the 1950s – 1970s and how the reflection of that society is possibly evident in the expectations and organisation of the present golfing community in New Zealand. Support for the current expectations and organisational practices of the golfing community was highlighted in the fact that the majority of people who are affiliated members of golf clubs in New Zealand are over 50 years of age, therefore, it was suggested that their beliefs and values are contributing to the continued expectations of the traditionally accepted format of the golfing community in New Zealand. Emphasis on the segregated spheres of the golfing community was considered as the “norm”, the accepted way in which golf is played, and to suggest otherwise would be to undermine the foundations of what golf is for men and women who play the game.

To assist in the understanding of the foundations of golf in New Zealand this section highlighted the different interpretations of the past through three feminist theories. Those theories were (1) radical feminism, (2) Marxist feminism, and (3) socialist feminism. These theories were identified as possibly giving an understanding of how the evolution of women's golf in New Zealand could have occurred and why it continues to remain within the confines of the traditions of the game. It was proven that the initial move of women to establish their own governing authority in the early 1900s contributed significantly to the foundations for the continued segregated spheres of golf. This action could have been interpreted as the actions of radical feminism: it was the women who chose to align themselves to a governing authority in England - whereas in terms of Marxist feminism theory the structure of the golfing community would be seen as a consequence of a capitalist society where the division of labour, and the influence of economic demands shaped the functional aspects of golf. The segregation of the roles of men and women in society meant that the available time for either to play golf was different, hence, women generally played during the week and men at the weekend. Socialist feminism was the third theory highlighted in this section. Here discussion centred on the continued reinforcement of the way that golf is played in New Zealand. It was suggested that the continued expectations of the older women who play golf influenced the way the game was to be played. This reinforcement of the traditional aspects of golf has meant that the segregation of men's and women's golf has continued. A clear example of the continued segregated spheres of golf was identified through the emphasis that women placed on the rules of competitions, LGU medal rounds, which reinforced the hierarchical nature of women's golf.

Finally, the data and discussion in this section show that the practices of some local golf clubs, and the members within those clubs, continue to reinforce the historical expectations of men and women as well as the operational practices of local golf clubs in New Zealand. In the next section, discussion will centre on the resistance that some golf clubs have, and are experiencing, in their attempts to change the organisational practice and structure of golf in New Zealand.

5.2 Transforming the face of golf

This incident builds upon the previously discussed issue at the local golf club of which I was a member. It was during the discussions on the process of changing the playing status of women to that of full members that a small but vocal group of women tried to pre-empt the possibility of women's gaining full member rights. This resistance to change became apparent in a women-only meeting where all members were encouraged to share their concerns and thoughts regarding the proposed change in their membership status. A long-serving member who had concerns about the designated authority over financial matters gave this example. She stood up and said "Yes, that's all fine, but what about our money?" The response from the chair was, "What do you mean?" "Well," said the woman, "we have about \$10,000 in our bank account and what are we going to do with it? If we become one club the men will get their hands on our money and spend it for themselves. Shouldn't we spend it before they get hold of it? What about redoing the carpet in the ladies' locker room?" She was very sincere about what she was saying, and there was a measure of support once her view was aired. Her motivation for not changing could have been due to her perceived loss of authority and power over what she deemed to be the operational practices of women and their own authority to govern things for women - as well as challenging her, and many other women's, ideology of how women's golf should be governed. For my part, I, with my liberalist opinions, sat there completely bewildered and stared in disbelief. Did these women not realise that what was being proposed was greater than money? That we women had an opportunity to be recognised as full members of the club?

5.2.1 Introduction

This incident is representative of a common debate throughout the golfing community. It outlines a small aspect of the golfing community where meetings and discussion are held within the private golf clubs to debate the issue of full membership integration. The status and rights of women golfers, as full members of private golf clubs, have been issues that have brought to light the many diverse positions of all members regarding these matters. This small insight into a meeting, held by the Women's Committee, illustrates some of the reservations that women have in regard to the integration and organisation of golf for women and the implications that full membership for women bring. Whereas the previous section dealt with the historical and traditional elements of golf in New Zealand, as well as identifying the organisational framework of golf clubs, the identification of some of the factors that contribute to, or restrict the progression of, fully integrated golf clubs in New Zealand is part of the process that ultimately contributes to the evolution of the sport – as will be shown hereafter.

This section focuses on organisational structures within golf clubs and how those structures influence and govern the organisation of the sport (Davidson & Burke, 2000; Kilmister, 1999; Trenberth & Collins, 1999). Highlighted through the data are the power relations that exist in golf and in particular, in the organisation of women's golf. This element of control over women's golf is explored through the concept of hegemony (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Coakley, 1998; MacNeill, 1994; Theberge, 1997). The reasons for the limited or slow process of change within golf clubs can be linked to the hegemonic relationships within women's golf. Ultimately, the rationale behind such actions is

unclear, but evidently there is a fear that women's golf could become marginalised once full integration has occurred. The fear that women will become marginalised has contributed to women's perceiving that they will lose the power to organise and control what they believe is the essence of women's golf at club level (Alliss, 1989; Birrell & Cole, 1994; Cameron, 1996; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999; Kimmel, 2000; Molloy, 1997; O'Neill, 1992; Patterson, 1999). These issues of marginalisation and loss of power are valid concerns especially seen in an analysis of the New Zealand sporting environment. An analysis of this environment highlights the fact that private sporting clubs are not bound by the Human Rights Act (1993) for acts of discrimination toward minority groups within the organisation of club activities (Cameron, 1996; Molloy, 1997). The New Zealand golfing community has historically shown that golf has traditionally been organised by men for the convenience of men (Alliss, 1989; Chambers, 1992; Crosset, 1995). This action by today's standards is considered discriminatory, and means that whereas golf was formerly considered the exclusive domain of men, and women were limited to the fringes of the organisation, the playing of golf has in some clubs evolved to allow women some status in the club, albeit limited (Chambers, 1992; Crosset, 1995; Gidlow et al., 1990). Finally, the perceptions of the possible integration of men's and women's golf will be discussed from the points of view of the research participants. This area seeks to show the perceptions that men and women have of the concept of integration and touches on perceived resistance to the advancement of the game.

The organisational structure of some clubs could be excused as a function of society - especially when you consider the roles that men and women undertook in the mid-20th

century. When golf first arrived in New Zealand society had different expectations of what men and women could do. The transference of those values into the golfing community during that time continues to have an impact on how the sport is organised in today's society (Alliss, 1989; Chambers, 1992; Phillips, 1999). For example, women of the 1900s to 1950s were considered as the supporters of the men and it was the men who were offered the right to become members of the local golf club. Women were allowed only because of their husbands' membership and should anything occur which meant the husband and wife were not together it was the wife who was expected to withdraw from all club activities (Alliss, 1989; Chambers, 1992). Therefore, the organisation and control of the golfing community were in the domain of men, and women were a subgroup. This subgroup then organised the playing of golf for women. The issues of membership were not based on the ability of the person but rather on gender (Alliss, 1989; Chambers, 1992; Crosset, 1995).

This information, and the data from the research participants, identified that these aspects of organising golf around the convenience of men, although based on traditional organisational practices, are still in operation today. Also the dividing of golf along gender lines rather than the ability of the player has meant that golf in today's society continues to contribute to the segregation of men's and women's golf. Clear examples of this segregation are the current national governing authorities for men's and women's golf; they are the New Zealand Golf Association, and Women's Golf New Zealand respectively (New Zealand Golf Association, 2003; Women's Golf New Zealand, 2002). The segregation of men's and women's golf remains as one of the central elements in the

organisation of the New Zealand golf community. The research data also indicated that some golf clubs are taking progressive steps towards changing these practices through the introduction of inclusive organisational structures that are challenging the “norm” of the golfing community at club level (Knoppers & Elling, 2001; Knoppers et al., 2001).

5.2.2 Diverse structures of golf clubs

This section seeks to define how the organisational structures of golf arose and how they impact on the ability of men and women to play golf. To assist with the understanding of the organisational aspect of the golfing environment the identification of the different organisational structures currently adopted by local golf clubs is defined with an emphasis on how this affects the operational framework of each club (Davidson & Burke, 2000; Kilmister, 1999; Trenberth & Collins, 1999).

History has shown us that during the early 1900s the organisation of sport in New Zealand was based on traditional committee-based structures. This means that people were elected or voted onto designated positions within a club committee, and the club committee was then responsible for the organisation and co-ordination of the various sporting activities for the respective sporting codes (Cameron, 1992; Kelly, 1971; Kilmister, 1999; Trenberth & Collins, 1994, 1999). The traditional committee-based club structure has become the predominant organisational framework for local golf clubs throughout New Zealand (Kelly, 1971). During the collection of data it was noted that the traditional committee-based organisation is still the main organisational structure used by golf clubs. However, there are varied and diverse ways that each golf club structures its operational framework as well as diverse methods for the appointment of club

representatives. Generally though, the main structure of each club was based on a main committee, and then from that committee were formed various other smaller committees and subcommittees that attended to the different areas of the club's activities. For example, the subcommittees looked after areas such as the "Greens and fairways", the "Clubhouse", and there were even separate playing committees for men's and women's golf, along with a number of other smaller subcommittees. An interesting deviation from the generally accepted traditional committee-based club was the identification of a men's only club. This club was organised with the men having the predominant control over the club's affairs and only men were elected to the main committee. They were responsible for all matters pertaining to the operational function of the club as a business entity and men's golf. The responsibility for "how" women played golf at this club was left to the subaffiliated club for women golfers. The women's club organised the playing of golf for women, but any alteration to standard operational practices in relation to "how" and "when" men played golf needed to have the "blessing" of the main men's committee.

"The Golf club is technically, in the constitution, a man's club. So the men are in the driving seat and the women are a subcommittee of the club. The women, as subcommittee, organise themselves, and they sort out their own golf competitions, open days, have their own account. So we are sort of separate entities in just our general golf and that's just the way it goes as far as golf goes."

The organisational impact of this practice was that women were not part of the main organisational structure, and they did not have a voice or voting rights on any aspect of the organisation of the parent club's activities. When it came to matters that affected the organisation of women's golf, the women members could make suggestions, but they had no control over the final decisions made by the main club committee. The club's overall organisational structure was still based on the traditional committee-based environment for the operational function of the club overall, but the club had two distinct clubs operating under the guise of one authority structure. Although this occurred at this particular club it did not appear to have any detrimental effect on women's perception of the organisation of the club. One research participant summed up her perception of how this men's only club impacted on her and how she perceived the organisational and operational aspect of men's and women's golf.

"Well I am quite happy with it being separate especially because the ladies seem to like to play during the week as the majority of them aren't working. This is just the mid-week that I am talking about. I think it is good to play with other women too - because if you always played with men you would probably always end up playing with your partner and stay in those circles. It is a women's thing and I think it is nice for women and men to play by themselves, but in saying that I do think that there should be more combined days where both men and women can play."

This statement identifies that there is an amicable relationship with the organisation of the club, but it also suggests that this partnership relates to “mid-week” ladies only and that this positive organisational environment is also focusing only on the nonworking women and on women who have partners. It is not allowing for the single women or the working women who can play golf only during the weekends. The data revealed that women who could play only at weekends found the limitations on the organisation of women’s golf were restrictive. They also felt that as more women are now working during the week the limitations also did not encourage younger women to take the sport up as a form of activity.

This traditional form of organisational practice was commonplace in golfing communities throughout the mid to late 20th century and still had a strong presence up until the 1990s (Kelly, 1971; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). The segregated organisational function of each club at that time was accepted as the “norm” for golf, also the fact that both men and women treasured their isolation from each other. Other researchers have identified that the separated organisational structures for men and women gave an element of enjoyment as each revelled in controlling their own sphere of golf (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988).

Previous research in the area of limitations and discrimination in organisational practices of sports codes has identified that gender segregation, where women play at one time and men at another, is common throughout New Zealand sport clubs (Molloy, 1997). Molloy highlights the fact that discrimination against women is contrary to wider society expectations of having equal opportunity in New Zealand. These views of discrimination

against people because of gender, class, race, and culture are considered unacceptable in the context of social expectations and society's views on discriminatory practices towards minority groups (Aitchison, 2000; Cameron, 1992; Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; Kimmel, 2000).

Another form of organisational structure that was evident in the data was that of board governance organisations (Kilmister, 1999). This is where a Board is elected from within the membership to run the overall functioning of the club. Generally, most clubs using this organisational structure also employ staff to ensure that the daily operational functions of the club are maintained. Clubs using this format of organisation are generally integrated clubs where all members have the opportunity to be elected to a position on the Board regardless of gender. Hence, when comparing the different organisational structures it was found that the clubs that have adopted the Board Governance organisational structure generally had a more fully integrated approach towards the playing of men's and women's golf. However, when an analysis of the research data was undertaken, in regard to the perception of "how" and "when" women should play golf, the expectations of the older research participants were that men's and women's golf need to be kept in separate spheres, *"because that's the way golf should be played."* An interesting observation by the older research participants who supported the segregation of men's and women's golf was that although women had the opportunity to be elected onto the Board or main committees, very few actually chose to make themselves available for that opportunity. The reasons for this are unclear, and were not discussed in the research, but the point of interest was that not many women held

positions on the Board, but rather chose to maintain control over their particular sphere of golf (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). Cameron (1992), in her research on women in senior administrative roles within sport, indicated that this lack of women in senior roles is unique to sport when you compare women in senior roles in other voluntary organisations. Although women may have the opportunity to make themselves available to be elected onto the Board of a sporting organisation, very few actually choose to do so or very few women are elected to Board positions. The reasons for the limited number of women in positions of power are unclear, but previous research has identified that more men make themselves available for voluntary sporting positions than for general voluntary community organisations (Cameron, 1992).

"First of all at ... we have a Board and on that Board there are no women, but we have no women because they have chosen not to stand for the Board, because anybody can stand for the Board. There is a designated position for the Club Captain on the Board. From that we come down to one committee which runs men's and women's golf, but in reality it is actually run as two separate playing committees for men and women."

Some participants indicated that the change in their clubs' organisational structures has provided better opportunities for women to be integrated within the overall clubs' activities, but there is still some resistance to advancing with the integration of men's and women's golf as one entity. The reasons for this are unclear, but some of the research participants felt that in the organisational changes some clubs were challenging the

traditional “values and norms” of accepted organisational practices of the golfing community, and women in particular were resistant to this change.

Generally, in all four clubs within the research group the organisational structure could be defined as either a traditionally based committee or as a board governance organisation. Each displayed different levels of organisational styles and varying levels of integration for men’s and women’s golf. There still remains in some clubs an expectation that golf will continue to be divided along gender lines regardless of the organisational structure of the club - as demonstrated in the way this research participant summed up her expectations of separate spheres of golf for men and women. *“I do think that women should run their own competitions, you know, we have got LGU, and all those sorts of things so you have got to keep women together. You have got to be able to run those things on your own without sort of being one club (mixed with men).”*

5.2.3 Power relations in golf

Building on from the organisational structures of a golf club, which are considered as the formal structure of the club, there also are informal relationships that have an influence over the organisation of golf which occurs at club level (Inkson, 1999; Wilson, 1995). Each participant was selected for this research because of the perceived influential position that she held within her golf club. Some of the participants held designated or elected positions of power within their respective golf club, and others were women whose opinions were considered as having influence on “how” women’s golf should be played at club level. The latter group of women were considered to have informal influences in the organisation of women’s golf. The research data revealed that at club

level both groups had influence on how women's golf was to be played. In some clubs, however, the organisation of women's golf was counter to the formal organisational structure of the golf club. Such as, one golf club gave equal status to all members in regard to playing rights, but it was the women's committee that restricted the times when women could play and thus restricted or limited opportunities for the integration of men's and women's golf.

"I think it best that they keep, as much as possible, the ladies together to play their competition because they have got a lot of 'cups' and a lot of competitions to play for."

The research data showed that firmly held beliefs of the way golf "should" be played by men and women was the main influential factor for the current playing environment of golf at club level. This control - and in some cases, influential power - were considered to be the hegemonic relationship within the golfing community. For example, the men in the men's only club had power to influence how and when women could play golf as women were considered the minority group - whereas the women in the clubs where they had the opportunity to make themselves available for positions on the Board chose not to. The reasons for this were unclear, but the women wanted to be on the women's committee. This could be interpreted as influential women wanting to keep control over the way the women's committee organised women's golf. In applying the concept of hegemony to the LGU competition for women, and an analysis of "who" had the control on how the competition was to be played, it can be seen that the respective women's committee governed the competition. However, the control of "how" the competition

was played saw some of those committees kept to the strict letter of the competition, while other women's committees were more flexible in their interpretation of "how" the competition was to be played. *"My son says to me 'why do you have to play strictly in handicap order for the LGU medal?' I said 'I couldn't tell you why, it is just the way we do it'."*

Although hegemonic relationships govern what is considered "common", or the "norm" within a group, it also controls the speed with which the "norm" or the "common sense" approach is changed (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Theberge, 1997). This is evident in the rate of societies' acceptance of change - because if societies did not change we would still be in the "Dark Ages" trying to discover the wheel, or in golf the round shape for the ball (Birrell & Cole, 1994). The rate of evolution at which accepted practices are changed within a society also depends on the rate at which influential individuals allow the "norms" or "common" to be altered. Take, for example, the change of the golfing rules that designate from which "tee marker" men and women are to start their game, or "hole". In the past the "yellow markers" (known as *tees* from this point) were for the women and the "white" tees were for the men. If a man or a woman were to "tee off" on the others' designated tee their card would not count. However, since the changing of this rule men and women can now "tee off" from all the "tee markers" regardless of colour and their cards will count. This small change within the golfing community regarding the organisation of play for men and women has met with resistance. The women still, after a few years, play from the "yellow" tees and the men from the "white" tees regardless of either's ability. That is because the accepted "norm" is for men to play

from the white markers and women from the yellow. The opportunity for either men or women to develop competitions from the different “teeing ground” for each has not been accepted as a “norm” or “common sense” approach to golf in the current golfing community.

5.2.4 The future of integrated golf clubs

The ability of men and women to compete alongside each other is a possibility, but not a reality within the golfing community. This view is based on the knowledge that all men are not equal with other men, and all women are not equal with other women in their respective abilities to play sport. Research has shown that some women can compete alongside men where strength and technique are critical elements to the game. They might not attain the elite standards of a few selected men, but some women are capable of attaining elite levels in their chosen sport and are capable of providing a competitive challenge to men (Theberge, 1995).

To obtain some understanding of the debate over the integration of men’s and women’s golf the research participants were asked for their views on combining competitions where ability – not gender - was the criterion. Generally, the participants believed that golf competitions for men and women need to be separate because of the different ways that men and women play golf. This view was focusing on the perceived generalised gender differences and not on the ability of the individual. This perception underlines the perception that men play “real” golf and women play “nice” golf (*real* golf being defined as *competitive golf* and *nice golf* being defined as *social golf*) (Coney, 1993). Although the older research participants generally held these perceptions there was some support

Year	Men's	Ladies	Midweek	Non-Playing	Daylight Saver	Country/Student	Junior A	Junior B	9 Hole	
1967										Decimal Currency
1968	28.00	19.00	19.00	5.00	12.00	18.00	6.00	12.00		Introduced 1967
1969	28.00	19.00	19.00	5.00	12.00	22.00	6.00	12.00		
1970	36.00	23.00	23.00	6.00	13.00	26.00	6.00	13.00		
1971	36.00	23.00	23.00	6.00	13.00	26.00	7.00	13.00		
1972	41.00	28.00	28.00	11.00	18.00	26.00	11.00	13.00		
1973	44.00	34.00	32.00		21.00	34.00	13.00	20.00		
1974	49.00	39.00	37.00		26.00	39.00	13.00	20.00		Country Members
1975	67.20	57.20	37.00		26.00	39.00	13.00	20.00		
1976	58.00	48.00	40.00		30.00	45.00	15.00	22.00		
1977	66.00	56.00	48.00		30.00	50.00	15.00	25.00		
1978	76.00	66.00	58.00	20.00	40.00	60.00	20.00	30.00		
1979	81.00	71.00	63.00	20.00	40.00	60.00	20.00	30.00		
1980	91.00	81.00	71.00	20.00	40.00	65.00	20.00	30.00		
1981	105.00	95.00	85.00	25.00	46.00	65.00	25.00	35.00		
1982	126.00	114.00	102.00	30.00	50.00	78.00	30.00	42.00		
1983	151.00	137.00	122.00	36.00	50.00	94.00	36.00	50.00		
1984	174.00	158.00	140.00	41.00	58.00	108.00	41.00	58.00		
1985	192.00	174.00	154.00	45.00	64.00	119.00	45.00	64.00		
1986	215.00	180.00	154.00	45.00	70.00	75.00	45.00	64.00		GST Introduced
1987	247.50	209.00	181.50	55.00	88.00	99.00	55.00	77.00		
1988	302.50	264.00	231.00	66.00	121.00	121.00	60.50	82.50		
1989	324.50	283.50	253.00	66.00	121.00	121.00	33.00	82.50		
1990	342.00	299.25	266.62	67.50	123.75	123.75	33.75	84.35		
1991	375.75	333.00	300.35	67.50	123.75	123.75	33.75	84.35		
1992	387.00	344.25	311.65	67.50	130.00	130.00	33.75	84.35		Flood 1992
1993	398.25	354.38	320.63	67.50	130.00	130.00	33.75	84.35		
1994	420.75	376.90	343.15	67.50	140.00	140.00	40.00	90.00		
1995	445.00	400.00	360.00	67.50	200.00	140.00	40.00	90.00		
1996	445.00	400.00	360.00	67.50	200.00	140.00	40.00	90.00		
1997	445.00	400.00	360.00	67.50	220.00	154.00	44.00	99.00		Daylight Saver
1998	495.00	450.00	410.00	67.50	220.00	180.00	50.00	100.00	180.00	& 9 Hole Members
1999	520.00	480.00	435.00	67.50	220.00	180.00	50.00	100.00	180.00	
2000	500.00	500.00	435.00	62.50	250.00	220.00	50.00	100.00	220.00	Equal Rights
2001	540.00	540.00	470.00	67.50	270.00	270.00	70.00	120.00	270.00	Male & Female
2002	580.00	580.00	505.00	67.50	290.00	290.00	70.00	125.00	290.00	
2003	600.00	600.00		67.50	300.00	300.00	70.00	125.00	300.00	

¹ Subscription costs from 1967 to 2003. Palmerston North Golf Club Annual General Reports. PNGC: Author

not affected because of the people with whom they were playing. Rather, the playing of golf was considered an individual experience where the golfer was playing against the course rather than playing against a partner. In saying this though, ultimately the winner or loser is measured against other golfers and their ability to play the same course on a given day. Generally, though, most golf clubs continue to divide the playing of golf along the gender divide. Some of the research participants indicated that the opportunity to play with their partners, husbands, or with men generally added to the richness of their games.

However, there is a resistance to integration of men's and women's golf at competition level. It was identified that some people who had been playing golf for a period of time saw the playing of combined golf competitions as occurring only as a "social" event and not as a "real" competition (Kelly, 1971). This could be because of the perception that women play a "nice" game of golf and men play a "real" game of golf (Crosset, 1995).

"I think at this stage at the golf, it is quite nice being separated. That's a tricky question isn't it? If the golf club is like most golf clubs, the numbers are depleting, I can see when numbers are getting low you have got to be one, but then you look at Club (who are fully integrated) I think well, why not? What is wrong with it? I haven't given it a lot of thought I suppose."

This quotation sums up the perception of most of the research participants that the segregated spheres of golf is the "right" thing that happened, and most people were comfortable with the idea of segregated golf. However, it also leaves the impression that

people have not really put much thought into the possibility of fully integrated clubs where men and women play the game together. There is also an impression that integrated golf is separate only because of the tradition and “*the way it has always been*” attitude. The overriding concern about integrated golf is summed up in this last comment where the perception of why women may prefer to remain in their realm of women only is expressed.

“Apart from the idea that it could be just the gender thing I don't really know. I mean, some women probably feel inferior by going out with men because they don't hit the ball as far and they think the men will get impatient with them. Which could be quite the wrong idea. A lot of the men probably couldn't care less, but you only see certain women who will go out and play with the men, yet others wouldn't dream of it.”

This opportunity for full integration of men's and women's golf has contributed towards the tension that comes with change. This was demonstrated in the recent example of the men's Bay of Plenty Golf Association, where a young teenager, who is a woman, qualified for a men's team competition through the men's selection process. The opposing team lodged a protest because the competition was a men's competition and they considered that women should not be allowed to play. This protest was based solely on gender and not on the ability of the person (“Newbrook gets green light to play,” 2004; “NZ body wants Newbrook back in men's competition,” 2004) (Appendices D & E). This example confirms the data gathered for this thesis that the integration of men's and women's golf is a topical issue in the golfing community. The incident demonstrates the feeling and passion of some towards the mixing of the respective competitions. This

also from the younger research participants - especially when there was debate over the "higher handicap" (higher handicap means women with an 18+ handicap) women were concerned.

The data also indicated that women enjoyed playing with other women. This segregation of men's and women's competitions is in part based on women being with women – which brings with it their isolation from men as it means that they could have time out from the daily expectations of general life (Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). Another aspect of the preference of women being together is that a majority of the women preferred, or considered, that women should organise their playing competitions as men do not organise the competitions that we women prefer. *"You know the men could and have learned a lot about how women organise tournaments. You remember the national tournament we had here a few years ago and the profit we made? Well the men's committee couldn't believe that we had made so much money when we didn't have the bar open all the time."*

Another view of the integration of men's and women's golf came from younger research participants where they identified that integration of men's and women's golf could contribute to the overall social atmosphere of the local golf club. Several of the research participants from one of the clubs in the research indicated that the integration of men's and women's golf at their club had contributed to the improvement of the social aspect of the club, as well as giving a unique aspect to the competitive edge of women golfers who chose to play with their male counterparts.

"Our club days are together, we actually play with the men, two women, two men, and there really is no differentiation out here. We just play with them - I mean, because we have got our own handicap and our own tees. So although we are playing with them it is not really competing with them, it's fun."

"All the ladies and men gather together afterwards, not so much together but everyone says hello to everyone else. It is a great social thing afterwards. So it can be done, but it is really a social day."

These quotations emphasise the value that the participants place on the perceived benefits of integration within the club in its social context. This positive aspect was considered as important to the life of the club, and to the unity that the club was currently enjoying both socially and competitively. When men and women played their respective interclub competitions, there was support from the other. This in turn equated to a positive club environment and encouraged both genders to achieve a higher standard of golf. It was generally said, though, that most of the members at that club enjoyed playing golf as a social game rather than as a competitive game. However, there were some women who enjoyed playing competitively with the men as well. Another benefit that was highlighted was the enjoyment that the players had when they played with different people. This brought an appreciation from men and women of the different playing styles each had, and one participant indicated that she *"learned as she played"*.

An additional concept that was alluded to in the first quotation is the perception that regardless of the competition in which either golfer was playing, the playing of golf was

resistance in the example highlights the perceptions of some men towards women in the golfing community - but resistance to integrating men's and women's golf is also evident in women's golf. The only difference is that this resistance is not so publicly documented. For example, one of the research participants told of an incident where a competition was being run for 9-hole golfers. This competition was a District competition for women, but the entry form did not indicate such. Hence, a number of men who are 9-hole members decided to enter the competition only to be told that the competition was a women's only event. They had paid their entry fees and an acknowledgement of entry was sent - yet they were refused because of their gender. This decision again was based on gender and not playing ability as they had the required "handicap" rating. The research participant acknowledges that women contribute to the continued segregation of men's and women's golf as much as men. She then added that that incident was an opportunity missed to develop the tournament into an integrated competition and it could have led to the growth of the game in general.

5.2.5 Summary

In summary, the debate over the integration of men's and women's golf is an ongoing process. The research revealed that there are small changes in clubs' attitudes toward segregated golf, but it would be fair to say that the traditional "values and norms" of golf are being challenged and golf clubs are being subjected to pressure to change. Some golf clubs are choosing to change their organisational structure from the traditional committee - based structure to that of a Board governance structure. This organisational change in local golf clubs has impacted on the way in which people who play golf perceive the future of the game, but the rate of change in the traditionally accepted organisational

practices is slow. The playing of integrated competitive golf must be considered in the context of the changing of society values, as sport tends to reflect the social values of a society. Discrimination against any minority group is now considered to be against what society considers as giving people equal and fair opportunity to take part in whatever activity they choose. The perceptions of golf and the traditional views of what golf is and how it should be played are being challenged. The discussion on how each club is choosing to change the environment of golf reveals resistance from both men and women who have played golf for a long period of time. The choice of clubs to alter the way they organise golf can be both positive and negative. The ultimate perception of golf is that while it is still operating within the bounds of tradition, some clubs are trying to adapt their environment to the needs of their members by integrating men's and women's golf - but there will continue to be resistance towards the integration of men's and women's golf competitions.

6 Conclusion

The aims of the research were to understand the relations between men and women who play golf in New Zealand, as well as to gain knowledge of the rationale, expectations and reasons for the current organisational structures within men's and women's golf. During this research process it became apparent that to form an understanding of this phenomenon an insight into how the community of golf in New Zealand evolved was essential. The establishment of golf from its introduction in the early 1900s to the current day shows the organisational evolution of golf. Identifying the historical origins and organisation of golf has provided insights into the ideological and cultural foundations upon which both men's and women's golf now operate. This information was considered to be important as it identified the research area within which the thesis data collection process occurred and enabled the specific identification of the historical and organisational structures upon which the New Zealand golfing community is now established.

To commence this research the identification of "who" are considered as part of the golfing community was important, because the environment of the casual/social golfer differs from that of the affiliated golf club member and it is the affiliated golf club environment that is being researched. The New Zealand national funding organisation, Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC), identified that the number of people playing golf in New Zealand gives it the largest participant rate of all organised sport. A further analysis of those statistics revealed that they were based on estimated playing numbers and not affiliated membership numbers. This means that any reference to the golfing community within this research thesis is a reference to the affiliated membership

of private golf clubs in New Zealand and not to the estimated playing number as identified by SPARC.

The actual affiliated membership number of people who play golf was estimated to be approximately 130,000. This figure was confirmed through analysis of the Annual General Reports of the New Zealand Golf Association (NZGA) and Women's Golf New Zealand (WGNZ) for the year 2003. A further analysis of this figure revealed that the percentages of men and women who play golf are 73% and 27% respectively. Of these totals it was revealed that over 65% of women who play the game are over the age of 50 years and that it is these women who are most likely to organise and co-ordinate the playing of golf at the club level for women.

Having determined the actual community of golf the next important step was to establish the culture of "how" golf was played and managed at club level which, in turn, reflected "how" golf became administered in New Zealand. A search of the literature revealed that the game of golf was introduced to New Zealand through the migrants who came from Scotland and Britain around the turn of the 20th century. The game initially was introduced in Otago, but it was not until the British migrants who represented the newly established middle-class arrived that the game was reintroduced in Christchurch. A few years later it became established as part of the New Zealand social scene. It was during this time that the interpretations and expectations of "how" the game was to be played and organised were formalised with the standardization of rules and regulations.

The game was initially organised on the model of golf from Britain which reflected the patriarchal expectation of management in that men had authority over the game within the respective golfing communities. As history shows, golf was considered a gentleman's game and ladies were allowed to play only at times that were considered socially acceptable for them to do so, which reinforced the fact that ladies were kept on the fringes of the golfing community. This organisational structure meant that women did not have input into the management or the control of "how" the game was played. Hence, in 1905 women moved to align themselves with an association that gave them an organisational structure independent of that of men and wherein they were free from the confines of domestic duties. The establishment of official links between the women golfers of New Zealand and the British Ladies' Golf Union (BLGU) was thus established, and this alliance remained for quite some time. It has not been possible to establish exactly when the women golfers of New Zealand chose to become an independent self-governing body, but the formation of Women's Golf New Zealand (WGNZ) about 1996 saw a change in the administration and coordination of women's golf in this country. The historical establishment of separate governing bodies for the golfing men and women of New Zealand and the interaction of the respective governing authorities have contributed to the establishment of the way in which golf has been, and is now, organised at the club level. There are, however, varying degrees of segregated golf at this level with some clubs maintaining the segregated environment of men's and women's golf and others choosing to integrate and become one club where the playing of men's and women's golf is considered as an inclusive activity.

One of the key organisational structures that golf clubs employ in the organisation of “how” and “when” men’s and women’s golf is played is through the traditional committee-based organisation. The establishment of procedures of when men and women could play golf contributes to the overall organisation of golf, but changes to the organisational structure of some clubs have given the opportunity for those clubs to adopt a more flexible direction for men’s and women’s golf.

During the literature search and analysis of data various feminist theories were identified and discussed as contributing to the rationale behind the allocation of time and resources for the playing of golf. Theories from Marxism - which maintains that the organisation of everything is based upon the economic capitalist outworking of society, and that anything that people do is based upon how the family or economic unit revolves around the working week and the output of production in a capitalist society - to social feminism - which views the organisation of golf in New Zealand as being attributable to the socialisation of men and women within society. This theory suggests that men and women are socialised into the roles that each performs in society and that these were transplanted into the sporting code of golf. It was felt that these views had some merit as the outworking of “when” men and women played golf was based upon the paid employment time frames in which men and women work. An example of society’s expectations during the early 1900s was that most women were considered the “domestic help”, and that the men were the “breadwinners” for the household. They would return home expecting to have their houses clean and dinner on the table, and therefore the only time they had left to relax and refresh themselves for the next week’s work was at

weekends. The allocation of resources in places such as the golf course tended to be driven by the needs of the workingmen. It was also deemed to be a priority for the men to have access to restorative activities as ultimately this benefited the economy and the households within the capitalist society.

The reflection of a society's expectations and standards can be transferred into other areas of people's lives such as sport. New Zealand society was an example, with research highlighting the period 1950s – 1970s which documented the reflection of society in sport. The allocation of time and resources along the lines of how people lived their lives and divided work and leisure was held as an accepted practice of that time and flowed into the way that people played sport. This method of "how" society was organised justified the development of separated spheres of organised golf for women. Although women of this time established and encouraged the segregation of men's and women's golf this was more to do with freedom and establishment of their own arena of sport than a radical movement to be fought for-notwithstanding the fact that the radical feminist could view it as a struggle of women to become free and independent. The formation of the separate organisation, run and organised by women for women, was considered as creating a sphere where women could enjoy the companionship of other women.

Having identified that any particular aspect of society can be reflected in the way that people play sport and their expectations of the organisation of the sport, a parallel could be drawn between the current golfing community and the expectations of an era when

women sought freedom from the constraints of a bygone age. Identifying this as a possible explanation of the way in which golf in New Zealand is currently organised, the researcher then sought to establish how and why the organisation of golf in today's society seems to reflect the practice of a bygone era of New Zealand society. Examples of keeping women's golf separate and under the control of women were identified in the rigorously upheld rule of the competition known as the LGU medal. The research revealed that the majority of the clubs maintained a rigid adherence to the rules of competition. This meant that women played in strict handicap order, thus establishing a hierarchy or ranking of women according to their ability. Some women felt that this was central to the keeping of women's competition within the women's sphere of golf. Yet a club that chose play their respective competition in a mixed environment found that a majority of the members were pleased to operate in this fashion. However, they did organise similarly "handicapped"⁶ women to play together, but included men to complete the playing group. The women at this club felt this way of playing the LGU medal did not impact adversely upon - or detract from - the playing of the competition. It was during the collection of the research data at this point that the frustration of women under the age of 50 years became apparent. This frustration could be explained as a tension between women from different eras with the expectation of the older players to adhere strictly to the competition rules, yet the younger ladies felt there was nothing wrong with playing in a more flexible order or in mixed gendered groups.

⁶ A term given to golfers who are aloud to claim or deduct extra shots from the score card. For example and 18 handicapper is aloud to deduct 18 strokes from their gross score to give a net score in relation to the course handicap rating.

Having described the foundations of “how” golf came to New Zealand, and identified the history of women’s golf in New Zealand through the reinforcement of organisational practices from a bygone era, the research then moved to an explanation of the reasons why golf is still organised according to the separate expectations of those who play the game. The data tended to suggest that the “values and norms” of how golf is played were then deemed to also contribute to the current organisational practices of golf in New Zealand. As identified earlier, some golf clubs have - or are moving toward - equal access and membership for both men and women. This is being introduced through clubs’ changing their constitutions and, in some cases, adopting different governance strategies such as elected Boards and the reorganisation of business practices. Even with clubs adopting these strategies and different authority structures there continues to be some tension concerning how golf is to be organised for both men and women at the playing level. These changes are challenging the accepted practices of the conservative golfing community. A review of the literature revealed that any moves to change or abolish an accepted practice normally meet with resistance. The literature indicates that the accepted “values” and “norms” of a community are the unofficial conformity to order and generally meet any change with repressive actions by members through resistance to any form of change within a community. The research data showed that any change in either the way women played golf - or the expectations of some women - were met with resistance from older women who had played and organised the game for a considerable period of time. The younger participants expressed frustration at the club’s lack of willingness to take up new opportunities to expand the acceptance of women into the wider community of golf. The increased availability of times for women’s golf was

considered, by some, as a step forward into the building up of the wider golfing social community. Yet some viewed this as another erosion of the women's sphere of golf and expressed a desire for the continuation of the way golf has been played, with the older women maintaining that *"this is the way golf has always been run and organised, why change?"* The added pressure upon the younger women to conform to the expectations of the traditions of women's golf was encouraged by the older women golfers, and any suggestion of change generally was frowned upon.

Further analysis and discussion of the data reveal an underlying expectation that, in general, most people enjoy playing with members of the opposite gender and it was suggested that it is only a small minority of men and women who desire to maintain the segregation of men's and women's golf. This area of expectation and suppression was revealed in the data, and it has also been revealed in recent newspaper articles where a woman playing in the men's team competition was appealed because she was a woman - not based on her ability. Their views ranged from endorsement of the continuation of segregated men's and women's golf competitions to a view that the combining of both competitions would increase acceptance of the sport as a truly integrated sport and advance the game to new levels of skill and technique which could see a new aspect of the game being introduced to the sport. The New Zealand Golf Association endorsed this opportunity for women to participate in stronger competition as long as they qualify through the appropriate channels. The continued argument that men's and women's golf should be separate is slowly losing its force as more women demonstrate that they can play with, and against, men on an equal footing.

Although this resistance from men was highlighted as a barrier to the advancement of the women's game, and maybe the men's, there was also resistance from the women who wanted to keep control over the women's game. This control by women factor highlighted the fact that resistance to change is actually entrenched in the women's perception of how the game should be played. Arguments for keeping the separate spheres of golf were founded upon the women's LGU competition where the rules that outline the playing of this competition are firmly entrenched in the women's organisational structure.

Finally, by means of this research an attempt has been made to provide an understanding of the current community of golf in New Zealand. Although much has been discussed and revealed in this thesis there is still scope for further research into the phenomenon of the golfing community in this country. It is suggested that further research be undertaken from the perspective of men, as well as into the benefits and costs of amalgamating the two spheres of golf in New Zealand. It was during the research that it was mentioned that older women fear the possibility of any amalgamation because they felt they would lose control over "their" game. This fear is based upon their perception that women could become marginalised in the process, and the prospect of losing what influence they may have had on the game could possibly see them again on the fringes and losing what little power and influence they have gained over the many years that women's golf has been played in New Zealand. A search of the literature reflected their concerns as being a reality with Humans Rights legislation giving an exemption from compliance with its

provisions to private sporting clubs in their interpretation of membership. This fear was also realised in the perceptions of differences in ability between men and women in the playing of golf. The perception that men and women play different types of the game and are considered to bring different attributes to the game does not mean that one should be considered either more or less important than the other. The results obtained from this research indicate that golf is an environment where power relations and traditional norms and values still hold a strong influence over the evolution of the game. Having gained a knowledge of "how" the gender dynamics influence the game of golf the results are inconclusive as many variables affecting the environment of golf in New Zealand are still to be identified and understood - but an understanding of the history and traditions of the game in the context of how they affect the current organisational structures is an important start to development of the game as a truly integrated sport in New Zealand.

THE WIZARD OF ID



The Dominion Post, 18 July 2003, p.B1

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Appendices

Appendices

Appendix A - Statistics on club membership fees for men and women 1967-2003

Appendix B - Fifa rules women out of team

Appendix C - Human Rights Act 1993, Club and sport exceptions - necessary evil
or unjustified erosions of the principles of non-discrimination

Appendix D - Newbroook gets green light to play

Appendix E - NZ body wants Newbrook back in men's competition

APPENDIX C

Human Rights Act 1993, Club and sport exceptions - necessary evil or unjustified
erosions of the principles of non-discrimination

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HUMAN RIGHTS ACT 1993

CLUB AND SPORT EXCEPTIONS - NECESSARY EVILS OR

UNJUSTIFIED EROSIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-

DISCRIMINATION?

Tracy Molloy LL.B.

Solicitor

HAIGH LYON

H A I G H L Y O N

■ BARRISTERS & SOLICITORS - NOTARY PUBLIC ■

PO Box 119 Auckland New Zealand

Phone (9) 309 0399, Fax (9) 373 2848, Email HaighLyon@xtra.co.nz

CONTENTS

Contents

Page

INTRODUCTION

2

BACKGROUND

4

HUMAN RIGHTS ACT 1993 - ORIGINS & ANALYSIS

6

Section 44 - Provision of Goods and Services

6

Section 44(3) and (4) - Clubs

7

Section 49 - Exception in Relation to Sport

12

Section 73 - Measures to Ensure Equality

24

HUMAN RIGHTS ACT 1993 - REVIEW OF APPLICATION TO DATE

27

Section 44 - Clubs

27

Section 49 - Exception in Relation to Sport

28

Section 73 - Measures to Ensure Equality

31

CONCLUSION

33

APPENDIX A

35

Fifa Rules Woman Out of Team

The New Zealand Herald, 7 May 1997

APPENDIX B

36

Hard Line on Bids to Let Women Play in Men's Grade

The New Zealand Herald, 22 May 1997

1. INTRODUCTION

'Great sporting nations such as ours have a tradition of fair play. We know what is fair and what is not. One thing we think is fair is to be treated according to our merits. It is not right that irrelevant matters should count against us. That principle was the inspiration for this country's human rights laws'.¹ It is unfortunate that, after the Honourable D.A.M. Graham, Minister of Justice, saw fit to introduce the second reading of New Zealand's Human Rights Bill with a sporting analogy, the Bill should receive so little attention and parliamentary debate on how it would impact on the sporting arena. It is unfortunate that the principle that we should be 'treated according to our merits' was not applied to sport in New Zealand's human rights legislation.

Sport plays an important role in society and an important role in the lives of the individuals who participate in sport. Women are entitled to share equally in the benefits of participating in sport. Many factors collude to deny women the right of equal opportunity. Sex discrimination in sport is a very real concern. There are numerous resources that illustrate the impact of such discrimination.² The status quo is not satisfactory and it is unlikely to change sufficiently without intervention.

¹ 537 NZPD 16903 (27 July 1993)

² Hilliary Commission, National Policy for Women in Physical Recreation & Sport, October 1988.

Australian Sports Commission, Equity for Women in Sport, February 1991,
Mitchel, S., Winning Women : Challenging the Norms in Australian Sport (1985)
& Dyer, K.,

Dyer, K. (ed.), Sportswomen Towards 2000: A Celebration (1989)

Sport impacts on a large proportion of society and 'sex discrimination in sport influences our conceptions of the female role in non sporting contexts.'³ Sport has great potential to influence our behaviour and any exceptions to protection against discrimination in the sports arena should not be made lightly. Such exceptions preserve the status quo and impliedly condone the attitudes that perpetuate discrimination against women in sport. Legislation cannot change attitudes but it can force a change in society's behaviour; a first step towards recognising that some attitudes are outdated.

This research paper attempts to evaluate the effect of the club and sport exceptions in the Human Rights Act 1993 ("the Act") on amateur and recreational sportswomen. In particular, analysis will be made of section 44 Goods and Services, section 44(4) Club Exclusion, section 49 Exception in Relation to Sport and section 73 Measures to Ensure Equality.

Firstly, I will review the origin of these sections of the Act and their development from the Human Rights Commission Act 1977. I will then analyse the interpretation and the effect of the current provisions and discuss what changes are required to ensure true gender equity in sport. Finally, I will review the impact of the Act on New Zealand sportswomen over the past three and a half years and reach conclusions regarding its effectiveness.

³ Pannick, D., Sex Discrimination in Sport (1983), 20

2. BACKGROUND

In August 1987 The Human Rights Commission produced the Review of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 in a Report to the Minister of Justice ('the Human Rights Commission Review'). The recommendations in the Human Rights Commission Review form the basis of the Human Rights Bill No. 214-1.⁴

The Human Rights Bill No.214-1 was introduced to Parliament on 15 December 1992. The Select Committee reported back on 22 July 1993; it had received 700 submissions of which 640 were primarily concerned with the extension of the prohibited grounds of discrimination to include sexual orientation and the presence within the body of organisms capable of causing illness. A few submissions addressed the club exclusion in a non-sporting context and only one submission dealt with the exception in relation to sport. The second and third readings took place on 27 July 1993, the Human Rights Act 1993 was passed into legislation on 10 August 1993 and came into force on 1 February 1994. Its long title states that it is 'an Act to consolidate and amend the Race Relations Act 1971 and The Human Rights Commission Act 1977 and to provide better protection of Human Rights in New Zealand in general accordance with United Nations covenants or conventions on Human Rights.' In particular the Act extends the grounds of prohibited discrimination to include disability, age, political opinion, employment status, family status and sexual orientation.

In relation to the provisions which are the focus of this paper, however, the only major

⁴ See, Kovacevich, J., 'The Human Rights Commission Act 1977: An LLB Honours Dissertation', Summer 86-87, for a comprehensive analysis of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977.

substantive change from earlier legislation has been in relation to the sport exception. The sport exception moved from the tradition based distinction of 'where one sex generally compete separately from persons of the other'⁵ to the physiological based distinction of the 'strength, stamina and physique'⁶ criteria. Analysis will therefore be made of the change to the sport exception and to the absence of amendment in the other provisions.

The change to the sport exception was modelled on a piece of Australian Commonwealth legislation; the Sex Discrimination Act 1984. In fact, many of the recommendations made in the Human Rights Commission Review were based on the Sex Discrimination Act 1984. Accordingly, reference will be made to the Australian situation in analysing the sport and club exceptions to New Zealand's human rights legislation.

⁵ Human Rights Commission Act 1977 s. 24(7)

⁶ Human Rights Act 1993 s. 49(1)

3. HUMAN RIGHTS ACT 1993

3.1 Section 44 - Provision of Goods and Services

Section 44 of the Human Rights Act 1993 provides:-

- 44(1) It shall be unlawful for any person who supplies goods, facilities, or services to the public or to any section of the public -
- (a) To refuse or fail on demand to provide any other person with those goods, facilities, or services; or
 - (b) To treat any other person less favourably in connection with the provision of those goods, facilities or services than would otherwise be the case, -

by reason of any of the prohibited grounds of discrimination.

Sex, which includes pregnancy and childbirth, is defined as a prohibited ground of discrimination in section 21 (1)(a) of the Act. While the confirmation of pregnancy and childbirth as prohibited grounds for discrimination is welcome it raises a minefield of contentious emotive, moral and legal issues in the sporting context which I will not attempt to cover in this paper.⁷

The substantive provisions of section 44 of the Act as they affect sportswomen are similar to those contained in section 24 of the Human Rights Commission Act. It is clearly accepted that those who provide sporting facilities or who offer the opportunity to participate in sporting events or competition to the public are required to comply with the section and cannot discriminate on the grounds of sex.

⁷ Wells, J., 'Pregnant Pause in Sportswomen's Legal Nightmare' The Australian (Sydney), 6 December 1993
Robinson, M., 'Pregnancy & Sport Participation : The Legal Issues', ANZSLA Conference 1993

3.2 Section 44 (3) and (4) - Clubs

Section 44 of the Act also provides that:-

- 44(3) Where any club, or any branch or affiliate of any club, that grants privileges to members of any other club, branch or affiliates refuses or fails on demand to provide those privileges to any of those members, or treats any of those members less favourably in connection with the provision of those privileges than would otherwise be the case, by reason of any of the prohibited grounds of discrimination, that club, branch or affiliate shall be deemed to have committed a breach of this section.
- (4) Subject to subsection (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall apply to access to membership of a club or to the provision of services or facilities to members of a club.

Sections 44(3) and 44(4) of the Act are derived from sections 24(3) and 24(9) of the Human Rights Commission Act. Apart from the effect of amalgamating the Race Relations Act and extending the grounds of discrimination they are, in substance, the same. The current provisions mean that clubs are excluded from the Act's jurisdiction in relation to their own members or potential members but fall within the Act's jurisdiction in relation to the members of any other clubs to which they may grant privileges.

The Human Rights Commission Review recommended that the club exclusion remain in the Act. It noted that to subject clubs to non-discrimination legislation would require more Commission resources, would be controversial and possibly counter-productive. The Commission acknowledges it has received complaints from women members of sports club who receive inferior conditions of membership but maintains that 'the situation will probably naturally evolve where there is great inclusion of

women and equality of memberships within clubs'.⁸ I would suggest that the situation is unlikely to evolve quickly enough. If it is accepted that there should be a greater inclusion of women and equality of membership rights in clubs, then those rights should be protected by the legislation. It is precisely because we cannot rely on attitudes to naturally evolve that we need non-discrimination legislation to at least encourage a change in behaviour.

Mai Chen in her submission to the Select Committee points out the exclusion of clubs contravenes many of New Zealand's International Human Rights obligations. In particular:-

Article 2(E) and (F) of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women requires State parties to:-

Take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organisation or enterprise' and to 'take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women.

It is also inconsistent with women's "right to participate in recreation activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life, on an equal basis with men under Article 13(c) of the Convention".⁹

The Report of the Justice Department¹⁰ noted that Australian statutes prohibit sex discrimination by clubs but that the meaning of 'club' is narrowly defined. However it does not record that while the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 excludes 'voluntary

⁸ Human Rights Commission, Review of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977: A Report to the Minister of Justice (1987) 36

⁹ Chen, M., 'The inadequacies of New Zealand's discrimination law' (1992) New Zealand Law Journal 138

¹⁰ Department of Justice, Human Rights Bill - Report of the Department of Justice (1993) 36

organisations' (as defined) from its jurisdiction, the 1992 review of such exemptions recommended that the exemption be removed.

The Report on Review of Permanent Exemptions under the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 ('the Australian Exemptions Review')¹¹ found that the exemption of voluntary bodies had restricted women's access to the membership facilities and benefits of sporting clubs and excluded women from the complaints based remedy under the Sex Discrimination Act. By way of summary and recommendation the Australian Exemptions Review stated that:

responsible organisations have chosen to remove discriminatory requirements from their rules. Those which have not reflected the spirit of the Sex Discrimination Act in their rules, are permitting the denial of many benefits to women and young girls. It is recommended that the exemption in Section 39 of the Sex Discrimination Act relating to voluntary bodies be removed.¹²

The Report of the Department of Justice did not agree and finally concluded:-

While we agree that clubs ought not discriminate specifically to disadvantage certain groups, the community does recognise the selection of members by sex, national grouping or religion in some instances as acceptable. To include clubs would take considerable care and then may simply be counter-productive.¹³

The Human Rights Commission Review chose to ignore the comments of the Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner regarding the Keparra Country Golf Club case.¹⁴

The Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner records: 'This case attracted an

¹¹ Sex Discrimination Commissioner, Report on Review of Permanent Exemptions under the Sex Discrimination Act 1994, Australian Government Publishing Service Canberra 1992

¹² Ibid. 95

¹³ Department of Justice, *op. cit.* n.10.37

¹⁴ Corry & Ors v Keparra Country Golf Club (1986) EOC 92-150 p.76, 492

enormous amount of publicity and it had a true ripple effect. Sporting clubs started to understand that the Sex Discrimination Act was part of the law of Australia and that they had to comply with it.¹⁵ Women were now armed with an Act that legitimated their claims and a precedent with which to support their case to their club. It appears therefore that the New Zealand Human Rights Commission was not prepared to risk that, even with appropriate publicity and education, such a provision could work and could to some extent be self policing.

Hence the status quo prevailed.

Definition/Interpretation

The Act does not provide a definition of 'club'. However Halsburys Laws of England defines a club as a 'society of persons associated together, not for the purposes of trade, but for social reasons, the promotion of politics, sport, art, science or literature or for any other lawful purpose;..... The association must be private and have some element of permanence'.¹⁶

The Human Rights Commission does not apply any specific definition to clubs though the benchmark factors it takes into consideration include the organisation of a group's members, its constitution, rules and set purpose. I understand that most sporting organisations, including those incorporated under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908, would be considered a club by the Human Rights Commission and hence outside the

¹⁵ Bryce, Q., Equity for Women in Sport Seminar (1991) 39

¹⁶ Niekirk, P.H.(ed.) Halsbury's Laws of England (4th ed. 1974) Vol VI, 201

jurisdiction of the Commission.¹⁷ Instances where the Commission has been powerless to act include historically male dominated sports clubs where the female division suffer discrimination through lack of facilities, opportunities and coaching expertise. The Commission has entered discussions with clubs where provision of services have been manifestly unfair such as provision of only limited 'ladies days' and requirement of ladies to 'bring a plate', however they can only attempt to educate and have no jurisdiction to intervene.

Analysis

The traditional argument against subjecting clubs to nondiscrimination legislation is the right of individuals to free association and expression. Section 17 of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 protects the right to freedom of association. This must be balanced against the right to freedom from discrimination, in this case; in the selection and participation in the opportunities clubs provide. The right to free association is particularly important to truly 'private' clubs formed to promote and preserve particular political, cultural or religious standards and which have selective membership policies.

Many sports organisations in New Zealand operate a monopoly within which you must compete if you want to play the particular sport. They are usually organisations with a large number of members, permissive membership policies and membership fees payable on a cost-recovery basis. They are 'public' clubs whose gathering of

¹⁷ Interview with Carrick Morpeth, Office Solicitor for Human Rights Commission, 29 April 1994

members is motivated by the desire to play sport against athletes of comparative skill, regardless of race or culture. In the case of sports clubs the right to freedom from discrimination outweighs the right to freedom of association and expression. I believe sports clubs are, in effect, very public bodies which supply facilities and services to a large proportion of New Zealand society. Sports clubs should not be excluded from the effect of section 44; they should be expressly included.

3.3 Section 49 - Exception in Relation to Sport

Section 49 of the Act, as relevant, provides that:

- 49(1) Subject to subsection (2) of this section, nothing in section 44 of this Act shall prevent the exclusion of persons of one sex from participation in any competitive sporting activity in which the strength, stamina, or physique of competitors is relevant.
- (2) Subsection (1) of this section does not apply in relation to the exclusion of persons from participation in -
- (a) The coaching of persons engaged in any sporting activity; or
 - (b) The umpiring or refereeing of any sporting activity; or
 - (c) The administration of any sporting activity; or
 - (d) Sporting activities by persons who have not attained the age of twelve years.

The precursor to section 49 of the Act is found in section 24(7) of the Human Rights Commission Act. The basis on which section 24(7) of The Human Rights Commission Act allowed exclusion was where 'one sex generally compete separately from persons of the other'. This protected historical discrimination on the basis of gender regardless of physical ability. This protected the status quo.

Section 49 of the Human Rights Act provides a more sophisticated exception on the basis of physical characteristics. It is modelled on section 42(1) of the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 of Australia as recommended by the Human Rights Commission Review. The Commission acknowledged that it 'has received a steady number of complaints from young people, primarily women, who have been denied opportunity to participate in sporting activities because of their sex.'¹⁸ This would suggest that the effect, if not the intention, of the Human Rights Commission Act provision was to limit opportunities for women in traditionally male dominated sports. However, I believe that the current Human Rights Act provision has serious defects if it is attempting to remedy that situation.

There was no time spent during parliamentary debates on the effect or adequacy of this section. This is hardly surprising given that there was only one submission on the point; from the New Zealand Assembly for Sport.¹⁹ The Assembly submitted that it's Membership:

1. Supported the main thrust of the Human Rights Bill and appreciated the specific "Exemption in relation to sport"; and
2. Recommended that discrimination in sport be lawful as soon as children reach the age of ten.²⁰

¹⁸ Human Rights Commission. *op.cit* n.8, 35

¹⁹ An organisation whose chief objective is to represent its national sports organisation membership as "one voice for sport" on issues of commonality.

²⁰ The New Zealand Assembly for Sport, Submission Human Rights Bill (1993) 2

In contrast, the Australian Lavarch Inquiry²¹ received 634 submissions concerning sport. The number of submissions is an indication that issues concerning human rights in sport have a much higher profile in Australia than in New Zealand and that the groups concerned with these issues are much more active and organised.

By way of summary and recommendation the Australian Exemptions Review stated that:

Section 42 has been relied upon to prevent women and girls gaining access to sports competitions when, on merit and skill, some women are well able to compete with men and boys. When used in conjunction with section 39, section 42 can result in elite male standards being applied to women's sporting activities, especially where competitions are controlled by organisations which fall within the definition of "voluntary bodies" in section 42 of the Sex Discrimination Act. It is recommended that the exemption in section 42 of the Sex Discrimination Act relating to sport be removed in its entirety.²²

I agree with this recommendation made by the Australian Exemptions Review. As previously noted I believe the substantive provision of New Zealand's section 49 is inadequate. It has three major problems. The first problem is one of definition and interpretation, the second is the unjustified effect of its application on women in the sporting arena and the final problem is the added impact of the section 44 club exclusion.

Definition/Interpretation

The Act does not define the essential terms of 'competitive sporting activity',

²¹ House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Inquiry into Equal Opportunity and Equal Status for Women in Australia.

²² Sex Discrimination Commissioner, op.cit n.11, 130

'strength', 'stamina' or 'physique' nor does it specify in which way these factors should be 'relevant'. In the absence of statutory definition I turn to the Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition) which defines the following terms:

- (a) **'Compete'**; as to enter into or be put in rivalry with, to vie with another in any respect;
- (b) **'Sport'**; includes pleasant pastime, entertainment, recreation, hunting, participation in games or exercise, especially those of an athletic character or pursued in the open air;
- (c) **'Activity'**; as the state of being active; the exertion of energy, action;
- (d) **'Strength'**; as the quality or condition of being strong; power of action in body or limbs; ability to exert muscular force;
- (e) **'Stamina'**; as vigour of bodily constitution; power of sustaining fatigue or privation, of recovery from illness, and of resistance to debilitating influences; staying power;
- (f) **'Physique'**; as physical or bodily structure, organisation, and development; the characteristic appearance or physical powers (of an individual or a race); and
- (g) **'Relevant'**; as bearing upon, connected with, or pertinent to, the matter in hand.

It is hard to imagine a situation where such factors would not have a bearing on persons in rivalry with another in any game or competition. Competitive sport is by its very nature discriminatory; its purpose is to reward 'the best'. It has already developed restrictions such as age and weight to promote some sort of competitive equality.

In light of this history I would interpret section 49 as allowing the exclusion of persons of one sex from participation in any competitive sporting activity in which the physiological restrictions of strength stamina or physique negate the prospect of competitive equality and give persons of one sex an unfair advantage over persons of the other sex. An appeal from the Equal Opportunity Tribunal where the Supreme Court of South Australia held that:

'Tennis is a competitive sporting activity in which the strength stamina or physique of the competitor is relevant because whether the game is played by males or females or both together at any age level the physical attributes of the competitor are relevant to the outcome'²³ (own emphasis) supports this interpretation.

Unjustified effect of the section's application on women in the sporting arena

Dr Ken Dyer comments that: 'to enact sex discrimination legislation which then exempts one of the most important sectors of modern society from its provisions does seem absurd. On the other hand, there are some powerful arguments which oppose going any further with this legislation or its enforcement.'²⁴

This and other resources suggest there are five main reasons why such an exception is made in the sporting arena. They are:

- 1 To protect females from exposure to unreasonable risk of harm; more particularly in contact sports.

²³ Commissioner for Equal Opportunity V. Parsons & Ors (1990) EOC 92-278 p.77, 831
²⁴ Dyer, K., (ed.) Sportswomen towards 2000 : A Celebration (1989) 59

- 2 To protect men from inhibitions due to fear of hurting women or of humiliating them by virtue of their strength advantage.
- 3 To protect female sports programmes from male intrusion.
- 4 To protect equal opportunity for women not only in participation but in enjoyment of the prestige and rewards of success.
- 5 Controversy.

Protection of females from exposure to unreasonable risk of harm

The first reason is easily dismissed. It is often argued that society has an interest in protecting women and more importantly their procreative organs. However the womb has its own insulation and protection and breasts can be adequately protected if necessary. A man's reproductive organs are markedly more vulnerable! Of more general application is the claim that as women are generally weaker they are more injury prone and should be protected from harm by those stronger than themselves. This argument fails to recognise that participation in sport is an individual's choice. If society accepts a sport in which injury is a risk then it must also accept participation by both men and women in that sport. To fail to accept integrated participation would allow an anomaly whereby a weak and injury prone man is entitled to run the risk of injury whereas a woman, whose individual characteristics of skill, strength and ability render her unlikely to be injured, would be unable to elect to risk injury. Such protective measures result in the denial to all women of opportunities for which some women are, apart from their gender, well

qualified.²⁵

Protection of males from inhibitions

The second argument is similarly dismissed. It has social and cultural origins which have no place in today's society. An example of such flawed reasoning can be seen in one of the first cases to be litigated in the United States where the Court refused to allow a female to participate on a boys' cross country team on the following rationale:

The present generation of our male population has not become so decadent that boys will experience a thrill in defeating girls in running contests with boys vying with girls in cross country and indoor track, the challenge to win, and the glory of achievement, at least for many boys, would lose incentive and become nullified. Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow.²⁶

Fortunately that kind of attitude no longer finds judicial favour in consideration of integrated sport for children in the United States. Nor should it find favour in the determination of sporting opportunities for adults.

Protection of female sports programmes

The third argument has more merit. It alleges that if the sporting exception is removed then all sporting events will be required to be open which, given the accepted physiological advantages of men, would quickly lead to men being the

²⁵ Pannick, D., Sex Discrimination in Sport (1983) 41

²⁶ Hollander v. Connecticut Interscholastic Conference, Inc., 164 Conn. 654 (1972)

dominant force in most sports.

Protection of equal opportunity for success

The fourth argument is a development of the third. It contends that the male domination of a sport would intimidate women and not only reduce their opportunity for participation but also the opportunity for success. The competitor who used to be placed in a 'women only' event would normally be further down the field in an open event, would win fewer prizes and receive less publicity. This would detrimentally affect the profile of women's sport.

Controversy

Finally, controversy would most likely follow any attempt to remove the club and sporting exceptions from the Act. The Human Rights Commission Review records that 'feelings on these matters run very high'.²⁷ Members of the community, including athletes and competitors, are likely to be polarised over the issue of integrated sport. The New Zealand public and legislators have a duty to face this potential controversy and fully investigate this issue for the integrity of our human rights legislation.

While I accept the merit of the third and fourth points above I do not believe they are sufficient to detract from a basic human right. That human right is the right to be

²⁷ Human Rights Commission, op.cit. n. 8, 36

treated according to one's individual abilities and characteristics and not assigned the characteristics of one's gender, race or culture; the purpose of non-discrimination legislation. To treat females as a class and allow separation serves to confine women of exceptional ability to lower levels of competition and performance and denies women the opportunity of improvement. There are other solutions to these problems that do not detract from the rights of the individual.

Alternative Solutions

I believe the most workable solution is the implementation of an affirmative action policy. This would prevent men from competing in 'women only' events but allow a women to compete in the men's or open event if sufficiently qualified on the basis of her individual merits. Such affirmative action should only apply where woman are disadvantaged either socially, historically or physiologically and should remain in force only so long as such disadvantage continues. It should also operate in reverse. In any sport where men are socially, historically or physiologically disadvantaged as compared to women then the exceptional male should be able to compete in the women's events but no woman allowed to compete in 'men only' events until such disadvantage is remedied.

It has been suggested that it may not be necessary to invoke legislative amendment to protect individuals against sex discrimination in sport. The argument runs that:

Where an individual can compete on strength, stamina and physique with members of the opposite sex and wishes to, it might be that section 49 will be interpreted in relation to that individual rather than on a general basis by reference to the norms of the particular sport. That interpretation would, it is submitted, be consistent with the Bill of Rights and not inconsistent with the provisions of section 49.²⁸

However, I believe it is more likely that the Bill of Rights Act would not apply by virtue of sections 4 and 5 of that Act. I suggest the section 49 exemption would be interpreted as an express statutory exclusion of the Bill of Rights Act within such limits prescribed by Law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.²⁹

An early unreported UK decision Bennett v. The Football Association Limited and The Nottinghamshire FA³⁰ definitely did not take such an individualistic approach. It was concerned with whether or not a twelve year old schoolgirl was discriminated against playing football with boys of her own age. This particular plaintiff was definitely not at a disadvantage to the average boy. Indeed, witnesses contended 'she ran rings around the boys' and was 'a vicious tackler and once tackled a fifteen year old so hard he had to be supported and taken from the field'. Lord Denning commented that the law would be 'exposing itself to absurdity.... if it tried to make girls into boys so that they could play in a football league'. The relevant provision allows discrimination where: 'in relation to any sport, game or other activity of a competitive nature where the physical strength, stamina or physique of the average women puts her at a disadvantage to the average man.'³¹ The Court of Appeal adopted a wide construction and noted it was the relationship of the average man and

²⁸ David, P., 'Discrimination - The Legislative Framework in New Zealand and its Applications to Sport' ANZSLA Conference (1993) 9
²⁹ New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 s.5
³⁰ Court of Appeal Transcript : No 591 (1978)
³¹ Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (U.K.) s.44

the average woman in connection with the sport and not the position of a particular individual that was relevant.

The distinguishing factors between the UK and New Zealand are that the UK legislation includes the objective element of the average man and average woman and New Zealand's Bill of Rights Act has seen a greater leaning towards protection of the individual. Judicial attitudes have also changed since 1978. I still believe however that section 49 of the Human Rights Act can produce as wide (or objective) a construction as the UK legislation. It states that where strength, stamina or physique of competitors (plural) is relevant, exclusion of persons of one sex is not unlawful. I would prefer the section to be interpreted subjectively but believe it was intended to be interpreted objectively. I suggest it would have been expressed in explicit terms had the test been intended to be subjective.

One commentator has suggested that section 49 should be amended as follows:

Nothing in this section shall prevent the exclusion of adults of one gender from participation in any competitive sporting activity in which adults of one gender generally achieve to a higher standard than the other gender because the physical strength, stamina or physique of the average adult of one gender puts him or her at a disadvantage to the average adult of the other gender, or because of historical inequities such as social roles and the allocation of resources in favour of one gender rather than the other gender.³²

This recognises that there are other factors which disadvantage women. It recognises that in sports such as snooker or shooting where there should be no or little physiological advantages, historical inequities have contributed to a situation where

³² Chen, M., 'Self-regulation or state regulation? Discrimination in clubs' New Zealand Universities Law Review (1993) 460

men generally achieve to a higher standard than women. Women's positions in these sports should be protected and nurtured until such historical disadvantages have been ameliorated and competitors of both sexes can compete with 'competitive equality'. It also recognises, as does section 49(2)(d) that medical evidence suggests the differences between the sexes at pre-pubescence is less than the differences between the individuals of both sexes. If children of both sexes are encouraged to play sport to the same level of participation, determination and skill, it may be that social disadvantages will be reduced and it will take longer for physiological disadvantages to become relevant. Hence the limitation of the suggested amendment to the 'average adult'.

This suggestion would however require one amendment to address the concern of discrimination against the exceptional individual. It should specify that the section should only operate to permit the exclusion of adults of the advantaged gender. Adults of the disadvantaged gender should be able to participate in a competitive sporting activity with adults of the advantaged gender should the particular adult merit inclusion on the basis of his or her individual characteristics. The other alternative is to eliminate section 49 altogether and rely on section 73 of the Human Rights Act as an affirmative action protection against the concerns earlier discussed.

Impact of the Section 44 Club Exclusion

The final problem is the impact of the section 44 club exclusion on the section 49 sporting exception. This is illustrated by a number of complaints received by the Human Rights Commission from female coaches. A number of these women were

most able coaches but felt they were being discriminated against because of their sex.³³ These complaints were received prior to the enactment of the Act and did not amount to unlawful discrimination under the previous Human Rights Commission Act. Given that the substantive provision of section 49 does not apply in relation to coaching one would think that their complaints would have been covered by the new Act. This was not the case. Where these women were coaching within a club structure the overriding club exclusion contained in section 44(4) applied to prevent them receiving the protection from discrimination they deserved.

Similarly, competitive sports where strength, stamina and physique are not relevant and indeed any sports operating within a club structure fall outside the jurisdiction of the Act by virtue of the overriding club exclusion. Only where sports are conducted outside the confines of a club would section 49 be of any assistance. Hence the importance of expressly including clubs within the non discrimination legislation jurisdiction is reinforced.

3.4 Section 73 - Measures to Ensure Equality

Section 73 of the Act, as relevant, provides that:

73(1) Anything done or omitted which would otherwise constitute a breach of any of the provisions of this Part of this Act shall not constitute such a breach if -

- (a) It is done or omitted in good faith for the purpose of assisting or advancing persons or groups of persons, being in each case persons against whom discrimination is unlawful by virtue of this Part of this Act; and

³³

Interview with Carrick Morpeth, Office Solicitor for Human Rights Commission, 29 April 1994

- (b) Those persons or groups need or may reasonably be supposed to need assistance or advancement in order to achieve an equal place with other members of the community.

Section 73 of the Act is derived from section 29 of the Human Rights Commission Act as amended in 1992. Apart from the extension of the grounds of discrimination they are, in substance, the same. As previously stated, section 73 can be used for the purpose of protecting affirmative action initiatives where women are disadvantaged in sport either by virtue of historical, social or physical characteristics.

It is interesting to note that at the time the Act was passed a series of Australian cases³⁴ had highlighted the difficulty in satisfying the requirements of Victoria's legislative affirmative action provision. In particular, the 'light weights room'³⁵ supported a very narrow interpretation of the relevant section³⁶ which the Victorian Equal Opportunity Board itself considered used 'very wide terms'.³⁷

This interpretation made it difficult to satisfy the 'bona fide arrangement designed to prevent or adduce disadvantage' requirement of the Victorian legislation. The New Zealand provision is less capable of a narrow interpretation as all that would be required is an act done in good faith to assist disadvantaged persons achieve an equal place in the community.³⁸ An act done in good faith should not require a 'supporting act' or accompanying 'promotion campaign' as suggested in the 'light weights room'

³⁴ City of Brunswick: Re: Application for Exemption from Provisions of Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (1992) EOC 92-450

Mayor, Councillors & Citizens of the City of Moe v. Pullis (1988) EOC 92-243

³⁵ Ross & Ors v. University of Melbourne (1990) EOC 92-290 p.77, 936

³⁶ Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (Vic) s.39(f)

³⁷ Ross & Ors v. University of Melbourne (1990) EOC 92-290, p.77, 936

³⁸ Human Rights Act 1993 s.73

decision. Although, evidence of appropriate assessments, strategies and evaluation procedures would assist in establishing a 'good faith' act. I believe it is appropriate to incorporate flexibility into such a provision and that the New Zealand provision better reflects the concurrent purpose of the legislation to promote equality of opportunity.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS ACT 1993 - REVIEW OF APPLICATION TO DATE

As previously stated the Act came into force on 1 February 1994. The lack of reported decisions regarding the club and sport exceptions, some three and a half years later, gives some indication of the Act's impact on amateur and recreational³⁹ women in New Zealand.

The Human Rights Commission Annual Report 1996 records enquiries statistics for the period 1 July 1995 to 30 June 1996. During that period the Commission fielded 154 enquiries regarding clubs and 24 enquiries regarding sport. Recent enquiries of the Human Rights Commission reveal that in most cases they were unable to assist or intervene due to the exceptions contained in sections 44 and 49 of the Act.

4.1 Section 44 - Clubs

The only reported decision dealing with either of the exceptions in a sporting context is that of Skidmore v Mercury Bay Bowling Club.⁴⁰ This decision involved an unsuccessful claim under section 24(3) of the Human Right Commission Act (the equivalent of section 44(3) of the Act). Skidmore claimed discrimination on the basis that she was denied continued use of a pool table in circumstances where a man would have had use of it. The Complaints Review Tribunal held that as Skidmore was a member of the Mercury Bay Women's Bowling Club she had to show that she was not afforded the same privileges as other members of that second club rather than compared to members of the primary club; being the Mercury Bay Bowling Club (own emphasis). She was also required to establish that her sex was the reason for her less favourable treatment. It was held that nothing in Skidmore's claim supported this finding and the complaint was dismissed.

³⁹ Professional sportswomen, coaches, referees and administrators (ie paid employees) may be afforded greater protection by virtue of s22 Human Rights Act 1993 which deals with discrimination in employment matters. I have not expanded as the subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁴⁰ (1993) 3 HRNZ 131

4.2 Section 49 - Exception in Relation to Sport

In the absence of any reported decisions considering the sport exception I turn to a case study to illustrate the Act's inability to protect New Zealand sportswomen against discrimination.

Case Study

"Fifa rules woman out of team"⁴¹ and **"Hard line on bids to let woman play men's grade"**.⁴² These are two New Zealand Herald headlines which highlight a recent example of the Commission's inability to intervene due to the club and sport exceptions in the Act.

The first article reads:

Megan McKenna has been thrown out of the Massey University Staff soccer team by officialdom because she's a woman.

The ruling was made by soccer's international governing body, Fifa, after a complaint from an opposing team.

Fifa's ruling has prompted a complaint by McKenna's team-mates to the Human Rights Commission.

McKenna, a post-doctoral fellow in Massey University's geography department, came to New Zealand from Canada 10 months ago. She played top-level woman's soccer for two years in Canada and was a member of that country's road cycling team in 1993 and 1994. McKenna believes it is her right to choose which team she plays for, having decided not to switch to the Manawatu Women's League in favour of playing alongside work colleagues....

The Massey University staff soccer team ("the team") had made pre-season enquiries and were told that 'there was nothing in the rules which said a woman couldn't play'.⁴³

⁴¹ The New Zealand Herald, 7 May 1997

⁴² The New Zealand Herald, 22 May 1997

⁴³ NZ Herald, 7 May 1997

The protest from Marist (the opposing team) was passed on from the Manawatu Football Association to Soccer New Zealand who asked for clarification from Fifa. The 'considered' response from Fifa was that; 'It is absolutely forbidden to allow a mixed team to participate in an official competition.'⁴⁴

This was not supported by reference to any specific Fifa rule. Fifa relied on the assertion that in most other team sports the teams are formed by people of the same sex. Reference was also made to some unspecified generic "Laws of the Game".

This arbitrary, unsubstantiated response from Fifa resulted in a request by the team for an investigation by the Human Rights Commission. The team disputed the application of section 49 on several grounds. In particular, the personal attributes of Megan McKenna's strength, stamina and physique were emphasised by reference to her list of achievements, including mountain biking at National and World Championship levels, road cycling at national and international levels, and soccer in the Ottawa Men's second division and Ottawa women's premier division. It was also noted that it was unfair to discriminate solely on the grounds of sex when examples illustrated that the Manawatu Football Association did not discriminate on other grounds such as age or disability.

Ultimately, the team requested 'a determination from the Human Rights Commission which would require the Manawatu Football Association and Soccer New Zealand to permit the participation of Megan McKenna (and any other woman who can

⁴⁴

Ibid.

demonstrate the appropriate ability) in competitions under their jurisdiction'.

The Human Rights Commission provided an informal, non-binding opinion which concluded that:

- (i) Clubs are able to impose conditions on membership that are discriminatory; and
- (ii) Section 49 imposes a general standard rather than focusing on the individual athlete. A particular individual's strength and stamina to play a particular sport, is not, in itself, sufficient to circumvent section 49.

This case study raises several areas of concern. Firstly, the response by Fifa supports the contention that sex-discrimination in sport is still entrenched at the highest levels. Fifa's response indicates that the issue is not being addressed with sufficient seriousness, if at all. Not only, as one commentator suggests, has 'sports related [gender equity] interventions...received scant attention from policy analysts'⁴⁵ but it seems that administrators at the highest level of sport have directed scant attention to even the existence and impact of such discrimination.

Secondly, the Human Rights Commission's objective interpretation of section 49 operates to prevent any complaint from proceeding beyond the first level of the system. As previously discussed, even if challenged at the Complaints Review level I believe that the objective, as opposed to the subjective, interpretation would prevail.

⁴⁵ McKay, J., Masculine Hegemony, the State & the Incorporation of Gender Equity Discourse: The Case of Australian Sport, Australian Journal of Political Science (1994) Vol. 29, 82-95.

Thirdly, it provides confirmation that the club exception and objective interpretation of the sport exception operate to exclude amateur sportswomen from protection against discrimination on the grounds of their sex.

4.3 Section 73 - Measures to Ensure Equality

The decision of Amaltal Fishing Co Ltd v Nelson Polytechnic⁴⁶ considers the application of section 73 of the Act. It confirms that to establish a defence to discrimination under section 73 the defendant must show, on the balance of probabilities, that:

- (i) The thing done was done in good faith; and
- (ii) The thing done was done for the purpose of assisting or advancing persons or groups of persons covered by the Act; and
- (iii) Those persons or groups of persons need, or may reasonably be supposed to need, assistance or advancement in order to achieve an equal place in the community.

The Tribunal held that the 'reserved places' in the Polytechnic's fishing cadet courses were unlawful and that the Polytechnic had failed to satisfy the third limb of the 'special measures' defence. At the time, many critics celebrated this decision as the death knoll for affirmative action policies. However, as one commentator notes:

⁴⁶ (1996) EOC 92-825

The reason why the Nelson Polytechnic fishing cadet courses were held to be unlawful therefore is not because a special measures provision no longer exists in New Zealand law but rather that no evidence that special measures were needed had been put before the Tribunal.⁴⁷

The Amaltal case is helpful in that it confirms both the grounds and validity of New Zealand's affirmative action provision under the Act.

⁴⁷

Joychild, F., "Affirmative Action - "Measures to Ensure Equality""
Human Rights Law & Practice 1(4) Mar 1996: 218-229

5 CONCLUSION

My conclusions are readily apparent. I believe that the club and sport exceptions to the Human Rights Act are unnecessary erosions of the principle of non-discrimination. All mixed sports organisations, whether defined as clubs or voluntary bodies, should be subject to the non-discrimination legislation in New Zealand and Australia.

It is equally apparent that the Act has provided little protection against sex-discrimination to the amateur and recreational sportswomen of New Zealand. The Act clearly did not intend to provide such protection and is accordingly inadequate. The playing field has levelled markedly since the 'football'⁴⁸ and 'cross-country'⁴⁹ decisions of the 1970's. It is time now to look towards 2000 as an era promoting true gender equity in sport. To achieve this goal the club and sport exceptions to the Act should be removed. At the very least, the club exception should not extend to 'sports' clubs and the sport exception should be amended to reflect an individual-based subjective test as opposed to one based on general objective criteria. In this way we can attempt to avoid the denial of appropriate opportunities for women to succeed in their chosen sport.

The United Kingdom White Paper, Equality for Women, recognised that: 'All exceptions weaken the principle of non-discrimination. The aim must be, therefore, to limit exceptions to the necessary minimum. These must include provisions to ensure that the legislation does not apply to personal and intimate relationships and that the application of the principle of non-discrimination does not produce manifest anomalies or

⁴⁸ Infra. n. 30

⁴⁹ Infra. n. 26

absurdities.⁵⁰ I hope I have illustrated that the application of **the principle of non-discrimination in the club and sporting arenas can operate without producing manifest anomalies or absurdities** and as such the participants in these arenas should receive the full benefits of human rights legislation.

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(1974) Cmnd 5724 para.39