

A Fair Go? Women in Sport in South Australia 1945-1965.



A.S.S.H. STUDIES IN SPORTS HISTORY: NO. 6

**A FAIR GO? WOMEN IN SPORT
IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA
1945-1965**

LEONIE M. RANDALL

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PREFACE

As part of A.S.S.H. 's services to members it has been decided to produce occasional *Studies in Sports History*. Some of these are compilations of essays on particular themes; others, such as this monograph by Leonie Randall, bring outstanding student dissertations to a wider readership. Leonie's thesis was submitted to Flinders University in 1986 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an honours degree in history. It contributed to Leonie's success in winning the Jim Main award for best history honours student and her university medal as best honours student in the School of Social Sciences.

The thesis discusses the participation of women in sport in South Australia between 1945 and 1965. This period was chosen because it is often referred to as the 'golden age' of Australian, and especially Australian women's, sport. The first chapter examines the basis of women's exclusion from all but a minor role in sport in western culture. Later chapters look at female participation in school, university and community sport and the promotion of sport by public and private groups. The possible effects of post-war social changes on the position of women in sport are also considered.

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Introduction

In most westernised countries women's participation in sport has followed a similar course. In many cases there existed an obvious link between the emergence of women's sport and an increasing concern for the social progress of women.¹ In a general sense the history of women's sport begins in the latter half of the nineteenth century.² Modest beginnings in a limited number of socially acceptable sports - such as croquet, tennis and golf - were established during the 1860s and 1870s. Sports participation continued to expand in the period to 1914, as women struggled to expand other aspects of their lives. The revolution in women's fashions, heralded in sporting wear by the bicycle skirt and the bloomer costume, helped emancipate women for physical activity. With the onset of World War I, sporting activity was minimised as women channelled their energy and time into the war effort. The gains made by women in both social and sporting terms, were eroded by the Great Depression. The conservatism of this period resulted in the decline of physical activity for women as their traditional role was re-emphasised and objections to competitive sport increased.³

In the years just prior to, and certainly after, World War II, women's sport expanded considerably. The range of sports open to women increased as did the number of women participating. It was after World War II that the development of women's team games at the international level occurred, long delayed by objections to women competing in contact sports. It was not until 1964 that the first team game - volleyball - was introduced to the Olympic Games programme. In the post-war period the Soviet Union joined the international sport movement and at the 1956 Olympic Games emerged as a major force in sporting endeavour. Their marked success in the women's events has made them, and other European bloc countries, powerful supporters of the expansion of the women's

sports programme. These communist countries also provide their athletes with the encouragement, opportunities and support often denied women in the 'democratic' countries.⁴

Despite the continuing progress of women in the sporting world, inequalities and injustices persist. Less women can turn to professional sport as a career option; they have fewer opportunities to participate; are denied access to adequate facilities, coaching and other incentives; have fewer rewards available to them; and in many cases still face public hostility to, and derision of, their commitment to sport. Objections to women's participation has been so strong that they have been banned from some areas of competition. It was not until 1972 that women were allowed to compete in the Boston marathon. Religion - as for example in Moslem communities - continues to play a negative role in regard to women's sport. Recently the Pakistan Government passed legislation prohibiting women from competing in international sport, and when Ayatullah Humeini came to power in Iran, women's participation in sport was severely restricted.⁵ Major obstacles to the complete acceptance and support of female athletes still exist, although this is slowly changing.

It has only been recently that sports historians and feminist theorists have accepted the study of women in sport as an appropriate and necessary area for analysis. Sports history is a relatively new field and generally male-dominated so that research on women in sport has lagged. Feminist writers have concentrated on other areas of female and male interaction. Similarly sports commentators, conditioned by the belief that sport is a male prerogative, have denigrated and then dismissed women's sporting experience.⁶ Nevertheless the continuing demand for equality between the sexes in all aspects of life, and the recognition that sport helps to "reproduce the social relations of

power" and maintain existing "patterns of social domination" has resulted in the emergence of the serious academic study of women's sport.⁷

Notes to Introduction

1. Ian F. Jobling, 'The 'Sporty' Australians: Women and Sport in Australian History', Medicine and Sport, Vol. 14, 1981, 67; M. Ann Hall, 'Women, Sport and Feminism: Some Canadian and Australian Comparisons', paper presented at "Fit to Play", First National Conference on Women, Sport and Physical Recreation, mimeo, Sydney 1980, 7.
2. Certainly a select group of women participated in sport before this. However, this was mainly limited to women of social standing and wealth and included a small range of activities.
3. Hall, op.cit., 7-12; Margaret A. Coffey, 'The Modern Sportswoman', in John T. Talamini and Charles H. Page, Sport and Society: An Anthology, Boston, 1973, 282.
4. U. Simri, 'Development of Women's sport in the 20th Century', Medicine and Sport, Vol. 14, 1981, 38; B. Stoddart, Saturday Afternoon Fever, Sydney, 1986, 19.
5. K.F. Dyer, Challenging the Men, St. Lucia, 1982, 2; R. De Castella (with Gayelene Clews), De Castella on Running, Victoria 1984, 69; U. Simri, op.cit., 41.
6. Hall, op.cit., 1.
7. Stoddart, op.cit., 8.

Chapter 1PHYSICALLY DIFFERENT, SOCIALLY INFERIOR: AN
EXPLANATION OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SPORT

The 'incontrovertible' fact of women's physical inferiority when compared to men's was - and still is - presented as a valid reason for their exclusion from the sporting arena. Ignorance and an overwhelming fear of the result of physical exertion on the health, and more specifically on women's reproductive capacity, have been among the forces working against the acceptance of sport for women.

Assumed biological factors produced a self-perpetuating cycle of exclusion: the 'inherent' weakness of women (rather than lack of facilities, encouragement and coaching) resulted in inferior sporting performances, which in turn have been used to justify exclusion and discrimination.

The end result of myths involving both the physiological delicacy of women and the masculine nature of sport has been the formation of 'special games' (designed to accommodate the frailty of women) netball for example, and the modification of existing sports - such as the introduction of a woman's tee in golf. Netball, embodying the principles of limited movement and non-contact, was ideally suited to the perceived physical deficiencies of women and current concepts of appropriate feminine behaviour.

Critics were also prepared for the success of women in sporting endeavours. Further reinforcing the 'inherently' masculine nature of sport, it was claimed that any achievement was the result of artificial agents; women had either inherited masculine characteristics or used male hormones to boost their performance. The implication being of course that "real women" were incapable of physical excellence.¹ The implementation of so-called "sex-testing" provides another example of

an underlying belief in the incompatibility of women and a sporting role.²

Misconceptions and absurdities forwarded in the past by the medical profession serve to highlight the dearth of scientifically supported knowledge on women's physiology and physical capabilities. Studies on women to determine their capacity for physical exertion were - and continue to be - based on dubious scientific grounds. Tests, especially before the 1950s, used sedentary female subjects to establish physical boundaries for women.³ No wonder women were labelled physically incapable!

Female sport enthusiasts battled traditional, unquestioned assumptions concerning the fragility and weakness of women. The inferior status of women in sport was, in part, related to the belief that "to be female was to be sick".⁴ This view became firmly entrenched in popular opinion with the rise to economic, social and political influence of the middle-class in the mid Victorian period. Associated physiological factors also restricted women's access to sport. A not inconsiderable factor weighing heavily against the acceptance of physical activity for women was the widely held belief that women were unable to cope with the mental rigours required in sport. The "slightly smaller cubic capacity of the average female brain" was conveniently interpreted as mental incompetence.⁵ Education was considered unhealthy for women, too taxing both mentally and physically, and inevitably resulting in "brain fever, hysteria and collapse".⁶ Exercises were therefore introduced to girls' schools to counteract the 'harmful effects' of study. However, only those activities, gymnastic exercises for example, which were thought to aid hygiene, health and the reproductive functions were acceptable.⁷ It is ironic that the opponents of one form of Liberation for women would pave the way for another: the acceptance of physical activity as a legitimate and desirable pursuit for women.

BIOLOGICAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SPORTING PERFORMANCE

There are certain basic biological requirements necessary for physical activity. Any attempt to establish that sport is within the physical capabilities of women must examine the correlation between female athletes and these physiological prerequisites.

When compared with men, women do appear to be at a physical disadvantage. In general men are bigger; they have larger bones; better Leverage; are heavier and stronger; they have more short-term energy available; and also have a Larger lung and heart capacity. Despite these generalisations there remains considerable overlap in the physical configuration of females and males. Moreover, although women's bones are on average smaller and Less dense than men's, this does not automatically mean women are at a disadvantage. What disadvantages do occur - notably in jumping and some throwing events - are amply compensated for by significant benefits in long distance running, the short sprints, swimming and gymnastics.⁸ Women's shoulders are also narrower, their upper-arm bone (humerus) is both absolutely and relatively shorter than men's, and the forearm is set at a different angle. Because of these factors women find cycling, throwing and rotary movements of the arm (such as bowling in cricket) more difficult. These skeletal differences also disadvantage women in events "in which the magnitude of arm power at full stretch is important", rowing or tennis for example, or where arms must support the body, as in gymnastics. Women have an advantage in physical exercises requiring flexibility and suppleness as their joints and cartilage of the foot, pelvic girdle and vertebral column are better designed to enable sudden springing, landing or extensions.⁹ That on average women have Lesser amounts of muscle than men can be modified by training and to some extent can be countered by women's greater muscular endurance and flexibility.¹⁰

A plentiful oxygen supply and efficient oxygen transport system are obviously vital to successful sporting activity. Women do have a smaller lung volume and total chest capacity than men, however, as women require less oxygen - as they have a lower metabolic rate and smaller body size - this is not as significant a disadvantage as it first appears.¹¹

Men are capable of pumping greater volumes of higher oxygenated blood than women. As women have smaller hearts, and importantly, lower levels of haemoglobin in their blood, their ability to transport oxygen to their muscles is less. However, as haemoglobin content is largely dependent on the amount of iron in the body women can counteract their lower haemoglobin count by iron supplementation.¹² Women are at some disadvantage in the production of energy for physical activity, but the use of fat as an additional source of energy and proper training can minimise this.¹³

REPRODUCTIVE PROCESSES

By far the most frequent and potentially disruptive criticism of female sports participation rests on the - erroneous - belief that reproductive functions would be seriously damaged.¹⁴ As with general perceptions of women's bodily functions and the reproductive process attitudes are based more on myth than reality. But in spite of the many myths surrounding this topic, there exists no evidence to suggest that the child-bearing function of women is impaired through physical activity. Any unwarranted physical exertion during menstruation was considered damaging to the reproductive organs. While it has been shown that intensive training before and during puberty may delay menarche, studies conclude that the biological development of the athlete is not adversely affected.¹⁵

Rather than causing irreversible problems athletic training has a positive effect on dysmenorrhea (painful menstruation), and menstrual disturbances among athletes are generally less serious and respond to treatment more readily than in females not engaged in sport.¹⁶ The effect of the menstrual cycle on performance levels in competition and training has not yet been investigated thoroughly. Women have however, won medals and broken records when competing during their menses.¹⁷

Recent studies indicate that far from damaging women's childbearing capabilities, physical activity results in significant benefits to both the mother and unborn child. Women's nurturing and reproductive organs - notably the breast and uterus - are believed to be seriously at risk during sporting activity. Yet there is no medical evidence to support claims that blows to the breast can result in cancer or an inability to breastfeed. Moreover, women's reproductive organs are internal - the uterus is surrounded by aqueous material providing adequate protection - and are therefore far less vulnerable than the exposed male genitals.¹⁸

Information now available suggests that physical differences between the sexes, where they do occur, do not justify the exclusion of women from sport. In some cases these differences represent significant advantages for female athletes. Whether biological factors result in varying performance levels between the sexes is largely immaterial. While it is vital to determine whether women are capable of, and unharmed by, physical activity at any level, beyond this comparison with male achievement is irrelevant.

Significant and continuing improvements in women's performances indicate that it is not lack of ability or physiological factors that have limited the participation, acceptance and standard of women's physical activity. We must look to other areas to explain this.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

The exclusion of women from a sporting role is the result of social and cultural attitudes and expectations, rather than the physiological objections traditionally used to justify disbarment. Within most societies women and men are expected to occupy different roles and conform to different behaviour patterns. Indeed these differences are considered 'inherent' and therefore 'natural'. In many cultures sport participation is perceived as an expression of manliness. Physical activity therefore is considered to be outside ideal feminine behaviour. However, as the concepts of gender and gender roles are culturally determined (rather than inherent as generally claimed) they are susceptible to alteration through social change. Consequently, as sport contributes to the establishment and reproduction of existing patterns of social domination, it is only through changes in the social milieu that sport can become a totally acceptable behaviour for women.

GENDER AND GENDER ROLES

Various qualities are associated with each of the sexes, characteristics which, when combined with physical factors are seen to justify the existing division of labour. Women are believed to be inherently passive, dependent, supportive, emotional and sensitive and because of their childbearing ability are assumed to be 'naturally' suited to the care of home and family. 'Male' characteristics include being strong, assertive, competitive and aggressive, apparently predisposing them to be the protector and provider.¹⁹

Concepts of appropriate gender qualities and roles constitutes barriers for women wishing to be involved in sport. The continuing expectation that the role and function of women should be confined to the

domestic sphere, restricts women's opportunities in all areas of life. Women are denied both the biological and philosophical justification for sport involvement that men benefit from. Whereas the bodily health, character and future function of men (and safety of their nation) are seen to benefit from sport participation, it is believed that women can be physically damaged through sport and that, as a girl's future is in the home, sport and the lessons it supposedly teaches are unimportant.²⁰

The psychological requirements of sport are also seen to be incompatible with the qualities and behaviour patterns society has outlined for women. Aggression, dedication, competitiveness and achievement orientation are all considered necessary components of athletic achievement. These qualities are believed to be totally unacceptable and socially threatening when exhibited by women. For women to gain social acceptance, if not support, it has been necessary to demonstrate that athletic participation poses no threat to the 'femininity' of women's actions and appearance.²¹ By emphasising grace, flexibility and co-ordination - accepted feminine characteristics - sports such as diving, figure skating, tennis, equestrian events, rhythmic gymnastics and synchronised swimming have gained social approval.²²

The concepts of gender and gender role are transferred to children via the process of socialisation. It is this process which poses a major obstacle to the full acceptance of sport for women.

SOCIALISATION

Socialisation involves the transmission of cultural values, attitudes and acceptable behaviour patterns and aims for the integration of individuals into the social system.²³ Principal agents of socialisation include the family, school, peer group and the media. Through these mediums children are taught the range of characteristics and behaviour

patterns that correspond to their sex and class and which they are expected to emulate. The relationship between sex role socialisation and socialisation into sport is very significant. In accordance with the projected characteristics, behaviour patterns and future roles of females and males, girls are socialised out of sport. However, sport is considered an appropriate gender-role behaviour for boys, who are encouraged - if not actually forced to participate.²⁴

The family and later the peer group play a more important role in sport socialisation for girls than school. Recent research suggests that the school system whilst offering official encouragement and provision for male sport often denies this to female athletes effectively discouraging them from pursuing a sporting role.²⁵

As social interaction increases the peer group becomes the dominant socialising agent, establishing the standards and priorities of activities, attitudes and values. Within boys peer culture sport is accepted as an important aspect of male development and therefore given high status. Unlike the boys peer culture which has a positive influence on sport participation the girls peer group give sports involvement for their own sex a low status rating. Both girls and boys rank sports involvement as high for boys but low for girls. Attractive looks and a good personality are considered, by both sexes, the most important requirements for girls.²⁶ The fear of losing their 'femininity' in the eyes of peers is a major concern for young girls and partly explains the high drop-out rate from sport among young girls.²⁷

The media represents a major and pervasive component of the socialisation process. Through their general portrayal of women and specifically the largely, discriminatory presentation of female athletes the media effectively and persistently discourage, even ridicule, female participation in sport.

Obviously, the acceptance and encouragement of women in sport is irrevocably linked with substantial changes in the existing social structure, traditional attitudes and expectations and the agencies which produce and reproduce these factors.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Stephanie L. Twin, 'Women and Sport', in Donald Spivey (ed.), Sport in America, Westport, 1985, 194.
2. 'Sex-testing' was introduced in the Late 1960s, the 1968 Mexico Games signalled its first application to Olympic competition. Initially the test consisted of an analysis of cells, scraped from the inside of the cheek, to determine the concentration of Barr bodies, which indicate the x chromosome. The test now uses actively dividing cells in hair roots, a more sophisticated and reliable - if still degrading - method. Dyer, op.cit., 65.
3. B. Drinkwater, 'Myths and Realities of Women's Performance in Sport', paper presented at the "Fit to Play", First National Conference on Women, Sport and Physical Recreation, mimeo, Sydney, 1980, 3.
4. Andrea C. Baker, 'Team mates or tea makers?', Papers and Reports from the Conference on Women and Recreation (Adrienne Welch compiler), Wellington, 1981, 37.
5. Baker, ibid.
6. Jennifer A. Hargreaves, '"Playing like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies": Contradictory features of the formative years of Women's Sport', Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the British Society for Sports History, J.A. Mangan (ed.), 1984, 39.
7. Helen King, 'The Sexual Politics of Sport: an Australian Perspective', in R. Cashman and M. McKernan (eds.), Sport in History: the making of modern Sporting History, Queensland, 1979, 70; Jennifer A. Hargreaves, '"Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies": Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport', British Journal of Sports History, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1985, 44. This is an expanded version of the paper cited above.
8. Dyer, op.cit., 14, 66-71.
9. Dyer, op.cit., 71.
10. Dyer, op.cit., 71-2. Women's arm muscles can develop up to 75-80% of the strength of mens; the muscles of the hand and back are approximately 60% of mens, thigh muscles are more than 85% and Lower leg muscles about 70%. Dyer, op.cit., 72.
11. Drinkwater, op.cit., 4; Dyer, op.cit., 73-75.
12. Dyer, op.cit., 23, 76-7. The periodic loss of blood, and therefore iron, during menstruation is partly responsible for the Lower haemoglobin content in women's blood.
13. Dyer, op.cit., 75. Glycogen is the primary fuel source in the aerobic system. However, fatty tissue yields about seven times

more energy per gram than glycogen. The importance of fat as an energy source becomes apparent during long term aerobic exercise, where women have an advantage. Dyer, op.cit., 74.

14. It is significant that despite the overwhelming concern about the effect of exercise on women's reproductive ability similar questions regarding sperm production have, only recently, been raised. While findings are not conclusive isolated studies suggest that exercise of longer than thirty minutes duration can disrupt sperm production. Timothy R. McConnell and Wayne E. Sinning, 'Exercise and temperature effects on human sperm production and testosterone levels', Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1984, 51. Researchers in America recently reported that marathon running may have a detrimental effect on male reproductive hormones. A study on six male runners revealed that they were deficient in a hormone which initiated activity in the testes and reproductive hormones. These hormonal abnormalities could lead to shrinkage of the testicles. The Advertiser, Tuesday, Sept. 9, 1986, 7.
15. Sheri L. Linnell, Joel M. Stager, Peter W. Blue, Nancy Oyster, David Robertshaw, 'Bone Mineral Content and Menstrual regularity in female runners', Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise Vol. 16, No. 4, 1984, 347; J.C. Prior, S. Pride, Y. Vigna and B. Ho Yue, 'The Marathon and Reversible Luteal Phase Shortening: A Controlled Prospective Study', abstract from American College of Sports Medicine Annual Meeting Program, Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1983, 174; K. Marker, 'Influence of Athletic Training on the Maturity Process of Girls', Medicine and Sport, Vol. 15, 1981, 118.
16. Marker, op.cit., 122-3.
17. E. Coles, Sport in Schools: The Participation of Girls, Report for the Social Development Unit, NSW Ministry of Education, 1979, 18. At the 1956 Olympics six gold medals were won by women competing during their menstrual cycle and in subsequent Olympic Games at least twenty-one women have won gold in swimming and track events whilst menstruating.
18. James F. Clapp III and Sherry Dickstein, 'Endurance exercise and pregnancy outcome', Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1983, 556-62; Drinkwater, op.cit., 9; Dyer, op.cit., 89-90. A survey involving the comparison of 729 Hungarian athletes and a control group found that the athlete mothers had a shorter and easier labour and delivery, and the need for caesarian section was a staggering 50% less than for the control group. As might be expected the short term effect of childbearing is reduced performance levels. In the long run however, athletes may benefit by giving birth. In a study of Tokyo Olympians, of the athletes who continued athletic competition after childbirth, 46% bettered their previous records -within the first year. A further 36% improved between the first and second year after giving birth.

19. Nancy Theberge, 'Joining Social Theory to Social Action: Some Marxist Principles', Arena, Vol. 8, No. 2, July 1984, 13; Alan Keys, 'Attitudes Towards Women's Participation in Recreation', Report by Supervisory Recreation Officer, Community Recreation Council of W.A., mimeo, n.d., 16.
20. Twin, op.cit., 200. In 1973 an American judge ruling against a girl joining her school cross-country team said "Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that sort of character in our girls". Paul Wade, Winning Women, London, 1983, 19.
21. Hargreaves, op.cit. (1984), 29.
22. King, op.cit., 69. The grace, rhythm and aesthetic appeal of these activities effectively disguises the strength and endurance required.
23. Wilbert M. Leonard III, A Sociological Perspective of Sport, Minneapolis, 1980, 83.
24. Coles, op.cit., 23.
25. M. Ann Hall, Sport and Gender: a feminist perspective on the sociology of sport, Capher, Canada, n.d., 49.
26. Coles, op.cit., 26.
27. De Castella, op.cit., 69.

Chapter 2'A healthy body produces a healthy soul':
sport in South Australian schools

Although education is an important part of the socialisation process, emphasising and reproducing as it does existing ideology, attitudes and values, it has only been recently that the equality of educational opportunities in Australia has been examined. In 1975 the first national consideration of the education system in relation to equal opportunity was published.¹ Since then increasing concern about the injustice and discrimination revealed by that report, has prompted State Departments to carry out their own investigations.² The results have not been comforting.

These recent studies have indicated that on a number of levels education contributes to the inferior position of women in our society.³ As a result of traditional assumptions girls and boys are directed toward different roles; given different expectations; and are prepared for different occupations. This differentiation between the sexes has produced a situation where girls are allocated less teacher time, fewer resources, less opportunities and encouragement, and face discrimination in the provision of marketable skills.⁴ Similarly the exclusion of women and their contribution to society from education materials and the absence of many women from senior positions in the educational hierarchy provide few sport non-traditional role models for girls and adversely effect their self-esteem, aspirations and expectations.⁵

Significant differences exist between the educational experiences of girls and boys, in for example, participation rates, subject choices, retention rates, career preparation and teacher assistance and encouragement. Physical education and sport is another area where there is unnecessary differentiation on the grounds of sex. In most, if not all, cases boys are given advantages denied to girls. Certainly not all

school policies are identical. Notable variations emerge when comparing single-sex, co-educational, government and non-government schools though which of these systems provides the optimal environment for female students has not yet been determined.

Because the school system does emphasise traditional values and expectations, school is generally not a positive influence on female sport participation.⁶ Despite the success of Australian female athletes sport continues to be defined as a masculine behaviour, and outside the physical capabilities of women. School sport programmes are designed and taught on the basis of these assumptions. Girls are often encouraged - by parents, teachers and peers - to believe that sport is not compatible with femininity and that they are less capable of successful participation. These factors have contributed to the noticeable decline in sporting involvement (and subsequently fitness) by girls as they mature.⁷ Many explanations for this decline - apart from the obvious discouragement girls receive - have been offered. At a time when girls are attempting to define themselves within a feminine identity, bodily changes (both maturation and menstruation) may cause them to be self-conscious about their body and physical appearance. Girls therefore evade body image problems by avoiding both physical activity and appearing in sporting attire. Similarly girls may fear the loss of their femininity if they engage in sport.⁸ It has also been suggested that the extent and quality of early school physical education experiences play an important part in whether girls continue sport. Many women cite unpleasant school experiences as the reason why they abandon sport.⁹

In all aspects of the sporting experience at school girls appear to be disadvantaged. Studies of government primary and secondary schools in New South Wales and Queensland revealed that, in both single-sex and co-educational schools, more resources were allocated to boys'

sport. Boys were offered more sports to compete in, were provided with better coaches, facilities and equipment, they were also able to compete in more inter-school and inter-state competitions and their sporting achievements were acknowledged and approved by teachers and peers. In those cases where facilities were shared boys were given priority. Boys sport also benefitted from donations - usually uniforms, equipment and access to facilities - from male sporting clubs. There were no similar donations to girls sport.¹⁰

It is often argued that this does not constitute discrimination because girls do not wish to be involved in sport to the same degree as boys. However, recent interviews at both primary and secondary schools indicate that girls are not only aware of existing discrimination in sporting opportunities, but were also concerned about the social and physical consequences of school policies.¹¹ Girls often cited sport as evidence of the unfair treatment accorded girls in schools. While accepting that not all girls were as physically strong or adept as boys they felt that segregation and differential treatment only widened the gap. Interestingly, it was concern over the social consequences of sport programmes that girls and some boys, reacted to most. Girls both acknowledged and apparently envied "the ways in which boys can achieve through sport a strong sense of male identity and solidarity from which they are excluded and for which there is no equivalent for them as girls".¹² Both girls and boys believed that sport offered opportunities for developing a sense of understanding and co-operation between the sexes.¹³

Although the primary level of schooling may play a more important role in the socialisation process, little information on, and evaluation of, primary schools in this respect is available. Therefore the sporting experience examined will be limited to secondary schools. The following section discusses the physical education programmes and

sporting activities available to girls in post-war South Australia. Sport opportunities within government, non-government, single-sex and co-educational schools will be examined and compared. The attitudes of schools and parents to girls' sport will also be evaluated.

This discussion focuses on an analysis of sporting activity and physical education in secondary schools. Ten schools have been examined: four non-government girls' schools - Methodist Ladies' College (M.L.C.), Walford Church of England Girls' School, Wilderness and Girton College; four co-educational schools - Norwood, Unley, Woodville and Adelaide High Schools; and two non-government boys colleges - Paringa Hall College and Christian Brothers College (C.B.C.).¹⁴ The major portion of material for this chapter was gathered from a detailed examination of school magazines. While students were responsible for much of the information appearing in these magazines, each year headmistresses/principals contributed an opening address commenting on highlights of the school year and detailing the academic, sporting and social accomplishments of students. Supplementary information was provided by school histories. The choice of schools was dictated by the availability of school records, which unfortunately, were not always complete.¹⁵ In each school physical education and sports lessons - under the guidance of specialized teachers - were incorporated into the curriculum. In 1945 Unley inaugurated physical education lessons for girls - in which posture improvement formed a major component - to supplement existing sports lessons.¹⁶ Compulsory sport was not adopted at MLC until 1952 when "every girl had to play some type of sport at least twice a week".¹⁷ Physical education lessons existed well before this however. In all schools sport was presented as an important and enjoyable aspect of school life and, especially within non-government schools, sporting success was considered to significantly enhance school status and help

promote school identity and pride. Despite these similarities, marked differences exist between government and non-government schools in their expressed attitudes to the value of physical activity in the school setting.

In the tradition of an educational doctrine heavily influenced by Charles Kingsley and muscular Christianity, sport formed an integral component of school philosophy. The importance of competitive sport in fostering strength of character and creating responsible, independent and community minded Leaders was a constant theme of non-government schools and was echoed by succeeding generations of staff and students. In 1957 a graduating M.L.C. student blithely reassured fellow scholars and parents that "girls who strive to play their part as members of the school teams do not only become worthy representatives of their school. They also Learn to play the game of life".¹⁸ Headmistresses frequently and enthusiastically encouraged - even demanded - sports participation from their students. Subtle variations in the emphasis on competitive sport existed however, both between schools and over time. While M.L.C., Wilderness and Walford all promoted and rewarded sport participation with prizes, trophies and the inclusion of results and best players in school magazines, Girton abandoned sports prizes to "enable greater co-operation and less rivalry" and to establish among students the "standard of giving their best without expectation of any reward".¹⁹ This attitude continued and in 1961 their students were still explaining that team spirit was "more important than actually winning matches".²⁰ In contrast to these lofty ideals the principal of C.B.C. reproached his students on their approach to sport - it seems merely trying was not enough!²¹ As revealed by the following quote, school sport gradually lost its instrumental orientation - which stressed team and community spirit and selfless striving for 'school glory' - and took on a more

personal, combative emphasis. According to M.L.C. student, Judith Johnsson "competitive sport becomes not only a relaxation but a challenge - where... [the participant] can match her skill and *strength* against an opponent".²² School authorities further reinforced the acceptability of sport for girls by encouraging parents to personally support their daughters involvement in physical activity, by attending matches and sports days, and contributing funds towards the acquisition of sports facilities.

In contrast to the dedicated reiteration by non-government schools of the 'sport as character builder' theme, government schools were conspicuous by their silence on the supposed moral benefits of sport. While it was obvious that sport, for both sexes, was encouraged by these schools (considerable portions of school magazines were devoted to the sporting activities of past and present scholars) justification for the inclusion of sport in the curriculum was absent.

Surprisingly little difference existed between the range of sports played by these schools. Although boys were generally able to choose from more sporting codes, the differences were not large. Hockey, netball, tennis and athletics constituted the most common sporting activities engaged in by schoolgirls between 1945 and 1965. Softball also emerged as a popular summer sport during this period, and by 1945 M.L.C., Adelaide and Unley had entered teams in inter-school competition. In this, as in most other sports, government and non-government schools competed in separate associations, although occasionally these schools challenged each other to practice matches. Girton and Wilderness adopted softball in 1953, followed closely by Woodville two years later. Of the schools examined only Walford resisted this new sport.

The shortage of public and private swimming facilities prevented swimming from playing a major role in regular school sporting activity.

Although swimming was rarely mentioned in school magazines, from at least 1945 seven of the schools examined competed occasionally in the S.A. Amateur Swimming Association (S.A.A.S.A.) school carnivals.²⁴

School swimming will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Badminton (M.L.C.), table-tennis (Wilderness), volleyball (Walford and Unley), quoits, archery and vigoro (Adelaide) also appeared sporadically during this period.²⁵ Competition was often conducted on an inter-class or inter-house basis and rarely extended to inter-school level.

Less traditional sports also found their way into some schools. As early as 1916 Norwood discussed the possibility of accepting cricket as a suitable activity for female, as well as male, students. Unfortunately their idea was relegated to the backburner - and remained there for sixty-three years.²⁶ In 1939 M.L.C. - with the assistance of the Y.W.C.A. and the National Fitness Council - pioneered the adoption of cricket among South Australian schoolgirls. Regrettably this venture failed and while cricket was played on an inter-house basis at Woodville in 1946, it was 1957 before another foray into inter-school competition was attempted.²⁷ In that year Woodville entered regular cricket competition, four years later Adelaide, with coaching assistance from the S.A. Women's Cricket Association, joined them.²⁸ By 1975 M.L.C. and Walford had also entered the Saturday competition.²⁹

By the late 1950s recreational pursuits became popular additions to the established physical education programme. The 1957 M.L.C. magazine remarks that gliding instruction was eagerly pursued by students, but it fails to mention whether their request was granted.³⁰ In 1965 an M.L.C. student commented on "the new and exciting trends in school sport". Traditional sports faced competition from activities such as "rock-climbing, white water canoeing, aqualung swimming [and] skiing".³¹

Physical education classes for boys generally consisted of military style drill and gymnastic exercises, which included vaulting and routines on the roman rings and parallel bars.³² In contrast to these strength-related activities girls took part in eurhythmics (movement to music), dance, marching, deportment and various tumbling and vaulting routines. Physical training for girls was often aimed at producing "slim waist lines, straighter spines [and] squarer shoulders,, and correcting "slight physical defects,, such as "flat feet, bunions, poking head...and hammer toes".³³

In the tradition of nineteenth century English Public Schools most of the schools examined divided their student body into rival 'houses'. The house system supposedly fostered leadership, team spirit, competitive instincts and encouraged students to accept responsibility. In addition to inter-house netball, tennis, cricket etc. annual sports days and, later, swimming carnivals provided ample opportunity for students to match athletic skills. All non-government schools employed the house system, as did Woodville and Norwood high schools.

Athletic championships have been a long-standing tradition among South Australian schools. In 1923 Wilderness conducted their first sports day, and as early as 1927 they entered the Inter-School Athletics Championships inaugurated by St. Peter's Girls' School in 1921.³⁴ An examination of sports day programmes raise some interesting questions although information concerning sports days occurred infrequently, and covered only the first ten years of the period examined (see Table 1).

A number of differences between the programmes for the sexes are immediately apparent.³⁵ Not only was there a larger range of events for boys to compete in but also the extent of events was also significantly greater. Sometimes the disparity was very small, for example, Norwood (1943) 8 senior boys events compared to six events for girls.³⁶

Similarly girls novelty events appeared more regularly and in greater numbers. At other times imbalances were more obvious. Disregarding novelty events in 1946 senior boys at Adelaide contested ten events, compared to the five offered to girls six years later. Junior events numbered two in both years for each sex.³⁷

It is evident from Table 1 that girls were presented with little encouragement to expand their athletic horizons. Disregarding the 125 yard sprint conducted by Norwood in 1943, 110 yds. constituted the maximum distance run by schoolgirls during the period surveyed. In direct contrast to this junior boys (9-13 years) were regularly contesting 220 yds. (a distance the Wilderness girls also achieved - but not until 1969) and occasionally (Adelaide 1945; Woodville 1936) distances ranging from 440-880 yds.³⁸ In addition, if juniors were eligible for open events, the mile may have been attempted by some. It seems that an exhausting 12.3 seconds (the time taken by an Norwood schoolgirl in 1955 to run 110 yds.) was regarded as the extent of female physical capabilities at the time!³⁹ Field events were rare-novelty events were perhaps more popular. The high jump and broad jump were the most common events for boys, putting the shot appeared occasionally. Female students challenged each other in the broad jump and hop, step, jump. Until the end of this period the more strenuous high jump event was (apart from Woodville 1936) excluded from the girls programme. By the "1965 schoolgirls athletic championships included this event in the senior and junior divisions.⁴⁰ It is surprising considering the growth of women's events in local athletic competition, that rather than increasing over time, the size of the girls programme remained constant.

The striking difference in the expectations and opportunities for male and female athletes - as highlighted by the athletic programmes - inevitably influenced childrens perceptions of male and female

TABLE 1: SCHOOL ATHLETIC CHAMPIONSHIP PROGRAMMES 1936-55

	Woodville 1936		Girton 1943		Norwood 1943		C.B.C. 1944		Adelaide 1945		Paringa Hall 1946		Unley 1946		Adelaide Girls 1952		Unley 1952		Norwood 1955	
	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.	Boys Snr.	Girls Jnr.
50 yds.				x				X												X
60 "																				x
75 "	x		x	x	x			X			X	X		x	x	X		X	x	x
90 "									X					x		X				X
100 "	x	x	x	xx	x			X	x	x	X	x			x	x	X	X	x	x
125 "			x																	
220 "	x	x						x	X	x	x	x	x	X	x					
440 "	x							x		x	x	X		X			x			x
880 "	x	x						X ³		x	x	X								x
1/2 mile	x												X				X			
mile								X ³		X ³		X					X			x
3 mile								x												
4 x 110 relay								x	X			X	X	X	x					
75 yds. hurdles			x	x				x		x	x									x
80 " "																				x
85 " "								X				X								
90 " "																				
100 " "								x				X		x	x	X		X	x	x
120 " "	x	x						x	x			X		X			X			x
shot putt								X		X		X					X			
high jump	x	x	x	x				X	X	x	x	X		X	x		X	X		x
broad jump	x	x	x	x				x	X	x	x	X		X	x		X	X		x
hop, step, jump																				x
novelty events ¹	x	x	x	x	x	x		x						x	x	X				x

Sources: W.H.S.M., Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1936, 27-28; G.M., 1943, 21; N.H.S.M., 1943, 17-18; C.B.C 1944, 30-31; A.H.S.M., Vol. XXIX, 1945, 50-51; P.H.C., 1946, 49-51; U.H.S.M., Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1946, 4; A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 2, 1952, 9; U.H.S.M., Vol. 33, No. 3, 1952, 2; Norwood 1955: The Advertiser, Wed., April 20, 1955, 10.

- Notes :
1. Includes obstacle, sack and three-legged races and team game related events, e.g. corner spry.
 2. By 1960 this was reduced to 100 yds. N.H.S.M., 1960, 45.
 3. Open event.
 4. 110 yds.

physical capabilities. The message to girls was that, because of their gender, they were physically limited and their capacity for improvement was meagre. On the other hand boys were encouraged to believe that boys of any age were stronger than girls and that they had considerable potential for expanding their physical abilities.

In conjunction with the marked differences in events for males and females, male sport was also more achievement oriented. Success was measured quantitatively as well as from a team and individual perspective. At all schools boys' athletic contests were officially recorded - events were timed and measured - however only Unley, Norwood and Woodville recorded girls achievements in this way.⁴¹ Although defining physical contests by these means is considered undesirable by some, it is generally regarded as having a positive effect on competitive sport: encouraging, for example, higher standards of performance, providing incentive, motivation and definite goals and promoting a higher degree of competition among participants. The absence of timing and measurement of female athletic contests suggest that none of these factors were considered significant in relation to female athletes - at least not at this level. Without quantitative measurement girls' sport appears less oriented towards competition and achievement, and was given no wider significance beyond the time and place in which it occurred. With no records to be made or broken and no 'best times' to be aimed for it appears that girls were not encouraged - or expected - to be concerned with improving their standard of performance.

One feature of the school sporting calendar which students enjoyed was sport exchanges with other schools. Disregarding the boys' colleges, only M.L.C., Adelaide, Unley and Woodville mention engaging in regular sports carnivals. M.L.C. conducted exchanges with sister schools in other states, and as the annual reports clearly show, the students

took these competitions very seriously. Undoubtedly these exchanges helped foster a competitive spirit among the girls and also brought them into contact with other athletes and different standards of play. Contemplating a less than successful contest with Perth M.L.C. one student pinpoints their opponents commitment to sport as a decisive factor in their defeat -

there seems to be no limit to the girls' prowess and enthusiasm for sport. They seemed to be far more willing to do anything at all which would help them to reach the top. Training and practice are taken much more seriously at our sister school.⁴²

As early as 1913 female students of Adelaide benefitted from sport interchanges with Melbourne High School. This continued until 1927 and was terminated only when the Melbourne school split into single-sex establishments. After their own breakaway Adelaide Girls' continued this tradition, when in 1952, they inaugurated an annual exchange with MacRobertson Girls' High School in Melbourne.⁴³ Perhaps as a result of her own "distinguished sports career in Hockey, Tennis, Rowing and Athletics" the headmistress of the Adelaide Girls' School accorded physical activity priority.⁴⁴

Contrary to current claims that female students suffer from a Lack of coaching facilities at school, during the period examined teachers - primarily physical education teachers - consistently provided encouragement and practical assistance as coaches. Teachers played a major role in organising matches and coaching teams, a fact repeatedly - and gratefully - acknowledged in school reports.⁴⁵ Occasionally, and for very short periods, professional coaches were employed.⁴⁶

Inevitably the standard and quantity of sports facilities at schools varied. Parents and Friends Associations played a major role in the provision of funds for the expansion of sport amenities, but while schools were able to provide for a number of the sports partici-

pated in, the shortage of specific facilities limited some activities. While tennis and netball courts and ovals which could be used for softball, hockey and athletics were common, swimming pools were a rarity among schools during this period. Of the schools examined only the Adelaide Girls' school mentions having their own pool.⁴⁷ The absence of a pool at M.L.C. meant that even by 1958 swimming was excluded from "the main physical education programme", although students had been competing in the S.A.A.S.A. school competitions from, at least 1945.⁴⁸ Similarly Walford students waited nine years for a hockey oval of their own.⁴⁹

Schools often relied on public facilities and the generosity of neighbouring schools for supplementary playing areas. The Adelaide Parklands provided hockey and softball fields for M.L.C. and Norwood; however the presence of grazing cows made manouvering a delicate, and often hazardous, undertaking.⁵⁰ The female students of Adelaide High School were greatly disadvantaged as a consequence of the 1951 separation into single-sex schools. While the boys benefitted from the move, acquiring almost twenty-eight acres of playing fields in the process, the girls' school experienced a severe shortage of playing space until the re-amalgamation in 1977.⁵¹ Tennis continued to be played by the girls after the split - despite the absence of courts - and the boys' school extended the use of their oval for other team games.⁵² That the girls' school managed to build a pool in the face of these space restrictions suggests that sport was given some priority.

In comparison to the non-government schools the A.G.H.S. was sadly lacking in sports facilities. Perhaps out of necessity parents and old scholars were particularly conspicuous in their contribution to, and support of, the provision of facilities in non-government schools. As early as 1923 Wilderness boasted three tennis courts (one

of which doubled as a netball court), a school oval and a running track.⁵³ By 1953 M.L.C. had amassed eight tennis courts, had access to hockey and softball fields and had completed a "well equipped gymnasium".⁵³ It is often assumed that the sports facilities offered to boys, at both government and non-government schools, are greater in number and of higher quality than those provided for girls. However there was insufficient information available to allow adequate comparison of sports amenities between schools.

An examination of the way sport was presented in the various school magazines indicates that female and male students ascribed to sport different roles and values. Sport obviously played a central role in boys' lives, and the non-government boys' colleges reflected this with the entire magazine - not to mention the school year - seeming to revolve around the year's sporting activities. In contrast to this the girls' reports - from both government and non-government schools - offered a more balanced view of sport, so that while sport received an equal share of available space, it didn't dominate the magazine. Girls also placed a different emphasis on their sport's reporting, concentrating more on the social and - in the case of non-government schools - moral aspects of sport: congratulating winning teams, thanking team and house members and reiterating the benefits of sport to the individual. When it actually came to the year's sport only brief summaries were forthcoming. Attention to detail was the most characteristic feature of the sports sections contributed by boys. These reports consisted of extremely detailed accounts of school sport, including highlights of the most important games, team members, best players, results and prize winners.

When analyzing co-educational school magazines style and content differences between girls and boys contributions are more evident. Although editorial staff consisted of both females and males, and each

sex contributed reports for their sports and house activities, boys were either allocated - or appropriated - more space. Introductions to sport sections were generally written by boys, and concentrated on their sports. Admittedly there were more male sports and a greater number of teams within each code, however this doesn't explain why male sport so significantly dominated the sport section (see Table 2). Even when comparing male and female components of the same sport more information is given by boys. For example the end of year tennis summary for boys

Table 2: Number of lines devoted to sport in school magazines¹

		1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1951	1953	1955	1960
Unley:	Boys	143	617	693	480	342	393			
	Girls	44	64	129	119	25	99			
Woodville:										
	Boys		285					467	61 ²	154
	Girls		119					159	7	59

Sources: U.H.S.M., 1945-49, 1951; W.H.S.M., 1946, 1953, 1955, 1961.

- Notes:
1. Information refers to individual and team sports only. House competitions, swimming carnivals and athletic championships have been excluded.
 2. The sports section for this year consisted primarily of team photographs, rather than commentary.

consisted of 131 lines of detailed commentary. The girls section totalled 8 lines.⁵⁵ It is not being suggested that this is evidence of discrimination toward female students, merely that it emphasizes that sport was regarded differently by the sexes.

When comparing boys' and girls' sporting experience within the co-educational setting it becomes apparent that male sport received

more emphasis and recognition. In the course of discussing the year's events the Adelaide principal mentions five of the sports played by boys, no reference is made to the corresponding girls activities.⁵⁶ Recognition - usually in the form of prizes - was also more forthcoming for boys. For example the Woodville school magazine often devoted a page to listing prize and 'honour pocket' recipients.⁵⁷ Either girls received no similar awards, or if they did, it was not recorded. Unaccountable delays between the adoption of certain activities for males and females also reveals that sport was more readily acceptable for boys. Woodville inaugurated inter-house swimming carnivals for boys in 1956, however girls waited a further five years for this sport to be included in their sports programme.⁵⁸

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter towards the end of the schooling years girls begin to discontinue sporting activities, a process which continues as they mature. Admittedly the sample utilised here is limited in scope, yet enough material is available to indicate general trends in post-school sporting behaviour during this period. Despite several references to "old scholars [who] cease playing...[sport] directly they Leave school"; there are numerous examples that many others continued to take an active, and often prominent role in sport.⁵⁹ Graduating students vigorously denied that they would abandon sport on leaving school -

The training we have received at school should make us ready and willing to take part in women's sport. We hope that increasing numbers of M.L.C. girls will continue to develop this side of our adult community life so that more and more will have the opportunity to enjoy active participation in sport rather than be mere spectators of other's activity.⁶⁰

Some of South Australia's most outstanding and successful athletes came from the schools surveyed. From Adelaide came Norma Austin, South

Australia's first female representative in an Olympic Games, as well as state and international cricket and netball representatives. Woodville fostered state and international hockey champions, Mable Cashmore and Mary Teesdale-Smith (both of whom Later coached), and state netballers also came from the ranks of this school.⁶¹ The girls' colleges also made many contributions to the ranks of well known local athletes. Girton students competed in university and state netball teams, and former M.L.C. students participated in state badminton, state and international hockey and championship tennis.⁶² References were also made to those students who chose to base a career around their interest in physical activity. For example the 1956 M.L.C. magazine mentions that three senior girls leaving school were to train as physical education teachers.⁶³ For some, sporting involvement did not end with their retirement from the playing field, a few coached and others took on administrative roles; such as Jean Edwards (a former M.L.C. scholar) who became secretary to the S.A. Women's Amateur Sports Council and Adelaide graduate, June Ingham, who after an outstanding career in cricket became a state selector.⁶⁴

Inevitably for some women the opportunities for continuing sport on leaving school were limited. For example, the reason one student gave for a decline in popularity of softball among older M.L.C. students was that they "can only play tennis when they Leave school and return to country centres".⁶⁵ Shortage of community facilities could therefore restrict the range of sports available to women.

On the basis of the (admittedly limited) evidence presented in this section it is difficult to accept the premise that sport was considered unacceptable for females, and that schools assist in the process which socializes girls out of sport. Of course there are many indications

that male sport was more highly regarded than its female counterpart.

It is also possible that while sport was considered acceptable for school-girls when adult females expressed a more serious commitment to it at higher levels, sport became an unsuitable pursuit.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that schools - at least between 1945 and 1965 - socialized girls into sport. As shown by the school magazines sport constituted a common and recognized aspect of school life. Girls were encouraged to participate in sport and to see themselves as having an active and central role in physical activity. Perhaps less emphasis was placed on the highly competitive aspects of sport, and it was offered as part of a balanced lifestyle rather than as a dominating feature.

Girls did accept sport as an enjoyable and beneficial activity, one to be continued after graduation and, for a few, as a career option. It has been assumed and more recently proven that various forms of encouragement for girls wishing to participate in sport has been withheld by schools. The research documented here does not support this assumption but indicates that many incentives - such as role models, peer and teacher recognition, high level sports contests (e.g. interstate competition), rewards and parental support - were all present in post-war schools. Perhaps not to the same extent as for males, but present nonetheless. Although it cannot be adequately quantified it is obvious that female students - both past and present - received a degree of status and recognition as a result of their sporting endeavours. Although it is slightly before the time period under discussion, sport was so highly regarded at Wilderness that "for many girls participation in school teams shed more glory than did concentration on lessons".⁶⁶

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Schools Commission, Girls, School and Society, Canberra, 1975.
2. Following these studies the Director-Generals of Education in each state issued policy statements aimed at eliminating sexist practices. N.S.W. (1979), N.T. (1979), Tas. (1979), W.A. (1980), Vic. (1980), A.C.T. (1980), Qld. (1981) and S.A. (1983). Schools Commission, Girls and Tomorrow: The Challenge for Schools, Canberra 1984, 1,8.
3. Girls, School and Society, 1.
4. Girls and Tomorrow, 3.
5. Girls, School and Society, 71, 76.
6. S.L. Greendorfer, 'Socialisation into Sport', in C.A. Oglesby, op.cit., 122.
7. Coles, op.cit., 9, 30; Girls, School and Society, 68.
8. A. Gray, 'Impressions on why teenage girls abandon Physical Activity, Papers and Reports from the Conference on Women and Recreation, 100.
9. Hall, Sport and Gender, 49-50.
10. Girls, School and Society, 68-9; Coles, op.cit., 10.
11. Schools Commission, A National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools, Canberra, 1986, 2; Coles, op.cit., 37. In a recent report on women, sport and the media a young (14) South Australian schoolgirl had this to say about sporting opportunities for girls at primary school Level -;

I'd like to tell you [of] my disappointment in sport at primary [school]. The boys get to play cricket, soccer or football every week at school. They get certificates and their scores are read out at assembly if they lose or not. When we [girls] wanted to play netball we got one game... We got promised a game of softball and we never got it. My friends and I have to play netball at an association instead of at school.
12. A National Policy, 3.
13. ibid.
14. The Adelaide High School existed as both a co-educational school (1908-50) and single sex schools (1951-76). Attempts at amalgamation began in 1977 and the process was completed by 1979.

15. Methodist Ladies' College Magazine 1943-60, 1964-69, 1975-76; Walford House Magazine 1943, 1954-65; Wilderness School Magazine 1943-55, 1960-75; Girton Magazine 1943-64; Norwood High School Magazine 1943-50; 1960-62; Unley High School Magazine 1945-52; Woodville High School Magazine 1936, 1946-65; Adelaide High School Magazine 1945-50; Adelaide Girls' High School Magazine 1951-62; Paringa Hall Collegian 1946-57; Christian Brothers' College 1944-52.
16. U.H.S.M., Vol. 24, No. 2, 1945, 3.
17. M.L.C.M., 1952, 3.
18. M.L.C.M., 1957, 5.
19. G.M., 1943, 7-8.
20. G.M., 1961, 23.
21. C.B.C., 1955, 7.
22. M.L.C.M., 1967, 3. My emphasis.
23. M.L.C.M., 1957, 4.
24. South Australian Amateur Swimming Association, Annual Reports, 1945-65. As the reports usually listed only winning teams it is impossible to construct a complete list of competing teams. During the nineteen years for which results are available Adelaide Girls School appeared twelve times; M.L.C. four; Wilderness four; Unley twice; Woodville twice and Walford once.
25. Vigoro is a game, similar to cricket, played and controlled entirely by women. A team comprises twelve players - two of which are bowlers who bowl alternately from the same end of the wicket. Field placings are similar to cricket. John Blanch (ed.), Ampol's Sporting Records, NSW, 1978, fifth edition, 461.
26. History Sub-Committee, We Came to Norwood High: The First 75 Years, Adelaide, 1985, 137.
27. M.L.C.M., 1943, 24; W.H.S.M., Vol. XI, No. 1, 1946, 4.
28. W.H.S.M., 1957, 34; A.G.H.S.M., 1961, 62.
29. M.L.C.M., 1976, 24.
30. M.L.C.M., 1957, 23.
31. M.L.C.M., 1965, 3.
32. C.B.C., 1950, 25,39.
33. W.S.M., 1944, 7; M.L.C.M., 1957, 5,19.
34. Marjorie Scales, The Wilderness, Adelaide, 1984, 59.

35. This is not to imply however that these differences were not present in athletic competition outside schools.
36. N.H.S.M., 1943, 17-18.
37. A.H.S.M., Vol. XXIX, 1945, 50-51; A.G.H.S.M., No. 1, 1952, 9. There is no evidence to suggest that girls took part in the 1945 sports day.
38. W.S.M., Vol. XIV, No. 50, 1969, 31.
39. The Advertiser, Wed., April 20, 1955, 10.
40. The Advertiser, Mon., April 20, 1965, 24.
41. As both Girton and M.L.C. occasionally competed in the South Australian Schoolgirls' Athletics Championships (inaugurated in 1954) and the S.A.A.S.A. swimming carnivals they were not totally unfamiliar with this aspect of competition. Girton began timing athletic events in 1970. G.M., No. 66, 1970, 17.
42. M.L.C.M., 1957, 14.
43. Adelaide High School: 75th Anniversary Souvenir Book, Adelaide, 1984, 11.
44. A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, 1951, 1; Adelaide High School, 110.
45. M.L.C.M., 1951, 3; U.H.S.M., Vol. 24, No. 2, 1946, 2; W.H.S.M., 1953, 21.
46. W.H.S.M., Vol. XI, No. 1, 1946, 15. Both female and male students of Woodville benefitted from a brief visit by professional tennis coach Len Schwartz.
47. Adelaide High School, *ibid.*
48. M.L.C.M., 1957, 19; S.A.A.S.A., 38th Annual Report, 1944-45, n.n.
49. W.S.M., 1965, 54.
50. M.L.C.M., 1960, 5; We Came to Norwood High, 148.
51. Adelaide High School, 44.
52. A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 1, 1951, 41.
53. Scales, op.cit., 57.
54. M.L.C.M., 1953, 4.
55. U.H.S.M., Vol. XXVII, No. 1, 1946, 6.
56. A.H.S.M., Vol. XXIX, 1945, 2.
57. W.H.S.M., 1953-60.

58. W.H.S.M., 1961, 26.
59. M.L.C.M., 1951, 26.
60. M.L.C.M., 1954, 3.
61. A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 6, 1956, 6; A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, 8; A.H.S.M., Vol. XXXII, No. 1, 1948, 15; W.H.S.M., Vol. III, No. 1, 1936, 5; W.H.S.M., 1973, 123. Norma Austin was one of the most successful athletes of the 1950s. She represented S.A. in every State team that contested the Australian Athletic titles in that decade. She competed in the Melbourne and Rome Olympics and the 1958 Commonwealth Games, and was also a State netballer. (Daly, op.cit., 57-58.)
62. G.M., No. 42, 1946, 37; G.M., No. 49, 1953, 34; M.L.C.M., 1953, 17.
63. M.L.C.M., 1956, 4.
64. M.L.C.M., 1964, 60; A.G.H.S.M., Vol. 1, No. 4, 1954, 8.
65. M.L.C.M., 1952, 16.
66. Scales, op.cit., 57.

"their uniforms were their only redeeming feature..."¹

This section examines sports participation by women at the University of Adelaide and the Adelaide Teachers' College. While a detailed analysis of this topic would be preferable, lack of information and time restrictions have confined this discussion to a general survey of the sporting activities at these institutions. Annual Reports from the University (The Calendar of the University of Adelaide) and Teachers' College (The Torch) and the University student magazine (On Dit), provided the major portion of information used in this examination. It is important to recognize that contributions to the sport section of On Dit were voluntary, individual clubs taking responsibility for the provision of information. Male sports, in the form of feature articles, pictures and results, appeared more regularly and contained greater detail than the reports submitted by women's clubs. During the period under discussion sports editors made repeated, and usually fruitless, appeals to sports clubs for information. Many of these appeals were directed specifically at women's clubs. Hockey, netball and athletics were the sports most consistently reported on by female participants. Many more sports, especially swimming, tennis and golf, appeared only intermittently generally coinciding with inter-varsity competitions. In the late 1950s when mixed clubs became more common, reports were usually submitted by male players; however, they included details and results of the women's competitions.²

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

In 1880 an Act of Parliament conferred upon the University of Adelaide the right to grant degrees to women.³ Despite this apparent acceptance of women into the academic world, segregation remained a distinctive and persistent feature of university life. Women established their own organizations, including sports clubs, perhaps partly out of preference but also because they were often barred from the existing male bodies.⁴ As one student was to remark in 1964 "discrimination based on sex is considered legitimate by many men of this university".⁵ Male students repeatedly exhorted women to subordinate educational, political and social aspirations to the more important consideration of being physically attractive and accommodating!⁶

In contrast to secondary schools, where sport was officially organized and encouraged there was no similar support of physical activity at tertiary level. Despite this, sport played an important role in student activities. A Sports Association was formed in 1897 although women were not invited to join until December 1910.⁷ While the administration of the Association was generally dominated by men, representatives of the residential colleges and affiliated clubs were admitted to the committee regulating the Sports Association. Consequently women were guaranteed some involvement with the administration of physical activity at the University.

Significant differences existed between the sporting opportunities available to men and women at university level. Men were able to choose from a much wider range of sports and proportionately more men than women participated in physical activity. However, as sports organization and participation were the result of student initiative and were largely self-funded, either women were less interested in sport - or were involved in off-campus clubs.

During the period 1945-65 the range of physical activities and sports females participated in increased as athletics, softball, badminton, table-tennis and squash were added to the traditional 'women's sports' of netball, tennis, swimming and hockey. Women also moved into sports that had been defined as masculine: judo, cricket and yachting, for example. The 1945 calendar stated that fifteen male and four female sports clubs, (tennis hockey, netball and swimming) were affiliated with the Sports Association.⁸ Reports in On Dit for the same year also mention that women participated in softball and athletics, apparently these bodies had not yet secured affiliation with the Association, or the calendar lists are not complete. By 1950 sixteen male sports (men's basketball has been added) and six women's sports (softball and athletics are the additions) are listed in the calendar. On Dit also reports that women had formed a golf club. Other sports were added by 1955, 1960 and 1965. By 1965 the calendar reports that twenty-two male, and ten women's sports clubs existed.⁹ Recognition of outstanding play and sportsmanship among both sexes was given in the form of sport blues and club letters.

Hockey was one of the more popular sports played by women at university. In 1945 they fielded two teams in the South Australian Women's Hockey Association (hereafter S.A.W.H.A.). Further teams were added in 1946 and 1948 and by the mid-1950s the university entered five teams in four grades of competition.¹⁰ The university teams were often successful during this period and occasionally contributed players to State and Touring teams. Game facilities were not always guaranteed, and in 1947 the hockey players complained that for the past few years, for several weeks at a time, they were deprived of equipment and ground markings because the groundsmen were too busy preparing the oval for amateur athletics.¹¹ The provision of teams with experienced coaches

was a feature of hockey at Adelaide University. After a lapse of several years, Miss Mable Cashmore (an international player) provided coaching assistance to the players of 1945. From 1948 to at least 1951 another well known state captain and international player, Mary Teesdale-Smith, coached the teams.¹²

In 1945 three university teams competed in the matches organized by the South Australian Women's Basket-Ball Association.¹³ Netball remained a popular sport among women during this period and five teams were competing by 1957. The university teams were very successful in both local and interstate competitions, winning the intervarsity matches in 1945, 1946, 1947, 1949 and 1950. As with hockey individual players were chosen as state representatives.

While many male students were involved in athletic competition - the men's Athletic Club entered seventy athletes in the 1945 State Championships - the women seemed less interested. It was not until 1946 that female students formed a Women's Athletics Club and affiliated with the S.A. Women's Amateur Athletic Association. The women conducted their first club championship in the same year and are believed to be the first Australian club to include a mile championship event in their programme.¹⁴ Although attendance at this inaugural championship was poor - classes were scheduled at the same time - entries were numerous and fifteen events were contested.

Even from such a cursory examination of university athletic competition as the material available allows, significant differences between the range and extent of events open to men and women are immediately apparent (see Table 3). The slow acceptance of middle-distance events for women is obvious emphasising the degree to which women's athletic opportunities were adversely affected by the perceived physical limitations of females. Disregarding the inclusion of the mile in 1946

TABLE 3: UNIVERSITY ATHLETIC CHAMPIONSHIP
PROGRAMMES, BY SEX

Events	1946		1947 ¹		1948		1955 ¹		1960	
	F	M	F	F	F	M	F	M	F	M
75 yds.	X		X	X	x					
100 "	X	X	X	X		X	x	X		
220 "	X	X	X	X	x	X	x	X		
440 "		X	X			X		X		
880 "		X				X		X		
mile	X	X		X		X		X		
3 mile						X		X		
mile medley relay						X		X		
mile walk						X		X		X
4 x 110 yds. relay		X	X	X	x	X		X		
75 yds. hurdles	X									
80 " "						x				
85 " "	X									
90 " "			X	X					x	
120 " "		X					X			X
220 " "							X			X
440 " "		X ³					X			X
high jump	X	X	X	X	x	X	x	X	x	X
broad jump		X	X	X	x	X	x	X	x	X
standing broad jump	X			X						
running " "	X									
hop, step, jump	X	X		X		X		X		X
shot putt	X	X	X			x	X			X
discus			X			x	X	x	X	X
javelin			X	X		X		X	x	X
pole vault		X				X		X		X
hammer throw						X		X		X
novelty events ²	X			X						

Sources: On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 4, May 3, 1946, 4; On Dit, Vol. 15, No. 7, June 23, 1947, 5; On Dit, Vol. 16, No. 3, April 19, 1948, 6; The Advertiser, Thurs., April 21, 1960, 26.

Notes:

1. Inter-varsity.
2. Includes obstacle and three-legged races and team related games, e.g. corner splay.
3. Low hurdles.

and 1948 programmes, 440 yards - appearing only in the 1947 intervarsity competition and 1948 club championship - was the longest distance women contested on the track. It is interesting to note that the university athletes lagged behind local competitors in the inclusion of some events into their championship programme. The 440 yd. event was introduced to women's athletic competition in South Australia in 1952 (it was run in 1942 and 1943 but then discontinued) yet, apart from 1947 and 1948, it doesn't appear in the university programme. Longer events, 880 yds. (included in 1953) and the cross-country (1965) for example were also omitted by university athletes.

Field events were more readily introduced and retained than track innovations. Putting the shot, the long and high jump were present in Local competition from 1942. All these events were contested in the 1946 university championship, and student athletes pre-empted the S.A.W.A.A.A. by two years with the inclusion of the discus and javelin throw in their 1947 competition.¹⁵

The number of events contested by women during this period actually decreased over time. Disregarding novelty events the 1946 programme consisted of eleven events for women, compared to the nineteen contested by men. BY 1955 the women's programme had diminished to eight events, while only seven were included by 1960. The men's competition involved twenty and eighteen events respectively.¹⁶

Women's cricket was introduced to the University sporting scene in 1948. Despite the lack of experience among team members, only one had played before, the team was very enthusiastic. Match skills were quickly acquired and in their first year of competition two university players, Lurline Barton and Ruth Dow, were selected for the State team. The University team continued to improve and was to provide the local and state competitions with some outstanding players. The team were

minor premiers in 1950 and contributed three players to the state side, one of these players, Ruth Dow, was then selected to tour England with the Australian team.¹⁷ Ten years later the Adelaide University Women's Cricket Club again provided players to both the state squad and the Australian touring team destined for New Zealand.¹⁸

The Adelaide University Softball Association was formed in 1944, and primarily consisted of hockey and netball players. In the following year they entered a team in the S.A. Women's Softball Association.¹⁹ Over the years they appeared in a number of finals and contributed several players to the state squad but while softball continued throughout the period it did not become the "very popular" sport as was first hoped.²⁰

Toward the end of the period new sports were adopted. Women's judo competitions were introduced in 1958, two years after inter- varsity competitions for men had been inaugurated.²¹ Women were encouraged to join the judo club and compete in inter-varsity exchanges. At least one outstanding exponent of this art was fostered at the University. In 1964 Di Neihuus won - for the third time - the inter-varsity individual championship and competing a week later in the Australian National Women's Championship became the first South Australian woman to win a national title.²² Although women had been participating in squash before 1960, club championships and inter-varsity competition were not introduced until that year. It is worth noting that, as with judo, male members gave encouragement, support and recognition to female players. Practical assistance, in the form of weekly coaching sessions, were also provided in an effort to improve the women's playing standard. While golf, badminton, swimming and table-tennis also boasted female participants information appeared infrequently.

Sports competitions between Australian universities, suspended during the war period, were resumed in 1945 when the ban on inter-state travel was removed.²⁴ Up to 1955 netball, hockey, cricket, tennis and athletics were the sports most consistently participated in by women at intervarsity Level. After that year badminton (1956), judo (1958) and squash (1960) became established features of inter-varsity exchanges. The first sailing inter-varsity occurred in 1964 and included events for both male and female teams. Women also participated in swimming, skiing and golf inter-varsities although On Dit records contain only one reference to inter-varsity competition for these sports.

ADELAIDE TEACHERS' COLLEGE

A marked feature of college sport was that women and men participated in approximately the same number of sports. Inevitably the range of sporting codes offered to men was larger but - unlike the University situation - the difference was not great. As with the Adelaide University sportswomen college women were under-represented in their Sports Association administration. However, women's sporting achievements did not go unrecognised: women's sport was regularly included in the annual reports and outstanding players were rewarded with honour pockets.²⁵

Hockey, netball and tennis were the most popular sports among women at Teachers College. In 1945 the college entered four teams in the S.A.W.B.B.A. competition and two in the corresponding hockey contests. By 1950 these were five and four respectively and did not rise above this level for the rest of the period.²⁶ Both clubs consistently secured noted coaches for their teams. Mrs. Allen, an international player, coached the netball teams for a number of years, and Mary Adams, a National Fitness Council officer, was instrumental in the

first A-grade college hockey championship in 1960.²⁷ Both clubs won honours in local and interstate competitions, and contributed players to their respective State sides.

Women's cricket began in 1949, and although the team lacked experience, a coach and practice nets, they were enthusiastic and determined. The Men's Cricket Club provided valuable encouragement and practical assistance, especially during the founding years.²⁸ By 1950 female cricketers had availed themselves of a coach, practice nets, a pitch and uniforms. Enthusiasm continued in the face of - or perhaps because of - derision from some of the male college population.²⁹ Toward the end of the period interest in cricket began to dwindle, and in 1962 and 1963, insufficient players caused a temporary abandonment of the game by college women. A revival in the following year saw a women's cricket team again entering local competition.³⁰

College women also competed in softball, vigoro, badminton, tennis (deck, group and hardcourt), athletics and International Rules basketball however, very few details of these sports are included in the annual reports. As with secondary schools the Teachers' College engaged in house competitions. Students were divided into two teams, Sparta and Athens, and competed in both sporting and other (e.g. debating) activities.³¹ The students attending the College also participated in interstate matches. Yearly exchanges - referred to as the Teachers' College Triangular Tests - between Adelaide, Perth and Melbourne featured the main sports of tennis, hockey, netball, athletics and football.³²

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Concern over the poor level of fitness among Australians - which was revealed during the war - prompted the establishment of a lecture-

ship in Physical Education at the University of Adelaide. The move to encourage specialized physical education teachers was supported by the government, who contributed - through the National Fitness Council of South Australia - £1500 p.a. to the foundation of this training course.³³

As Tables 4 and 5 indicate women were well represented among the students and graduates of the physical education course. Up to and including 1961, female students outnumbered their male counterparts; in addition to this a higher percentage of the females enrolled in University courses selected physical education. On average 2.4% of enrolled female students chose this course between 1956 and 1965. The corresponding figure for males - no doubt reflecting their wider range of choices - was 0.8%.

Table 4: Number of Students enrolled in Physical Education 1956-65

Year	Females	Males	Total no. of Females	Students Males	A as a % of C	B as a % of D
	A	B	C	D		
1956	30	14	1336	2945	2.2	0.5
1957	30	15	1411	3342	2.1	0.4
1958	61	15	1478	3711	4.1	0.4
1959	42	23	1612	4108	2.6	0.6
1960	38	23	1678	4432	2.1	0.5
1961	42	38	1813	4832	2.3	0.8
1962	43	55	1987	5277	2.2	1.0
1963	48	88	2117	5714	2.3	1.5
1964	48	90	2363	6271	2.0	1.4
1965	48	83	2477	6633	1.9	1.3

Source: The Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1957-66.

Qualified female physical education teachers were equally well represented among the staff responsible for this course. In 1945 this department consisted of four men and five women, and up until 1950 women maintained a marginal advantage. By 1958 the sexes were equally

Table 5: Number of Students Granted Diplomas in Physical Education 1945-65

Year	F	M	Year	F	M	Year	F	M
1945	3	1	1952	2	3	1959	2	2
1946	-	-	1953	3	0	1960	2	5
1947	1	3	1954	2	4	1961	3	3
1948	1	3	1955	2	0	1962	5	2
1949	3	5	1956	1	2	1963	4	2
1950	6	3	1957	3	1	1964	4	6
1951	6	3	1958	5	4	1965	5	16

Source: The Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1966.

represented, and from 1962 men filled more positions. Only once, in 1946, did a woman head the department although they consistently filled the position of senior Lecturer.³⁴ This, rather surprising, concentration of women in physical education was the result of two factors. Firstly Australia was influenced by British trends in Physical Education - and it was women who pioneered the creation of specialised physical education teachers. Secondly, most physical activity during this period was taught in single-sex situations. The combination of these factors meant that positions and opportunities for women - as practical assistants, teachers and administrators - were guaranteed.³⁵

Although detailed information about sport at the tertiary level is sparse, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The material examined indicates that only a small proportion of female students participated in university sport. This lack of interest is revealed not only by the low number of women who played sport but is also reflected in the paucity of information included in the student magazine and the limited number of sports which women engaged in. That women were slow to accept - or be accepted in - new sports is evident from the fact that it was male students who introduced and dominated these activities.

The range and extent of women's events - noticeably athletics - continued to be restricted by outdated perceptions of women's strength and stamina, indicating that gender, rather than age, was the determining factor in forming these Limitations. The inconsistent programme of women's athletic meetings also suggests a scarcity of competitors in this sport.

Despite this it is also clear that some women continued to regard sport as an acceptable and enjoyable past-time, and for a few, the basis of a career. Those who continued to train and compete were interested enough to take responsibility for the financial demands of their participation.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. On Dit, Vol. 18, No. 4, May 8, 1950, 8, referring to Adelaide University women athletes.
2. On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 6, May 13, 1960, 8; On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 2, March 18, 1960, 8.
3. Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1949, 5.
4. In 1909 the women's union was formed, and in 1932 female law students established their own society because they were refused admittance to the (male) Law Students' Society. They were still being rejected fourteen years later. On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 9, Aug. 16, 1946, 4.
5. On Dit, Vol. 32, No. 11, Sept. 25, 1964, 4.
6. On Dit, Vol. 15, No. 4, April 28, 1947, 1; On Dit, Vol. 16, No. 6, June 15, 1948, 4.
7. Adelaide University Sports Association, Sport and Recreation at the University of Adelaide, pamphlet, 1974, 1. The three founding members of the association were the lacrosse, tennis and boat clubs; Margaret M. Finnis, The Lower Level, S.A., 1975, 86.
8. Male sports clubs included lacrosse, boat, tennis, athletic, football, cricket, rifle, baseball, golf, hockey, swimming, boxing, wrestling, rugby and soccer.
9. The Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1945-65.
10. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 6, 1945, 4; On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 10, Sept. 20, 1946, 3; On Dit, Vol. 16, No. 12, Oct. 13, 1948, 8; and On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 5, May 2, 1960, 6.
11. On Dit, Vol. 15, No. 3, April 28, 1947, 6.
12. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 3, April 6, 1945, 4; On Dit, Vol. 17, No. 2, March 21, 1949, 8; On Dit, Vol. 19, No. 3, April 9, 1951, 8.
13. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 5, May 4, 1945, 4. This Association became the S.A. Netball Association in 1970.
14. John Daly, Ours Were the Hearts to Dare,
15. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 5, May 4, 1946, 4; On Dit, Vol. 15, No. 7, June 23, 1947, 8.
16. On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 5, May 17, 1946, 4; On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 7, May 31, 1946, 4; On Dit, Vol. 23, No. 6, June 8, 1955, 8; On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 5, May 2, 1960, 8. The men's competition in 1946 consisted of eleven championship and eight handicap events. The women's programme included three novelty events.

17. On Dit, Vol. 16, No. 2, April 5, 1948, 7; On Dit, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 13, 1950, 8; On Dit, Vol. 18, No. 3, April 24, 1950, 8.
18. On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 2, March 18, 1960.
19. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 16, 1945, 4.
20. On Dit, Vol. 17, No. 5, April 11, 1949, 2; On Dit, Vol. 14, No. 3, April 5, 1946, 4.
21. On Dit, Vol. 30, No. 6, June 9, 1962, 7.
22. On Dit, Vol. 32, No. 7, July 2, 1964, 7.
23. On Dit, Vol. 28, No. 6, May 13, 1960, 8.
24. On Dit, Vol. 13, No. 12, August 10, 1945, 4.
25. The Torch, Vol. XXV, 1945, 26-27; The Torch, Vol. XXX, 1950, 27, 29; Torch, Vol. XLIV, 1964, 28.
26. The Torch, Vol. XXV, 1946, 26.
27. Torch, Vol. XL, 1960, 34.
28. The Torch, Vol. XXIX, 1949, 28.
29. The Torch, Vol. XXX, 1950, 30.
30. Torch, Vol. XLIV, 1964, 28.
31. On Dit, Vol. 17, No. 3, March 28, 1949, 8.
32. On Dit, Vol. 17, No. 16, July 25, 1949, 1.
33. The National Fitness Council of South Australia, 1st Annual Report 1939-41, IV. £1500 was guaranteed for the first five years and was to be reviewed after this.
34. The Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1945-65.
35. Eunice Gill, 'Women in Physical Education and Sport - an advantaged group?', First Australian Symposium on the History and Philosophy of Physical Education and Sport, Achper, Melbourne, 1980, 170-171.

Chapter 4.SPORT IN THE COMMUNITY

This section examines women's participation in community Located sporting activities. Access to primary material, or more specifically the Lack of it, ultimately determined which sports were examined. A list of sports clubs approached appears in the notes.' Although non-traditional sports were preferred, the paucity of suitable material (the only exception is rifle shooting which will be mentioned briefly) has restricted this discussion to the more traditional sports of golf, hockey, tennis and swimming. Inevitably the availability of material for even these sports was varied. Full access to minute books, annual reports, correspondence and tour reports was possible for golf and swimming. Less information was available for hockey, mostly as a result of the lack of official publications such as annual reports and where the information was stored rather than reluctance by the club to grant access. Tennis information was abundant, if very disorganised, but again only a few annual reports were available.

I. GOLF.

After a faltering start golf was established in South Australia by the early 1890s. Women began appearing on the greens later in that decade and their first recorded State Championship took place in 1902.² Initially the mens' association, the South Australian Golf Association (S.A.G.A.), attempted to directly control - or perhaps contain - women's golf through the regulation of club and state competition. However, by 1925 the 'associates' (as women golfers were known from c.1907) formed the South Australian Ladies' Golf Union (S.A.L.G.U.) a move which enabled them to assume control of women's golf and affiliate with the national body - the Australian Ladies' Golf Union.³ Hindered by the

depression, the acceptance of golf by South Australian women progressed slowly but on the eve of World War II the S.A.L.G.U. boasted 80 affiliated clubs and over 2000 members.⁴

Inevitably the onset of the war restricted golfing activities as the combined effects of petrol rationing, the movement of unprecedented numbers of women into the workforce and limited Leisure opportunities were felt. Competition was abandoned, administration streamlined, club affiliations lapsed and play was severely curtailed.⁵ The golfing programme resumed in 1946 and by 1952 the re-establishment of South Australian golf to 1939 levels was achieved.⁶

Prior to the 1950s social and financial considerations, in the form of membership restrictions and the high cost of equipment ensured that golf remained an elitist activity. The 1950s, however, heralded a period of rapid expansion as the participant base widened in response to post-war changes. A prosperous economy, high wages, greater mobility through the increased access to motor vehicles, increased Leisure (the result of a shorter working week and labour saving devices) and the establishment of public links and hire equipment ensured that golf became more accessible to the general public. In addition, with the advent of televised golf matches and the presence of overseas players competing in well sponsored Australian tournaments golf achieved a higher profile in sports reporting and considerable interest, among both sexes, was aroused.⁷

Table 6 clearly shows the dramatic rise in clubs and players during this period. Between 1952 and 1965 the number of clubs and players increased by 80 and 160.5% respectively. 1952 was chosen as a starting point because by this year pre-war levels were re-established.

The proliferation of players brought in its wake serious problems of overcrowding, which in turn resulted in further restrictions being

placed on the rights of female golfers. From the beginning of their involvement with this sport women faced various barriers to equal acceptance - they were offered only limited membership (reduced fees in return for reduced privileges) - and consequently access to playing times, facilities and administrative positions were restricted or refused. Women were denied access to the course on Saturdays - working women were especially disadvantaged by this - and some clubs went so far as to totally ban them from the premises on that day.⁸ On-course 'etiquette' required that men had priority on the first tee - even if women had been waiting before them - and women were also expected to allow men to 'play through' if they were caught up on the course.⁹ As clubs became more populous women's position and privilege continued to deteriorate. Yet in spite of these difficulties women continued to be attracted to the game and as they increasingly turned to professional coaches for instruction the standard of women's golf improved.¹⁰

As well as playing enthusiasts, women's golf attracted an increasing number of spectators, although it wasn't until the 1970s that spectator interest was sufficient to support professionalism.¹¹ Undoubtedly visits from female professional players and international teams greatly contributed to the growth of golf as a participant and spectator sport. In 1953 "an estimated 2000 surged over the [Glenelg] course" to witness a match between four American professionals and four local players. The 10/- entrance fee went to the petrol company which sponsored the event.¹² It is also evident that the Australian Championships were capable of drawing large galleries and between 1959-66 the A.L.G.U. yearbooks make reference to the "record galleries [that] followed the matches each day" - a feat which was replicated when South Australia hosted the national titles in 1962.¹³

Although it is often claimed that women are denied the opportunity to engage in high level competition, in golf, as in the other sports examined, interstate and, to a lesser degree, international competition, was engaged in. The first interstate match took place in Sydney in 1897; only two states - Victoria and New South Wales - competed with the former taking the honours. Records begin again in 1933 and from this time interstate matches were conducted each year at the Australian Championships. Until 1948 no financial assistance was provided to interstate players and team members were responsible for their own expenses. In that year a levy was introduced to provide funds for interstate teams. All metropolitan members contributed 2/- with country players subscribing 1/-. Between 1949 and 1955 expenses ranged from £15 to £69 per person.¹⁴

Junior and sub-junior team events were introduced in 1960 and 1965 respectively and, in the case of sub-junior events, were specifically aimed at providing interstate experience to as many juniors as possible.¹⁵

As with interstate fixtures local golf programmes attempted to provide events for all levels of competition. As well as the standard individual and team events, yearly fixture lists included events for junior, country and veteran players.¹⁶ Special matches were arranged for "business girls" and in repeated, and largely fruitless, attempts to encourage golf among schoolgirls coaching clinics and special events were offered. Similarly in an effort to attract and motivate club officials a 'Council Appreciation Trophy' was inaugurated.¹⁷

Participation in international competition featured prominently in the history of women's golf in Australia. In 1933 regular competition with New Zealand was inaugurated. Initially consisting of an annual exchange in alternate countries, after 1956 the competition became a bi-annual event.¹⁸ Although there were no South Australian representatives, Australia participated in four international tours during

TABLE 6: CLUB GROWTH AND PARTICIPATION RATES IN GOLF, HOCKEY AND SWIMMING, 1946-65

Year	GOLF			HOCKEY			SWIMMING				
	Clubs	% Increase	Players ²	Clubs	% Increase	Players	% Increase	Women	% Increase	Juniors ³	% Increase
1946 ¹	33		1387	21		407		56		78	
1950 ¹	64	93.9	2885	22	4.8	418	2.7	48	-14.3	121	55.1
1955 ¹	85	32.8	3666	20	-9.1	385	-7.9	61	27.1	219	81.0
1960	101	18.8	4406	24	20.0	495	28.6	87	42.6	397	81.3
1965	126	24.8	7610	28	16.7	748	51.1	189	117.2	1116	181.1

Sources: A.L.G.U., Official Yearbooks 1947-66; S.A.W.H.A., Programmes 1945-65; S.A.A.S.A., Annual Reports, 1944/45-1965/66.

- Notes:
1. Refers to the years 1947, 1952 and 1956 for swimming statistics.
 2. Golf clubs often failed to state the number of players in their club, therefore player numbers are understated.
 3. Includes sub-juniors.

this period: Great Britain (1950 and 1959); South Africa (1957) and France (1964). On three occasions Australia played host to visiting international teams: South Africa (1953); British Junior Team (1955) and the Commonwealth Tournament (1963).¹⁹

II. HOCKEY.

Stick clashed on slick, then North Adelaide took possession of the sphere, and rattling it gaily down the turf, in spite of the gallant resistance of their opponents, succeeded in gaining their first goal.²⁰

Such was the description of play appearing in a 1901 Adelaide newspaper, the first record of women's hockey in South Australia.²¹ Four years later the South Australian Women's Hockey Association was formed. By 1945 the Association, which had consisted of eleven teams at its inception, had grown to include thirty-seven clubs and 407 players.²² While hockey was not the most popular women's sport at this time Table 6 shows the dramatic rise in interest in this game between 1946 and 1965. Despite a slight decrease between 1950-55, overall, the Association experienced a membership increase of 83.8% during this period. The largest period of expansion occurred between 1960-65, when the number of playing members rose to 748 - a growth rate of 51.1%.

Match programmes for the 1964 and 1965 interstate competition provide a rare opportunity to examine individual players more closely.²³ The programmes list South Australian players detailing their occupations and hobbies. Admittedly the sample is small and covers a very short time span, however some interesting points are raised. Occupational classifications used to categorise players are based on Routh.²⁴ The 1964 team consisted of six lower professionals (including two tertiary students); one administrator/manager; two clerical workers and one

secondary school student. The following year lower professional and clerical workers predominated, accounting for thirteen of the fourteen players. The remaining player was a semi-skilled manual worker. Over the two years physical education teachers were prominent among team members. A further indication that the majority of sportswomen (or at least hockey players) of this period came from sections of the middle-class is given by the fact that individual players were responsible for providing a major proportion of fares and travelling expenses for interstate and international tournaments. In 1936 players paid approximately £150 each to participate in the American International Federation of Women's Hockey Associations Tournament.²⁵ At some time during the period examined, the association began contributing small sums toward the fares of state and national representatives. However players remained responsible for living expenses.²⁶

Interstate hockey competition began in 1910 when New South Wales played host to Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia. These annual meetings fostered the establishment of a national body - the All-Australian Women's Hockey Association - and provided the opportunity for the selection of an All-Australian team. When the A.A.W.H.A. joined the I.F.W.H.A. in 1925 Australia became eligible to participate in their triennial hockey tournaments.²⁷

In the first of many international exchanges an English contingent travelled to the Antipodes to compete against the All-Australian team of 1914. International competition was a major source of inspiration and guidance for the developing Australian Association and its members. It was the outstanding Australian performance at the 1953 I.F.W.H.A. Tournament in England, culminating in their victory over the English team, that established Australia as a first-class hockey nation.²⁸ The 1956 I.F.W.H.A. Tournament in Sydney is considered the single most

important event responsible for the upsurge of interest in hockey in the late 1950s. Following the Tournament and subsequent tours by English, Canadian, Irish and Indian teams the South Australian Association experienced a dramatic rise in membership as increasing numbers of women - especially schoolgirls - entered the game.²⁹

III. LAWN TENNIS.

From the beginning of the period the South Australian Lawn Tennis Association emphasised the need to improve the standard of women's tennis. Various measures were adopted to attract female players to clubs: subscription fees were "substantially reduced", junior players were offered free coaching and circulars were issued to newly affiliated clubs.³⁰ Numerous playing opportunities were provided for women including weekday and weekend pennants; inter-association, inter-club and district tennis and various metropolitan, country and state championships.³¹

Junior tennis players received considerable attention and encouragement from the S.A.L.T.A. during this period. In attempts to increase the number of juniors in the Association, a Tennis Promotion Committee and a Students' Tennis Committee were formed to promote tennis in primary and secondary schools.³² Girls' schools were especially targeted in the Association's ongoing attempt to promote, and improve, the standard of women's tennis.³³ In 1947 tennis 'scholarships' were introduced to attract junior players. The scholarships entitled juniors to free membership to the association; however, although they were initially offered to two girls and two boys per year, in 1949 the award became available to boys only.³⁴

S.A.L.T.A. provided juniors with many opportunities for match practice. Weekly competitions for junior and student players were

organised, and junior events featured regularly in Country carnivals, metropolitan tournaments and State Championships. In addition to these opportunities special championships for junior players were introduced and affiliated clubs - such as the South Australian Hardcourt League - were encouraged to promote similar events for their juniors.³⁵ Contact with high level competition and interstate players was also provided by annual interstate matches and the chance to compete in the Australian Championships.³⁶

Junior players also benefitted from extensive coaching assistance provided by both the Lawn Tennis Association of Australia and the S.A.L.T.A. From 1947, to at least 1954, the L.T.A.A. subsidised state coaching schemes and organised junior coaching clinics after the Australian and State Championships.³⁷ S.A.L.T.A. introduced coaching programmes for promising metropolitan and country players, school teams and interstate squads.³⁸

In comparison to other states the S.A.L.T.A. provided less support and fewer opportunities to senior female playing members. The poor standard of women's tennis during this period was used to justify their exclusion from international, and to a lesser extent, interstate competition. Female players complained that the lack of financial assistance from the S.A.L.T.A. and the limited opportunity to engage in high level competition further reduced their potential for improvement.³⁹

Interstate matches halted by the War resumed in 1947, but South Australian women were forced to rely on their own resources and the generosity of the New South Wales L.T.A. for the opportunity to compete in Sydney that year.⁴⁰ While New South Wales and Victoria provided air travel, coaching assistance and "big match practice" for their interstate teams, South Australian women were initially denied these advantages.⁴¹ From the mid 1950s interstate matches became an unquestioned

feature of the women's yearly programme, and in 1956 annual interstate matches between South Australian and Victorian country teams were also introduced.⁴²

The major source of contact with first class competitors came from international players who appeared in the Australian and State Championships. Although more male players competed in Australian tournaments the S.A.L.T.A. sponsored international female players in 1949 (Doris Hart, U.S.A.); 1950 (Doris Hart and Louise Brough, U.S.A.); 1958 (Sandra Reynolds and Renee Schuurman, South Africa); 1959 (Maria Bueno, Brazil and Christine Turner, Great Britain) and 1964 (Maria Bueno and Billie Jean Moffit, U.S.A.).⁴³

These visits by international players and the good performances of Australian players overseas proved a great incentive to female players in Australia and also stimulated considerable spectator interest in women's tennis. By the end of the period, perhaps in response to this upsurge in spectator support of women's matches, the L.T.A.A. finally made the decision to send official women's teams abroad. The good financial result of both the women's overseas tour in 1964, and the 1965 Federation Cup in Melbourne, demonstrated the dramatic improvement in the standard of women's tennis in Australia and the increased viability of their game in the market place.⁴⁴

Although opportunities for international tours by female teams were limited, tours by mixed teams were occasionally arranged with south Africa and New Zealand, and individual players were sent, or permitted, to compete overseas.⁴⁵

Women were denied many of the privileges and rights granted to male members of the Association. As early as 1928 women were agitating for an increased role in the administration of their Association. However, up to 1950 the S.A.L.T.A. constitution excluded women from

administrative positions on the Council, and therefore indirectly, on most committees.⁴⁶ Although women were granted the right to be nominated for Council and committee positions in 1950, over a decade passed before a woman appeared on any of the major committees, and up to 1961 (after which Council meeting records were unavailable) no woman served on the Council.⁴⁷

Certain committees, such as the Women's Committee, were formed in response to requests by female players for increased responsibility for, and involvement in, women's tennis. While these committees consisted mostly of women, they dealt with minor aspects of the game, had no power to act without reference to the Council and were chaired by men. As a consolation for their exclusion from positions of responsibility and influence, women were granted authority over S.A.L.T.A.'s catering and flower arranging requirements.⁴⁸

IV. SWIMMING.

In comparison to lawn tennis women played a more visible and accepted role in the administration of the South Australian Amateur Swimming Association. Initially women maintained their own sphere of influence within the Association, however beyond 1944-45 no further reference is made to the South Australian Women's Amateur Swimming Association (S.A.W.A.S.A.). During the period the involvement of women in the administration of the Association rose steadily. In 1947-48 women held only 2.3% of the official positions available.⁴⁹ By 1956-57 women filled 9.6% of the positions available, and five years later this had risen to 19.8%. At the end of the period just over one-fifth of swimming officials were women.⁵⁰

In the years for which a sex breakdown of council delegates is available (between 1954-55 and 1962-63) women were represented on the

council in all but one year.⁵¹ Positions at the top of the administrative hierarchy were also accessible to women, if rarely attained. In 1956-57, "for the first time in... [the Association's] history a woman member has been elected to the Executive".⁵² Representation on councils dealing with international sport - such as the Empire and Olympic Games Councils - have traditionally eluded women. However, as early as 1954-55 the Association appointed a female delegate to both these councils.⁵³

Although coaching positions were habitually filled by men, women were encouraged to act in this capacity. In 1947-48 the Association congratulated their female diving coach on her upcoming marriage, but hoped that she would continue to both compete and coach.⁵⁴ When a swimming instruction course was introduced in 1954-55, women were the first to join and qualify.⁵⁵

As with the other sports examined limitations were placed on the extent of events available to women, restrictions which were only marginally relaxed during this period. In 1944-45 the State Championship program consisted of 28 events, of which less than 43% were for women. Eight events - ranging from 100 to 440 yards - were contested by senior women. Only four events were open to juniors, with 220 yds. the maximum distance for any one event. In contrast to this the men's swimming programme regularly featured a 1650 yd. and 440 yd. event for senior and junior men respectively.⁵⁶

By 1955-56 the senior women's programme had increased in size and extent to include individual and team medleys, and 110 yd. butterfly and 880 yd. freestyle events. While junior women still opened their programme with a 55 yd. freestyle race, medley and team events had been added.⁵⁷ At the close of the period senior women participated in 14 events, although no advance on the 880 yd. distance had been accomplished. Junior competitors of both sexes competed in identical events.⁵⁸

Several inconsistencies emerge when the restrictions placed on women's competition in South Australia are examined closely. Although women had been competing in a 880 yd. event at the National Championships by at least 1948-49, it was not introduced into the South Australian State Championship until the mid 1950s. Similarly the restrictions seem odd in relation to the long swim competitions conducted by the association in which women frequently competed, and which ranged from 440 yds. to 2 miles.⁵⁹

As with the S.A.L.T.A., the S.A.A.S.A. paid a great deal of attention to fostering junior talent. To encourage interest in the sport among schoolchildren and raise their low standard of swimming, the association organized a number of school competitions. At the beginning of the period the Association conducted a State Schools' Championship which was open to both government and non-government schools. In 1944-45 events ranged from 33 1/3 - 100 yds., and catered for ages from under 12 to under 18.⁶⁰

In 1952-53 primary schools entered competitive swimming with the introduction of the Primary Schools' Championship, a competition that was extremely well supported by students and parents.⁶¹ Two years later Age Championships began providing events for 7-13 year olds. Country schools dominated these meets, providing the majority of competitors and taking most of the honours. The advent of further championships, including a school teams competition, is testimony of the burgeoning interest in swimming among schoolchildren at this time. All of the competitions arranged for schoolchildren mentioned above offered identical events for girls and boys.⁶²

Apart from several visits to South Australia by interstate champions, the Australian National Championships provided local swimmers

with their main opportunity to compete against top-class competitors.⁶³ Although South Australian teams generally consisted of more males than females, the difference was not great. Female swimmers - especially juniors, who dominated the State teams from the Late 1950s - were responsible for much of South Australia's success at the National Titles between 1948 and 1962.⁶⁴

While the opportunity for international competition was limited, South Australia contributed several successful swimmers to overseas teams. In 1952 Denise Norton, who had also represented Australia at the 1950 Empire Games, became the first South Australian woman... "selected to participate at an Olympic Swimming Event".⁶⁵ South Australian representatives were also present at the 1956 and 1960 Olympic Games and in 1962 Dawn Fraser and Nola Shephard toured New Zealand under the sponsorship of a swimming club.⁶⁶

The success of Local swimmers on the national and international scene did not go unrecognized by the Association. Annual reports frequently highlighted the efforts of outstanding swimmers. Both Denise Norton and Dawn Fraser were singled out for special emphasis; both were regarded as being "an inspiration to other swimmers, both male and female."⁶⁷ Individual trophies, team cups and other awards were constantly provided to encourage and reward swimmers. The print and radio media played a prominent role in supporting and encouraging swimming in South Australia. Unlike Lawn tennis officials, who repeatedly and often fruitlessly, requested publicity, the swimming association had direct links with the media. Several Local sportswriters belonged to the association. Lois Quarrell, one time secretary of the S.A.W.A.S.A., was employed by The Advertiser, and "did much to bring the results and activities of this sport before the public".⁶⁸ The

association was also quick to grasp the opportunities television represented, and began by telecasting swimming techniques on ADS7.⁶⁹

Throughout the period financial support was extended to the Association by the state government. This subsidy which increased from £50 in 1944-45 to \$2000 by the end of the period, was used to finance swimming instruction provided by the association to metropolitan and country schools.⁷⁰

In response to the promotional initiatives of the association, and most importantly, the outstanding success of local swimmers - notably Dawn Fraser - association membership soared between 1947-65 (see Table 6). Over this period the total number of women registered with the Association rose by a staggering 974%. While the number of senior competitors within the Association rose steadily during these years, juniors represented the most substantial additions to club membership. Sub-juniors, listed as a distinct category from 1956, represented the fastest growing component of the Association. Between 1956 and 1965 the number of registered sub-juniors rose by 539.3%, with the largest period of expansion occurring in the last five years. The dominance of competitive swimming by very young girls remains a characteristic of swimming today. The proportion of female swimmers within the club also increased. In 1947 women represented only 15.8% of association members, eighteen years later 40.4% were women.

V. RIFLE SHOOTING.

The first move to open rifle shooting to women came on the 5th November 1960, when the National Council voted in favour of removing the constitutional barriers to women becoming members of state rifle associations. In 1961 this initiative was followed by a request to the Department of the Army (who partially controlled and funded rifle

associations) to amend rifle club regulations to admit women as members.⁷¹ Women first appeared in major South Australian rifle meetings, such as the Queen's Prize Meeting, in 1963. A year later Gina Black, one of the six female shooters in the field, became the first woman awarded the coveted Queen's badge.⁷² Although some local meets introduced separate competitions and trophies for women they were also able to compete directly with men.

Substantial advancements in the position of women in the South Australian Rifle Association did not occur until after the period examined. In 1972 South Australian women participated in their first female only interstate and international competitions.⁷³ Although acceptance into administrative positions progressed very slowly, by 1975 the editor of the local shooting newsletter, S.A. Rifle News, acknowledged women as the mainstay of the shooting fraternity - and not just for their contribution to afternoon teas and luncheons.⁷⁴

VI. The early participation by women in state, national and international competition - especially as much of this was self-funded - belies the traditionally espoused view that women do not take sports participation seriously. While men viewed sport as a peripheral feature of women's lives it is evident that women accepted sport as an important part of their lifestyle, and in all of the major sports discussed female participation rates increased during this period. The paucity of information on women in traditional 'male' sports and the slow acceptance of women in rifle shooting indicates the difficulty women experienced when breaking into non-traditional sports.

Abundant evidence exists showing that women, especially young women, were encouraged to participate in sport and supported in their choice to pursue an active sporting role. Positive role models,

recognition and rewards were also forthcoming from all clubs, providing an excellent source of support and motivation. In response to the incentives provided to female competitors the standard of play in women's sport rose markedly. As a result of increased playing standards, the outstanding success of South Australian and Australian representatives, and, in the case of swimming, increased media coverage some women's sports increasingly aroused spectator interest.

In all of the sports examined current perceptions of women's physical capabilities restricted the structure of women's sport. While junior events for each sex were usually identical, senior women faced limited opportunities in the extent of their sporting programmes. When comparing single-sex and mixed sporting clubs it is clear that women benefitted from controlling their own association. The denial of equal rights to women in the golf and tennis associations severely restricted women's involvement in their sport. It is also clear that women opposed, with varying degrees of success, the restrictions placed on their participation.

Notes to Chapter 4.

1. Requests for information were sent to the Adelaide Rowing Club, S.A. Women's Basketball League, Adelaide Archery Club, Adelaide Hockey Club, Glenelg Women's Bowling Club, Glenelg Golf Club, Royal Adelaide Golf Club - no reply or no information given. The following clubs provided only their latest annual report; the S.A. Netball Association, S.A. Women's Bowling Association. The Brighton Hockey Club provided a history of their club. Information for the swimming, rifle and tennis sections was made available by the Mortlock Library of South Australia and Dr. Wray Vamplew. All details for the golf section was provided by the S.A. Ladies' Golf Union.
2. Marjorie Ridgway, South Australian Golf 1869-1970, Adelaide 1972, 4-5. Although no record exists it is believed that previous championships had been held.
3. Ridgway, op.cit., 9-11.
4. Pauline Saunders, Not a Game but a Way of Life, Honours thesis (unpublished), Flinders University, Adelaide 1980, 38.
5. Saunders, op.cit., 38-39. By the end of the war less than half of the 1939 clubs remained affiliated - 33 clubs, 1384 members.
6. Saunders, op.cit., 40.
7. Saunders, ibid.
8. Saunders, op.cit., 42.
9. Saunders, ibid.
10. Saunders, op.cit., 4.
11. Saunders, op.cit., 60.
12. Ridgway, op.cit., 38.
13. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1959, 7; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1960, 8; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1961, 11; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1963, 9; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1964, 10, 87; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1966, 10.
14. Ridgway, op.cit., 38-40.
15. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1960, 8; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1965, 10.
16. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbooks, 1947-66.
17. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbooks, 1951, 1966; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1956, 149.
18. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1939, 46; A.L.G.U., Official Yearbook, 1956, 37.

19. A.L.G.U., Official Yearbooks, 1951-65.
20. The Advertiser, Friday, 23 August, 1901, 8.
21. Although no earlier written report has been found there is a picture of an Adelaide hockey team c.1890 appearing in Bruce Howard, A Nostalgic Look at Australian Sport, Adelaide, 1978, 33.
22. Information supplied by Mrs. Lorna Jolly. Administrator of South Australian Hockey Association 1948-81. Present archivist of the Association.
23. Official Programme, All-Australian Women's Hockey Tournament, Perth, 1964, 15; Official Programme, All-Australian Women's Hockey Tournament and Malaysian Touring Team, 1965, 15.
24. G. Routh, Occupation and Pay in Great Britain 1906-60, London, 1965, 221-25.
25. 'A brief history of the A.A.W.H.A.', 4, provided by Mrs. L. Jolly.
26. Conversation with Mrs. L. Jolly, 8 May, 1986.
27. Official Programme, All-Australia Women's Hockey Championships, 1975, 2.
28. ibid.
29. 'A brief history of the A.A.W.H.A.', 5, provided by Mrs. L. Jolly.
30. Minutes of the Associated Clubs Committee, Mon., 15 July, 1946; Mon., 19 Jan, 1948; 19 July, 1948; Mon, 16 July, 1951. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 3 April, 1950, Mon., 5 Oct., 1953.
31. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 2 June, 1950; Mon., 18 June, 1951. Minutes of the Associated Clubs Committee, Mon., 19 Jan, 1948; Mon., 16 Feb., 1953.
32. Minutes of the Metropolitan Committee, Wed., 23 Sept., 1959. Memorandum of the Students' Tennis Committee, March, 1959.
33. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 3 Oct., 1938; Mon., 8 July, 1946.
34. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 7 July, 1947; Mon., 3 Oct., 1949.
35. Memorandum of the Students Tennis Committee, March 1959; Minutes of the Metropolitan Committee, Wed., 30 March, 1960.
36. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 8 Jan., 1961; S.A.L.T.A. Annual Reports, 1953/54-1959/60.
37. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 7 July, 1947; Mon., 6 Nov., 1950; Fri., 18 June, 1954. S.A.L.T.A. Annual Report, 1953/54, 3.

38. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 4 Nov., 1946; Mon., 5 Feb., 1948; Mon., 5 March, 1951.
39. Letter from Sadie Rogers, Captain of Women's Interstate Team, to Chairman of the S.A.L.T.A., 6 Dec., 1953; Letter from Mr. D.M. Frankenburg (S.A. Delegate to L.T.A.A.) to the Secretary of the S.A.L.T.A., 22 Dec., 1953; Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 6 July, 1953.
40. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 6 Oct., 1947.
41. Letter from Sadie Rogers, ibid.
42. S.A.L.T.A. Annual Reports 1953/54-1960/61; Minutes of the Country Committee, Fri., 9 May, 1956; Reports by Captains of the Country Interstate Teams 1961-64.
43. Letter from the Secretary of the S.A.L.T.A. to Mr. J.R. Fullarton (Secy. L.T.A.A.), 24 Nov. 1948; S.A.L.T.A. Annual Reports, 1958/59, 8, and 1959/60, 10. Letter from J. Ken Hall (L.T.A.A.) to Secretary of the S.A.L.T.A., 14 Dec., 1964; Letter from Mr. D.M. Frankenburg to the S.A.L.T.A. Secretary, 22 Sept. 1964. Dorothy Bund, Shirley Fry, Maureen Connolly, Nancy Richey, Althea Gibson (U.S.A.), Dorothy Round, Angela Mortimer and Virginia Wade (G.B.) also came to Australia in the post-war years. However there is no reference to them competing in South Australia. R.S. Whittington, An Illustrated History of Australian Tennis, Melbourne, 1975, 105.
44. Whittington, op.cit., 105-09; Letter from Mr. D.M. Frankenburg to the S.A.L.T.A. Secretary, 22 Jan., 1965.
45. Letter from the Secretary of the L.T.A.A. to the S.A.L.T.A. Secretary, 18 Nov., 1948; Letter from Mr. Frankenburg to the S.A.L.T.A. Secretary, 22 Dec., 1964; L.T.A.A. Delegate Report, 17 Feb., 1965. Australia toured South Africa in 1948 and New Zealand in 1964. A mixed South African team visited South Australia in 1954.
46. The S.A.L.T.A., Constitution and Rules and Regulations, 1949, 11-47.
47. Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, 4 Aug., 1947; 31 July, 1950. In 1964 a woman served on the Associated Clubs Committee. Records of the Metropolitan and Country Committees (1948-61 and 1946-59 respectively) do not list any women as delegates. In 1963 the Council approved the nomination of a female delegate to represent each District on the Players Committee. Minutes of the Associated Clubs Committee, 16 Sept., 1963.
48. Letter from the Chairman of the House Committee to the Secretary of the Women's Committee, 26 Sept., 1952; Letter from the Secretary of the S.A.L.T.A., to the Secretary of the Women's Committee, 15 Oct., 1952; Minutes of the S.A.L.T.A. Council Meeting, Mon., 13 April, 1953.

49. Honorary positions, such as Auditor, Medical Advisor, Solicitor and Accountant, have not been included in the calculations. Until 1950-51 the executive was not Listed, and has therefore also been excluded to that date.
50. S.A.A.S.A., 50th Annual Report 1956/57, 4.
51. S.A.A.S.A., Annual Reports 1954/55-1962/63. No women served in 1954/5.
52. S.A.A.S.A., 50th Annual Report 1956/57, 4.
53. S.A.A.S.A., 48th Annual Report 1954/55, 1.
54. S.A.A.S.A., 41st Annual Report 1947/48, n.n.
55. S.A.A.S.A., 48th Annual Report 1954/55, 11; S.A.A.S.A., 49th Annual Report 1955/56, 6.
56. S.A.A.S.A., 38th Annual Report 1944/45, n.n.
57. S.A.A.S.A., 49th Annual Report 1955/56, 22-3.
58. S.A.A.S.A., 59th Annual Report 1965/66, 30-2.
59. S.A.A.S.A., Annual Reports 1944/45-1965/66; S.A.A.S.A., 42nd Annual Report 1948/49, n.n.
60. S.A.A.S.A. 38th Annual Report 1944/45, n.n.
61. S.A.A.S.A., 46th Annual Report 1952/53, 6.
62. S.A.A.S.A., 48th Annual Report 1955/56, 14; S.A.A.S.A., 57th Annual Report 1963/64, 21.
63. S.A.A.S.A., 48th Annual Report 1954/55, 12; S.A.A.S.A., 51st Annual Report 1957/58, 15; S.A.A.S.A., 54th Annual Report 1960/61, 12; S.A.A.S.A., 55th Annual Report 1961/62,
64. Denise Norton was very successful in junior and senior competition between 1948-52, and Dawn Fraser represented South Australia from 1956-62.
65. S.A.A.S.A., 43rd Annual Report 1949/50, n.n.; S.A.A.S.A., 45th Annual Report 1951/52, 9.
66. S.A.A.S.A., 50th Annual Report 1956/57, 4; S.A.A.S.A., 53rd Annual Report 1959/60, 2; 55th Annual Report 1961/62.
67. S.A.A.S.A., 42nd Annual Report 1948/49, n.n.; 51st Annual Report 1957/58, 4.
68. S.A.A.S.A., Annual Reports 1944/45-1965/66; S.A.A.S.A., 42nd Annual Report 1948/49, n.n.
69. S.A.A.S.A., 52nd Annual Report 1958/59, 15; S.A.A.S.A., 55th Annual Report 1961/62, 9.

70. S.A.A.S.A., Annual Reports 1944/45-1965/66.
71. S.A. Rifle News, Vol. 8, No. 12, 1972, 16.
72. S.A. Rifle News, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1964, 16.
73. S.A. Rifle News, Vol. 8, No. 8, 1972, 14; S.A. Rifle News, Vol. 8, No. 12, 1972, 13.
74. S.A. Rifle News, Dec. 1975.

i. The National Fitness Council.

In connection with the State Education Department and the Adelaide University physical education course, the National Fitness Council implemented programmes aimed at improving the standard of fitness among South Australian youth.¹ From its inception in 1939 the N.F.C. offered women a decided role in the organization and promotion of recreation in South Australia. As most of the programmes conducted by the N.F.C. were segregated by sex, administrative and practical positions for women within the N.F.C. were assured.²

The N.F.C. played a major role in fostering women's sport in the post-war years. Apart from providing considerable coaching assistance in a variety of sports (including tennis, athletics, hockey, netball and swimming) the N.F.C. was also instrumental in organizing and promoting new team sports.³ The N.F.C. was responsible for the formation of the South Australian Amateur Gymnastic Association in 1952, and the introduction of softball, cricket and court cricket to girls' schools.⁴ Recreational activities, youth clubs, camps and group activities featured prominently in the Council's youth programmes. Initially operating in the metropolitan area, the N.F.C. scheme expanded to include country areas in 1941.⁵

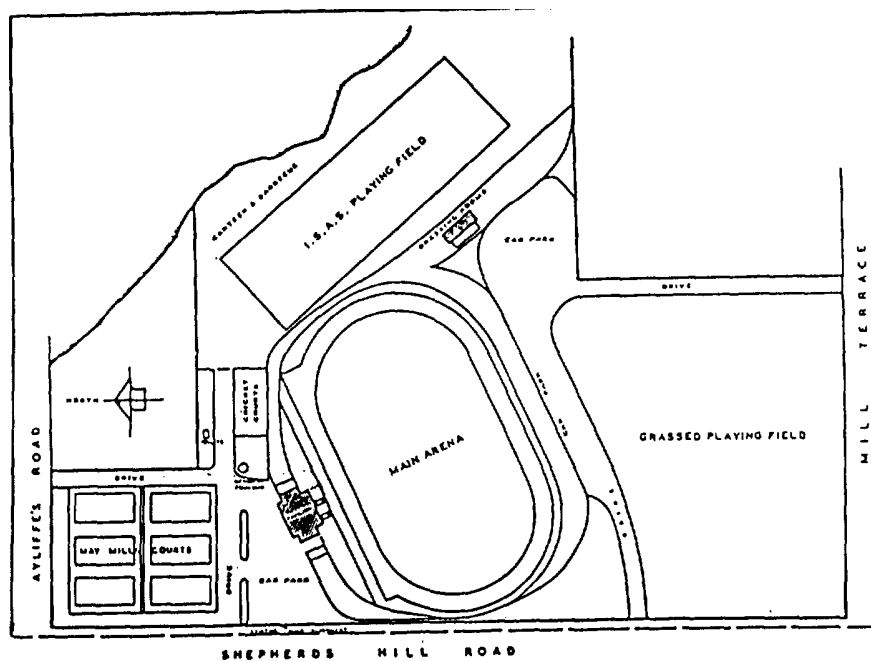
The N.F.C., through the provision of financial and administrative assistance, played a major role in the formation of the South Australian Women's Amateur Sports Council. The Sports Council was established to promote the interests of sportswomen in South Australia, and to help formulate "a common policy on planning and development for women's sport".⁶ Local sports clubs also benefitted from the coaching clinics, Leadership training and umpires courses and limited financial aid that

the N.F.C. offered.⁷

One of the primary objectives of the N.F.C. throughout this period was the provision of suitable recreational facilities. Both male and female sports suffered from a severe shortage of playing fields, a situation made worse by the rapid growth of women's sport in the post-war period.⁸ Repeated attempts by the N.F.C. and the S.A.W.A.S.C. to elicit government support in this area were partially rewarded in 1952. In that year the state government donated 19 acres of Land for the development of a women's sports field.⁹ After several years of organising, fund raising and construction the South Australian Women's Memorial Playing Fields were opened providing facilities for tennis, cricket, hockey, softball, netball and court cricket.¹⁰ See Figure 1.

The N.F.C. received subsidies from both the Commonwealth and State governments. When the council was formed in 1939, £2500 p.a. was

Figure 1. The South Australian Women's Memorial Playing Fields



Source: South Australian Women's Playing Fields, pamphlet, courtesy of the Department of Recreation and Sport, n.d.

provided towards the establishment of the Physical Education Course at Adelaide University and N.F.C. costs.¹¹ Government contributions rose throughout the period and in 1958 the N.F.C. received £15,400 from the State government and a share of the £68,000 provided to the states by the Commonwealth.¹²

ii. The Media.

Media coverage of women's sport during this period was minimal. A survey of The Advertiser between 1945-65 revealed that women's sport received a very small percentage of the total space allocated to sport.¹³ In 1950 women's sport constituted only 6.2% of the years sports coverage, ten years later this had decreased to 5.0%.¹⁴ A more detailed analysis has not been attempted because much of the reporting on women's sport did not appear on the sports pages, but was relegated to the 'women's section' of the paper. Despite the paucity of coverage the local media played an important role in the support and encouragement of South Australian sportswomen. In 1936 Lois Quarrell began the first "women's sport" section to appear in a Local paper.¹⁵ Working through The Advertiser Quarrell emphasised the importance of physical activity for women, and did much to convince anxious parents and a dubious public that sport was a beneficial (rather than immoral) activity for women. Her regular features drew attention to women's involvement in sport at local, national and international levels, and was a constant source of encouragement for further participation.¹⁶ Apart from generally promoting all women's sport, Quarrell was directly involved in a number of sporting bodies, including the swimming and women's athletics clubs (S.A.A.S.A. and S.A.W.A.A.), and the National Fitness Council. The Advertiser's employment of a female sports writer contributed to a balanced portrayal of South Australian sportswomen, as Quarrell's

reports were free from the sexism, condescension and ridicule that characterized other coverage of female athletes.¹⁸

iii. Other.

Various other forms of promotion also advanced the cause of women's sport in South Australia. In 1956 a 'Sportswoman of the Year' award, jointly sponsored by the women's Amateur Sports Council and Foursquare grocery stores, was introduced to recognise the outstanding achievements of local athletes.¹⁹ Although not aimed specifically at women, female athletes benefitted from government initiatives to promote mixed sports, notably swimming. From the mid-1950s the government sponsored "learn to swim" campaigns and subsidised the construction of public swimming pools.²⁰

Various members of the economic community also assisted in the promotion of sport in South Australia. Of the sports examined swimming received the most support from this source. Throughout the period Speedo, the State Bank, The Advertiser and News Pty. Ltd., Shell and Combined Oil provided trophies, awards and sponsored championships and 'learn to swim' campaigns.²¹ At the end of the period the Rothmans National Sports Foundation was established, its objective was to distribute £100,000 per annum to amateur sport.²² Although these measures were not directed solely at women's sport, female athletes reaped the benefits.

Notes to Chapter V.

1. Darwin M. Semotink, 'Commonwealth Government Initiatives in Amateur Sport in Australia 1972-1985', Sporting Traditions, May 1987 (forthcoming).
2. The National Fitness Council of South Australia, 1st Annual Report 1939-41, 1; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 2nd Annual Report 1941-2, 14; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 22nd Annual Report 1961, 5.
3. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 17th Annual Report 1956, n.n.; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 18th Annual Report 1957, n.n.; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 21st Annual Report 1961, 14.
4. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 5th Annual Report 1945, 7-9; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 11th Annual Report 1950, 10; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 13th Annual Report 1952, n.n.; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 17th Annual Report 1956, n.n.; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 18th Annual Report 1957, n.n.
5. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 2nd Annual Report 1941-42, 10; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 4th Annual Report 1943-44, 12-13.
6. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 19th Annual Report 1958, n.n.
7. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 13th Annual Report 1952, 14; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 15th Annual Report 1954, 18; T.N.F.C. of S.A., 20th Annual Report 1959, n.n.
8. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 19th Annual Report 1958, n.n.
9. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 13th Annual Report 1954, 14.
10. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 19th Annual Report 1958, n.n.
11. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 1st Annual Report 1939-41, Appendix IX, IV.
12. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 21st Annual Report 1960, 5.
13. To determine what percentage of The Advertiser's sports section was devoted to women's sport, the sports coverage included in the third week of January, April, July and October was surveyed. These times were chosen in an attempt to avoid major but infrequent sporting events which could disrupt typical sports coverage.
14. The space allocated to women's sport continued to decrease, in 1975 only 2.3% of the sports section was devoted to Women's sport.
15. Daly, op.cit., 19.
16. Daly, op.cit., 19-20.
17. S.A.A.S.A., 42nd Annual Report 1948-49, n.n.; Daly, ibid., T.N.F.C. of S.A., 1st Annual Report 1939-41, Appendix 2.1.
18. See for example Sport Magazine, 1948-63; Australian Sport and Surfing, 1964-65.

19. The Advertiser, Wed., 20 Oct., 1965. 17.
20. S.A.A.S.A., 50th Annual Report 1956-7, 11.
21. S.A.A.S.A., 43rd Annual Report 1949-50, n.n., S.A.A.S.A., Annual Report 1944/45-1965/66, S.A.A.S.A., 51st Annual Report 1957-58, 18, S.A.A.S.A., 57th Annual Report 1963-64, 15, 21.
22. S.A.A.S.A., 58th Annual Report 1964-65, 18.

Conclusion.

When drawing conclusions about the nature of women's sport in South Australia between 1945-65 the limited variety of source material available, and the effect of this deficiency on the information obtained, must be considered. Inevitably school magazines, yearbooks and annual reports present a somewhat idealized and generalized view of yearly sporting activities. The prospective audience at which these reports were aimed and the constraints imposed during production (for example approval from school authorities for magazine content) determined to some degree what information was, and perhaps more importantly, was not included. Similarly internal conflict within and between clubs was often omitted from official club reports. We must also question whether the sources used reflect the views of the general community, or just those who enjoyed sport and accepted it as an integral aspect of their Lifestyle. Inevitably, these factors influenced the way sport was presented in these sources, and will therefore effect any conclusions drawn about women's sport of the period.

World War Two represented "a watershed in Australian social development" especially in relation to the position of women in society.¹ Although the immediate impact of the war on the position of women can be questioned, it is clear that from this time women's 'role' in Australian society gradually widened.² Whether increased sports participation by women was the product of that social change, or a contributor to it, has not yet been determined. However, as women continued to be barred from some areas of employment because of assumed (rather than proven) physical inabilities, it seems that women's considerable sporting achievements of the post-war period had little impact on their perceived physical capabilities. Certainly post-war conditions and innovations,

including television, and increased mobility, prosperity and Leisure, made sport far more accessible to women. The war also supplied a philosophical justification for sport that had hitherto been denied most women: physical activity for both sexes was seen as a vital prerequisite for "national, social, economic and moral development".³

Despite the insistence that physical factors should preclude women from an active role in sport, it is evident that their attempts to participate in physical activity were more effectively impeded by restrictive social attitudes and values. The artificial constraints imposed on women by concepts of gender and gender role through the socialisation process has meant they have not received the same encouragement and provision for sports participation that men are assured. At all levels of the sports experience examined male sport was more highly valued and subsequently allocated a greater share of available resources. Sportsmen were accorded more recognition and status from 'official' sources, especially the media, and were guaranteed the necessary support, encouragement and opportunity to extend their physical capabilities.

Despite claims to the contrary, women displayed a serious and dedicated attitude to their involvement in sport. The early development of championship events, persistent efforts to improve playing standards (especially through professional tuition), the acceptance of sport as a basis for a career and the willingness to make a financial commitment to their sport, indicates that some women regarded sport as an integral part of their lifestyle.

Many obstacles were placed in the way of women wishing to participate in sport. The slow acceptance of women into traditional male sports, and the exclusion of women from positions of power, influence and authority (including coaching positions) within mixed clubs are

testimony of continuing resistance to women adopting a sporting role. Although women received minimal media coverage in The Advertiser, what did appear contributed to the social acceptance and support of women's sport. Informed reports by those directly involved in women's sport - notably Lois Quarrell - did much to establish the credibility of women's sporting performances and portray sportswomen in a balanced and sympathetic manner. Regular features on women's sport attracted attention to the level of sport involvement by South Australian women and encouraged further participation.

Perhaps in response to even this limited media coverage, and certainly as a result of the outstanding success of Australian sportswomen in international competition, increasing numbers of women participated in sport between 1945-65. By the end of the period the improving standard of women's sports performances excited increasing spectator interest, and laid the foundations for professionalism in women's sport.

Important qualifications were placed on women's participation in sport. At every stage of their sporting experience women faced restrictions which implied that, because of gender, they were physically limited and their capacity for improvement was minimal. Successful sportswomen, especially those engaged in high level competition, were under pressure to prove that physical activity and 'femininity' were compatible. Similarly women were prompted to deny that their involvement in competitive sport was symbolic of their competition with men. Despite this there is considerable evidence to suggest that women were encouraged to pursue an active role in sport. Positive role models, incentives, playing opportunities (including international competition), recognition and status were all available to women engaging in physical activity. Junior athletes were especially encouraged to view sport as a vital component of a healthy lifestyle. Coaching and playing

facilities were provided, although in some cases women's sports grounds were in short supply. Practical assistance from government-funded organisations and, indirectly, Local business, contributed to the provision of playing fields for women, and the promotion of women's sport in South Australia. Those women who incorporated sport into their Lifestyle did so only by successfully overcoming opposition and discrimination. Unlike men, women in South Australia were not guaranteed 'a fair go'.

Footnotes to Conclusions.

1. S. Encel, N. MacKenzie and M. Tebbutt, Women and Society: An Australian Study, Melbourne, 1974, 72; Ann Howard, Women in Australia, New South Wales, 1984, 34-40.
2. Encel et.al., op.cit., 138.
3. T.N.F.C. of S.A., 1st Annual Report 1939-41, IV.

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