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Female Chinese and Māori Sport Participants' Embodied Experiences of Risk, Pain and Injury

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ABSTRACT

Risk, pain and injury are intrinsic elements of sport and physical activities. In this thesis, I explore the under-investigated experiences of sport-related risk, pain and injury of two groups of non-Western women in New Zealand. Neither the participants (Chinese and Māori women) nor the sports (table tennis and outrigger canoeing, known as waka ama in New Zealand) have been given sufficient attention in the prior studies of these experiences. Prior studies have consolidated the strong associations between the phenomena of risk, pain and injury and the high-performance male athletes in Western mainstream contact sports. Nevertheless, the problems related to this focus include: underestimation of sport participants' efforts and sacrifices at various levels; marginalization of women's experiences in sport and physical activities; and neglect of non-Western sport contexts and cultures.

The existing knowledge of the field has thus provided only a narrow understanding of this ubiquitous risk, pain and injury in sport. To gain richer and more nuanced understandings, I recognised the need to explore sport participants' diverse social identities (age, gender, ethnicity and cultural belonging) and their levels and types of participation. Two prime research questions were proposed: what interplay of influences (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background and sport culture) have shaped Māori female waka ama paddlers' and Chinese female table tennis players' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury? And, how have discourses and power relations interacted with participants' embodied agencies to shape these experiences?

Findings analysed via Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations demonstrate that gender identity is not the only salient influence, but interacts with other factors, such as age, ethnicity, and cultural background. Both groups interpreted their pain and injury from life-course perspectives, in which their experiences and attitudes underwent changes as they proceeded through life. Additionally, female Māori waka ama paddlers drew on Māori tikanga [correct procedures] to interpret their attitudes to risk-taking behaviours, while female Chinese table tennis players' experiences were shaped by Chinese cultural discourses of hard work and/or Western discourses of model minority. In contrast to prior studies, which tended to render athletes as inactive and passive on the theoretical level, my findings suggest that participants' embodied experiences were contextually, discursively and subjectively shaped. Findings show that participants also resisted and negotiated with the social structures through their bodily awareness and actions.

This study also provided empirical evidence to support a claim that Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations of the body can be used in a complementary manner, and that an embodied approach and the investigation of intersecting influences are important for producing more diverse, multi-dimensional and nuanced understandings of risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport.

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS

Cu [粗]	Big, thick or vulgar
Da wo [大我]	The large self
Diu lian [丢脸]	Losing face, embarrassing
Jiu bing cheng yi [久病成医]:	Prolonged illness makes the patient a doctor
Nv han zi [女汉子]	Iron girls
Qi [气]	Vital energy or breath-energy
Qi gong [气功]	The practice to cultivate qi
Ren [仁]	Humanity, benevolence, and love
Si fu [师父]	A master or a skilful person
Xiao wo [小我]	The small self

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hapū	Sub-tribes
Hinengaro	Mind, thought
Hongi	Pressing noses in greeting
Hui	Meeting
Ihi	Essential force
Iwi	Tribes
Kai	Food and meal
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Karakia	Prayers or ritual chant
Kiato	The cross arms that connect the hull to the outrigger
Mana wāhine	Women's power or strength
Mauri	Life force, the vital essence of life
Moko	Traditional Māori skin carving or tattoo
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent or foreigners
Pepeha	Self-introduction
Pōwhiri	Welcome ceremony on a marae
Rāhui	A temporary ritual prohibition placed on an area, resource or stretch of water
Tangaroa	The Māori god of the sea and fish
Tangata whenua	Indigenous people or Māori
Taniwha	A mythical creature

Tapu	Restriction, prohibition
Taumanu	Canoe thwart, crossbeams. A part of the canoe, giving the hull support and strength. Kiato are usually tied up onto taumanu.
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Tikanga	Correct procedures
Tinana	Body
Tino rangatiratanga	Sovereignty
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	Canoe
Waka ama	Outrigger canoeing
Waka taua	War canoes
Waka tētē	Sea-fishing canoes
Waka tīwai	River canoes
Whakapapa	Māori genealogy
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establish relationships
Whānau	The extended family
Whenua	Land

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Risk, pain and injury are intrinsic and prevalent in sport and physical activities. However, the current knowledge of the field mainly stems from research about young, high-performance males in Western sport contexts. Although important, this group is not representative of the wide spectrum of participants in sport. This study emerged from the disparity between my reading of the body of literature and my own sporting experience, cultural upbringing and academic background. I, a non-elite, non-Western (China-born Chinese), female leisure sport player, found it difficult to resonate with the existing findings. Hence, it became important to me that the relatively invisible concerns of gender, cultural, ethnic and non-elite athletic identities in the prior studies were made visible.

This thesis expands the current understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury by examining two under-researched groups of sport participants: teenage and middle-aged¹ non-Western women participating in table tennis and waka ama [outrigger canoeing]. In doing this, my thesis challenges the marginalization and the ‘otherness’ status of non-Western women in sport, which have been reinforced by the research foci in the body of literature currently found in the sociology of sport. Moreover, my research findings contribute new understandings of the phenomena of risk, pain and injury, which will resonate with a wider range of sport participants.

Next, I introduce the purpose and objectives of this research, and briefly outline the dominant foci on and understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury. Then, I point out the gaps in and potential problems related to these existing understandings, and introduce my research foci. This thesis aims to not only explore beyond the Westernized scope of current understandings of risk, pain and injury in sport, but also to search for the interplay of influences embedded within experiences of risk, pain and injury. Finally, I introduce the theories of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault that underpin my approach to this research.

¹ In this thesis, middle-aged is defined as between 40 and 60 years old.

Research Purposes: Articulating Marginal Experiences of Risk, Pain and Injury

My sociological research, in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, investigates how female Chinese table tennis players and female Māori waka ama paddlers make sense of risk, pain and injury. Previous studies were mostly of high-performance sportsmen in Western mainstream sport (e.g., Curry, 1993; Curry & Strauss, 1994; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Roderick, 2006a; Sabo, 1989). In contrast, my research investigates the experiences of a more diverse population of sport participants. I propose to pay particular attention to the intersecting influences of age, gender, race/ethnicity and cultural background of Chinese and Māori females in their chosen sports. Hughes and Coakley's (1991) concept of *the sport ethic*, and Nixon's (1992, 1993, 1994, 1996b) *the culture of risk* and *the sportsnet* have been applied to the interpretation of athletes' responses to risk, pain and injury. However, these concepts emphasise the discursive influences from the larger society in the sporting context, but place little emphasis on sport participants' embodied agency when facing risk and feeling pain and injury. In this thesis, I will argue for a deeper understanding of the complex interplay of structural influences and the embodied subjectivity and agency in sport participants' mediated responses to risk, pain and injury.

This research investigates two interrelated questions: 1) what interplay of influences, such as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background and sport culture, have shaped Māori female waka ama paddlers' and Chinese female table tennis players' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, and 2) how have discourses and power relations interacted with participants' embodied agency in shaping their experiences?

Understanding the Key Elements: Risk, Pain and Injury

In this section, I discuss the cross-disciplinary definitions of the three key foci of my research: risk, pain and injury in sport and identify the preferred definitions I use in this thesis.

Risk is an intrinsic quality of sport and consequently “every athletic contest is a risk event, the outcome of which can have serious long- and/or short-term consequences” (Frey, 1991, p. 138). However, risk is inherent in every aspect of social life, and not restricted to physical activities. A general definition of risk is “the probabilities of damage, injury, illness, death or other misfortune associated with a hazard” (Füredi, 2005, p. 17), where hazard refers to threat or danger. Sociological and anthropological examinations of risk have paid attention

to the specific group of people who take risks, and at what time and place (Frey, 1991). Although this approach includes the domain of sports, it is not exclusive to it. Messner and Musto (2015) have argued that risk does not operate as “a free-floating universal discourse”, but is “generated within institutional contexts, imposed differently upon different groups, applied in very different ways in different contexts, and differently accepted, resisted, and interpreted by differently situated people” (p. 347). In sports and physical activities, there are different types of risk involved, such as social risk, economic risk and physical risk (Donnelly, 2004) but in this thesis I mainly focus on understanding risk that can result in pain and injury, but I also point out the cultural risk derived from Māori and Chinese perspectives in Chapter Five and Chapter Seven respectively. Closely related to risk in a sport context is the development of a culture of caution, which attempts to preserve the excitement in sport while limiting danger (Donnelly, 2004). The fine balance or negotiation between risk management and risk taking has been discussed in studies of alternative sports², such as adventure racing and climbing (e.g., Kay & Laberge, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Robinson, 2004). However, the growth of these cautious attitudes, as a negotiation of resistance or acceptance, has not been deeply explored by previous studies of mainstream and organised sports.

Pain is defined by the International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP) (1994) as “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage” (para. 1). In addition, Roessler (2006) asserted that there is no such thing as objective pain; instead, “the experience of pain is dependent on subjective factors” (p. 37) and, in the sport context, argued:

Pain cannot be understood simply in mechanical terms, it is more than a neuron-impulse set off by tissue damage. Pain in sports is also connected with willpower and with passion. Pain becomes a dimension of the psyche, a subjective feeling. In sport, this subjective side of pain may even become an aspect of hero worship in those who overcome pain and continue to compete. (p. 35)

Roessler (2006) also stated that “sport is—besides masochism—one of the few fields where pain is expressed or accepted voluntarily” (p. 38). Indeed, in a study of New Zealand male rugby players, Pringle (2009) found that physical pain in rugby induced feelings of pleasure

² Similar terms for alternative sports are lifestyle sports, action sports and extreme sports, which are different to the institutionalised, organised mainstream sports (Wheaton, 2004).

and joy. Therefore, pain may not necessarily be “an unpleasant ... experience” (IASP, 1994, para. 1) but a more complicated contextualized response to physical experiences. Thus, in this thesis, I conceptualize pain as subjective and propose that experiences of pain are shaped at the intersection of multiple factors.

Injuries, rather than being subjective, can be objectively diagnosed by clinical professionals. Howe (2004) noted that “pain and injury are physically and conceptually distinct” (p. 74), with the first being subjective and the second objective. He wrote that, generally, injury refers to “a breakdown in the structure of the body, breakdown that may affect its function” (p. 74). An operational definition of injury accepted by other sports and the Olympics is “[a]ny physical complaint ... sustained by an athlete during competition or training directly related to the sport or exercise activity investigated, irrespective of the need for medical attention or time-loss from athletic activity” (Fuller, 2010, p. 44). Thus, no single definition captures the multi-dimensional facets of injury. One definition focuses on the immediate, and omits chronic pathological conditions and psychological damage, and the operational definition is too general for medical practitioners and researchers to effectively apply (Fuller, 2010). In Chapter Two, I explore the multi-dimensional interpretations and experiences of injury in more detail, including cultural and life-course interpretations.

In the sports that are the focus of this thesis, there are similarities and differences in the types of injuries. Common injuries in table tennis are sprained ankles, knees, shoulders and wrists joints, and muscle strains of the lower back (Shida, Shida, Suzuki, Murakami, & Yuza, 1992). Injuries of the waist and knees are most common (Shida et al., 1992). In waka ama, sprains and strains of the shoulders and back are also common (Bell, Carman, & Tumilty, 2013). A different risk is the possibility of drowning (Dyson, 2005).

To sum up, the conceptualisations of risk, pain and injury described above allow me to adopt subjective views towards female Chinese and Māori participants’ experiences of risk, pain and injury, and to explore the intersecting influences on their experiences. Included among the influences are the ethnic-cultural and sport settings in this research.

Problematizing the Existing Knowledge

Since the 1990s, the research on risk, pain and injury has developed as a strong field in the sociology of sport (Malcolm, 2008; Theberge, 2006), but the focus of this field has been relatively narrow. It has predominantly centred around three key foci: 1) high-performance

sport, 2) male athletes, and 3) Western sport contexts. Even though the existing understandings of risk, pain and injury have been gained from a narrow and homogenous focus, they have been generalized to diverse sport participants regardless of gender, ethnicity, cultural background and age. In this section, I briefly introduce the limitations brought about by these three foci (the detailed discussion appears in Chapter Two).

Studies in high-performance sport, including professional, elite and university levels, dominate the field (e.g., Berg, Migliaccio, & Anzini-Varesio, 2014; Curry, 1993; Curry & Strauss, 1994; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Nixon, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Roderick, 2006a; Sabo, 1989; Sparkes & Smith, 2008; Walk, 1997; Young, 1993). Roderick (1998, 2006b), who conducted research on high-performance sport, critiqued the field for its narrow focus on high-level organised sport, thus providing the foundation for my broader research context. Even though high-level sports produce serious risk-taking and obvious pain and injury, the phenomena of risk, pain and injury are ubiquitous at all levels of sport participation and common among all sport players (Nixon, 2004; Timpka et al., 2014). However, the experiences and understandings of risk, pain and injury from people in non-contact, non-elite, non-competitive recreational sport and physical activities are largely unknown (cf., Albert, 1999; Laurendeau, 2014). Hence, the existing knowledge base does not include understandings from the broader range of participation in sport and physical activities.

Participation in high-performance sport tends to be for a limited age group, such as between 18 and 30 years old. From the studies conducted around high-level sport, we have learned that high-performance athletes internalize particular attitudes such as embracing the risk of physical injury, ignoring pain, routinizing pain and hiding injury and that their attitudes are likely to be competition- and goal-oriented. Only a few studies have addressed or hinted at the change of understandings and attitudes during the course of an athlete's life (e.g., Laurendeau, 2011; Newman 2013; Pringle, 2009; Sabo, 1989; Sparkes, 2012; Sparkes & Smith, 2008). Thus, the longer temporal dimension—a life-course perspective—of risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport needs further exploration (c.f., Allen-Collinson, 2003). My research can contribute to further understandings of long-term sport participants' experiences and their life-course and evolving experiences of risk, pain and injury (e.g., Humberstone & Cutler-Riddick, 2015; Laurendeau, 2011; Pringle, 2003; Sabo, 1989; Sparkes, 2012; Tulle, 2008).

Existing research has overwhelmingly focused on sportsmen, while female experiences have received less attention (Pike & Maguire, 2003). The studies have explored the diverse relations between masculinities and male sport participants' reactions to risk, pain and injury. Moreover, masculine discourses have been extensively applied to interpret both male and female athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury (e.g., Berg et al., 2014; Charlesworth & Young, 2004; Curry, 1993; Pringle, 2008; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Young & White, 2000, 1995; Young, White, & McTeer, 1994). Since female sport participants' experiences have not been given the academic attention of their male counterparts, it is too early for sociologists of sport to generalize from male experiences to understand female athletes' attitudes to risk, pain and injury. Additionally, the commonalties and differences between female sport participants' experiences of risk, pain and injury need to be studied more extensively.

The focus on sports in Western contexts has meant that the sportspeople studied in countries such as the UK, Denmark, Canada, USA, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, were predominantly of European descent. The cultural limitations of these previous studies has led to my seeking insights from sport sociologists and anthropologists who have studied broader sport phenomena beyond white-dominated Western societies, in places such as Kenya, China, the Dominican Republic and Japan (e.g., Bale & Sang, 1996; Brownell, 1995, 2008; Klein, 1991; Light, 2008; McDonald, 2005, 2009). Further insights can also be gained from the sociology and anthropology of health and medicine, which have researched people's subjective experiences of illness and suffering through socio-cultural lenses. However, sport-related risk, pain and injury have not yet been explored in diverse cultural contexts and among diverse ethnic groups.

The existing research focus has reinforced the strong associations between the phenomena of risk, pain and injury and high-performance sportsmen and Western-mainstream contact sports. Consequently, the richness and multiple dimensions of these sport phenomena have not yet been investigated. Moreover, the problems related to this research focus include underestimating sport participants' efforts and sacrifices at other levels of sport participation, marginalizing women in sport and physical activities, and overlooking non-Western sport contexts and cultures. I argue that sport participants' varied identities (age, gender, ethnicity and cultural belonging) and diverse levels and types of sport/physical activity participation can be significant influences on their experiences of risk, pain and injury. To further develop this

idea, in the next section I briefly introduce my research foci, Chinese and Māori women and the sports of table tennis and waka ama, and methodology.

Participants and Sports in this Study and Ethnographic Procedures

Participants in this research were either self-identified Chinese or Māori. In my research, I use the term Chinese to refer to Chinese in New Zealand, which includes New Zealand-born Chinese, Chinese-New Zealanders and Chinese immigrants and international students from China, Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Within China, the Han ethnicity not only dominates the population, but also Chinese culture (Wu, 1991; Yu & Bairner, 2011). So, in this research, the ‘Chinese’ culture that I refer to is rooted in the Han Chinese ethnicity.

The Māori people are not a homogenous group but tribal. However, they share certain cultural characteristics, beliefs and practices among different Māori iwi [tribes] (Durie, 1998a), such as whakapapa [Māori genealogy], tapu [restriction/prohibition], and karakia [prayers or ritual chant], all of which are discussed in this thesis. Other cultural elements are iwi-specific, such as taniwha [a mythical creature or power], or certain spellings of Māori terms, such as mouri or mauri [vital essence of life].

The reason for choosing table tennis was that it has been widely played by Chinese males and females at both elite and recreational levels (Li, 2012) and it is dubbed as the national sport in China (Chen, Tan, & Lee, 2015). From 1988 to 2016, Olympic table tennis events produced 37 gold medals, of which China has won 32 (Besnier, Brownell, & Carter, 2018). Table tennis is also my long-term hobby and a sport I am familiar with. I was introduced to table tennis at around the age of 6 by my mother, who received formal table tennis training during her primary and junior high school years. Through my entire education in China, from age 6 to 22, I played table tennis for fun and competition. Later, during my Masters research in the UK on sporting embodiment in cross-cultural contexts (see Liu & Howe, 2012), I continued playing recreational table tennis and invited a Chinese female student, who played at the elite levels in China and the UK, to be one of my research participants. Hence, this research extends my existing research interests in table tennis as China’s national game, female sporting embodiments, and overseas Chinese.

In contrast to my familiarity with table tennis, I knew nothing about waka ama when I first arrived in New Zealand in late 2013 and started this research in early 2014. However, I chose waka ama for two main reasons. First, because I was now living in New Zealand and

wanted to more deeply understand a sport that was embedded in the culture of the indigenous people of New Zealand. Secondly, I wanted to explore culturally-dependent understandings of risk, pain and injury, because, historically, waka practice has been an integral part of Māori culture (Pope, 2013; Wikaire & Newman, 2013). Waka have symbolic and spiritual meanings in Māori genealogy and represent “tribal identity, mana and territory” (Walker, 2004, p. 38). Historically, compared to other forms of waka, Māori rarely used waka ama, which are outrigger canoes. More common were waka taua [war canoes], waka tīwai [river canoes] and waka tētē [sea-fishing canoes] (Barclay-Kerr, 2013). However, in 1985, modern competitive waka ama was re-introduced from Tahiti to Aotearoa New Zealand by Matahi Whakataka-Brightwell (Waka Ama NZ, 2014). Since then, waka ama has witnessed a growth of popularity in New Zealand as a sport and is especially embraced by Māori communities (Wikaire & Newman, 2013). Since the first waka ama club in 1985, there are now 83 clubs and 5419 members all around New Zealand (Waka Ama New Zealand, 2017). Internationally, between 1992 to 2012, New Zealand team had high achievements in the Va’a World Sprint Championships, often ranking in the top three positions among the over 20 competing countries and regions (Waka Ama New Zealand, 2013).

Another important reason for choosing these two sports is that neither waka ama nor table tennis are traditionally male-dominated sports. Based on statistics available on the Waka Ama New Zealand website, registered female waka ama club members have consistently outnumbered their male counterparts, particularly in the Open, Master and Senior divisions (Waka Ama New Zealand, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018). It was the same situation in the waka ama club I joined as part of my fieldwork, where there were more female paddlers and coaches than male paddlers and coaches. Similarly, the Chinese women’s table tennis team has achieved a dominance in international competitions that has not been equalled by the men’s team (Wu, 2010). The semblance of gender equality in participation and achievements in table tennis and waka ama allow me to explore and employ concepts and theoretical perspectives other than the well-recognized theories of hegemonic masculinity.

To learn about female sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two table tennis clubs for 18 months and one waka ama club in Auckland for 14 months. I kept field notes of my experiences playing table tennis and paddling with participants, and incidents that reflected participants’ and my attitudes towards these experiences of risk, pain and injury. In the middle and towards the end of my ethnographic fieldwork, I also interviewed eight Chinese female players and five Māori female paddlers,

some young (20s) and some middle-aged (40s to 60s), and a mix of recreational and competitive players in their sports.

The two table tennis clubs comprised largely of Chinese members across different age groups (20s to 90s). Unlike those table tennis clubs I have been to in China that were dominated by competitive and experienced male players, most of the club members I met in New Zealand played table tennis for leisure. The majority of the players were Hong Kong and Southeast Asian Chinese immigrants, including Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese, who could speak fluent English and Cantonese. Hence, Cantonese culture was dominant in these clubs. Their communications were normally in Cantonese, and their favourite social gatherings after club activities were sharing yum char, a traditional Cantonese brunch, or Cantonese-style soup, which is usually cooked for hours in big pot. Both their dialect and their preferred food were culturally familiar to me and I felt a sense of belonging. I grew up in Shenzhen, an emerging city next to Hong Kong in Southern China. Cantonese is one of the biggest native languages and cultures in Shenzhen along with Hakka, so I can understand Cantonese even though I cannot speak it very well. When I introduced myself to these Cantonese-speaking club members, my hometown and cultural upbringing connected and drew me closer to them. Apart from Cantonese Chinese, there were a few Mandarin-speaking immigrants from China and Taiwan, as well as English-speaking Chinese-New Zealanders in the club. To communicate with them, I spoke in Mandarin or English.

In contrast to table tennis—a safety zone for me—waka ama emotionally, physically and culturally challenged me. First, I am not a swimmer and have no prior experiences with any kind of water sports. Worse still, due to a childhood accident of falling into a pond and nearly drowning, I have always felt uneasy around water. Additionally, the physical environment I grew up in alienated me from the sea. Although I grew up in a seaside city in China and my home is near a bay, the bay is only a sight to gaze upon, since it is a mangrove reserve and a restricted border area that divides Hong Kong and Mainland China. Nevertheless, my waka ama fieldwork involved paddling in the sea with a crew or individually. Before I began the waka ama fieldwork, I took a short visit home and took two swimming lessons (about eight hours) from my mother, who is an experienced swimmer. Though limited, the swim training at least enabled me to command basic breaststroke techniques and exchange air when I felt calm. Due to my incompetence in swimming, I started waka ama paddling with a constant fear of falling into the water. That fear accompanied me throughout my waka ama fieldwork. On windy days, training in the rough sea on the bumpy canoe often made me feel slightly

seasick. Dizzy and weak, I could not keep up with the crew's timing in paddling. As I sat in front of my computer writing my field journals after two hours of exhausting training, land sickness would hit me. On top of the soreness and fatigue, I could feel myself bobbing and bouncing on the chair, as though the desk was floating on water. All those feelings of dizziness on and off water became my initial kinaesthetic data from waka ama fieldwork. Second, unlike the singles games always played in the table tennis clubs, most training sessions in the waka ama club were crew paddling with mixed crews of women and men. In the waka ama club, members were serious recreational paddlers, which meant they trained at least twice a week in order to enter competitions at regional, national or international levels. On the other hand, I was not fit enough to perform consistently throughout the one to two hours of training on water. Hence, in my first days in the club, the coaches strongly recommended I start weight and endurance training. A friendly Māori male paddler went to the gym with me a few times and showed me how to use the weight-training equipment. Combining the club training with gym workouts meant there was not a single day when I did not feel physical pain. This greatly affected my daily research progress, so I quit the gym and turned to endurance training instead. One of my housemates accompanied me in jogging 6 km to 10 km once or twice a week in the year of my data collection, which helped me survive the long distance paddling training. Throughout the waka ama fieldwork, (luckily) I only experienced minor injuries, like bruises, blisters and cuts (Figure 1) due to poor techniques in handling the paddle or careless movements during training. These mishaps cannot be compared with some participants' serious pain and injuries.



Figure 1 *Bruise, blisters and cut from waka ama.*

Third, lack of familiarity with the jargon of paddling, club principles and Māori traditions left me disoriented and confused for the first few months. Nevertheless, venturing outside my safety zone, and being the only Asian paddler, as well as the youngest and weakest in the club, helped me to understand the value of different perspectives for my research. I realised how important and saliently different my age, ethnic and cultural identities, as well as my previous sporting experiences, were. In the findings, I combine my own experiences with those of the participants to highlight the dynamic interplay of risk, pain and injury with influential factors, such as age, gender, ethnicity, culture and types of sport participation. To examine these factors, I use theoretical frameworks based on Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations of the body. They offered theoretical concepts which allowed for embodied, agential, and discursive interpretations of the multiple influences reflected in the sport participants' embodied experiences.

Theoretical Assumptions and Frameworks: Bringing Merleau-Ponty and Foucault Together

Since experiences of risk, pain and injury are nuanced bodily feelings, I highlight female sport participants' embodied experiences. Embodied experience is an immediate feeling obtained from our bodies (Johnson, 1999). Previous studies have used various phenomenological concepts in bringing embodiment back to the investigations of sport-related risk, pain and injury (Allen-Collinson, 2003, 2009, 2011; Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2011; Howe, 2004). In this research, I adopt Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1968) phenomenological understandings of the body, which provide key concepts to interpret embodiment (Crossley, 2008). According to Sparkes (2009), embodied feeling engages with all our senses, such as via sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch. Moreover, as senses work together, it can evoke other senses, such as kinesthetic senses (Merchant, 2011). Therefore, I also draw on Sheets-Johnstone's (1990, 2009, 2015) conceptualisation of the tactile-kinesthetic³/kinetic dynamic and the emotion-motion dynamic to illustrate the internal feeling of embodiment and embodied movement. Sheets-Johnstone's (1990, 2009, 2015) conceptualisation of kinesthetic/kinetic feeling of the body and physical movement can augment Merleau-Ponty's understanding of the movement of the body. Barbour (2004) argues that even though embodied experience originates from the body, it integrally reflects the individual's cultural, historical, social, intellectual, emotional, gendered,

³ This key concept has two different spellings—kinaesthetic (UK/NZ) and kinesthetic (US). In this thesis, I draw heavily on Sheets-Johnstone's conceptualisations, so I use kinesthetic throughout the text.

artistic and spiritual experiences. However, these historical influences on and social structural oppressions of the (gendered) lived body are not recognized by Merleau-Ponty (Butler, 1989b). Thus, I use Foucault (1978, 1979, 1985, 1986) to analyse the socially constructed discourses found in the sport and cultural contexts that shape female Chinese and Māori sport participants' embodiments.

To interpret embodied agency, social structures and power relations and the interplay of these factors in sport participants' experiences, I draw on both Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theoretical concepts to form my theoretical frameworks. Sociological and philosophical scholars have long advocated the complementariness and compatibility of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault, particularly for analyses of the body (Crossley, 1994; Fielding, 1999; Levin, 2008; May, 2005, 2015; Oksala, 2005). To analyse embodied experiences, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology can shed light on subjective, sensuous, emotional and intuitive bodily experiences of risk, pain and injury, while Foucault's concepts, such as discourse and power relations, are particularly useful to analyse discursive constructions of attitudes and responses towards risk, pain and injury.

I also draw on Butler's (1986, 1988, 1989b) early works, which suggest the examination of gender from a phenomenological perspective, in addition to the prevailing use of socially and historically constructed viewpoints. In particular, I take insights from Butler's early approaches to the gendered body for my theoretical investigation of the intersecting factors, such as embodied agency and discursive practices, reflected in female sport participants' experiences. I focused on Butler's early work because her later works have been criticized by Bigwood (1991) representing a disembodied analysis of body that abandoned the natural and biological elements of the body.

Apart from their theorisations of the body, Merleau-Ponty and Foucault also enable the analysis of discourse and agency in the complex negotiation of risk, pain and injury between sport participants and people around them in the sport and larger social contexts. As Walk (1997) argued, even within the socially controlled and structured environment of (high-level) sport, we still need to perceive athletes as active agents, who take responsibility and make choices for their (painful and injured) bodies. The relation between structure and agency fuels the debates about to what extent individuals can act freely and independently or are constrained by socially constructed situations and norms (Cohen, 2006; Johnson, 2000).

In this thesis, I view social structures and individual agency as intertwining and co-existing. As Crossley (2017) conceived, “fundamental aspects of our (embodied) agency are found to be emergent properties of interaction within social networks” (p. 87). Similarly, Shilling (1999) proposed that structure-agency relationships are embodied interactions. Thus, by applying the seemingly distant Merleau-Pontian and Foucauldian theoretical concepts together and separately, my research explores the intersecting agential and social influences in female Chinese and Māori sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Furthermore, to better understand the implications of sport participants’ ethnicity and cultural background in these embodied experiences, I also include Chinese and Māori cultural beliefs and values when interpreting data collected in Chinese and Māori cultural contexts. The integration of Chinese and Māori cultural perspectives into the theoretical frameworks is consistent with my argument for the importance of investigating intersecting factors in sport-related risk, pain and injury.

Thesis Structure

In *Chapter Two*, I provide a detailed literature review of risk, pain and injury. This review reveals the disconnection between the existing research focus on high-performance sportsmen in Western contexts and the diversity of sport participants in reality. I argue that it is important to investigate how the interplay of age, gender, racial/ethnic, cultural factors and the types of sport participation may shape participants’ experiences of risk, pain and injury. I also draw insights from broad sociological and anthropological perspectives of sport, risk, pain and health to inform my multidimensional and intersectional views of risk, pain and injury. Existing conceptualisations of socialization into sport norms emphasise the socially-constructed influences within the sport context and from the larger society. However, sport participants’ active agency, when facing the risk and feeling pain and injury, has been overlooked.

To develop the argument for exploring a more balanced view of discursive and agential factors in shaping sport participants’ experiences of risk, pain and injury, in *Chapter Three*, I introduce embodiment and embodied experiences, which include both social norms and agency. To explore the embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, I sharpen my theoretical tools, which include Foucauldian and Merleau-Pontian concepts, to explore the socially constructed attitudes and reactions to risk, pain and injury.

Chapter Four illustrates my ethnographic research procedures, where I immerse myself in the cultures of table tennis and waka ama in New Zealand to collect data around participants' and my own embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury in these two sports. *Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight* each incorporate findings and discussion. Chapters Four and Five focus on female waka ama paddlers, and Chapters Six and Seven focus on female Chinese table tennis players. The findings suggest that new understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury can be gained by exploring beyond the dominant focus on high-performance sportsmen in Western sport contexts. Theoretical analyses of the findings by applying Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and Foucault's theories separately or together produce an intersecting perspective of embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury being shaped by cultural structures, power relations and individual agency.

In *Chapter Nine*, I synthesize the empirical findings across both sports and cultural contexts and suggest some theoretical implications. I highlight new understandings and perspectives of risk, pain and injury that were produced by investigating the interplay of influences in female participants' experiences. I reiterate the evidence that Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations of the body are complementary and compatible in their application to the analysis of embodied sporting experiences.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: CRITIQUING THE EXISTING KNOWLEDGE OF RISK, PAIN AND INJURY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Introduction

In this chapter, I critically review the existing knowledge of risk, pain and injury in organised sports in the field of sociology of sport, which has been produced from a narrow and homogenous focus regardless of the diverse ranges of sport participants and participation. Risk in high-performance organised sports was mainly applied to the analysis of pain and injury (Nixon, 1998), and hence, my thesis largely focuses on physical risk. I see the term ‘risk, pain and injury’ as expressing the close relationship among these three and as a whole experience. In contrast, there are multiple dimensions and diverse conceptualisations of risk investigated in research on action sports. Studies on action sports have revealed the emotions involved in risk-taking (Saville, 2008; Stranger, 2007), the role of risk-taking in the construction of social and athletic identities (Donnelly & Young, 1988), the social risk that arises from self-directed risk-taking (West & Allin, 2010), the gendered dimensions of risk-taking (Atencio, Beal, & Wilson, 2009; Kusz, 2003; Laurendeau, 2008; Robinson, 2004), as well as the age dimension of risk-taking (Brown & Penney, 2014; Wheaton, 2017a, 2017b). However, I decided not to bring in this area of research because action sports are often unorganised, self-directed and involve high levels of physical risks, including the potential for fatal injury, which differ from the competitive and relatively lower levels of physical risk involved in organised sports, which rarely result in fatal injury (Zuckerman, 1983).

Critique, according to Foucault (1988c), is “a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest” (p. 154). My research adheres to Loland’s (2006) suggestion of being “open and tolerant of all ‘voices’ of pain in sport” (p. 55), and I argue that studies of Western males in high-performance sport have produced three prevalent perspectives of sport-related risk, pain and injury that need to be questioned and challenged. Specifically, understanding of sport-related risk, pain and injury based on the interrelating influences of age,

culture, race/ethnicity, gender and the form of sport participation is relatively absent in sociology of sport.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The aim of the first part is critiquing the three main foci identified from the existing research. My research questions and argument build on issues and problems associated with these three main foci. The second part introduces literature on Māori and Chinese cultural views of body, health and wellbeing, and gender relations. These cultural perspectives further develop my multi-dimensional and context-based understandings of risk, pain and injury, and broaden my analytical scope to better contextualise and interpret Chinese and Māori participants' embodied experiences.

Narrow Research Foci on Risk, Pain and Injury in the Sociology of Sport

In this section, I provide a detailed discussion of the knowledge, issues and potential problems related to three dominant foci in studies of sport-related risk, pain and injury, including 1) high-performance sport, 2) male sport participants and 3) Western mainstream sport culture. Researching risk, pain and injury has become a strong area since the 1990s and produced important understandings of athletes' attitudes and reactions towards risk, pain and injury (Malcolm, 2008). Importantly, studies have conceptualized athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury as essential parts of socialization into the sport culture, particularly high-performance sports (e.g., Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Nixon, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996b) or the formation of their athletic and gender identities (e.g., Curry, 1993; Messner, 1990b; Pike, 2000, 2005; Pike & Maguire, 2003; Pringle, 2008; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Roderick, 2006a; Sabo, 2004; Schubring & Thiel, 2016; Sparkes, 1998; Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Young, 1993; Young & White, 2000, 1995; Young et al., 1994). Nevertheless, the existing understandings were gained by investigating a dominant group of sport participants—high-performance males in Western mainstream sports. I propose that to gain additional and more nuanced understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury, we need to pay attention to sport participants' diverse social identities (age, gender, ethnicity and cultural belonging) and their diverse levels and types of sport participation.

1) Focus on High-performance Sports

Pain and injury are well-recognized phenomena in sports and physical activities, particularly at the highly competitive levels. Taking risks, getting hurt and ignoring pain and injury are

phenomena never absent from elite and serious sports participants' narratives (Waddington, Loland, & Skirstad, 2006). In fact, to some extent, they are inevitable in all sports (Nixon, 2004; Timpka et al., 2014). Compared to mass and recreational sport, high-performance sport has received the primary research attention (e.g., Berg et al., 2014; Curry, 1993; Curry & Strauss, 1994; Howe, 2001, 2004; Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Kotarba, 1983; Liston et al., 2006; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Malcolm et al., 2004, 2005, 2000, Nixon, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996a; Roderick, 2006a; Roderick et al., 2000; Walk, 1997; Young, 1991; Young & White, 1995, 1999; Young et al., 1994). The reason is that injuries, in the form of health costs, are not only more obvious in competitive elite sport, but also directly affect athletes' economic interests and livelihoods (Waddington, Malcolm, & Green, 1997). Additionally, with the commercialization and professionalism of sport and the increasing sport sponsorship at the elite levels, the contradiction is salient between the assumption of sport's health benefits and the cost of treating injuries at the elite levels (Waddington et al., 2006).

Scholars have drawn an analogy between the professionalization of high-performance sports to professional workplaces and, hence, pain and injury in professional sports has been regarded as workplace injury or occupational pain and injury (e.g., Howe, 2004; Roderick, 2006a; Young, 1991, 1993). Young (2012) noted that the sport injury at the high-performance level, as a form of workplace injury, is produced by "intricate relationships which involve levels of both player consent and compliance, as well as employee exploitation, victimization and abuse" (p. 103). Regarding women in positions in the workplace of sport and sport-related injury, Theberge (2012) argued that women have been even more victimized and inferiorized than men in sport. Hence, gender is the basis for the greater victimization in the workplace of professional sports.

A salient finding in the high-performance context was that athletes have developed particular expressions of and attitudes towards pain and injury. For example, studies have revealed that athletes tend to suppress their pain and injury, such as hiding and masking pain and injury, since they are usually regarded as unfavourable and unwelcomed by people in high-level sport (Charlesworth & Young, 2006). Additionally, athletes reported feeling indignant at their own pain and injury and, hence, objectified and depersonalized it (Charlesworth & Young, 2004, 2006; Young & White, 1995; Young et al., 1994). Roderick et al. (2000) found "guilt, depression and frustration" (p. 177) in male professional footballers' descriptions of their injuries. Young and White (1995) summarized these descriptions from male and female athletes as strategies of "injury talk" (p. 53). Nevertheless, scholars found that pain and injury

were not always hidden or unwelcomed. Professional rugby players would articulate their pain and injury after the match to save face, if their performances were unsatisfactory during the match (Howe, 2001). In cases of spinal cord injuries, former athletes welcomed the feelings of pain, since pain was regarded as “a signifier of life and a message of hope for recovery” (Smith & Sparkes, 2008, p. 684). Moreover, instead of interpreting pain and injury as merely negative, Howe (2004) identified positive pain, which is a state of fatigue that elite players try to maximize for enhancing overall performance as long as they stay injury-free.

Nixon (1998) referred to high-performance athletes’ diverse experiences and perceptions of risk, pain and injury as contextual rationalizations, in which perceptions of risk, pain and injury have been rationalized by people in sport. For instance, Berg et al. (2014) revealed that female professional tackle football players distinguished being injured or non-injured based on a (quasi-) “objective” standard (p. 180)—whether the condition affected their abilities in training or games. The contextual rationalization in high-level sport also relates to Nixon’s (1998) concepts of the sportsnet and the culture of risk, and Hughes and Coakley’s (1991) idea of the sport ethic and positive deviance, discussed next.

Conceptualisations of the sport ethic and positive deviance (Hughes & Coakley, 1991) and the sportsnet and the culture of risk (Nixon, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996b) have been conceived to systematically interpret the phenomena of risk, pain and injury. The concept of the sport ethic elaborates a strong relation between high-performance athletic identity and the normalization of risk, pain and injury (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). In particular, the sport ethic describes a system of norms that is widely accepted by people in sport, such as athletes, coaches, trainers, sport medical personnel, sport reporters, team owners, sponsors and fans. The concept of sport ethic has four basic norms 1) “*Being an athlete involves making sacrifices for The Game*”; 2) “*Being an athlete involves striving for distinction*”; 3) “*Being an athlete involves accepting risks and playing through pain*” and 4) “*Being an athlete involves refusing to accept limits in the pursuit of possibilities*” (Hughes & Coakley, 1991, pp. 309-310, italics in original). The third criterion is particularly about risk, pain and injury; it encourages athletes to embrace risk and play with pain and injury. Moreover, the sport ethic indicates that athletes demonstrate their commitment to and socialization into the sport culture through accepting risk and playing with pain and injury.

Conformity or overconformity to the sport ethic is conceptualized as positive deviance, which describes the situation in which athletes rationalize their health-compromising

behaviours in high-level sport contexts (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). An example of positive deviance is that when athletes care too much about their sport, they could risk their health to train and play with pain and injury (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). Positive deviance still supports athletes' contextual rationalization of risk, pain and injury, rather than referring to their behaviours as irrational responses (Nixon, 1998). Hughes and Coakley's positive deviance and the sport ethic do not explain how athletes become committed to norms in high-performance sports. To gain an insight into how athletes are socialized into the system of beliefs and behaviours in high-performance sports, I next discuss Nixon's (1992, 1993, 1994, 1996b) work on the sportsnet and the culture of risk, which provide widely used interpretations of risk, pain and injury.

Nixon (2004) acknowledged the sport ethic as one of the inspirations for him to propose the concept of sportsnets. Sportsnets are webs of social interaction, which directly and indirectly link sport-related people (Nixon, 1992, 1998, 2004). Insiders of sportsnets share systems of beliefs, among which "the culture of risk" is one (Nixon, 2004, p. 84). Nixon (1992) even concluded that the high-performance sport culture was a culture of risk. The concepts of sportsnet and the culture of risk propose that high-level athletes' beliefs about and reactions to risk, pain and injury are constructed through the process of socialization into sport culture (Nixon, 2004). With the concept of sportsnets and the culture of risk, Nixon (1992, 1993, 1994, 1996a) made a substantial contribution in elaborating the socially and culturally constructed limited choices of behaviours and attitudes among people in sport. For example, athletes commit to playing and training with pain and injury, and chose not to express their pain and injury or seek medical care. As a part of the sportsnet, the aim and practice of sport medicine inclines towards supporting and improving athletic performance, rather than reflecting general medical professional integrity, which is being responsible for patients' health (Malcolm, 2006; Theberge, 2007; Waddington, 1996). Furthermore, Nixon (1998) suggested that sportsnets need to be understood in relation to non-sports networks. This echoes my argument for investigating the interplay of multiple factors in sport participants' embodied experiences and context-specific investigations of these experiences, including influences from outside of sport.

Both the sport ethic (Hughes & Coakley, 1991) and the sportsnet (Nixon, 1992) conceptualized risk, pain and injury as inherent in the process of athletes' socialization into sport norms. Other scholars have also explored the phenomenon of socialization into the sport culture through risk, pain and injury (e.g., Bale, 2006; Curry, 1993; Kotarba, 1983; Malcolm, 2008; Roderick, 2006b). For instance, Curry (1993) closely examined a professional wrestler

and found his normalization and socialization of pain was influenced by his relations with his father, physician and coach. Hence, this wrestler's changing attitudes towards risk, pain and injury affected his relations with other people in sport and consequently his own athletic identity. Kotarba (1983) used the term tacit rules to summarise high-level athletic subculture, in which the existence of pain and the coping with pain are normal facets of athletic lives. Roderick, Waddington and Parker (2000) identified "the culture of 'playing hurt'" in the context of English professional football, in which the willingness to play with injury is "a central characteristic of 'the good professional'" (p. 169). Thus, these existing studies have revealed that risk, pain and injury are essential elements in the formation of athletic identity and socialization into sport culture, particularly at the elite level. Moreover, these conceptualisations of the sport ethic, the sportsnet and the culture of risk have also become the dominant understandings of these phenomena in the sociology of sport. Shilling (2008) noticed that "elite sport in the West provides an important example of the effects that an increasingly performative, technologically oriented culture can have on embodied subjects who choose to dedicate their lives to a single activity" (p. 63). Young (2012) stated that athletes may show various degrees of socialization into the sport ethic, but the sport ethic is "so pervasive that most athletes encounter it, and must reconcile themselves to it, at some point in their sport careers" (p. 12). For example, examining lower level of sport, Liston et al. (2006) found that British university-level male rugby players were as committed to accepting risk, pain and injury as elite rugby players and hence suggested that the conformity to sport ethic was pervasive in varied levels of sport performance. Similarly, Safai's (2003) study of Canadian university student-athletes concluded that student-athletes were also committed to the culture of risk found in the elite sport context. Nevertheless, other studies on high-performance or lower-level sport have revealed nuanced differences among athletes' attitudes towards risk, pain and injury (e.g., Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Pringle, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005), which differ from Young's (2012) conclusion and the observations of Liston et al. (2006) and Safai (2003). For example, Malcolm and Sheard's (2002) study of elite rugby union in England suggested that the high-performance sport context did not necessarily produce players with greater acceptance of playing with pain and injury, which contrasts to Nixon's (1992) claim that the "larger" (p. 131) and "denser" (p. 132) sportsnets, such as seen in professional sport, will "trap athletes in the culture of risk and foster a self-abusive pattern of pain and injury" (p. 131). Malcolm and Sheard (2002) found that with the increasing professionalization of rugby in England, the elite-rugby sportsnets became larger and denser, and involved more actors in the social networks, but the sportsnets did not exert tighter control over or greater influences on people within it.

Further, the elite rugby context in England revealed “a distinct ‘non-acceptance’ of the longer-term dangers of injury” (Malcolm & Sheard, 2002, p. 166). Their findings contrast to a study of English professional football that revealed that when players are injured, “managers and physiotherapists expect players to continue whenever possible” (Malcolm et al., 2000, p. 176). Due to the interaction between the recent professionalization of rugby, the sport’s middle-class attitudes and the long-term amateurism, the sport of rugby has produced cautious and conscious attitudes and better treatment of risk, pain and injury, as well as the relatively balanced power relations between players and coaches in the elite rugby sportsnets (Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Malcolm et al., 2000). Therefore, even though elite rugby players integrated playing with pain and injuries into their athletic identities, compared to athletes in other sports they had more freedom to negotiate treatment and recovery time, and faced less pressure to continue to play (Malcolm & Sheard, 2002).

These studies showed that high-level athletes not only displayed different degrees of acceptance of risk, pain and injury, but also diverse attitudes and reactions towards to risk, pain and injury. Nevertheless, Young (2012) did not consider the effects of different sport cultures, and he also underestimated high-level athletes’ agency in negotiating with the norms of accepting risks and playing through pain. These different findings and reasons for the differences also support my argument that to represent the broad range of sport and physical activities participation, multiple interacting influences need to be considered. Further, these different findings in high-level sport revealed a limitation of the sportsnet concept, which as Nixon (1992) once pointed out, has provided a highly generalized picture of the sport context. Further, these different findings reported by these scholars above substantiate the importance of examining multiple, interrelated factors in athletes’ experiences of risk, pain and injury and the specific sport and social contexts, which can produce alternative understandings of risk, pain and injury.

Another limitation of the concepts of sportsnets and the culture of risk is the argument that athletes have limited choices of how to react in sports settings (Roderick, 1998; Walk, 1997). Hence, Nixon (1992) has regarded athletes in sportsnets as “more or less vulnerable to influences causing or contributing to reinjury patterns and disability” (p. 134). Nevertheless, Malcolm and Sheard (2002) have shown that rugby players in England were not vulnerable actors in the elite rugby sportsnets, but were relatively free to negotiate with coaches whether or not to play hurt. In addition, there are scholars who advocate considering the agency of people in sport and the structure of sport settings together. Charlesworth (2004) argued that

athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury were formed under both individual agency and social structure. Safai (2003) viewed the athletes as agents with some agency in the culture of risk, and found that medical personnel in the high-performance sport did not necessarily reinforce the culture of risk. For example, university medical personnel's "zero-tolerance" for student-athletes playing with head/brain injuries (particularly neurological injury) indicated a niche of a "culture of precaution" (Safai, 2003, p. 140). Therefore, following Walk's (1997), Roderick's (1998) and Safai's (2003) suggestions for refining the sportsnet by considering the actors in it as active agents, I explore the interplay of athletes' agency in coping with risk, pain and injury and the contextual and cultural influences on athletes' perceptions of risk, pain and injury.

Linking to the theoretical frameworks that I discuss in the next chapter, Foucault's concepts of power relations helped me to understand that athletes are not the inactive agents implied by Nixon's (1992) sportsnet and Hughes and Coakley's (1991) sport ethic. Foucault (1988) argued, "if there are relations of power throughout every social field it is because there is freedom everywhere" (p. 12). Similarly, Merleau-Ponty (1962) asserted "there is no freedom without some power" (p. 454), due to our inextricable situations of being-in-the-world-with-others. Thus, high-level athletes have some agency to negotiate with, react to and resist even the strictest sport regimes and the expectation of playing hurt.

The above literature review has demonstrated some concepts relating to risk, pain and injury that have emerged from investigating high-performance sport. By constructing the high-level sport context as a seemingly closed and tight space, these concepts may over generalize the phenomenon of risk, pain and injury, overlook athletes' diverse expressions and experiences, and underestimate high-level athletes' agency and freedom. In the next section I investigate how studies of high-performance sport have produced understandings of risk, pain and injury based on a fixed life stage.

The contextualized attitudes to risk, pain and injury in certain life stages

In the context of high-performance sport, the obvious group of actors is young athletes, who are at the age for university or in their 20s. Thus, one section of younger years on the broad age spectrum has been singled out and scrutinized extensively by researchers. However, an individual's length of sport participation can be much longer than the elite athletic period,

meaning that the experiences of risk, pain and injury from a life-course view are under-researched.

Based on the prior discussion of the high-performance sport, we obtain an understanding that younger athletes tend to have contextually rational perspectives of risk, pain and injury, in terms of their attitudes and reactions towards, and feelings and judgements of, risk, pain and injury and ways of seeking treatment (see Berg et al., 2014; Charlesworth & Young, 2004, 2006; Howe, 2004; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Roderick et al., 2000; Young & White, 1995; Young et al., 1994). The contextually-specific rationalization of risk, pain and injury also indicates a “diachronic” approach (Howe, 2001, p. 289), which examines how athletes cope with pain and injury at the moment of pain and injury. The focus on the moment of pain and injury is a relatively short-term and closed perspective, which only considers the sport context as the primary site that shaped athletes’ perceptions and experiences. Thus, the diachronic, short-term and performance-oriented perspectives of pain and injury in research need to be expanded, if we are to understand the meanings of pain and injury more fully.

I propose to investigate wider life experiences from participants, who are aged between the early 20s and mid-60s. New understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury can be gained by examining longer sport participation and life-course experiences. The importance of including participants who have longer sporting and life experiences can be seen from Pringle’s (2009) and Pringle and Markula’s (2005) research on male rugby players’ attitudes towards risk, pain and injury. Their research revealed more diverse expressions and experiences of risk, pain and injury among New Zealand males (21 to 50 years old), who played rugby at different life stages (boyhood, teens, young adulthood and adulthood). Their diverse experiences of risk, pain and injury can be summarised into paradoxical feelings of pain and pleasure in rugby, such as enjoying mastering dangerous techniques and being manly, but also criticising the injurious aggression, and expressing fear of confrontation and getting hurt (Pringle, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005). Some of these feelings (e.g., criticism and fear) contrast to the dominant characteristics of hegemonic masculinity associated with rugby in New Zealand and men’s contact sport in general, such as toughness, power, aggression, violence and hostility towards homosexuals (Curry, 1993; M. A. Messner, 1990b; Sabo, 1989; Wheaton, 2000).

Contrasting to New Zealand male rugby players’ diverse attitudes to risk, pain and injury (Pringle, 2003, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005), Liston et al. (2006) investigated British university male rugby players’ attitudes to playing hurt and claimed that the culture of risk is a

“deeply rooted part of sporting culture at all levels” (p. 391). Their different research findings were likely due to the different demographics of their participants. Pringle (2009) and Pringle and Markula (2005) studied a wider spectrum of rugby players, in terms of age groups, performance levels (school, recreational and professional levels) and the length of sport participation (stopped playing at boyhood, teenage years or adulthood). In comparison, Liston et al. (2006) were mainly focused on high-performance young athletes. Hence, Pringle (2009) and Pringle and Markula (2005) showed the importance of studying interacting factors, such as age, performance level and the length of sport participation, in the investigation of sport-related risk, pain and injury. Next, I discuss studies that examined pain and injury on a wider age spectrum, whose findings help me to argue for an exploration beyond the dominant focus on young high-performance athletes.

Few studies have explored experiences of risk, pain and injury from athletes situated near the two ends of the age spectrum, namely child and teenage athletes (before 18 years old) (e.g., Curry, 1993; Messner, 1990a; Pike, 2010; Pringle, 2003) and middle-aged and older athletes (around and above 50s) (e.g., Laurendeau, 2011; Pringle, 2003; Sabo, 1989; Sparkes, 2012). Regarding childhood and sport, Curry’s (1993) study has shown that a university male wrestler adopted the norms of accepting risk, pain and injury in his teenage years. Messner (1990a, 1992) also identified the importance of former elite male athletes’ boyhood relationships with family members, peers and the larger society in shaping their commitments to sport norms. Nevertheless, males’ boyhood and teenage sporting experiences also included decreasing attachment to sport and quitting sport due to the fear and concern of pain and injury (Pringle, 2003; Pringle & Markula, 2005). Pringle (2003) reflected that he withdrew from secondary school rugby due to worries about injuries. Regarding family influences on childhood experiences of risk, pain and injury in sport, prior studies mainly investigated the interactions among male family members, such as the father-son bonding via issues around sporting bodies, masculine identities, and pain and injury in sports (Curry, 1993; Laurendeau, 2014; Messner, 1990a, 1992; Pringle, 2003; Sparkes, 1996, 2012). Female family members’ influences were rarely reported, and Thompson (1999) indicated that children’s sport has been a limited focus in feminist studies of motherhood. Curry’s (1991) and Krawec’s (2014) studies briefly mentioned female family members’ expressions of concerns about their children’s and grandchildren’s safety in contact sports. Marfell (2011) studied New Zealand women’s intergenerational experiences of netball, from daughter, mother to grandmother, which reflected broader social, historical and political changes, as well as changes in gender relations

and meanings attached to femininities in New Zealand. To explore female family members' influences on athletes, my research reports a case of how a daughter and mother understand risk, pain and injury in sport and how their understandings have shaped their daughter-mother relationship. Next, I discuss the developing perspective from studies of more experienced sport participants, who have longer length participation. These studies help me to consider participants' changing attitudes to sport and sport-related risk, pain and injury in their long-term sport participation.

The evolving or changing understandings of risk, pain and injury have appeared as a theme in studies of older and experienced sport participants (Laurendeau, 2011; Pringle, 2003; Sabo, 1989; Sparkes, 2012). As Pringle and Markula (2005) noted, as male sport participants grew into adulthood, their interpretations of the link between masculinities and risk, pain and injury in rugby culture became complex and unstable. Sabo's (1989) reflection on his former elite sporting experience also revealed a changing attitude to the (American) football-embodied "male-chauvinistic values and self-abusing lifestyles" (p. 87). Sabo (1989) reflected on his previous experience of enduring various injuries and pain and inflicting pain on male opponents in high-level organised sports, and concluded that "I should have ... never played the game" (p. 88). Sparkes (2012) described in his autoethnography that the memory of his rugby injury from youth turned into a fear while he was watching his son practicing rugby. Also in an autoethnography, Laurendeau (2011) revealed that his attitudes to risk and extreme sport changed when his social and familial roles changed after becoming a father and he became more serious in estimating the risk in BASE jumping. Thus, based on the demography⁴ of participants in my research, I examined adult athletes' reflections on their childhood and teen experiences of sport and sport-related pain and injury, and the development of their attitudes and reactions to risk, pain and injury over time. I discuss phenomenology and its application to researching a life-course evolving view of risk, pain and injury in the next chapter.

In the above discussion of high-level sport and young sport participants, the findings were, in fact, primarily about males' experiences. In the next section, I elaborate the factor of gender in the research on sport-related risk, pain and injury and highlight the imbalanced focus on male athletes and the problem of directly applying interpretations of males' risk, pain and injury experiences and attitudes to female athletes. I argue that the investigation of female

⁴ See Chapter Four for the demographic details of participants.

athletes' experiences not only needs to legitimize female experiences, but also challenge gender inequality and male domination in sport, sport research and the larger society.

2) Focus on Male Sport Participants

A significant feature identified from the studies of high-performance athletes' risk, pain and injury is that male athletes are the primary focus and the research has been primarily conducted by male researchers. To be specific, the existing research has prominently focused on Western males in mainstream heavy-contact team sports, such as rugby, American football, soccer and basketball, in the countries of UK, Canada, USA, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g., Curry, 1993; Howe, 2004; Kotarba, 2001; Liston et al., 2006; Loland, Skirstad, & Waddington, 2006; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Malcolm et al., 2005; Nixon, 1993, 1994, 1996b, 1992; Pringle, 2008, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Roderick, 2006a; Roderick et al., 2000; Sabo, 2004; Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Waddington, 2006; Walk, 1997; Young, 1993, 2004; Young et al., 1994). These studies have revealed that athletes' experiences of risk-taking and playing with pain and injury are closely associated with the construction of masculine identities. Hence, theories of masculinities have been extensively applied to understand athletes' attitudes to risk, pain and injury and their health practices (e.g., Berg et al., 2014; Charlesworth & Young, 2004; Curry, 1993; Messner, 1990b; Pringle, 2008; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Schubring & Thiel, 2016; Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Young, 1993; Young & White, 2000, 1995; Young et al., 1994). As Pringle (2007) argued, “[m]asculinities ... appear to be closely linked to the problems of sport injury” (p. 361). Young and White (2000) concluded that pain and injury were “the costs of masculinity” (p. 113), because “men, more than women, take risks, endure pain, and suffer ill health through sport and play” (p. 115).

Among the various expressions of masculinities, hegemonic masculinity has been particularly drawn on to understand organised sport and the problematic phenomena of risk, pain and injury it produces. Hegemonic masculinity, according to Messner (2007), is a “form of masculinity that is ascendant—is defined in relation to the subordination of women *and* in relation to other (subordinated, marginalized) masculinities” (p. 94, italics in original). It is argued that modern institutionalized sports have provided channels for males to construct and re-construct hegemonic masculine identities by focusing on aggression, violence and risky behaviours in sport (Young, 1993; Young & White, 2000). In return, risk-taking and accepting pain and injury reinforce the gender domination of hegemonic masculinity (Frey, Preston, & Bernhard, 2004; Laurendeau, 2008; Messner, 1990b, 1992; Young & White, 1995).

Specifically, I note that research on alternative sports have also identified sporting spaces as masculine spaces, as well as rebellious risk-taking behaviour and willingness to take risk as masculine values (e.g., Beal & Wilson, 2004; Kay & Laberge, 2004; Thorpe, 2008). Messner (1992, 2007) has linked the sport ethic and the phenomenon of sport injury to hegemonic masculinity, even though Hughes and Coakley (1991) have proposed the sport ethic as a system of athletic norms, which is not gender-specific, since both male and female athletes conform to these norms.

Some scholars have challenged the masculine implications of athletes' attitudes towards risk, pain and injury. Pringle (2007) argued that the focus on masculinities in the interpretations of risk, pain and injury obscured "other important factors that could help illuminate understandings about sporting issues" (p. 366). Nixon (1996b) debunked the taken-for-granted connection between the nature of sport and the characteristics of masculinities, arguing that:

[T]he more violent nature of certain sports does not necessarily make participants tougher or express tougher attitudes about pain and injury. In the same vein, men did not express tougher attitudes than their female counterparts about their tolerance of pain and injuries. (p. 83)

Furthermore, Nixon (1996b) suggested that the significant phenomenon of male athletes' pain and injury was due to the contrasting numbers between male and female sport participants involved in heavy-contact sports, which made "men more prone than women to sports injuries" (p. 84). Similarly, Markula and Pringle (2006) argued:

[W]e should not think that male athletes who display aggression and ignore pain in the pursuit of victory are somehow revealing the true essence of maleness or, reciprocally, that female athletes who display grace, rhythm and flexibility are exhibiting the inherent qualities of femaleness. (p. 100)

Additionally, as research has shown, multiple emotional experiences have been identified from males' experiences of playing rugby, which challenge the normalization of acceptance to risk, pain and injury in males' contact sports and the construction of males' gender and social identities (Pringle, 2003, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005). Thus, masculine expressions in sport are multiple. Wheaton (2000) suggested that if we explore beyond traditional highly-organised sport, we may see a broader range of masculinities, such as "ambivalent masculinity", which showed "a rejection of ... competition and winning" and inclusive attitudes towards female

sport participants (pp. 446-447). Similarly, Pringle (2003) suggested that there are varied expressions of masculinities in “individual and less culturally dominant sports” and “less institutionalised sporting contexts” (p. 237). Since men do not have a monolithic experience of sport-related risk, pain and injury, it is questionable to assume the discourse of hegemonic masculinity has influenced all athletes’ commitment to risk-taking and playing hurt, or even make a simple conclusion on how masculinities may influence athletes’ attitudes towards risk, pain and injury. Nevertheless, theories of masculinities have been applied to interpret female athletes’ risk, pain and injury. Among the few studies of female athletes’ experiences of risk, pain and injury, masculinizing female experiences of risk, pain and injury can be identified as a salient theme (e.g., Berg et al., 2014; Charlesworth & Young, 2004, 2006; Young, 1997; Young & White, 1995). For instance, Berg et al. (2014) have suggested that the masculine-defined sport ethic shaped female athletes’ attitudes towards risk, pain and injury. Comparing high-performance female athletes with previous studies of male athletes, Young and White (1995) and Sabo (2004) claimed that generally females were like males in taking risks and playing hurt. Charlesworth and Young (2004, 2006) also further affirmed the consistency in male and female attitudes towards risk, pain and injury in varied sports. However, other research challenge this consistency, so next, I discuss the problems with the assumption of the consistency in male and female attitudes towards risk, pain and injury, drawing on insights from studies of female athletes’ experiences of medical treatment and injury prevention.

Studies of female athletes’ experiences of injury prevention and treatment revealed the gender differences between males and females (e.g., Charlesworth & Young, 2006; Krawec, 2014; Migliaccio & Berg, 2007; Pike, 2000, 2005; Thing, 2004). For instance, in British rowing clubs, Pike (2000) found that female rowers received inadequate medical support, compared to their male counterparts. Moreover, Pike (2005) pointed out that male rowers were more likely to seek orthodox biomedical help (e.g., doctors, GPs, surgeons, physiotherapists and chiropractors), while female rowers tended to use the more ‘feminine’, non-orthodox medical treatment and therapies (e.g., self-diagnosis, massage, aromatherapy and/or holistic approaches). The non-orthodox medical care retained female rowers’ self-identities as both athlete and female and such medical processes empowered them with lay knowledge of their injured bodies (Pike, 2005). Charlesworth and Young (2006) also found that due to inadequate medical services from the sport organization for British female university student-athletes, they often self-funded and self-initiated treatment. Hence, the unequal medical services provided to male and female athletes produced gender differences in athletes’ experiences of injury

prevention and treatments. Some studies have found that female athletes face different injury risks from males due to the unequal assignment of sport equipment. For example, in a case of Canadian female tackle footballers, Krawec (2014) found a paradox between the fact that “wearing proper-fitting football equipment is important to prevent injury” and the reality that women often found their equipment “too large or ill-fitting and uncomfortable”, because it mainly designed based on “males’ size and stature” (p. 30). In an American case of female tackle footballers, Migliaccio and Berg (2007) found that women’s teams were often assigned to use fields with poorer conditions, which increased female players’ risks of pain and injury.

Prior studies have further argued that even though there were no gender differences found in athletes’ attitudes to risk, pain and injury, the public tended to pay more attention to males’ risk-taking behaviours and pain and injury, while devaluing female athletes’ similar experiences. For instance, Nixon (1993) attempted to conduct a comparative study between male and female athletes’ experiences of pain, injury and disability portrayed by *Sport Illustrated*, but could only focus on males due to the limited coverage of females’ experiences. The lack of media attention to female athletes’ experiences of risk, pain and injury was also revealed by Thorpe (2005) a decade later. Thorpe (2005) stated that, in the context of snowboarding, the media were inclined to glorify male athletes’ injuries and risk-taking behaviours, while female injuries were made relatively invisible by the media. These unequal responses by media consolidated “the existing notion that male riders take more risks and are more adventurous” (Thorpe, 2005, p. 89). The media bias towards highlighting male athletes’ risk, pain and injury are highlighted by Bruce’s (2013b, 2015) observation that media has placed a long-term persistent focus on male’s sport, which reflected the stronger social and cultural values attached to male sports than female sports. Additionally, Theberge (2012) analysed the medical and popular articles of a type of knee injury among female athletes and found that these articles tended to rely on biologically-based interpretations, which implied a return of “notions of female frailty and unsuitability for vigorous physical activity” (p. 187). These biased media practices were trapped in what Butler (2004) called “a restrictive discourse on gender” (p. 43), which “insists on the binary of man and woman as the exclusive way to understand the gender field [and] performs a *regulatory* operation of power that naturalizes the hegemonic instance and forecloses the thinkability of its disruption” (p. 43, italics in original).

The above studies not only indicated gender inequality and male privilege in sport medical services, but also implied that female athletes faced more health risks in sport than male athletes. With inadequate prevention and treatment, female athletes showed similar

attitudes to risk, pain and injury to male athletes, which, in fact, meant female athletes were taking more risks than their male counterparts. Moreover, the risks female athletes faced in their sports were not merely physical but indicated a social problem of gender inequality. Therefore, I argue that to gain comprehensive understandings of female athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury, not only are more studies of female athletes needed, but also, in the research process, gender relations and gender ideology need to be constantly questioned and linked to the broader literature on gender. Relating to my participants' cultural backgrounds, later I discuss the gender relations in Māori and Chinese cultures and in contexts of waka ama and table tennis. In addition, since scholars have explored male athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury earlier and more extensively than females', when examining female experiences, scholars tended to compare females' experiences to males', rather than legitimizing females' own experiences (e.g., Nixon, 1996a; Young, 1997, 2012; Young & White, 1995). For example, as Young (2012) asserted that while:

female athletes may also accept risk-tolerant sports cultures in the pursuit of sports commitment and athletic identity, the degree to which they 'over-conform' to the conventions of the so-called sport ethic and cultures of risk relative to their male counterparts is less clear. (p. 104)

Young's (2012) statement attempted to judge whether female athletes' attitudes and experiences have reached the benchmark of males' attitudes and experiences, instead of legitimizing female experiences. This limitation can be referred to as what Young and White (1995) have pointed out as one of the "few inherent problems in men researching women's lives" (p. 58). Next, I review the few studies by female scholars on female athletes, which legitimized female experiences (Berg et al., 2014; Bruce, 2015; Bruce & Krawec, 2014; Dashper; 2013).

Bruce and Krawec (2014) affirmed that the love of "aggressive physicality of their sports" was one of the reasons for New Zealand female rugby players and Canadian female tackle football players to participate in contact sports (quoted in Bruce, 2015, para 12). Nevertheless, female athletes' bruises and injuries, which are the consequences of playing contact sports, have been interpreted as marks of domestic abuse by others (Berg et al., 2014; Bruce, 2015a; Bruce & Krawec, 2014). Therefore, Bruce (2015) argued that male athletes' bruises and injuries were celebrated, while females "whose bodies bear the results of full commitment to the sport ethic" were questioned (para. 18). Examining her vulnerability and

stress due to her facial injuries from an equestrian accident, Dashper (2013) identified “the ways sporting participation and injury are both constrained by and constitutive of gender identity” (p. 323). Berg et al. (2014) identified the nuanced attitudes and behaviour of U.S. female tackle footballers, that they were concerned about and rejected hurting opponents, and that they sacrificed their bodies “not as a display of masculinity” (p. 186) but for the family-like team. These nuanced female experiences contrast to Messner’s (1990b) finding that male athletes tended to use their “body-as-weapon” (p. 211) and inflicted pain and injury on others.

The studies above not only legitimized females’ different experiences of risk, pain and injury, but also importantly critiqued the gender ideologies reflected by these experiences, which is necessary or “the gendered construction of sport” noted by Theberge (2006, p. 636) will remain unchallenged. In my research, to examine gender ideologies and structures reflected in female Chinese and Māori sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, I adopt Butler’s (1986, 1988, 1989b) early work to analyse the phenomenologically- and discursively-shaped gendered body. I introduce Butler’s early theorisation of the gendered body in the next chapter.

In my research, to understand female Chinese table tennis players’ and Māori waka ama paddlers’ experiences, I examined gender influences alongside other social influences, such as Chinese and Māori cultural understandings of the body, physical activities and health and sport cultures of table tennis and waka ama, discussed later in this chapter.

3) Focus on Western-mainstream Sports and White Participants

Another dominant theme that can be identified, especially in the research on sportswomen, is the dominance of Western sport contexts where these studies have been conducted, such as in the UK, Canada, USA, Denmark, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Table 1 lists the key studies in the sociology of sport that have focused on female sport participants’ risk, pain and injury (e.g. Allen-Collinson, 2003, 2005; Charlesworth, 2004; Charlesworth & Young, 2006; Malcom, 2006; Nixon, 1996a; Pike, 2000, 2005; Pike & Maguire, 2003; Theberge, 1997, 2006, 2012; Young & White, 1995, 1999).

Table 1

Demographic Features in the Key Sociology of Sport Literature Focusing on Sportswomen’s Experiences of Risk, Pain and Injury

Authors (year)	Country	Age	Sport	Performance level	Race/ Ethnicity (%)
Young and White (1995)	Canada	19-31	Rugby, basketball, downhill skiing, football and bodybuilding	University and national	All white
Young (1997)	Canada	17-45	Ice hockey, rock-climbing, martial arts and mostly wrestling and rugby	World, national and provincial	White (93%)
Theberge (1997, 2000)	Canada	16-30	Ice hockey	World, national and city league	Majority white*
Krawec (2014)	Canada	Early 20s to late 30s	Tackle football	National and regional	Majority white**
Pike (2000, 2004, 2005); Pike and Maguire (2003)	UK	18-35	Rowing	Club	White British (84%)
Charlesworth (2004)	UK	University students	Tennis, rugby, track and field, Soccer, field hockey, triathlon, swimming, show jumping, canoeing, lacrosse and Volleyball	University	All white
Charlesworth and Young, (2004, 2006)	UK and Canada	19-31	Rugby, soccer, basketball, tennis, downhill skiing, bodybuilding, swimming,	University	All white

Authors (year)	Country	Age	Sport	Performance level	Race/Ethnicity (%)
			volleyball, field hockey, triathlon, canoeing, equestrian, lacrosse and track and field		
Dashper (2013)	UK	Young adult	Equestrian sport	National and serious recreational	White
Malcom (2006)	USA	11-16	Softball	Recreational league	White (75%)
Berg at al. (2014)	USA	18-35	Tackle football	Professional	White (80%)
Thing (2004, 2006)	Denmark	19-33	Handball	Non-elite and elite	All white

* Author provided the numerical information.

** Author indicated that “the majority of the LFL players were white” (Krawec, 2014, p. 42).

This table of key studies of female athletes showed similar dominant features identified above from studies of sportsmen, in terms of the focus on 1) high-performance level (e.g., professional, national and provincial) and 2) younger sport participants (e.g., below middle age). Further, a salient factor in this table is that the majority of sport participants in prior studies belong to white ethnic groups. Messner (2007) has pointed out that in the sociology of sport, the interactions between gender and race and other factors are “usually ignored or taken for granted—except when it is *women* athletes who are being studied” (p. 49, italics in original). Sociological research on female sport experiences covers both organised sport (Hargreaves, 1994) and action sports (Thorpe & Olive, 2016), as well as women from different ages (Griffin & Phoenix, 2015), and cultural and ethnic groups (Brownell, 1995; Kanemasu & Molnar, 2017; Nemani, 2015). However, the table above showed a relatively similar interaction of gender, age and race/ethnicity in studies of women athletes’ experiences of risk, pain and injury.

In my research, I pay attention to the interactions of diverse social identities (age, gender, ethnicity and cultural belonging) reflected in female participants’ embodied

experiences. Regarding age, my participants ranged from the early 20s to mid-60s, an age group wider than the prior studies. Additionally, participants in my research are from different levels of performance, such as professionally elite, serious recreational and recreational levels. Chinese table tennis players and Māori waka ama paddlers are under-represented non-Western and indigenous sport participants in non-Western mainstream and non-contact sports. Therefore, given the demographic characteristics of my participants, I can explore the interplay of influences of under-represented ages, races/ethnicities, cultural backgrounds, sport cultures and the form of sport participation on participants' embodied experiences. Next, I discuss the often taken-for-granted Western philosophical and socio-cultural perspectives of pain in studies of sport-related pain and injury.

Western philosophical and socio-cultural perspectives of pain and injury

In Western philosophical inquiries, Cartesian body-mind dualism established a long-term emphasis on the mind, while it marginalized bodily ways of knowing (Howes, 2005). In *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1637/1998), Descartes expressed that I (mind) tightly commingled with me (body), as “a sailor is present in a ship” (p. 99). The mind and the body or the sailor and the ship closely link together, but it is the former that gives the command and the latter that reacts to the command. However, when a body is in thirst, hunger and pain, it becomes uncontrollable and turns into “nothing but certain confused modes of thinking” (Descartes, 1637/1998, p. 99). Cartesian dualism has been influential to Western philosophical and ideological perspectives of pain. For example, Melzack (1996) claimed that “[t]he theory of pain we inherited in the 20th century was proposed by Descartes” in the 17th century (p. 128). In *The Treatise of Man* (1664), Descartes proposed the pain mechanism (see Figure 2), which treats pain as “a purely physiological entity”, arguing that “bodily sensation results from a noxious physical stimulus transmitting pain information along a specific pathway to receptors in the brain” (as cited in Wilkinson, 2005, pp. 21-22).



Figure 2 *Descartes' view of pain pathway (Melzack & Wall, 1965, p. 972).*

With updated medical scientific and social knowledge of pain, contemporary research proved that the pain pathway was not unidirectional (Melzack, 1996; Melzack & Wall, 1965). Among medical scientists, the understanding of pain came to comprise “a dynamic interaction between physiology, psychology and culture” (Wilkinson, 2005, p. 22). For example, in contemporary cognitive neuroscience, there are increasing understandings that mind and experiences are not exclusively produced within the brain; rather, the production of experience includes “loops through the body and the environment, most crucially through a social world that is culturally constructed” (Kirmayer, 2007, p. 364). Hence, socio-cultural perspectives of pain challenge Western, objective, medical epistemology, where the treatment for the mind and the body is separated (Howe, 2004). Scholars identified the emergence of a body-machine metaphor under the influence of mind-body dualism (Brohm, 1978; Helman, 1990; Martin, 1978; Sheets-Johnstone, 2009). This metaphor also operates in high-performance sports that “allow little room for physical contingency and frailty” (Shilling, 2008, p. 57) and where the injured body has decreased value. Sheets-Johnstone (2009) criticised the body-machine metaphor because it “reduces the body to the status of a mechanical object, devoid of intentionality, of affections, of autonomous power” (p. 18). The key concepts of my research, embodied experiences and embodiment, have also been regarded as challenges to Cartesian dualism. Approaching pain through Merleau-Ponty’s ideas of embodied experience, Honkasalo (2000) argued that pain has a place “in-between” (p. 198) body and mind, and health and disease. Bourke (2014) suggested that individuals perceive pain through “the prism of the

entirety of their lived experiences, including their sensual physiologies, emotional states, cognitive beliefs, and relational standing in various communities” (p. 13).

A growing body of literature from diverse disciplines, such as medicine and social science, have adopted socio-cultural perspectives to investigate experiences of pain, which are insightful for investigating cultural interpretations of pain (e.g., Bates, Edwards, & Anderson, 1993; Bates, 1987; Jackson, 1994; Kleinman, 1988; Kotarba, 1983; Melzack & Wall, 1988; Riley, Wade, Myers, Sheffield, & Papas, 2002; Watson, Latif, & Rowbotham, 2005). For example, Beecher (1956) stated that how the pain of a pathological condition is experienced largely depends on “what the pain means to the patient” (p. 1609), which affirmed the effect of social influence on pain perception and responses. Other scholars also highlight that the influences on experiences of pain are multi-dimensional and intersecting, such as including cultural background, age, sex/gender, ethnicity, class, education, religion, psychological and physical conditions and childhood experiences (Bendelow & Williams, 1995; Sabo, 2004; Scarry, 1985; Zborowski, 1952). In my research, I propose to explore the interacting factors that shaped female sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. However, due to the scope of the research, I have only focused on age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, sport culture and the form of sport participation. Additionally, as I apply the concept of embodied experience, I intend to treat human experiences as a whole, in which factors and influences that shaped the experiences may not be clearly categorized. I introduce the concept of embodied experience in the next chapter.

To sum up the three dominant perspectives in extant studies, sport-related risk, pain and injury have mainly been examined around sportsmen in the contexts of high-performance sports and Western countries. Prior studies revealed that high-performance sportsmen in Western sport cultures did not have monolithic experiences of and attitudes to risk, pain and injury. The differences in their experiences and attitudes are due to combined factors, such as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, sport culture and the forms of sport participation. In my research, I paid attention to these intersecting influences, and attempted to challenge and extend the existing dominant perspectives of risk, pain and injury. Theoretically, to explore female sport participants’ embodied experiences, I employ Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology and other scholars’ interpretations of Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology (e.g., Leder, 1990; Sheets-Johnstone, 1990, 2009). As I argued that female embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury need to be analysed in relation to the critique of gender ideologies in the broad society,

I draw on Foucauldian discourses to analyse the gender relations reflected in female experiences.

Shilling (2008) suggests that body cultures are different in Western and Eastern contexts, in terms of embodied relationships with oneself, others and the world. In the next sections, I introduce insights from Māori and Chinese cultural perspectives of sport and physical activities, pain and injury, and health and wellbeing. Chinese and Māori cultural perspectives helped me to explore ethnic, cultural and social context-based understandings of sport, risk, pain and injury.

Pain, Health and Sport in Māori Cultural Context

To understand Māori health and wellbeing, I focus on a well-known Māori health model, Te Whare Tapa Wha, developed by Durie (1998b) based on Māori cultural principles. I also use this model to interpret data in the findings chapters.

Durie's (1998b) Te Whare Tapa Whā consists of four interdependent dimensions: te taha wairua [the spiritual side], te taha hinengaro [thoughts and feelings], te taha tinana [the physical side], and te taha whānau [family]. Among the four dimensions, wairua is the most important element, which implies "to have faith and to understand the link between the human situation and the environment" (Durie, 1998b, p. 70). Closely related to wairua is the notion of mouri, which can also be spelled as mauri (Walker, 2004). Mouri is the special power from gods and the spark of life that binds people's "physical and spiritual parts" together (Barlow, 1994, p. 83). Hokowhitu (2003a) stated that "[a]mong Māori, health stems from the complex idea of *mauri* (life principle)" (p. 203). The lack of mouri can cause illness, as Walker (2004) explained that the detriment of mouri may be due to breaking tapu [restrictions] and consequently "the gods withdrew their protection" (p. 68). Hence, the spirituality is crucial not only to understanding the body, health and wellbeing, but also is an important aspect to comprehend Māori cultural views on the relation between humans and the world.

In addition, scholars have highlighted the concept of whenua [land], which is seemingly invisible in Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model, although it is the foundation that supports the four cornerstone-like dimensions (Hokowhitu, 2004a; Salter, 2000). In a Māori perspective, the natural environment plays an important spiritual role in people's health; for example, a lack of access to the tribal land is considered as an attribute of poor health by tribal elders (Durie, 1998b). To understand the connection between whenua and spiritual health, Salter (2000)

explained that whenua means both land and placenta. Traditionally, Māori buried new-borns' placentas on ancestral land, which symbolized the connection with the ancestor and the earth (Durie, 2001; Salter, 2000). However, it should be noted that the concept of whenua was omitted in the Pākehā interpretation of Māori health and wellbeing, such as in the curriculum of New Zealand Health and Physical Education (Fitzpatrick, 2006; Heaton, 2015; Hokowhitu, 2004a). An integration of spiritual, mental and physical health can be seen from Broughton's (1985) narrative of his body in illness: "My body is the tangata whenua⁵ and those [medicines] are the manuhiri and I ask my body, my spirit to receive those things because they are going to look after us" (p. 7, quoted in Mead, 2003, p. 63). In my research, to adopt a social-cultural perspective to view Māori health and wellbeing, I pay attention to Māori participants' relation with sea, land and natural environment, among other aspects.

Scholars confirm that both Māori men and women are highly involved in sport participation (Hippolite, 2010; Hokowhitu, 2004b; Palmer, 2007). Māori multi-dimensional perspectives of body and health have been applied to interpret sport and physical activities (Erueti & Palmer, 2014; Hippolite & Bruce, 2010, 2013; Hokowhitu, 2007; Palmer, 2007). For example, in Māori perspectives, playing sport is not merely for different bodily parts maximizing their performance; instead, spiritual development is as important as the physical pursuit (Hokowhitu, 2007). Studies of Māori sport participation have criticized the effect of colonization and racial relations in New Zealand on Māori people. In the process of building and reinforcing the colonial state, colonizing the native body, through sport, was an indispensable process (Hoberman, 1997; Turner & Zheng, 2009). In New Zealand, Māori have been associated with being "physical people" and Māori culture seen as a culture of physical activities (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004b). Historically, Māori men had two ways to enter the Pākehā-dominated society, via wars and sports, which emphasised physical strength and aggression (Hokowhitu, 2004b, 2007). Māori men in sports were called the "noble savage" for their disciplined brutality (Hokowhitu, 2003b, p. 21) and beheld as "the greatest trophies of colonization" (Hokowhitu, 2004b, p. 211). Nevertheless, New Zealand nation-building and identity formation through sport focused primarily on men, with a particular focus on ethnic integration between Pākehā and Māori through rugby (Thomson & Sim, 2007). In the

⁵ Tangata whenua: people of the land. Manuhiri: visitors or guests

following, I discuss Māori women's position in New Zealand society, waka traditions and contemporary waka ama paddling.

Two perspectives of Māori women's social status can be identified. One perspective stresses that traditionally Māori women "held their own unique female power which in fact complemented that of the men" (Awatere, 1995, p. 36). For example, Awatere (1995) recalled that in her tribe, Ngāti Porou, many leaders were women and women have played a variety of roles. The other perspective views Māori women as oppressed. For example, Te Awekotuku (1991) asserted that "no one can deny that in the last two centuries Māori women have lost, or been deprived of, economic, social, political and spiritual power" (p. 10). Johnston and Pihama (1994, 1995) explained that, under the influence of British colonization and a Western patriarchal social system, the social status of Māori women became inferior to Pākehā men and women and Māori men due to the intersection of their race and gender.

To challenge Māori women's marginalized and silenced position in the society, Johnston and Pihama (1995) argued that studies need "to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge" about Māori women (p. 84). Hence, a notion—*Mana Wāhine* [Māori feminism/women's power]—is proposed (Evans, 1994; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). According to Te Awekotuku (1991), *Mana Wāhine* is "pro-action, a determining of ourselves as Maori women, with authenticity and grace" (p. 10). Evans (1994) explained *Mana Wāhine* referring to Māori cultural values:

Maori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, *waka*, Gods and Goddesses, grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation. (p. 58, italics added)

Māori feminism and Māori culture and traditions have provided useful insights to re-connect human and nature in my research, evidence of which will be shown in later chapters. Next, I introduce Māori women's positions in waka traditions and waka ama paddling.

Māori waka traditions are both symbolic and physical. The symbolic aspect is rooted in the multiple-tiers of Māori whakapapa [genealogy], which begins from waka to iwi [tribe], hapū [sub-tribe], whānau [extended family] and tāngata [person] (Wikaire & Newman, 2013). Historically and physically, waka brought Māori ancestors from the Pacific islands to New

Zealand. These early migrants formed different iwi, which carried on their own waka traditions, and hence whakapapa informs the classic Māori social structure, namely waka-iwi-hapū-whānau (Wikaire & Newman, 2013; Williams, 2004). Hence, Walker (2004) stated that “the waka in New Zealand became a potent symbol of tribal identity, mana and territory” (p. 38).

However, contrasting to Māori men, Māori women’s relations with waka and experiences of waka paddling have scarcely been recorded (see Best, 2005[1925]; Evans, 2000; Whakataka-Brightwell, 1994), except in a Māori myth. In the myth, Wairaka⁶ was a heroine who saved a waka about to drift. While she was rescuing the waka, she wished ““Kia whakatane au i ahau. Let me be as strong as the strongest man”” (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 37). In *The Maori Canoe* (1925/2005), Best acknowledged Māori women’s skills of waka paddling in a sentence: “Early voyagers noted that Māori women were adepts in the use of the paddle” (p. 244). Nelson (1998) pointed out that Māori women have been traditionally excluded from waka craving sites and waka taua [war canoes] paddling, which may be the reason of women’s relative invisibility in Māori waka culture.

Nevertheless, according to the data available online, in 2012, 2014, 2017 and 2018, registered female waka ama club members have outnumbered their male counterparts, the differences were 26 (1391 female, 1365 male), 143 (2217 female, 2074 male), 383 (2901 female, 2518 male) and 343 (2447 female, 2104 male) (Waka Ama New Zealand, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018). Through waka ama paddling, Māori women developed contemporary relations with waka from the historical waka traditions and re-claimed mana wāhine in Māori gender relations. Contrasting to the limited historical records of female Māori paddlers, my research highlights Māori women’s kōrero [stories] about being women, Māori and paddlers, and how their embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury relate to natural environments, people, culture and cosmology.

Next, I introduce Chinese Confucian interpretations of pain, which contrast with the Western dualistic thinking of pain. I also review female Chinese athletes’ positions in Chinese society, high-performance sport in general and table tennis in particular.

⁶ Another version of the legend says Muriwai, aunt of Wairaka, saved the canoe (Barbour, 2015; Taonui, 2005).

Pain, Health and Sport in Chinese Cultural Context

I draw on a key value in Confucian ethics, *ren* [humanity, benevolence and love], also spelled as *jen*, to discuss how Chinese culture views the human experience of pain (Ames, 1993; Wei, 2007). Confucian *ren* ethics has the connotation of making people moral agents, who could multiply the virtuous effect in the society for the collective betterment (Pang-White, 2011). Jung (1966) explained that feeling “sympathy for sufferings are not only natural but are also the beginning of *jen* [*ren*]” (p. 180). Compared to Descartes’ aphorism ‘I think, therefore I am’, the Confucian *ren* allows us to experience “I relate, therefore I constantly become” (Kleinjans, 1990, p. 113). Further, Kirmayer (2007) stated that we tend to show empathy to those who are similar to us and have shared social experiences. Tu (2007) argued that the Confucian notion of *ren* proposes more sensitive and inclusive feelings than just empathizing to people who are similar to us. *Ren* teaches us a proper way to deal with our own pain and suffering is to transform our unpleasant feelings into emphatic energy, which enhances interpersonal understanding, community solidarity and harmony with nature and universe (Tu, 2007). Confucian ethics of *ren* offers an intersubjective interpretation of pain and suffering in human experiences, which relates to Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological approach of intersubjectivity. These two approaches to intersubjectivity are helpful in analysing female sport participants’ interactions with others, while experiencing pain and injury. Next, I discuss the situation of Chinese sportswomen in China’s national politics and patriarchal culture.

A body of Chinese and English literature has examined Chinese elite sportswomen’s situations and experiences with regard to Chinese history, politics, tradition, culture and society (Brownell, 1996; Dong, 2003; Fan, 1997; Gao, 2013; Riordan & Dong, 1999). These studies revealed that not only have Chinese elite sportswomen achieved higher performance in international competitions than their male counterparts, but also Chinese women, in general, had better access to sport than Western women (Brownell, 1995, 1996; Dong, 2003; Wu, 2010). Scholars identified two reasons for Chinese women’s better achievements in high-performance sport and wider access to sport. First, historically, Chinese women’s achievement was based on “hard work and diligence” (Wu, 2010, p. 212). Riordan and Dong (1999) argued that Chinese’s female hard-working character was strongly influenced by Confucianism. Confucian teachings led Chinese women to adopt a “socially-conditioned aptitude for hard work and endurance” and characteristics of “obedience, sacrifice, discipline, humility and respect in regard to men” (Riordan & Dong, 1999, p. 174, 182). Second, the Chinese government’s political position created the opportunities for women to thrive in sport. Riordan and Dong

(1999) noted that the Chinese government “unconsciously rejects the longstanding Western notion of a polarization between biologically weak women and strong men” (p. 173). The Chinese government made an official policy to give priority to female elite sport development, especially around “events that may be won more easily than others or those of men”, and table tennis is one of these events (Riordan & Dong, 1999, p. 169).

Scholars have critically uncovered the ideologies of male supremacy and nationalism, which underpinned the Chinese sportswomen’s successful images. As Riordan and Dong (1999) argued, Chinese sportswomen’s situations cannot be equalized to Chinese women’s liberation. Similarly, Wu (2010) criticized that “Chinese female athletes are training and living in an environment where male hegemony is presented without any equivocation” (p. 213). Female athletes in the Chinese sport context was as “the objects who were advised, guided, encouraged, saved, consoled or even told off by their male coaches and leaders” (Wu, 2009, p. 83). For example, in China’s national table tennis team since 1953 neither men’s nor women’s teams have had a female head coach (Wu, 2010). Next, I elaborate the male domination in China’s elite table tennis context.

In the Chinese table tennis, a masculine training style has been regarded as a key factor for female sports success, alongside female athletes’ diligence and the sports authority’s women priority policy. For example, Li Xiaodong (2004), the former head coach (2000-2003) of the women’s national table tennis team, stressed the importance of masculinizing women’s techniques by pointing out that “the current men’s techniques are the future of women’s techniques” (p. 31). Shi Zhihao (2007), Li Xiaodong’s successor (2005-2013), asserted the advantage of men’s techniques as “throughout the history of table tennis, male’s table tennis always led the trend ... Usually, female players, whose techniques are similar to males, reached to higher tactical level” (p. 12).

Scholars have interpreted the Chinese government’s support for female sport as the government expropriating and using Chinese female athletic bodies to strengthen nationalism and patriotism (Brownell, 2000; Sun & Tao, 2012; Xiong, 2013). Moreover, the ‘women priority policy’ reinforced an ideology of “Chinese first, women second” (Riordan & Dong, 1999, p. 169). For example, the movement of the Cultural Revolution “had masculinized women” in order to obliterate “natural sex difference” (Barlow, 1994, p. 347), yet not the other way around. A similar situation was also found among Japanese sportswomen, who “are read

as daughters sustaining the father nation” (Ho, 2014, p. 171). Wu (2009) identified the inferior social status of Chinese women in both society and sport:

[N]o matter whether the media advocated gender sameness before 1978 or gender differences now, the deep-rooted male hegemony in Chinese society has always played a determining role in defining ‘proper’ femininity. From ‘iron girls’ challenging men to ‘sexy goddesses’ appealing to men, female athletes have always been portrayed by the media based firmly upon the hegemonic notions of femininity in China. (p. 83)

Similarly, Chong (2013) argued that, to some extent, the gender identities are “cultural as well as political products produced according to the needs of the nation and the state at different historical moments” (Chong, 2013, p. 244).

In my thesis, I took insights from Butler’s (1990) suggestion that “gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities” (p. 3). Additionally, since studies on Chinese sportswomen have mainly examined female positions in relation to state policies and the male-dominant society, female athletes’ agency has rarely been recognized and discussed. By applying both Merleau-Ponty and Foucault, I explored female Chinese sport participants’ embodied agency within a highly controlled sport environment, for those participants whose early training was in China.

To sum up, the aim of above two sections was to introduce Māori and Chinese cultural perspectives of pain, health and sport, which inform my analysis of Māori and Chinese female embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. The Māori health model of Te Whare Tapa Wha and Confucian ethics of *ren* have shown potential capabilities to challenge the dualistic model of mind and body in the Western philosophical tradition and the analogy of body-machine. To interpret how cultural discourses and norms may shape female Māori and Chinese participants’ experiences in sport, I refer to gender relations in Māori and Chinese cultural contexts.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I critically reviewed studies on risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport, on which my research builds. Three dominant aspects (high-performance sport, male sport participants and Western sport context) in studies of sport-related risk, pain and injury were identified and discussed. Sport participants who are not young high-performance males in Western mainstream sports have been neglected and overlooked. I argue that these dominant

foci limit our understandings of risk, pain and injury in sport, in terms of the potential of evolving and life-course views, and diverse gendered views. Hence, in my research, I explore diverse influences on sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury.

Due to the lack of non-Western cultural discussions of risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport, I drew insights from the broad sociological and anthropological literature and specific Chinese and Māori cultural aspects to understand subjective and multidimensional aspects of risk, pain and injury, health, physical activities and female sport participants' social status.

In the next chapter, I introduce Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theories and ideas that formed the theoretical tools I used to analyse Māori and Chinese female sport participants' embodied experiences, as well as to identify or challenge the gender inequality and male domination reflected from female athletes' experiences.

CHAPTER THREE

IN RELATION TO THE BODY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF MERLEAU-PONTY AND FOUCAULT

Introduction

In this chapter, I develop a theoretical framework that draws on both Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations of the body. I introduce the key concepts of embodiment and embodied experience. I propose that Merleau-Pontian phenomenological and Foucauldian social-constructivist lenses are helpful in the exploration of the agential and discursive influences in sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. I begin with Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1968) theoretical concepts of the body, being-in-the-world, intersubjectivity, perceptions, senses and flesh. These are complemented by Sheets-Johnstone's (1990, 2009, 2015) concepts of tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic feelings and an emotion-motion dynamic, which address the Merleau-Ponty's lack of detailed analysis of the moving body.

In order to investigate female athletes' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, gender inequality and gender ideology need to be questioned and challenged. The influences of social structures and discourses reflected by sport participants' embodied experiences need to be critically examined. Merleau-Ponty began this examination with his criticism of "traditional philosophy and contemporary science" (Gallagher, 2010, p. 185). Nevertheless, Butler (1989b) critiqued Merleau-Ponty's failure to recognize the historical and social influences on bodies and the structural oppression of gendered bodies. Foucault's (1972, 1978, 1979, 1985, 1986) theories avoid this weakness and explore theoretical concepts, such as knowledge, discourse, discipline and power relations, to examine the multiplicity of discursive influences as well as the active resistance and agency in participants' embodied experiences.

Embodiment and Embodied Experiences

Since both sport experiences and experiences of risk, pain and injury in sport are corporeal experiences, I attempt to highlight sport participants' embodied experiences, so this chapter introduces my ontological position regarding an interlocking body-world and my epistemological pursuit of critical analysis of embodied knowledges, which inform an

interpretivist paradigm and qualitative research methodology for my research. Some studies have identified and criticised the high-performance sport culture for the way in which it alienates the sporting-body and mechanizes it into the body-machine (Brohm, 1978; Hoberman, 1992; Shilling, 2008). This study focuses on the corporeal rather than the mechanical and adopts the concepts of embodiment and embodied experiences to illustrate sport participants' lived and subjective relationships with their (painful or injured) bodies.

Embodied experience is a key notion in this thesis. Scholars have proposed varied but complementary definitions of *embodiment*. For Jung (1996), embodiment signifies mind and body integration, whereas for Sheets-Johnstone (2010) embodiment contains bodily characteristics and “cognition, mind, knowing, self-awareness, and so on” (p. 111). Scholars also emphasise the cultural aspect of embodiment. Csordas (1999) argues that embodiment is not about “the body per se” but “about culture” (p. 143), a view supported by Turner and Zheng (2009) who suggest that there are “Asian forms of embodiment” and “Western forms of embodiment” (p. 7). This cultural facet of embodiment is particularly relevant to my exploration of the culturally constructed perceptions of risk, pain and injury among Chinese and Māori sportswomen.

Embodied experiences are immediate feelings obtained from our bodies (Johnson, 1999), such as from our senses, such as sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch (Sparkes, 2009). Barbour (2004) extends this idea, by arguing that even though embodied experiences originate from the body, they reflect the individual's cultural, historical, social, intellectual, emotional, gendered, artistic and spiritual experiences. A phrase synonymous with embodied experience is *lived experience*, which means immediate awareness without reasoning (van Manen, 1990). Scholars have used the concept of lived experience to explore the immediate and emotional feelings of and responses to space (Bachelard, 1994), gender, illness, health and aging (Jackson, 1994; Nettleton & Watson, 1998), and physical movement (Inglis & Hughson, 2000; Sparkes & Silvennoinen, 1999; Wessinger, 1994), and the social and cultural significance of senses (Classen, 2005; Classen, Howes, & Synnott, 1994; Howes, 2004).

Theoretical Concepts from Merleau-Ponty

In the sociology of sport, researchers have increasingly suggested exploring embodied experiences—which include risk, pain and injury—through the phenomenological lens (Allen-Collinson, 2003, 2009, 2011; Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2001; Hockey & Allen-Collinson,

2007; Inglis & Hughson, 2000; Liu & Howe, 2012; Wessinger, 1994; Woodward, 2009). In this thesis, Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1968) phenomenology and particularly his concepts of the body, being-in-the-world, intersubjectivity, perceptions, senses and flesh are helpful to explore diverse embodied perspectives of risk, pain and injury in sport. Sheets-Johnstone (1990, 2009, 2015b) concepts around physical movement, which supplement Merleau-Ponty's lack of theorisation regarding the moving body, allow me to identify the interconnectedness between the bodily movement and its feeling of pain. Additionally, Grimshaw (1999) and Welsh (2008) pointed out that even though Merleau-Ponty (2010) stated in his Sorbonne lectures on child psychology and pedagogy that "the fragile woman is a fact of culture and not of nature" (p. 377), he barely discussed in *Phenomenology of Perception* (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) how culturally-constructed gender ideas have impacted bodies. Moreover, Butler (1989b) criticized the fact that the body Merleau-Ponty examined was the male body, which had also been conceptualized as the 'normal' subject. Therefore, to elaborate female embodiment in sport, I draw insights from feminist scholars' interpretations and application of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology (e.g., Bigwood, 1991; Grimshaw, 1999; Young, 1998a, 2005).

Merleau-Ponty (1964b) stated that when sociologists interpret and comprehend phenomena, they are already philosophers and, in my research, embodiment serves as the bridge between phenomenology and sociology. Phenomenology has always treated "the living body as the primary phenomenon" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 104) but only in recent years has sociology rediscovered a significant place for the living body. Yet not every strand of phenomenological approach⁷ has paid equal attention to the body. An important contribution of Merleau-Ponty's existential phenomenology is that "no one before had gone so far in identifying human existence with the body in which it finds itself 'incarnated'" (Spiegelberg, 1982, p. 573). Furthermore, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body challenged the Cartesian mind-body dualism, which had long placed emphasis on the mind and marginalized the body, and influenced Western intellectual thought in the process (Howes, 2005). For Merleau-Ponty (1962), not only are mind and body indivisible, but also subjective experiences and the objective world cannot be separated. As he said himself, "the chief gain from phenomenology is to have united extreme subjectivism and extreme objectivism in its notion

⁷ Phenomenology is regarded as a distinct philosophical movement (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), developing through stages such as transcendental (Husserl), existential (Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty) and hermeneutical (Gadamer, Ricœur) (Jung, 1996; Stewart & Mickunas, 1990).

of the world or rationality” (p. xix). Therefore, Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology, a philosophical approach, is useful for examining sporting embodiments. Next, I introduce Merleau-Ponty’s theoretical concepts in relation to my research foci on embodied experiences and the multiple influences on embodied experiences.

1) The Body and Being-in-the-world

The body, according to Merleau-Ponty (1962), is “our general medium for having a world” (p. 146), which is neither a blind object nor a disembodied mind. He stated that “[t]he world is not what I think, but what I live through. I am open to the world, I have no double that I am in communication with it, but I do not possess it; it is inexhaustible” (pp. xvi-xvii). Therefore, the body in Merleau-Ponty’s conceptualisation is a body-world interdependency. This phenomenological conceptualisation of the body underpins my ontological belief that it is the body that enables “a direct and primitive contact with the world” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. vii). Further, Merleau-Ponty (1962) used the term “being-in-the-world” (p. 367) to describe the incarnate way of knowing the externality, which implies his ontology is condensed into this concept of being-in-the-world. As Priest (1998) points out, the hyphens in ‘being-in-the-world’ represent the inseparability between human existence and world, which is without a beginning or an end. Hence, as Merleau-Ponty discusses the body, he introduces his ontology. This ontological belief leads to an epistemological belief of “situated and embodied knowledges” (Haraway, 1988, p. 583).

Since the situated and embodied knowledges are produced from the knower’s position in the world, Haraway (1988) argues that this challenges “unlocatable ... knowledge claims” (p. 583) related to different forms of relativism that provide us with “a way of being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere” (p. 584). In contrast, the situated and embodied knowledges indicate that in order to “find a larger vision” we need to start from “somewhere in particular” (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Relating to my research, the situated and embodied knowledges of sports-related risk, pain and injury stem from Chinese and Māori female sports participants’ life and sporting experiences and the socio-cultural contexts they are situated in.

Merleau-Ponty’s conceptualisation of the body is embedded with the agency of “I can” (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1999, p. 110), rather than the disembodied Cartesian ‘I think’, and so is useful in the investigation of agency in participants’ embodied experiences. Even the seemingly inactive body or the body at rest is a proof of ‘I can’, as Merleau-Ponty (1962) illustrates:

I can close my eyes, lie down, listen to the blood pulsating in my ears, lose myself in some pleasure or pain, and shut myself up in this anonymous life which subtends my personal one. But precisely because my body can shut itself off from the world, it is also what opens me out upon the world and places me in a situation there. (pp. 164-165)

Hence, the mode of being-in-the-world is performed by an active body, even at rest. Further, Merleau-Ponty (1962) considered the world as embodied and incarnated, and hence being-in-the-world is an understanding of the interconnectedness of the body and the world, not a product of analysis of the exterior environment.

The body in pain has been analysed as a mode of being-in-the-world (Leder, 1990). When we are living through pain, we are not only experiencing a special way of suffering, but also a particular way of living in the world (Helman, 1990). In the sport context, Lurie (2006) pointed out that being an athlete is already a way of being-in-the-world; when injured, an athlete begins to adopt new understandings of training and competition, and of themselves and others (Lurie, 2006). Additionally, when Dashper (2013) described her experience of being-in-the-world with horse-riding injuries, she wrote:

The experiences of this accident continue to shape my life on a daily basis, although I don't normally think about it every day. This injury experience is a part of me, and has helped shape how I see myself as a rider, and as a woman, and how I think other people see me. (p. 335)

Studies have shown that participants' experiences of painful bodies were not temporally static and the painful body created a particular temporality around it. For example, Allen-Collinson (2003) studied temporality in two distance runners' injury experiences and found that diverse types of temporalities were experienced, such as *linear time* indicating performance progression without injury, *cyclical time* for rehabilitative processes from injury, *inner time* for emotional introspection of injury and rehabilitation and *biographical time* for anticipating a post-injury running future. These findings reflect Merleau-Ponty's (1962) views that temporal meaningfulness is created through our bodies' intimate interaction in the world.

Moreover, Merleau-Ponty (1962) argued our being-in-the-world is not only spatial and temporal but includes the body adopting social, cultural and historical meanings from the world. Csordas (1999) even referred to the embodied existence of being-in-the-world as "a

cultural phenomenology” (p. 143). As Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) stated, “[b]odily experience forces us to acknowledge an imposition of meaning which is not the work of a universal constituting consciousness, a meaning which clings to certain contents” (p. 147). He also noted that both the biological and cultural have influenced our being-in-the-world, when he wrote:

Just as nature finds its way to the core of my personal life and becomes inextricably linked with it, so behaviour patterns settle into that nature, being deposited in the form of a cultural world. Not only have I a physical world, not only do I live in the midst of earth, air and water, I have around me roads, plantations, villages, streets, churches, implements, a bell, a spoon, a pipe. (p. 347)

Similarly, being-in-the-world with pain and injury has cultural implications. For instance, Helman’s (1990) study showed that in some cultures, the ability to bear self-inflicted pain without displaying discomfort is a sign of manhood or religious piety. Next, drawing on feminist interpretations of Merleau-Ponty’s work, I discuss the feasibility of applying his theorisation of the body to the analysis of female embodiment. Feminist scholars have argued that Merleau-Ponty’s concept of body is a universal non-gendered body that under-represents women (Irigaray, 1985; Stawarska, 2006; Sullivan, 1997). Irigaray (1985a, 1985b) made the case that Merleau-Ponty reduced the sexual body to a man’s body. Stawarska (2006) criticised Merleau-Ponty’s account of the body as being a “universalistic approach” and having a “tendency to reduce the other to the same” (p. 92). Nevertheless, his work is still drawn upon as foundational to feminist phenomenology, which I elaborate upon in the following paragraphs.

Feminist writers adopted “Merleau-Ponty’s particular brand of phenomenology” (Grosz, 1993, p. 39) to augment female embodied experiences, and to develop feminist phenomenology (e.g., Bigwood, 1991; Stoller, 2000; Young, 1980, 1998a, 1998b, 2005). It was argued that “Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology of the body ... provides a solid beginning from which to develop a feminist philosophy of the body” (Bigwood, 1991, p. 61). In her influential article ‘Throwing like a girl’, Young (1980) identified specific modalities to show female-inhibited bodily movements that implicated female bodies as ‘I cannot’, rather than Merleau-Ponty proposed ‘I can’ (McLane, 2006). However, Grimshaw (1999) argued that Young continued to idealize the male as the norm and failed to see that doing so “may be oppressive and inhibiting to others” (p. 107). Later, Young (1998b) admitted that her earlier

phenomenological analyses “harbor masculinist bias that values typically masculine activities more than the typically feminine” (p. 289).

Pregnancy has been identified as a specific type of female phenomenological experience by feminist philosophers (e.g., Bigwood, 1991; Young, 1998a, 2005). During her pregnancy, Young (1998, 2005) pointed out that she was more conscious of her physical movement. Moreover, Young (1998) stressed the positive experiences of her pregnancy in that she felt the weight gained as “a sense of power, solidity, and validity” (p. 279), rather than an obstacle to daily movement. Bigwood (1991) found that her pregnant body helped her to understand that the gendered body is both phenomenological/lived and culturally constructed. The experience of pregnancy, for both Bigwood and Young, was used by them to demonstrate females’ unique embodiment and their ability to actively re-develop bodily movements to achieve their aims and goals. Nevertheless, pregnant bodies in sport are still considered as fragile and incapable; for example, a research on New Zealand women’s netball experiences showed that even though exercise during pregnancy has been promoted by medical and sports authorities, the social anxieties about pregnant bodies constructed pregnant netball players as unfit in the netball space and made them “feel ‘out of place’” (Marfell, 2016, p. 166). In Chapter Five, the example of a pregnant paddler illustrates this unique embodiment in the context of waka ama paddling.

Nevertheless, by using their own embodied experiences as examples, Bigwood (1991) and Young (1998a, 2005) unconsciously promote the embodied experiences of modern white Western middle-class woman as the mainstream experiences. In order to apply a phenomenology of the female body to the understandings of non-Western female embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, I follow Grimshaw’s (1999) proposal to problematize ‘normal’ movements and re-recognize the multiple “gendered modalities of bodily existence and movement” (p. 108), as well as Butler’s (1988) phenomenological approach which viewed the body, particularly the gendered body, as “embodied agents ... [who] *wear* certain cultural significations” (p. 525, italics in original). For example, Thorpe, Barbour, and Bruce (2011) reported that Barbour, a female Pākehā researcher, negotiated her gender embodiment in the Māori waka ama context, which involved learning not to wear bikini tops but t-shirts to training. Moreover, for Merleau-Ponty (1962, 2010), being-in-the-world is simultaneously being-in-the-world-with-others, which is an intersubjective experience. In the next section, I introduce the theoretical concept of embodied intersubjectivity or being-in-the-world-with-others.

2) Embodied Intersubjectivity: Being-in-the-world-with-others

The literature shows that sport-related pain and injury can change athletes' relations with their significant others (e.g., parents, coaches, team doctors and teammates) (Curry, 1993; Sparkes, 1996, 2012). Further, the experiences of pain, injury and illness are embedded in experiences of living with others (Frank, 1991). A powerful uniqueness of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology is that it allows us to gain an intuitive embodied connection with others and the world (Allen-Collinson, 2008, 2017; Evans, Allen-Collinson, & Williams, 2016). For example, Merleau-Ponty's concept of intersubjectivity is useful to interpret social interactions. Merleau-Ponty (1964a) proposed that "the social is not *collective consciousness* but intersubjectivity, a living relationship and tension among individuals" (p. 90, italics in original). Therefore, I have used Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1968) theoretical concept of being-in-the-world-with-others to analyse sport participants' embodied intersubjective experiences of risk, pain and injury.

For Merleau-Ponty, the way of being-with-others-in-the-world is a phenomenological intersubjective experience of connecting with one another (Crossley, 1996b, 2012). Merleau-Ponty (1962) conceptualized the intersubjective body through a description of a child's behaviour:

The fact is that [a baby's] own mouth and teeth, as it feels them from the inside, are immediately, for it, an apparatus to bite with, and my jaw, as the baby sees it from the outside, is immediately, for it, capable of the same intentions. 'Biting' has immediately, for it, an intersubjective significance. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 352)

Merleau-Ponty (1962) developed this idea that "it is through my body that I understand other people" (p. 186). Relevant to my research, I used intersubjectivity to explore the shared kinesthetic experience between participants who are doing sport together. According to Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964b, 2010), our bodies and embodied experiences do not limit us in our own private lives but lead us to connect the world and others. We experience others through our bodies, who are also parts of the world.

Intersubjective experiences are possible, as Merleau-Ponty (1962) stated, because we have senses, we are already in communication with others. Senses not only interconnect and interact within one's own body, but also are transposable within certain limits to other people's sensory domains (Grosz, 1994). For example, even though two people cannot stand at the same

spot at the same time to perceive, they can communicate what they have seen, and thus they enter each other's perceptual domain (Crossley, 1996b). Therefore, we are intersubjective subjects due to our lived bodies. Even though Merleau-Ponty (1962) stated that "my body and the other person's are one whole, two sides of one and the same phenomenon" (p. 354), his intercorporeal or intersubjective understanding of the others did not erase the otherness.

In his later work, *The Visible and the Invisible* (1968), Merleau-Ponty further conceptualised the intersubjectivity between the body and the world, and he referred to this notion as *flesh* or *reversibility*. Flesh and reversibility are found between subject and object, interior and exterior, and living and non-living (Merleau-Ponty, 1968). Merleau-Ponty (1968) defined flesh as "the formative medium of the object and the subject" (p. 147), as well as a "passive-active" in-betweenness body (p. 271). As Merleau-Ponty (1974) kept developing the concept of flesh, he stated, "There is a human body when, between the seeing and the seen, between touching and the touched, between one eye and the other, between hand and hand, a blending of some sort takes place" (p. 284). Merleau-Ponty (1968) also argued that "the world is at the heart of our flesh" (p.136), which adds more dimensions to and enhances the body's intersubjectivity than in the concept of being-in-the-world. With Merleau-Ponty's theoretical tools of intersubjectivity and the reversibility of body, I can develop the agency of 'I can' to an intersubjective understanding of sporting bodies, in terms of how sport participants may relate to others and the social context in which they are situated—through their own risk, pain and injury. As McLane (2006) argued, there is no self-action (I can) without the "you can" and "we can" (p. 147). Further, the intersubjective experiences may also produce the phenomenological experience of responsibility, as "our perspectives merge into each other, and we co-exist through a common world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 354). To link these ideas to Chinese culture and society, I also draw on elements from Confucian ideology of the self to understand how Chinese sport participants related their own pain and injury to others and to their social roles in the larger society (see Chapter Seven).

Some feminist scholars have argued against applying Merleau-Ponty's concepts of intersubjectivity and reversible flesh to interpret female embodiment (Butler, 1989b, 1996, 2006; Irigaray, 1985b; Oksala, 2006; Stawarska, 2006; Sullivan, 1997, 2001; Weiss, 2002). Their concern is that flesh threatens the existence of bodily particularity, since if flesh reverses senses, such as touch and touched, and folds subject and object into one, flesh can threaten female existence by assimilating female otherness into masculine sameness (Irigaray, 2004; Sullivan, 2001). Nevertheless, Merleau-Ponty (1968) was also aware of the distinction between

touching and touched, as he wrote “[M]y left hand is always on the verge of touching my right hand touching the things, but I never reach coincidence; the coincidence eclipses at the moment of realization” (p. 147). Hence, Butler (1996, 2006) and Grosz (1993) have argued that the intersubjectivity of ‘flesh’, as Merleau-Ponty (1968) discussed, was actually unable to complete the so-called reversible sensuous feelings. Although the flesh integrates sensible and sentient, visible and invisible and subject and object, these pairs of antonyms retain their uniqueness (Butler, 2006). To avoid reducing different bodies into the sameness, Sullivan (1997) has identified a need to appreciate others’ particularities and at the same time acknowledge a certain degree of human commonality. In my research, the particularities are the intersecting characteristics, such as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural backgrounds and the types of sport participation, which I explored in female sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury.

3) Embodied Perceptions and Bodily Movement

In this section, I discuss Merleau-Ponty’s (1962, 1963) ideas of embodied perceptions, including sensuous perceptions and emotions, as well as the interplay of bodily movements and embodied perceptions. These theoretical concepts are useful for exploring participants’ indivisible, immediately and actively embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury from their moving bodies.

Sports are a particular form of physical contact in which participants interact with their world. Any risk, pain and injury they encounter is perceived and embodied. In *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962), in a section titled “The Theory of the Body is Already a Theory of Perception” (p. 203), Merleau-Ponty (1962) suggested that the perception of an object is co-produced by the body and its world:

The thing, and the world, are given to me along with the parts of my body, not by any ‘natural geometry’, but in a living connection comparable, or rather identical, with that existing between the parts of my body itself. External perception and the perception of one’s own body vary in conjunction because they are the two facets of one and the same act. (p. 205)

For Merleau-Ponty, to perceive is to establish a bodily relation with the perceived (Crossley, 2012). Therefore, his embodied perception corresponds to Haraway’s (1988) “situated and

embodied knowledges” (p. 583), which proposed an epistemological belief of knower’s body connecting to the world and acquiring knowledge of the world in specific situations.

Even though sporting techniques are “prescribed and mechanised” (Shilling, 2008, p. 53), players’ bodily relationships with their sports are experiential, which implies bodily knowing rather than thinking. Moreover, perceptions come from the active, subjective and knowing body, rather than purely relying on the mind (Merleau-Ponty, 1963). Indeed, Merleau-Ponty (1963) used a football example to analyse the perception of movement, when he stated:

The player becomes one with it and feels the direction of the “goal,” ... Each maneuver undertaken by the player modifies the character of the field and establishes in it new lines of force in which the action in turn unfolds and is accomplished, again altering the phenomenal field⁸. (pp. 168-169)

In the football player’s perceptions, the football pitch is a phenomenal field intertwined with the player’s movements. For players, to know how to kick the ball was not achieved by purely thinking and calculating the angles. Similarly, waka ama paddlers and table tennis players have bodily connections with their sporting contexts, and every move they make changes the relation they have with the sporting world around them.

Just as intersubjective and sensuous experiences are interdependent, so too are perceptions and senses. Indeed, Rodaway (1994) claimed that “perception is corporeal” (p. 12), and Classen (1997) maintained that “sensory perception is not simply one aspect of the bodily experience, but the basis for bodily experience” (p. 402). To perceive the world, our senses work together, rather than separately, since our entire body is “a system of perceptual powers” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 318). Moreover, Merleau-Ponty (1962) argued for a synthesis of human senses in perceiving the world, by giving an example:

If a phenomenon—for example, a reflection or a light gust of wind—strikes only one of my senses, it is a mere phantom, and it will come near to real existence only if ... it becomes capable of speaking to my other senses. (p. 318)

⁸ The ‘phenomenal field’ in this quotation means a world that can be perceived and experienced through senses, including kinesthetic senses. Hence, the phenomenal field is not “an ‘inner world’”, self-consciousness, self-introspection or a mental activity (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 66).

He developed the idea of synthesis further, claiming about heat that “enters experience as a kind of vibration of the thing” (p. 319).

Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology has been critiqued for its “blindness to kinesthesia” and failure to “examine phenomenologically the experience of self-movement” (Sheets-Johnstone, 2015b, p. xiii). This criticism may be unfair to Merleau-Ponty (1962), since he has adopted terms such as body schema and “a kinetic melody” to describe the body moving as a whole entity (p. 134). He elaborated the bodily wholeness in movements when he stated “[w]e know of movement and a moving entity without being in any way aware of objective positions, as we know of an object at a distance and of its true size without any interpretation” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 275). Certainly, even though Gallagher (2005) disagreed with Sheets-Johnstone’s criticism that Merleau-Ponty’s work was lacking attention to bodily movements, he acknowledged that Merleau-Ponty’s description of body schema was “woolly” (p. 247), and that Sheets-Johnstone’s conceptualisations of the body in movements were clearer. Next, I introduce the insights from Sheets-Johnstone’s (1990, 1999, 2010, 2011) concepts of *tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic* and *emotion-motion dynamic* to examine the sporting body and its sensuous and emotional perceptions of risk, pain and injury.

In the sport context, an elusive term, ‘feeling’, has been adopted to describe the multi-layered sensuous and emotional perceptions gained from the actively moving body (e.g., Hockey, 2006, 2013; Sparkes, 2009). To further explore the subtle ‘feelings’ of sport-related risk, pain and injury, I employ Sheets-Johnstone’s (1990, 1999, 2010, 2011) concepts of the tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic and the emotion-motion dynamic to interpret the interplay of sensuous perceptions, physical movements and emotions, which complement Merleau-Ponty’s theorisation of the synthesis of human senses and further link it to bodily movement. Firstly, Sheets-Johnstone’s (2010) concept of the tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic emphasised that a body is “always in touch with something: walking, sitting, standing, lying, eating, pulling, pushing, hugging, kissing, scratching, rubbing” (p. 120). Moreover, the body’s tactile feelings indicate “an intimate and immediate knowledge of the world about it” (Sheets-Johnstone, 1990, p. 16). Hence, Sheets-Johnstone’s (1990) the tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic established an inextricable relation between sensual experiences, particularly the tactility, and the bodily movement. Sheets-Johnstone (2011) also pointed out the advantage of the concept of tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic, comparing to Merleau-Ponty’s ‘I can’. Merleau-Ponty assumed our body have already learned or familiarised with those movements and hence “the ‘I move’ and ‘I do’” in the ‘I can’ were lost (Sheets-Johnstone, 2011, p. 211).

Nevertheless, through tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic, we are learning and trying to do movements. Hence, Sheets-Johnstone's conceptualisation of the tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic assisted me to explore my own and participants' embodied and agential learning process of 'I can' within sport contexts.

Regarding the relation between emotion and bodily movement, Sheets-Johnstone (2009) argued that previous studies of emotions and bodily movements neglected "the whole-body experience of emotion" (p. 211) and "the felt experience of being moved and moving" (p. 211). Hence, Sheets-Johnstone (1999, 2009, 2010) developed the emotion-motion dynamic to challenge the static perspective of emotion and stress the "dynamic congruency" (Sheets-Johnstone, 2010, p. 124) between emotion and motion. The motion and emotion are lexicologically linked to their Latin origins in *emovere*, meaning "to move out, to move outward toward the world, away from oneself" (Honkasalo, 2000, p. 200). Hence, movement is an essential component of emotion (Honkasalo, 2000) and Sheets-Johnstone's (1999, 2009) phenomenological conceptualisation of the motion-emotion or tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic body is both linguistically and philosophically meaningful. Moreover, Sheets-Johnstone (1999, 2009, 2010) noted that motion-emotion and tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamics are agential bodily experiences of the 'I can'. In my thesis, through analysing sport-related risk, pain and injury by applying the above discussed Sheets-Johnstone's concepts, I explored holistic and dynamic bodily experiences among senses, emotion and movements. Nevertheless, Sheets-Johnstone (1999) was aware that languaging the physical movement was particularly challenging, and risks reducing the dynamic and holistic bodily movement into "a set of ingredients" (p. 268), such as speed, strength and range. I further discuss this challenge of representation in the next chapter on methodology.

This section introduced some theoretical concepts from Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1968) phenomenology of the body and Sheets-Johnstone's (1990, 1999, 2010, 2011) concepts of the tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic dynamic and the emotion-motion dynamic that helped me to develop ontological understandings of the interdependency between the active body and the world, as well as an epistemological belief of the situated knowledges relating to my research foci, such as being in pain, being a woman and being in sport contexts. In the following sections, I introduce the social, cultural and historical aspects in Merleau-Ponty's ideas of the body, which can be aligned with and further developed by Foucauldian concepts of the discursively-formed body. I introduce Foucault's theorisation of the body and feminist scholars' interpretations of

Foucauldian theories that, together with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body, will produce the critical analysis of embodied knowledges in this thesis.

Theoretical Concepts from Foucault

Foucault's theories are also central to this thesis. As with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological focus, the body is also the foundation of Foucault's theorisation (Vallega-Neu, 2005). I apply Foucault's theories to interpret the socially, historically and culturally constructed and transformed body, gender, bodily movements and sport-related risk, pain and injury.

Foucault's theories applied in combination with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology allow me to explore the critical analysis of embodied knowledges in this thesis. Foucault (1988b) interpreted critical work as "a work of examination that consists of suspending as far as possible the system of values to which one refers when testing and assessing it" (p. 107). Even though Foucault (1988a) expressed his dissatisfaction with phenomenology, he used the word "suspending" (Foucault, 1988b p. 107) that echoes the phenomenological method—epoché or suspension. In addition, Foucault (1994a) explicitly praised Merleau-Ponty's work for teaching us not to be "completely comfortable" with our beliefs but to be "very mindful that everything one perceives is evident only against a familiar and little-known horizon, that every certainty is sure only through the support of a ground that is always unexplored" (p. 448). I elaborate Foucault's complex attitudes towards phenomenology and towards Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, which not only illustrate the differences between the two but also the compatibility between their theorisations of the body. As a result, I apply their theoretical concepts separately and together to analyse the embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury constructed around the female body.

1) Knowledge, Discourse and Power Relations

The Foucauldian concepts of knowledge, discourse and power relations are helpful in critically examining the socially constructed influences that have shaped participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. I particularly focus on the ideas surrounding disciplinary power and its related concepts of the docile body and panopticism, since they are useful to interpret the disciplined sporting body shaped by the sport training regime, and are also useful to analyse the resistance from the sporting body.

Foucault's (1978) genealogical investigation revealed that power influences which type of knowledge becomes truth and discourse. Consequently, relatively unarticulated knowledges or "subjugated knowledges" lack power and are "located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (Foucault, 1980c, p. 82). Foucault (1978) used genealogy to re-articulate subjugated knowledges. To uncover how knowledge in different disciplines operated and expressed itself in different historical eras, Foucault (1972) resorted to the method of archaeology and the concept of discourse, arguing that discourses are not only "groups of signs" (p. 54) but also the practices, which "systematically form the objects of which they speak" and do "more than use these signs to designate things" (p. 54). He identified different applications of discourse "as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). This idea was distilled in Butler's (1988) statement that discourses are "produced, reproduced, and maintained within the field of bodies" (p. 525), which highlights the importance of discourse as a conceptual tool in my body-focused research of risk, pain and injury. My thesis explored diverse discourses, such as racial discourses and Māori and Chinese cultural contexts, and considered the interplay of these discursive influences on women's attitudes and reactions to risk-taking and participation while hurt.

Racial discourses, rather than "the general domain of all statements", are "an individualizable group of statements" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Earlier studies have adopted racial discourses to challenge the historically constructed stereotypes of the bodies of Chinese and Māori athletes (e.g., Chong, 2013; Gao, 2013; Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2004b). Hokowhitu (2003a, 2004b) argued that Māori athletic bodies have been stereotyped as physically competent bodies under Western colonial racial discourses. In contrast, Chinese have internalised Western colonial discourse and constructed their ethnic body as physically weak (Chong, 2013). As Markula and Pringle (2006) explained, the individualizable group of statements refers to discourses of the same phenomenon, such as racism but they are not "unified or consistent" (p. 30), in terms of the different physical assumptions attached to Māori and Chinese bodies. Additionally, the model minority stereotype is a type of Western racial discourse particularly related to Asian ethnic groups. Choi and Lim (2014) argued that the "hard-working, self-sufficient, and successful" Asians have been identified as the model minority in Western societies (p. 50). Hard work, a positive character, nevertheless, reproduced Chinese immigrants in New Zealand as the model minority (Ip, 2003). I use discourse of hard-

working model minority to analyse Chinese immigrant table tennis players in New Zealand and their experiences of pain and injury. These different discursive formations of Māori and Chinese physical bodies reveal the importance of investigating the interplay of discursive influences on sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury.

Even though Foucauldian discourse can be applied to interpret the diverse discourses related to gender, race, ethnicity and culture, and the flexibility and malleability of Foucault's theories can be adapted to analyses of non-Western female embodiment, I am also aware of the feminist debates around applying Foucauldian theories to female bodies and experiences (e.g., Bartky, 1990; Butler, 1990; Lloyd, 1996; McNay, 1992; Sawicki, 1991). However, in contrast, Grosz (1994) contended that even though Foucault did not include women's bodies in his analysis of the formation of bodies in different historical periods, feminists do not need to abandon Foucault's analyses of "the social inscription of corporeal surfaces" (p. 159). Moreover, for any feminist researcher to apply Foucault's theories, Grimshaw (1993) suggests thinking of Foucault's theories as a 'toolbox', which was how Foucault himself used to describe the use of his work. In my research, the Foucauldian theoretical tool of discourse helped me to identify the diverse intersecting discourses found in waka ama and table tennis in a New Zealand context and the Māori and Chinese cultural contexts, which may influence female sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Foucault provided another theoretical tool with his work on power relations, which is crucial to understanding how sport participants negotiate their attitudes and reactions to risk, pain and injury in their dynamic interactions with others in sport.

Power relations and disciplinary power

From his early work *The Order of Things* (1971) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) to the later *Discipline and Punish* (1979), Foucault's attention shifted from knowledge and discourse to the intertwined nature of power and the body in history. In *The History of Sexuality Volume I* (1978), Foucault outlined some general features of his concept of power relations. First, power is not a thing that can be seized and possessed but is practised in the "inter-play of nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). Power appears in relationships when, Foucault (1988e) argued, "one wishes to direct the behavior of another" (p. 11). Second, the relationships of power are not from external sources but produced within the interactions, such as at the moment of "a confrontation between two adversaries" (Foucault, 1983b, p. 226). When power is at play, it is not "merely a role of prohibition or accompaniment" but

“productive” (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). Third, power relations do not come down from above, instead they are at all levels of society and “rooted deep in the social nexus, not ‘above’” (Foucault, 1983b, p. 222). The fourth feature indicates that no individual or groups can choose, design and exercise power relations, which operate in comprehensive anonymous systems, by “tactics” (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). No one is responsible for the invention of power relations, but a few have significant influences on the specific formulation at any time (Foucault, 1978). For example, regarding the rugby-related discourses in New Zealand, “the ‘power’ source of this nationalistic discourse is somewhat unidentifiable; it is everywhere and no-where in particular, circulating in a dispersed fashion through multiple networks of social relations in a manner that simultaneously helps produce rugby’s social dominance” (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 37). The last feature of power relations is resistance, which is an indispensable element of power relations. I develop the aspect of resistance in more detail, since it is related to the phenomenological experiences of the embodied and active body and individual agency.

Resistance provides a good starting point to examine power relations, since resistance is like “a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, and find out their point of application and the methods used” (Foucault, 1983b, p. 211). Power and resistance do not cancel out each other, but are “changeable, reversible and unstable” (Foucault, 1988e, p. 12). Relating resistance to the consideration of freedom in power relations, Foucault (1988e) pointed out that “in many cases the relations of power are fixed” and the relation between freedom and domination “are perpetually asymmetrical and the margin of liberty is extremely limited” (p. 12). At the same time, Foucault (1988e) insisted that we should explore the very specific ways in which resistance functions.

To interpret embodied sporting experiences, Foucault’s concept of power relations is helpful, since he pointed out that “nothing is more material, physical, corporal than the exercise of power” (Foucault, 1980a, pp. 57-58). Nevertheless, the body is more than a vehicle of power relations and the relations between power relations and the body are not unilateral. For example, while power relations increase the productivity of the body, they simultaneously increase the body’s capability to resist power relations. As Foucault (1980a) elaborated:

[m]astery and awareness of one’s own body can be acquired only through the effect of an investment of power in the body: gymnastics, exercises, muscle-building, nudism, glorification of the body beautiful. ... But once power produces this effect, there

inevitably emerge the responding claims and affirmations, those of one's own body against power ... what had made power strong becomes used to attack it. (p. 56)

Therefore, the relations between power relations and the body imply productivity *and* resistance, rather than merely the repression of the latter from the former. Indeed, Foucault (1980a) observed that “power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress” (p. 59). Power also functions creatively and “produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression” (Foucault, 1994b, p. 120). In this sense, in the sport context, power relations of training regimes reinforce the productivity/performance of the sporting body as well as increase the possibility for the sport body to resist the sport norms. Therefore, theories of power relations and resistance have a role in efforts to interpret sport participants' negotiations of their risk-taking and playing with pain and injury within sport regimes.

There are varied modes of power in Foucault's (1978, 1979, 1980a) theorisation, such as micro-power, bio-power, and power/knowledge and disciplinary power. Among the diverse forms of power relations, I particularly use disciplinary power, and the relevant concepts of the docile body and disciplinary techniques, to analyse the sporting body. Disciplinary power is “a modality ... comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; ... a technology” (Foucault, 1979, p. 215). Discipline is “the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise” (Foucault, 1979, p. 170). The practice of discipline has a long history in armies, schools and monasteries, and Foucault (1979) noted that the primary goal of disciplinary power and its technique of discipline is to produce the “docile body” (p. 135), which moves in an economical and efficient style. Initially, Foucault took soldiers as the example of docile bodies. Foucault (1979) found that there are detailed disciplinary techniques that impose on the body and control its behaviours in time and space. Next, I discuss the application of disciplinary power and disciplinary technique in sport studies.

Disciplinary power and its technique of discipline are crucial concepts to link to sport regimes, even at the recreational level (Chase, 2008), and schooling level (Kirk, 1998). Shogan (1999) used concepts of disciplinary techniques in her analysis of the making of high-performance athletes, in terms of disciplinary training space, control of the training time and individual bodies, coaching as panoptic technique and confession of one's performance.

However, Crossley (2006) argued that applying the concept of disciplinary power to analyse the sporting body is more than making an analogy between disciplinary power and disciplinary training regimes, since such an approach only superficially uses Foucault's theory. Taking aerobics as an example, Crossley (2006) illustrated that a Foucauldian analysis of aerobics is not about the techniques of aerobics practice but the social pressure of workout and fitness. Markula's (1995) insightful analysis revealed the complex power relations in aerobics, which meant, on one hand, aerobicizers accepted the disciplined bodily regimes to achieve the "patriarchal body ideal" (p. 450) desired in consumer society, but, on the other hand, they questioned and created subtle resistance to this body ideal. In my research, I use the Foucauldian concepts of disciplinary power and the docile body to understand the relation between disciplinary power and methods of risk control. I apply specific Foucauldian disciplinary techniques, such as partitioning and time regulation, to investigate the sporting body as a controllable assembly of divisible parts, such as the positions of arms, legs, and torso, and how these techniques ensure each bodily part is performing, acting, and functioning well within controlled space and time.

To sum up this section, the concepts of knowledge, discourse and power relations are useful in addressing the intersecting influences that may shape female Māori waka ama and Chinese table tennis participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. In particular, the concept of power relations can examine the interaction between discursive power and resistance in the embodied experiences. To further conceptualize the body as socially constructed and agentially enacted, in the next section I introduce Foucault's ideas of technologies of the self.

2) Technologies of the Self

Technologies of the self was one of Foucault's later theories. Foucault (2003) reflected that he had paid too much attention to technologies of power, and after the 1980s he was more interested in the "means of the technologies of the self" (p. 147). He argued that technologies of power or domination shape "the conduct of individual and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject" (Foucault, 1988d, p. 18). In contrast, he proposed that technologies of the self enable:

individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to

transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1988d, p. 18)

In *The History of Sexuality Vol 3* (1986) and *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* (2005), Foucault developed his ideas of technologies of the self, and employed this concept to study morality and ethics. Foucault (1985, 1986) discussed the practices of the self, or technologies of the self based on the specific self-regulation behaviours in ancient Greek and Roman documents, such as abstinence, diary keeping, mediation, and acceptance to help and advice from others. Foucault (2000) defined technologies of the self as:

the procedures, which no doubt exists in every civilization, offered or prescribed to individuals in order to determine their identity, maintain it, or transform it in terms of a certain number of ends, through relations of self-mastery or self-knowledge. (p. 87)

Foucault (1985) further proposed that, by conducting these actions, people “seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an *oeuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria” (pp. 10-11). With the concept of technologies of the self, Foucault perceived that the subject can relatively autonomously constitute itself (Gros, 2005). Hence, in addition to Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological agency of ‘I can’, the concept of technologies of the self is also helpful in analysing the embodied agency that participants display. The specific steps of technologies of the self are provided next.

Foucault (1985) identified four elements as practices of the technologies of the self: “the *determination of the ethical substance*”, “the *mode of subjection*”, “the forms of *elaboration, of ethical work*” and “the *telos* of the ethical subject” (pp. 26-27, italics in original). The first stage, the ethical substance, indicates that a part of the self needs to be reconsidered (Markula & Pringle, 2006). An example of the ethical substance could be the alcohol culture in the sporting context (Pringle & Hickey, 2010). The second step, “the *mode of subjection* ... is ... [that] the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27, italics in original), and the third step is choosing and implementing specific practices and strategies. Sportsmen moderating their drinking behaviours reflects a mode of subjection, meaning that they complied with an alcohol culture, as well as ethical work, since they limit their drinking (Pringle & Hickey, 2010). The final step, *telos*, is “an action is not only moral in itself, in its singularity; it is also moral in its circumstantial integration and by virtue of the place it occupies in a pattern

of conduct” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27-28). Pringle and Hickey (2010) interpret *telos* as a “broader goal of determining what type of person one wants to be, such as free from desires, pure, or the creation of a beautiful life” (p. 122). In the final step, *telos* also acts beyond the self, namely from self-transformation to collective transformation or changes to the current situation (Lloyd, 1996). Sportsmen’s *telos* could be interacting with people around them with respect, instead of being drunk together and badly behaved (Pringle & Hickey, 2010). I use these four stages of Foucault’s technologies of the self to interpret a table tennis participant’s experience of pain and injury and her consequent self-transformation. Markula (2004) pointed out that technologies of the self also relate to the ethical care for the self. The Foucauldian concept of the ethical care for the self paves the way into the last section of this chapter, in which I attempt to identify the common ground between Foucault and Merleau-Ponty, such as the relation and interaction with others and the intersubjective body.

The ethical care for the self is an ethical and moral practice of freedom in accordance to truths, knowledge, principles, disciplines and rules (Foucault, 1988e). Further, the ethical care of the self is “not an exercise in solitude, but a true social practice” (Foucault, 1986, p. 51), and “a way of caring for others” (Foucault, 1988e, p. 7). This position is in harmony with Merleau-Ponty’s rejection of an enclosed and self-sustaining subjectivity (Langer, 1989). Moreover, Foucault (1986, 2003b) suggested that the ethical care for the self draws practices from one’s own culture, society and social groups. The cultural aspect of this theorisation of ethical care for the self allows me to draw on Confucian *ren* (discussed in Chapter Two) to analyse how Chinese sport participants may relate their own risk, pain and injury in sport to other people in or outside the sport context.

Additionally, the ethical care of the self can extend to the ethical care of others (Markula, 2004; Markula & Pringle, 2006). I introduce Confucian concepts of the self, consisting of *xiao wo* [a “private and individuated self”] and *da wo* [“a larger collectivity to which one belongs as the operating self”] (Yang, 2006, p. 347), which can be linked to Foucault’s the care of the self, to analyse Chinese participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Confucian ideology of the self and Foucault’s concept of technologies of the self were particularly helpful for understanding the process from our own pain and injury experiences to interpersonal and intersubjective understandings. In this sense, the ethical practices of the self are “at once personal and social” choices (Foucault, 1986, p. 58).

I propose that Foucault's theorisation of the ethical care for the self can be applied together with Merleau-Ponty's concept of the intersubjective bodies and the Confucian concept of *da wo* and used to explore participants' intersubjective and empathetic experiences of risk, pain and injury. As previously discussed, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological concept of being-in-the-world-with-others has the ability to expand the agential bodily enactments from the individual 'I can' to the collective 'you can' and 'we can'. Foucault's ethical care of the self is an interplay between oneself and others involving "a round of exchanges with the other and a system of reciprocal obligations" (Foucault, 1986, p. 54). Foucault (2003b) stated, "a person who took proper care of himself [sic] would, by the same token, be able to conduct himself properly in relation to others and for others" (p. 30). Therefore, from Foucault's concept of technologies of the self, we may transform ourselves by resisting the domination of disciplinary power and subsequently gain self-empowerment, raise others' critical awareness and eventually stimulate social change (Pringle, 2003). So, comparing Merleau-Ponty's (1962) intersubjective experiences of being-in-the-world-with-others with Foucault's (1986, 2003b) concepts of the ethical care for the self and technologies of the self enables a more positive affirmation of one's responsibility for oneself and others, while co-existing and interacting with others in social contexts, including sports.

In Relation to the Body: Bringing Merleau-Ponty and Foucault Together

To produce embodied and critical knowledges in this thesis, I use Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology to explore female participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. However, Merleau-Ponty's analysis of power has been critiqued "extremely weak" (Crossley, 1993, p. 410). Hence, I also adopt Foucault's theoretical concepts to uncover the social discourses and power relations that have shaped female sport participants' attitudes towards risk, pain and injury. Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's concepts of the body also help me to address the research question: how have discourses and power relations interacted with participants' embodied agency in shaping their experiences of risk, pain and injuries?

Philosophers and sociologists have long suggested the compatibility between Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological and Foucault's social-constructivist perspectives of the body (e.g., Crossley, 1994; Fielding, 1999; Levin, 2008; May, 2005, 2015a; Oksala, 2005; Wehrle, 2016). To effectively construct a theoretical framework that combines both Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theories, I take advice from Crossley (1994) that recommends finding the common ground but still maintaining the differences between Foucault's and Merleau-Ponty's ideas.

The difficulty of finding this common ground is not as overwhelming as it first appears, even though Foucault (1971) did explicitly reject phenomenology, stating:

If there is one approach that I do reject ... it is that (one might call it, broadly speaking, the phenomenological approach) which gives absolute priority to the observing subject, which attributes a constituent role to an act, which places its own point of view at the origin of all historicity – which, in short, leads to a transcendental consciousness. (p. xiv)

Later, Foucault (1988e) explained that his major disagreement with phenomenology was its “*a priori* theory of the subject” (p. 10, italics in original), and he rejected the idea of a “universal form of subject that one could find everywhere” (Foucault, 1989, p. 313). Foucault’s opposition to the phenomenologically universal and anonymous subject is due to his beliefs that a subject is formed through the various practices of subjection, namely through rules, customs and cultural norms. However, as discussed, Merleau-Ponty (1962) did not conceptualize the body as a universal or transcendental subject but a body “inextricably linked with” social world (p. 347).

Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) view of the interplay of structure and agency can also be seen in his studies of child psychology. For example, in *Child Psychology and Pedagogy* (2010), Merleau-Ponty argued that child “[d]evelopment is not a solely bodily fact, nor is it totally cultural” (p. 228). Various scholars have suggested that the body in Merleau-Ponty’s view is not only an agential body-subject, but also a body-object under socially-constructed influences (Brubaker, 2006; Schmidt, 1985). Here then is the initial common ground shared by Merleau-Ponty and Foucault; their understandings that the body has been shaped by its interactions with the social world.

Crossley (1994) identified three dimensions of the body as theorised by Merleau-Ponty and Foucault from which I drew insights to apply to my interpretations of Chinese and Māori women’s risk, pain and injury in their sports. First, Merleau-Ponty and Foucault viewed bodies from different historical perspectives. Foucault’s genealogical studies were of the body that has been constructed by changing discourses over time, whereas Merleau-Ponty was more concerned about bodies in terms of “cross-cultural differences rather than historical differences” (Crossley, 1994, p. 174). But Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological or embodied perception of temporality is used in my investigation of the embodied temporal experiences of pain and injury. As well, time, especially time regulation, is a disciplinary technique in

Foucault's (1979) theorisation of the docile body and helped me to interpret the docile sporting bodies' pain and injury as products within power relations, and consider how sport participants may resist time regulation in sport. Crossley's (1994) second point was that Merleau-Ponty and Foucault both viewed the body as "acting and acted upon" (p. 175) but with different emphases on its activity and passivity. Merleau-Ponty emphasised the active and agential body, while recognising the influences of the social world on the body. Foucault's work theorises the body through discipline, discourses and power relations, but recognised self-initiated resistance and the potential transformation of the body. Crossley's third point is that both Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theories acknowledged that there are inside and outside influences onto the body, which gave insights to the embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury being shaped and influenced from outside influences and internal agencies. Merleau-Ponty's concept of body has "an internal locus" (Crossley, 1994, p. 173), which organises itself from the inside, while Foucault's theorisation of the body largely been focused on shaping by outside discourses and power relations. However, these theorisations of the body are "compatible and complementary" (Crossley, 1996a, p. 114). Hence, I draw on both Merleau-Ponty's ideas of the active and agential body and Foucault's ideas of the body that has been acted upon by discourses and power relations, to theorise the multiple intersecting influences reflected in sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury.

These differences, on which Foucault and Merleau-Ponty represent complementary views, have been described in a number of ways. Crossley (1994) proposed terms such as "the phenomenology of power" and "the politics of human being-in-the-world" (p. 192). Other scholars have proposed terms for the theoretical interactions between Foucault and Merleau-Ponty, such as "*normative embodiment*" (Wehrle, 2016, p. 56, italics in original), "a mixture of phenomenological and archaeological-genealogical thinking" (Davis & O'Connor, 2008, p. 57), "the body-as-depth" (Fielding, 1999, p. 82) and "a self that is both a responsible agent and a victim of circumstance" (Kruks, 1990, p. 13). In order to analyse female sporting embodiment by applying both Merleau-Ponty and Foucault, Butler's (1986, 1988, 1989b, 1990) early conceptualisations of gendered bodies were useful for me in examining embodied agency and discursive practices in female sport participants' experiences. For instance, Butler (1988) theorised "performative accomplishment" (p. 520), which emphasised the interplay of embodied enactments and socially and historically shaped movements together, to explain the formation of the gendered body. Crossley (1994) also argued for using Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's analytical tools to achieve the researcher's analytical aims, meaning that researchers

may selectively apply their different theoretical thoughts. I draw an analogy between my theoretical framework and a ladder. Like the two parallel sides of a ladder, Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's analytical tools are on different sides but at each step, there is a joint point between them. This ladder-like framework helps me to reach new understandings of female embodied sporting experiences.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have clarified my justifications for forming a theoretical framework that combines both Merleau-Ponty's and Foucault's theorisations of the body, along with additional feminist and Confucian concepts and Sheets-Johnstone's conceptualisations of tactile-kinesthetic/kinetic and emotion-motion dynamics. As Crossley (1994) suggested, we can apply the different perspectives of the body from Merleau-Ponty and Foucault and treat their ideas as complementary rather than contradictory. Applying both Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological and Foucault's discursive views of the body, I address my research question of how discursive and agential influences may shape participants' embodied experiences. I have also discussed feminist interpretations of the theories from Merleau-Ponty and Foucault, which provide insights for my analyses of the female sporting body. With Confucian concepts of the self, I interpreted Chinese female participants' interactions with others while experiencing pain and injury. Hence, to produce embodied and critical knowledges, I applied the theoretical framework formed based on all these theoretical concepts to the data analysis. In the next chapter, I introduce my ethnographic methodology and methods, which helped me to better understand the cultures in table tennis and waka ama in New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the reason that I chose ethnography as the methodology and my methodological process, including ethnographic data collection, ethnographic and thematic analysis, and the representation of the data through thick description, realist tales and creative analytic practice (CAP). In my actual practice, these methodological steps were not clearly separated but jointly progressed.

Ethnography enabled me to physically immerse myself in the cultures of waka ama and table tennis in New Zealand with which I was unfamiliar, and to learn how social and cultural influences may shape participants' behaviours and attitudes. During my 14 months in the waka ama fieldwork and 18 months in the two table tennis clubs, I gradually grew from an outsider to an insider in the clubs, gained my own experience of these sporting fields, established rapport with Chinese and Māori participants and developed new understandings of myself being-in-the-world-with-others in both sport and cultural contexts. My ethnographic data collection had four steps: 1) locating the two fields of study and informal participation in the clubs' activities, 2) ethical considerations in entering the waka ama and table tennis fields and Chinese and Māori cultural contexts, 3) entering the two fields formally and approaching potential participants and 4) collecting data via a two-stage ethnography and the follow-up semi-structured life-story interviews. I introduce the details of these four steps.

Also in this chapter, I explain the theoretically-driven thematic analysis loosely guided by the steps Braun and Clarke (2006) provided that I conducted during and after the data collection. The theoretical framework of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault and my research questions guided me to identify themes and form the structure of themes. Regarding the representation of findings, I mainly used realist tales, which are the traditional way of representing data. CAP and co-constructed narratives have been produced to show some Māori cultural practices and beliefs that have shaped waka ama paddling. At the end of this chapter, I evaluate my ethnographic study, based on a list of criteria proposed by James Clifford (1986).

Ethnographic Methodology

Since my epistemological belief was to produce critical and embodied knowledges, this research was situated in a critical-interpretivist paradigm. To choose a methodology that could fit in this paradigm and was suitable for answering my research questions, I located this research in qualitative research, which, in general, is “an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning” (van Maanen, 1988, p. 9). To highlight situated and critical understandings of Māori and Chinese female’s embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, I sought to use ethnographical methodology with Foucauldian and Merleau-Pontian theoretically-driven analyses. In this section, I discuss the rationale of adopting ethnography and, in later sections, I elaborate on the analytical methods and other methods that formed my research methodology.

Ethnography is traditionally an anthropological methodology to study culture. Literally, ethnography comes from two Greek terms, “*ethnos* meaning nation, and *graphia*, meaning writing” (Curtis & Curtis, 2011, p. 79) and ethno-graphy is “the writing of culture” (Atkinson, 1992, p. 5). Early anthropologists tended to provide comprehensive definitions of culture. For instance, culture is “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor, 1924, p. 1). Douglas (1985) defined culture as “the public shared collection of principles and values used at any one time to justify behaviour” (p. 67). Geertz (1973) argued that the comprehensive definition of culture, like Tylor (1924) proposed, actually “obscures a good deal more than it reveals” (p. 4). From a more individualised, subjective and interpretive perspective, Denzin (1997) suggested that culture is told and re-told by people. Hence, in this thesis I used ethnography to explore how Chinese and Māori cultures are told and re-told through participants’ narratives of embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury (Denzin, 1997).

In the past, anthropologists conducted ethnography by living in a foreign country with a group of local people for a long time, maybe a year or even longer (Hammersley, 2007). Ethnographic research also generally involves western researchers investigating the cultures of developing communities, such as Malinowski (1922) and Mead (1928) who conducted their studies among Pacific Islanders (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). A historical tension with ethnography was its strong association with European colonialism (Clair, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Tedlock, 2000), particularly the British Empire’s history of colonisation, since the British Empire needed to understand the cultures and people of colonies in order to rule and assimilate

them into British culture (Brewer, 2000). However, with theoretical influences from feminism, postcolonial, poststructuralism and postmodernism, researchers have used ethnography to reveal local struggles and marginalized cultures and societies (Hammersley, 2007). Ethnography was helpful for achieving my research aim, which was to challenge the dominant focus on white, Western, high-performance sportsmen in existing research by closely studying two groups of non-Western women and two non-Western sport cultures in New Zealand. Even though I applied Western theories and philosophies to data analysis, I integrated Māori and Chinese cultural understandings in the interpretation, which have the potential to broaden current understandings of the phenomena of risk, pain and injury in sport.

Fieldwork was the essential practice of my ethnographic research. Fieldwork requires ethnographers living within a community and engaging with local life (Howe, 2008). Nowadays in sociology, the practice of fieldwork heavily relies on participant observation and/or even in-depth unstructured interviews (Hammersley, 2007). Silverman (2000) even claimed that the core of ethnographies is “observational work in particular settings” (p. 37). Participant observation, involving active participation in the sport, alongside recorded field notes, observations and photographs, and semi-structured life-story interviews were the two prime forms of my ethnographic data collection. Fieldwork enabled me to immerse myself in Māori and Chinese cultures and waka ama and table tennis cultures to collect data around participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury in relation to their age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background. As I was the prime ‘research tool’ in the field, I also collected ethnographic data around my own embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury in these two sports. These data cohere with my epistemological belief of embodied and situated knowledges. Next, I introduce the four main stages in my ethnographic data collection process.

Ethnographic Data Collection

I carried out 14-month ethnographic data collection simultaneously in fields of waka ama and table tennis, and another four months only in the table tennis field. There were four steps of the ethnographic data collection, including 1) locating the two fields of study and informal participation in club activities, 2) ethical considerations, 3) formally entering the two fields and approaching potential participants and 4) conducting two-stage ethnographic fieldwork and life-story interviews. In the fourth step, I applied varied data collection methods, such as participant observation, field notes, life-story interviews and researcher-produced photographs.

1) Locating the Fields and Informal Participation in Club Activities

I conducted fieldwork in two table tennis clubs, one called NZTT (pseudonym) and Chunli's Table Tennis Club (real name⁹), and one waka ama club called Club Moana (pseudonym). I first introduce the fields of NZTT, Chunli's Table Tennis Club and then Club Moana.

Shortly after I embarked on my PhD study in New Zealand, I joined and played in NZTT due to my own interest in playing table tennis. Hence, before I started my research, I had already participated in activities in NZTT and come to know its long-term members, board members and the CEO, which was about a year earlier than I was formally introduced to Club Moana and waka ama paddling.

NZTT has a sport hall just for table tennis, containing about 20 standard tables. As a table tennis association, NZTT consists of a variety of sub-clubs and programs, such as a Sunday night university students' club, a morning club, evening round robin tournaments, coaching programs for trainees at different ages and a volunteer program teaching children with physical and mental disabilities to play table tennis. These sub-clubs and programs conduct activities on different days or times during the week. Before I formally began my data collection, I had joined and played in 1) the Sunday night university students' club, 2) the morning club and 3) the volunteer program. Each of these three clubs or programs had about 15 to 20 regular members. Later on, after I gained ethics approval, I conducted 18 months of fieldwork in NZTT by going to the sport hall at least once a fortnight. During that time, I continued my participation in the university students' club, the morning club and the volunteer program, and I also started to observe the coaching program. In the last 6 months of fieldwork in NZTT, I attended only the volunteer program weekly or fortnightly. I chose NZTT as a table tennis field, because Chinese players are the predominant ethnicity in all these sub-groups of NZTT. Moreover, in NZTT, the Chinese players have diverse backgrounds. For example, they are of different age groups, from young players to middle-aged and older players. Hence, they are a mixture of university students, working people in IT, graphic design, factory, grocery stores and freelance jobs, and retirees. They are Chinese immigrants from different countries or regions, who have been in New Zealand for a long time or only arrived recently. Some play table tennis at a high competitive level, and some play for fun. These demographic differences

⁹Li Chunli (name in the Chinese order, surname and then given name), the owner of the club, wishes to use her real name.

allowed me to explore the multiple influences on their experiences and perceptions of sport-related risk, pain and injury.

Apart from NZTT, I also joined Chunli's Table Tennis Club, following recommendations from a few NZTT members and because of Li Chunli's fame in New Zealand table tennis circles. In the early 1990s, Chunli retired from China's national team and immigrated to New Zealand. She represented New Zealand in four Olympic Games (1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004) and two Commonwealth Games (2002 and 2014) and won a gold medal, a silver and two bronze at the 2002 Commonwealth Games. Chunli coached the New Zealand women's table tennis team for the 2006 and 2010 Commonwealth Games. Now in her mid-fifties, she is still representing New Zealand at the high-performance level. Hence, her table tennis success in both China and New Zealand attracted players to join her club for training and playing. Chunli's Club is also located in Auckland but its size, in terms of the space and membership, is much smaller than NZTT. For example, Chunli's Club holds only four table tennis tables in a basement of a multi-sport hall. Nevertheless, members in her club also have diverse backgrounds, in terms of age, performance levels and immigration experiences. Some players attended both NZTT and Chunli's Club. I participated in the morning or evening activity in Chunli's Club weekly for three months. Next, I introduce the field of waka ama—Club Moana.

To find a suitable waka ama club for fieldwork, I took advice from my Māori advisor, Dr. Mera Lee-Penehira, who is a knowledgeable and experienced lecturer and researcher in Māori health, wellbeing, education and Kaupapa Māori methodology, as well as a long-time competitive waka ama paddler. Dr. Lee-Penehira suggested that Club Moana was a suitable club for me to join and conduct ethnographic research.

Club Moana is located beside a bay and close to the land of a local hapū [sub-tribe]. Some club members live on the local hapū land, their ancestors' place, while others do not. Coaches in Club Moana are unpaid and have their own full-time jobs. Members of Club Moana are all working people, in industries such as education, IT industry, civil service, business, public health, building and construction. In contrast, coaches in NZTT are hired and paid for their coaching, and Chunli ran her club as a business. Club Moana has three regular training sessions per week, on Tuesday evening, Thursday evening and Saturday or Sunday morning. In my first 12 months in the club, I usually participated in the training once a week. Then in my last 6 months, I attended training every two weeks. Next, I discuss my preparation before

entering the waka ama and table tennis fields and Chinese and Māori cultural contexts, including meeting the university ethics requirements and culturally appropriate preparation.

2) Ethical Considerations and Cultural Preparation Before the Fieldwork

Before conducting data collection, I obtained ethics approval from The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) (see Appendix 1 for letters, participant information sheets and consent forms) and gained permission from the CEO of NZTT, Chunli and the co-founder and coaches of Club Moana. Apart from complying with the university regulations, I also culturally prepared myself for entering the Chinese and Māori cultural fields in New Zealand. Hence, in this section, I mainly introduce my cultural preparations for interacting with Chinese and Māori participants.

I was relatively confident and comfortable to draw on my knowledge of Chinese culture gained from my own upbringing in China. However, Chinese female players that I met in clubs belonged to varied Chinese cultural groups, such as China Chinese, South East Asian Chinese (e.g., Chinese Singaporean, Malaysian and Indonesian), Hong Kong Chinese, Taiwanese and Chinese-New Zealanders. To appreciate the differences among them, I kept an open mind and curiosity to learn about their diverse dialects, folk cultures and experiences of playing table tennis, rather than judging their different opinions in comparison with my own experience from China.

Contrasting to my familiarity with the broad Chinese culture, I had never encountered Māori culture before. I started to learn about Māori culture through reading. I found varied guidelines for conducting ethical Māori research, such as the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Treaty) (Ministry of Health, 2014), cultural safety guidelines (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011) and Kaupapa Māori methodology (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1996; Smith, 1997). These guidelines were useful, but were sometimes confusing and discouraging for me as a non-Māori researcher and new to New Zealand. For example, different sets of Treaty principles have been generated by different national organisations and departments (Treaty Resource Centre, 2016), and traditionally, the application of kaupapa Māori research was governed by “being *Maori*, identifying as *Maori*, and as a *Maori* researcher” (Mead, 1996, p. 202, emphasis in original). To respect the definitions of kaupapa Māori methodology and research, I perceive my research as ‘research *involving* Māori’, which means that Māori are significant participants involved in different stages of the research, such as advisers throughout

the research, participants in data collection and readers of the thesis (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010; Powick, 2002). As I prepared myself to be a culturally and ethically appropriate researcher, I gradually felt that ethical considerations are more than filling in an application form for the university, but are contextually and personally meaningful to researchers and participants. Next, I discuss how I positioned myself in this research and my negotiation for a relationship with the Treaty and my responsibilities to participants, both Māori and Chinese.

Ethical concerns of non-Māori researchers conducting Māori research often cite the Treaty or Treaty principles to acknowledge the Māori-Pākehā partnership and ensure participation and protection (Hudson et al., 2010). The term Pākehā can be defined differently, such as “the non-indigenous settler population” (Smith, 1999, p. 6) or “settler-descendants of British origin” (Rata, 2010, p. 123). Smith (1999) asserted the Māori-Pākehā relation as “a colonial relationship” (p. 6). Jones (2012) pointed out that Pākehā or non-Māori researchers’ positions in Māori research “will always be tricky, contingent, uncertain and constantly under negotiation” (pp. 108-109). As a Chinese researcher in research involving Māori, I found my position even trickier. Even though in the contemporary New Zealand, terms like Pākehā and non-Māori are used exchangeably, these two terms may not automatically include or well represent Chinese settlers and those of Chinese-descent in New Zealand history or contemporary Chinese immigrants. Given the fact that Chinese has been rarely recognized and considered in the existing Māori-Pākehā relation, despite Chinese being in New Zealand since the late 1890s, to explore a Māori-Chinese relation is pertinent for me to understand my position in relation to the Treaty and research involving Māori. In the following, I explore the interaction between early Chinese immigrants and Māori, and contemporary Chinese-Māori relations, which gives me the confidence to study a culture other than my own, allows me to better understand my position in both Chinese and Māori cultural contexts and places my research in the larger context of New Zealand history and society.

Chinese-Māori relationships, according to Ip (2009), began in the late 1890s and witnessed friendship, “close affinity” and “estrangement and mutual wariness” (p. 149). The early interactions between Chinese and Māori mainly happened in working in rural agricultural areas, and these two groups harmoniously existed in what became a Pākehā-dominated Aotearoa since 1860 (Bedford, Didham, & Ip, 2009; Manying Ip, 2008, 2009; Lee, 2007; Treaty Resource Centre, 2008). Ip (2009) explained that the harmonious existence between Chinese and Māori was based on their similar cultural beliefs and practices. Both groups are

strongly attached to the land, honour ancestral spirits and places and emphasise kinship and extended family (Hauraki, 2009; Manying Ip, 2008). However, in modern times, Chinese immigrants' attitudes towards Māori have changed. Research showed that most overseas-born Chinese felt vulnerable and disempowered and were mindful and wary about Māori rights, given that Māori have special rights and are perceived to be at a powerful position in the ethnic hierarchy (Ip, 2009; Liu, 2009). From Māori side, in the mid-1990s, new Asian immigrants have been perceived as predators for land and natural and economic resources (Ip, 2009). Concerning the current mutual hostility, Ip (2009) argued that these two ethnic groups “perceive each other through a Pākehā lens” (p. 150). Scholars have also argued that biculturalism in New Zealand stimulates ethnic tensions and raises uncertainties for non-European immigrants about their places in the bicultural Treaty relationship (Bartley, 2010; Openshaw & Rata, 2007; Rata, 2005). Despite the recent tension, Māori and Chinese have shared cultural values and histories of racism in New Zealand (Manying Ip, 2008; Lee, 2007). Given the shared cultural values and histories, Ip (2008) argued that these two groups could be cultural allies. There is more and more evidence supporting Ip's (2008) argument. For instance, Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga [sovereignty] is a newly established activist group in Auckland that firmly supports Māori rights in New Zealand. In 2017, I worked as an interpreter in a two-day Māori-Chinese economic summit in Hawke's Bay and witnessed the commitments to cultural exchanges between China's companies and Māori iwi [tribes] alongside their business exchanges. Moreover, there are inspirational public figures in New Zealand who embody both Chinese and Māori cultures, such as Tyla Nathan-Wong (a Women's Sevens Rugby player of Chinese, Maori, European descent) and Meng Foon (a fluent Māori, English and Cantonese- speaking Chinese-descent mayor).

Jones (2012) suggested creating an innovative ethical relationship, which emerges from “the struggle, discomfort and energy of positive encounter” between Māori and non-Māori (p. 109). Based on Ip's and Jones' suggestions, in this research involving Māori, I found my position built on the friendship and tensions and shared cultural values between Māori and Chinese rather than the Māori-Pākehā relationship mentioned in prior studies.

Apart from reading ethical considerations about doing ‘research involving Māori’, I also familiarized myself with Māori culture by attending te reo Māori [Māori language] classes, and taking Dr. Lee-Penehira's classes on Māori health and wellbeing, and attending seminars on Māori issues in the university. However, Māori culture and protocols are not necessarily learned only from texts and classes. I also interacted with Māori people to learn their culture

by participating in Māori cultural activities, such as hui [meeting], pōwhiri [welcome ceremony on a marae] and kai [meal], and making friends with Māori students and staff in the university. To negotiate ethical cross-cultural relations, I also took Hauraki's (2009) concept of "[t]he 'chameleon' ability" (p. 226) into consideration, which emphasised a "sense of cohesion, acceptance and a capacity to walk in many different worlds" (p. 226). Such ability required me to anticipate an apprenticeship with Māori participants and remain open to a changeable and flexible position in the field, which was decided by the interaction and negotiation with participants in field as well as the inner structure of field, an approach that also applied in the table tennis fields.

To further find my place in research involving Māori and Chinese, I took insights from Bairner's (2012) advice to pay more attention to the value of the task than the researcher's legitimate cultural identity. The more I read about the existing Western-produced scholarship on sport-related risk, pain and injury, the stronger I felt the need for research investigating the experiences and situations of non-Western and indigenous people in non-Western sport cultures, and how the interplay of their cultural background, sporting culture, ethnicities, gender and age could affect their perceptions of risk, pain and injury. Furthermore, this research might help to promote understandings between Māori, tangata whenua [people of the land], and Chinese, one of the early immigrant groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. With these culturally appropriate principles, I formally entered the two fields and introduced myself and my research to members in NZTT, Chunli's Club and Club Moana. The ethical considerations were also practised in each of the following stages of my research.

3) Formally Entering the Two Fields and Approaching Potential Participants

In this section, I introduce the steps of formally entering table tennis fields—NZTT and Chunli's Club and the waka ama field—Club Moana. My formal entry into the fields began after my research ethics application was approved by University of Auckland.

To conduct research in NZTT, I first had a face-to-face meeting with the CEO of the association and gained his signed approval. During sub-club and program activities, I talked to approximately 40 members individually or in groups, explained my research procedures of a two-stage ethnography and life-story interviews and handed them participant information sheets and consent forms. Since most members in sub-clubs and programs of NZTT had known

me for almost a year ahead of the research, they quickly responded to my recruitment invitation and indicated their voluntary participation in the two-stage ethnography or/and its follow-up life-story interviews.

In NZTT, twelve Chinese members, both male and female, mainly from the morning club and the volunteer program agreed to participate. Male and female members were about in even numbers, because most of them are couples. Four female Chinese participants from the two-stage ethnography later became interviewees. One of the four interviewees, Anita, had a daughter who used to be a former junior elite table tennis player and she suggested that I also interview her daughter and hence I additionally recruited her daughter, Villa, as an interviewee. Additionally, during my participation in the Sunday night university students' club and observation of the NZTT's coaching program, I came to know two female Chinese coaches, Yin and Kaili, and they also agreed to be interviewees, making a total of seven interviewees (see Table 2). In Chunli's Club, since I was interested in Chunli's long-term experience in table tennis and the demography of members were similar to NZTT, I only invited Chunli to be a participant in both the two-stage ethnography and the life-story interview. I introduce the detailed demography of interviewees in the next section. Therefore, overall, I recruited 16 individual participants: 13 of whom were involved in both the ethnographic and interview stages; and 3 of whom were only involved in interviews.

Table 2

The Number of Chinese Participants from NZTT and Chunli's Club

	NZTT	Chunli's Club	Total
Ethnography*	7 females 5 males	1 female	13 participants in ethnography
Interview	7 females	1 female	8 participants in interview
Total	15 individual participants from NZTT	1 individual participant from Chunli's Club	16 individual participants

* These figures exclude me as a participant in the two-stage ethnography.

There are two big sub-groups of Chinese communities in New Zealand, the local-born, and “the ‘new Asians’ who arrived after 1987” (Ip & Pang, 2005, p. 338). Chinese participants, both female and male, in my research mainly belong to the second broad group. There are cultural nuances among the Chinese participants, since they are from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Mainland China and their first language is either Cantonese or Mandarin. Additionally, as I attempted to recruit participants from a wide age group, I did not set a strict age bracket. Hence, the Chinese participants in a range from their early 20s to late 60s.

To gain entry to Club Moana, I took a different approach. Dr. Lee-Penehira made the initial contact with the founder and a coach of Club Moana on my behalf. Since Dr. Lee-Penehira suggested that *kanohi ki te kanohi* [face to face] is a culturally appropriate and methodologically effective way to approach Māori participants, I visited the club to meet the club founder and the coach face to face, explained my research purpose and plan and delivered the information sheets and consent forms to them. After I gained their permission, I started training with the club and introduced myself to members during my training sessions.

At each training session, the number of members who turned up was between 10 and 20. There are about five couples in Club Moana, and generally there are more female paddlers than males. After my initial two months participation, one day at an after-training debriefing, I explained my research procedures to about 15 members, including the two-stage ethnography and the follow-up life-story interviews, and handed them participant information sheets and consent forms. For those who did not show up in that training session, I also posted the recruitment advertisement and uploaded forms on the club’s closed Facebook page. Within a month, 10 self-identified Māori members, both male and female, voluntarily agreed to participate in the two-stage ethnography. Five female Māori members from the two-stage ethnography continued to participate as interviewees (see Table 3). Therefore, overall, I recruited 10 individual participants: 5 of whom were involved in both the ethnographic and interview stages; and 5 of whom were only involved in the ethnography stage.

Table 3
The Number of Māori Participants from Club Moana

	Club Moana	Total
Ethnography*	6 females	10 participants in ethnography

	4 males	
Interview	5 females	5 participants in interview
Total	10 individual participants from Club Moana	10 individual participants from Club Moana

* These figures exclude me as a participant in the two-stage ethnography.

When I recruited waka ama participants, I also did not set a fixed age range. Most Club Moana members have participated in regional or national Masters women's and men's competitions (40 years old plus). Additionally, participants who were older and had long-term participation in waka ama might contribute more experiences and help me to deepen my understandings of how mana wahine and Māori tikanga [correct procedures] are embedded into waka ama culture. The waka ama participants in my research were all middle-aged (40-60).

In total, my research involved 26 participants, including 16 Chinese and 10 Māori (see Table 4). To be specific, 23 male and female participants were involved in the two-stage ethnography and 13 female participants agreed to be interviewed. Next, I explain detailed procedures of and methods used in the two-stage ethnography and life-story interviews.

Table 4

The Total Number of Participants and Participants in Ethnography or Interview

	Chinese (NZTT and Chunli's Club)	Māori (Club Moana)	Total
	16	10	26
Ethnography	13	10	23
Interview	8	5	13

4) Two-stage Ethnographic Fieldwork and Life-story Interviews

After I approached participants and obtained their permission, I began the two-stage ethnography in the table tennis and waka ama fields. Table 5 summarises the length of time I spent in the two table tennis clubs and a waka ama club.

Table 5

The Timeline of Conducting Ethnography in Table Tennis and Waka Ama Fields

	NZTT	Chunli's Club*	Club Moana
The first stage of ethnography	1 month (15 Dec 2014- 15 Jan 2015)	Not applicable	2 months (29 Jan 2015- 29 March 2015)
Second stage of ethnography	17 months (16 Jan 2015- 27 May 2016)	3 months (06 March 2015- 31 May 2015)	12 months (30 March 2015- 20 March 2016)
Total	18 months	3 months	14 months

* Since I only focused on Chunli in the field, I conducted a shorter ethnography over three months.

The first stage of the ethnography

In NZTT, the first stage of the ethnography was one month. During that month, I only focused on my own experience in club/program activities, in order to learn about the dynamics in NZTT. Since before the data collection I already had one-year of experience in NZTT, to view activities and players from a fresh perspective, I observed NZTT activities following Allen-Collinson and Owton's (2014) suggestion, by keeping an "an open, questioning, inquisitive mind-set and an attitude of wonderment" (p. 594). I used my body as a research tool and paid attention to my embodied experiences of playing table tennis and its feelings of confidence, excitement, tiredness, discomfort and minor aches and soreness. After I participated in the Sunday night club, morning club or volunteer program, I immediately typed field notes and self-reflections into my phone, while walking back home or to the university, when the waves of my sensuous-kinesthetic memories and emotion-motion feelings were still fresh and surging. Then, I revised and edited these notes into more organised journal entries on my computer. These field notes, self-reflections and journal entries are the data of the first-stage ethnography in NZTT.

Contrasting to my first stage of ethnography in NZTT, in which I was confident and familiar with table tennis techniques and rules and had already built rapport with Chinese players, I found myself disoriented in the waka ama context. I felt timid among club members

who had different ethnic and cultural backgrounds from me. My first stage of the ethnography in Club Moana took two months and this time gave me the opportunity not only to learn waka ama paddling, but also to meet people in club and learn from them the unwritten club principles and rules. For example, from coaches and other paddlers, I learned about how to conduct a safety check around the canoe and equip the canoe before launching it on the water. I also learned to cooperate with crew members to launch different types of waka and pull them back on shore and empty and tidy them up after training. I observed and practised Māori principles applied in the club: for example, always waiting for a paddler to say opening karakia [prayers] before on-water training, always keeping the nose of the canoe towards the sea when launching and pulling back, reciting the closing karakia with others after training, and stopping on-water training for three days if any person drowned in the nearby water area.

Nevertheless, by conducting waka ama and table tennis fieldwork almost at the same time, my experiences of contrast made the familiar strange. For example, as soon as I arrived at the table tennis clubs, I started helping to set up the tables and court barriers. I knew how to set up the table tennis equipment. However, in the waka ama club, I always waited until the coaches or other members instructed and showed me what to do. I had to learn how to cooperatively launch waka or pull waka back to shore, as well as how to ensure my physical and spiritual safety when entering or exiting the waka ama training. These contrasting experiences allowed me to realise that I have often taken for granted my knowledge of how to set up and play table tennis and how to appropriately interact with table tennis players.

The second stage of the ethnography

After the one-month first-stage in NZTT, I moved into the second stage of ethnography, in which my focus shifted onto participants who agreed to be observed and their interactions with me and others recorded in field notes. Twelve Chinese members of NZTT participated in this second-stage ethnography. Some of them preferred to use their real names and others preferred pseudonyms (see Table 6). To provide a level of protection, I did not identify which are pseudonyms or real names in the table below. They were all middle-aged (40-60) recreational table tennis players but some participants observed during the ethnography were over 60. For those who agreed to be interviewed (names in italics), I provide more demographic details about them later. I observed and noted their interactions with others in sport settings, emotions they revealed and their bodily and verbal responses to risk, pain and injury. Additionally, I took notes of our casual conversations and incidents that revealed their

perceptions of risk, pain and injury, health, wellbeing and the formation of their athletic, ethnic and cultural identities.

Table 6

NZTT Participants in the Second Stage of Ethnography

Male participants (pseudonyms)	Female participants (pseudonyms/names)
1. Deng	1. <i>Rose</i>
2. Gu	2. <i>Anita</i>
3. Joe	3. <i>Angie</i>
4. King	4. <i>Lai</i>
5. Lu	5. Emily
	6. Ley
	7. Sophie

With permission from the CEO of NZTT and members, I produced about 18 photos in NZTT. Photos captured the environment of the table tennis hall and members’ activities, which became another form of data. Photos in the thesis to represent findings are used with permission from those featured in the photos. Photos can create “a visceral relationship” between readers and research on physical culture (Rich & O’Connell, 2012, p. 104) and convey “embodied experience, emotions and performative practices that cannot be described equally well in writing” (Pink, 2008, p. 647). Some photos that contained obvious visual indicators of identities of members, I did not include as visual data in the thesis, but those photos were still helpful data, since they captured the “subtle or easily overlooked” details in the field for me to reflect upon (Phoenix, 2010, p. 96). Nevertheless, gathering and showing visual data by no means prioritized the sense of vision. As discussed earlier, human senses are not independent; one sensory experience may trigger other senses (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), so visual data triggered my multi-sensory memories for writing self-reflections and developing field notes into journal entries. I completed the ethnography in 12 months in NZTT, but I extended my fieldwork for

another 6 months to make a total of 18 months in NZTT to further clarify my observations and continue the relationship established with participants. Reflecting on the 18 months spent in table tennis clubs, my interactions with participants were not limited to the context of sport. I sometimes had yum char with a group of Hong Kong table tennis players and once sadly we all together attended a well-loved and respected club member's funeral. We established mutual understandings and trust through sharing these experiences and moments.

In Chunli's Club, since my focus was only on Chunli, the ethnography and a life-story interview were completed in 3 months. Chunli attended all her club activities and was always busy in the club, such as coaching teenage players and older players, organizing round-robin tournaments among members or practicing with her table tennis partner for The Oceania Table Tennis Championships. To find times to talk with her, I either went to the club before activities started or waited until club activities finished and talked to Chunli while helping her to set up or pack up the tables, nets, bats and court barriers. In both ChunLi's Club and Club Moana, I was involved not just in participating but also in setting up and putting away the sporting equipment, whereas this was not the case in NZTT where the tables and equipment were always there or moved around only by coaches and CEO.

By the time I started the second stage of ethnography in Club Moana, I was more familiar with the rules and principles and acquainted with more members, even though sometimes I was still unsure what the coaches were telling me to do. At this stage, ten middle-aged Masters level paddlers agreed to participate (Table 7). Among them, some preferred to use their real names and others preferred pseudonyms. To provide a level of protection, I did not identify which are pseudonyms or real names in the table below. For those who agreed to be interviewed (names in italics), I provide more demographic details about them later. I observed those ten members' performance in club activities. I also compared my demeanour with theirs and reflected upon my cultural identity and my prior sporting experience. Although I could retain tidiness after playing table tennis, in waka ama I was often soaked by sea water and rain and my bare feet were encased by mud and seaweed. Those reflective and comparative moments were what Chang (2008) called a "searching for understanding of others (culture/society) through self" (p. 49).

Table 7

Club Moana Participants in the Second Stage of Ethnography

Male participants (pseudonyms/names)	Female participants (pseudonyms/names)
1. Barrie	1. <i>Tichy</i>
2. Dave	2. <i>Arataki</i>
3. Ricky	3. <i>Sweet</i>
4. Wil	4. <i>Tania</i>
	5. <i>Conny</i>
	6. <i>Codie</i>

I also took photos in Club Moana before or after training sessions as visual data with the coaches' and members' permission. Since it was difficult for me to bring digital devices on the water, one day I invited a friend to a training session to take photos of me in club activities from the shore. Later, after that training, I directly emailed these photos to individual members and uploaded them to Club Moana's closed Facebook group page for members to download as a way of giving back to the club. My friend and I produced about 40 photos in the club. Since the majority of the photos contained significant indicators of the club's identity, I only selectively used two in the thesis to make certain points.

In Club Moana, I completed the two stages of ethnography in 12 months, but I extended my fieldwork for another two months, so I spent a total of 14 months in the waka ama club. This extra time in the field allowed me to deepen my understandings of the culture and dynamics in the club, keep revising my field notes and self-reflections, continue the friendship with participants and enjoy waka ama without the need for data collection. During encounters outside the club, such as having lunch together after Saturday or Sunday training, I shared more about myself with participants and participants also told me about their lives outside the club. Furthermore, I also wrote field notes about incidents with people in my daily life outside the clubs that helped me to better understand the cultural contexts. For example, the conversations with one of my housemates and two Māori women I met near a sacred spring made me realise that the location of the field can be very porous and who might be considered a participant can be flexible, especially when part of the methodology involves my own reflection. I reflect on

this realisation in relation to Table 8 below, which summarises the amount of time spent in table tennis and waka ama fields and ethnographic data produced in those fields.

Table 8

The Amount of Fieldwork in the Clubs and Ethnographic Data*

	Field visits	Hours of fieldwork	Volume of field notes	Photos
NZTT	43	125	43 entries, about 20,000 words	18
Chunli's Club	7	18	7 entries, about 6,000 words	13
Club Moana	30	90	30 entries, about 20,000 words	40
Total	80	233	80 entries, about 46,000 words	71

* These hours excluded the time spent outside the clubs.

Table 8 identified the hours I spent in the formal fields defined in the original methodological processes, namely the table tennis and waka ama clubs. However, as I started the ethnographic fieldwork, my interactions with participants took me to places outside the fields of the clubs, such as having meals at a café, a Chinese restaurant and a participants' home, and visiting and exercising in gyms. This time is not reflected in Table 8 above. In addition, I also encountered people who were not formal participants as defined in the original research plan. For example, I met Māori people when attending Māori events and met Chinese New Zealanders during gatherings with Chinese friends. These unplanned encounters provided me with valuable opportunities to experience and understand more deeply Māori culture and Chinese immigrants' situations in New Zealand, while furthering my thinking about the boundary of fieldwork and its constitution of participants. As an ethnographer, I stretched my ethnographies to contexts related to my original fields. I found my understandings of the fields were influenced by a more diverse range of people and places than I originally anticipated.

Reflecting upon my ethnographic methods, such as participant observation, I found my participant observation varied from participant to observer, and it was hard to distinguish the subtle differences between being observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer as Sparkes and Smith (2014) have identified. Further, my changing positions were not my own decision, but based on my interactions with participants in the fields as well as the inner structure of the fields. According to Charles (2008), ethnographers have to manage their positions between a “romantic participant” and an “empirical observer” (p. 141). I remembered that in the second stage of ethnography I was less an observer and more a participant in the clubs, because there were club activities that required me to show more commitment, engagement, seriousness and diligence. For instance, when I helped the table tennis volunteer program to organize the annual event for children with disabilities in NZTT, or trained with the Masters Women’s team who were preparing for the national waka ama championships, being a detached observer or a semi-detached observer-as-participant would have been inappropriate and irresponsible.

Regarding field notes writing as an ethnographic method, I found resonance in May Sarton’s (1995) comments on the value of journal keeping, as she stated, “what delights the reader in a journal is often minute particularities” (p. 79). The details and voices that I captured in the fields constructed the ethnographic “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, p. 10). However, I did not share Sarton’s (1995) opinion that journal writing is about being “objective” about what we experienced and examining experience by efforts “to reduce it to essences”, which contradict to her ideas of “minute particularities” (p. 79). The contents of my field notes and journal entries are subjective, partial, situated in my experience and reflect my research interest. Towards the end of the second-stage ethnography, I started to invite female Chinese and Māori participants to participate in the individual life-story interview. Hence, the time frames of the second-stage ethnography and life-story interviews overlapped.

Life-story interviews with female Chinese and Māori participants

Towards the end of the second-stage ethnography, I conducted a semi-structured life-story interview with female Chinese (8) and female Māori (5) participants who voluntarily agreed to participate. The individual life-story interview was up to 90 minutes and audio recorded. I prepared a question guide (see Appendix 2). In practice, the interview questions were semi-structured or unstructured. Generally, the life-story interview questions asked about participants’ sporting experiences at their different life stages and their memorable incidents of

excitement, pleasure, risk, pain and injury in sport. I also asked individualized questions to each interviewee based on my interactions with them during the ethnography. Individualized questions allowed me to closely follow up participants' life stories and experiences and further generate questions based on their replies. I explain the general procedures practised with all interviewees, as well as different practices used with female Chinese and Māori interviewees respectively.

The time and place for the interview was negotiated with participants. Interviews were conducted in the clubs, at participants' homes, on the university campus and in cafes and Chinese restaurants. Just as I found in the waka ama observations, some interviewees insisted on using their real names and others preferred pseudonyms. Yet, except for Chunli, to provide a level of protection, I do not identify which are pseudonyms or real names in the two tables below. After the interview, within one week, I sent the interview transcripts to interviewees' chosen email addresses. They were invited to correct, delete or add material to the transcripts. None of the participants changed their transcripts.

I interviewed eight female Chinese table tennis players, including four NZTT members, two NZTT coaches, a former junior elite player and Chunli (see Table 9). I interviewed Chinese participants using Mandarin and English, and participants answered questions in their preferred dialects and languages, such as Mandarin, Cantonese and English and sometimes a mixture of Mandarin, Cantonese and English. I transcribed their interviews verbatim. As to the Chinese transcripts, I selectively translated the relevant information into English.

Table 9

Demography of Individual Female Table Tennis Interviewees

Pseudonyms/ names	Immigrant generation & years of residency	Age	Level	Injury/pain
1. Villa	1.5 generation Mainland Chinese immigrant*	22	Former junior elite (primary and junior high school years)	Chronic shoulder and arm pain
2. Kaili	Mainland Chinese immigrant	23	Former junior elite (junior high	Chronic low-back pain

Pseudonyms/ names	Immigrant generation & years of residency	Age	Level	Injury/pain
	>5 years		school years), NZTT coach	
3. Yin	Mainland Chinese immigrant 3 years	23	Professional (China national level and international level), NZTT coach	Water on the knee
4. Chunli	Mainland Chinese immigrant >20 years	53	Professional (China national level and international level)	Shoulder injury, neck and heel pain
5. Rose	Hong Kong immigrant >10 years	Middle- aged (40- 60)**	Recreational (about 10 years in NZTT)	Tennis elbow
6. Anita	Mainland Chinese immigrant >10 years	Middle- aged (40- 60)**	Recreational (about 5 years in NZTT)	No injury
7. Angie	Chinese- Malaysian immigrant 11 years	58	Recreational (life- long player; about 10 years in NZTT)	Lower back pain
8. Lai	Hong Kong immigrant >10 years	In her 40s**	Recreational (about 5 years in NZTT)	Tennis elbow

* 1.5 generation immigrant are “school-aged children who migrate with their parents, identified as the ‘1.5 generation’” (Bartley, 2010, p. 381).

** These participants did not indicate exact age.

Five female Māori waka ama paddlers were interviewed (see Table 10). Even though one-on-one interviews were intended to be conducted, when I interviewed Conny, Tania joined half-way through Conny’s interview. Tania had already completed an individual interview with me but she was willing to share more, so her comments during Conny’s interview are also included. This situation and some commonalities across all interviews inspired me to create the co-constructed narrative as a form of data analysis, which I discuss later. These interviews were in English, but participants also used Māori words and phrases in their replies. Regarding the spelling and meaning of these Māori words and phrases, I confirmed with interviewees immediately during or after the interviews. I transcribed their interviews verbatim. Additionally, during the interview with Arataki, I took a photo of a painting in the space we were in because she used that painting to illustrate her experiences of pain and injury. During the interview with Sweet, with her permission, I took a photo of a decorated wall in her house, which illustrated her social life in the sport context. Later, in the findings chapters I included those two photos to illustrate their narratives.

Table 10

Demography of Individual Female Waka Ama Interviewees

Pseudonyms/ names	Iwi [tribal affiliation]	Age	Sport & Level*	Injury/pain
1. Tichy	Croatian-Māori	Late 40s	About a year in waka ama. Long-term dragon boat coach and racer	Dislocated ribs
2. Arataki	Ngāti Whātua	middle-aged **	Coaching and racing waka ama more than 15 years	Dislocated wrist and thumb. Torn rotator cuff
3. Sweet	Ngāti Whātua	middle-aged	Two years in waka ama. Long-term triathlete	Lower back pain and injury

Pseudonyms/ names	Iwi [tribal affiliation]	Age	Sport & Level*	Injury/pain
4. Tania	Ngāi Tūhoe	middle- aged	Coaching and racing waka ama for 9 years	No injury
5. Conny	Tainui	middle- aged	Coaching and racing waka ama for 10 years	Rotator cuff and shoulder injuries

* Some waka ama interviewees also do other sports. Interviewees were all competitors in waka ama Masters women's level (40 years old plus).

** Middle-aged is defined as between 40 and 60 years old.

Due to the prolonged period of fieldwork in NZTT and Club Moana, I gained more understandings of waka ama paddling and could resonate well with participants' narratives in the interviews. These resonances later became 'Ah-hah' moments or the "analytical surprise", when I sat at my desk reading the data (Koro-Ljungberg, 2016, p. 85). My growing understandings of the nature of table tennis and waka ama and participants' narratives were, like a waka ama participant once told me about paddling, a process of continued learning and growing. Next, I explain the steps of ethnographic thematic analysis, which I adopted to make sense of the data.

Ethnographic Thematic Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is suitable for interpreting the data to address my research questions and produce embodied and critical knowledges under the theoretical framework of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault. As Braun and Clarke (2006) argued, thematic analysis is flexible in application and independent of theoretical and epistemological assumptions. Hence, my theoretical frameworks can inform the search for themes. I named my data analysis as theoretically-driven ethnographic thematic analysis, due to the guidance of my theoretical framework and my constantly going back to the field to verify my interpretations of the data. I only applied this form of analysis to my textual data, field notes/journals and interview transcripts. As to photos, I did not analyse or use them creatively. I adopted "a realist approach" to photos, which means I used photos to facilitate the textual representation (Pink, 2013, p. 171). Next, I explain the

processes of producing themes through analysing textual data, which helped me to address the research questions.

Themes are the higher levels of “patterned response or meaning” in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). To identify themes, I modified Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step thematic analysis, “1. Familiarizing yourself with your data, 2. Generating initial codes, 3. Searching for themes, 4. Reviewing the themes, 5. Defining and naming the themes, [and] 6. Producing the report” (p. 87), into four steps. In the first step, I transcribed the interviews verbatim and read and re-read the transcripts in relation to research questions and theories. Second, as I read the transcript line by line, I wrote down a short and theoretical-driven description of the data extract. These descriptions were initial codes. For example, I coded data extracts using Foucault’s and Merleau-Ponty’s theoretical concepts (see examples in Table 11).

Table 11

Examples of Data Extracts and Initial Codes

Data extracts	Descriptions/codes
Our kaupapa is gaining the momentum and understanding. We’ve practised the rāhui from the time that we began and it is a tradition handed down to us from our father and from his father’s father.	Māori cultural discourse of water activities
Look at her, she is so skinny and little. Playing football would definitely break her arms and legs.	Racial discourse of body and the (un)suitable sport
I don’t ever remember when I didn’t have pain. I’ve played sports since I was 6 years old, so sprained ankles and I started to go to a physiotherapist at the age of 13. Pain is pain. It’s just a part of life.	Pain as a mode of being-in-the-world

Third, I sought the interconnections among codes and grouped similar codes together to produce and name sub-themes and themes. To identify initial sub-themes and themes, I used my research questions as a guide, to ensure they reflected diverse influences on embodied experiences. Fourth, sub-themes and themes were revised and refined based on my re-reading of data extracts and the cluster of similar codes. Nevertheless, these four steps of thematic data

analysis were not linear. In practice, I constantly went back to the original transcripts to check the naming of codes and to participants and fields to examine whether my naming of these codes and themes were appropriate.

Braun and Clarke (2006) pointed out that thematic analysis can represent the entire data corpus or only focus on particular aspects. Themes that represent the entire data give readers “a sense of the predominant or important themes” but lose “some depth and complexity”, whereas themes that identify particularities reveal nuanced details of a phenomenon, which can answer specific research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). In my revision of themes, I did not view these two categories of themes as contradictory. I attempted to produce themes that could outline an overall impression of sport risk, pain and injury, as well as address specific phenomena of under-researched non-Western experiences and perceptions of risk, pain and injury. Hence, I generated overarching themes to represent participants’ diverse expressions of risk, pain and injury. I also paid attention to particular experiences, such as Māori- or Chinese-culturally dependent views of risk, pain and injury. When I reported findings, I organised themes and sub-themes into waka ama- or table tennis-related. Hence, Chapters Five and Six focus on presenting findings and discussion of waka ama paddlers’ embodied experiences, and Chapters Seven and Eight on table tennis players. The similarities and differences identified from these two groups are illustrated in Chapter Nine. In the next section, I introduce the methods adopted to report the findings.

Mixed Forms of Representation: Realist Tales, Ethnographic Thick Description and Creative Analytic Practice (CAP)

Even though I discuss the representation of data after the data analysis, it was by no means limited to a later stage but was a continual practice throughout the research. My ethnographic representation contains three forms of writing: realist tales (van Maanen, 1988), ethnographic thick description (Geertz, 1973) and creative analytic practices (CAP) (Richardson, 2000; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). This mixture of writing styles assists my attempt to retain the descriptive tradition of phenomenology as well as reflect the critical perspective from a Foucauldian approach. Hence, I followed Atkinson’s (1992) suggestion of “bricolage” (p. 37) and Bruce’s (1998) suggestion of a mixture of genres in qualitative writing. In this section, I discuss the advantages of these two writing styles in representing findings and explain how I have applied them.

The realist tale is a standard qualitative reporting format. It was originally proposed by van Maanen (1988) with the characteristics of the absent presence of the author, quotations of participant's perspectives and the author's interpretive omnipotence. Sparkes (2002) stated that the realist tale is an efficient form of representation to link data back to theories. To illustrate my research findings, I applied concepts of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault to examine field notes and interview quotations. In sport and physical activity studies, the realist tale is a dominant qualitative representation (Sparkes, 2002). Nevertheless, in his review of studies of pain and injury in sportsmen's lives by Young et al. (1994) and Young and White (1995), Sparkes (1996) argued that using realist tales to represent findings worked to 'disembody' the participants' experiences.

To overcome this shortcoming of the realist tale, I modified the disembodied-researcher characteristic with more utilization of the pronoun 'I'. As I presented the ethnographic findings, I sought not only ways to translate participants' embodied experiences into text, but also how to present myself in the processes of textual writing. Rich direct quotations have been provided to support my discussion, since "well constructed, data-rich realist tales can provide compelling, detailed, and complex depictions of a social world" (Sparkes, 2002, p. 55). To better present the embodied experiences, I also adopted ethnographic thick description (Geertz, 1973) and creative analytic practice (CAP) (Richardson, 2000; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005), which I explain next.

A particular way of writing culture, as Geertz (1973) claimed, is via the use of "thick description" (p. 10). Nevertheless, Smith (2007) argued that Geertz's work did not strictly employ thick descriptions, since he did not use a lot of the local people's words but his own and occasionally, he generalized the local cultural or social traits rather than describe with nuanced and vivid details. To represent findings in the form of thick description that highlight cultural details from fields and female participants' embodied experiences, I weaved field notes with realist tales to show the context in which understandings of sports and sport-related had formed. Additionally, by inserting field notes that recorded my observations of and interactions with participants, I could give participants' voices in this thesis rather than reinforcing the researcher's omnipotent voice throughout the thesis. I also sought to use CAP ethnography to better retain participants' voices. As St. Pierre (2007) claimed that writing helps us to develop thinking that thinking alone cannot achieve, writing particularly evoked creative analytic practices (CAP) (Richardson, 2000; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) that shifted me from realist tales to less analytical but more descriptive representations. My ethnographic CAP contains

vignettes and co-constructed narratives, which aim to translate the researcher's knowing about the field into vividly telling the audience what happened in the field. Creating vignettes has been regarded as a useful step in initial raw data analysis and a descriptive way to present what researchers observed and experienced in the field to the audience (Ely, Vinz, Downing, & Anzul, 1997; Spalding & Phillips, 2007). Vignettes in this research were developed from my field notes and are shown in italics in the following chapters. Ely et al. (1997) pointed out that vignettes are "compact sketches that ... encapsulate what the researcher finds through the fieldwork" (p. 70). I especially created *snapshot* and *moving* vignettes (Spalding & Phillips, 2007). Snapshot vignettes are short descriptions to capture a person or event (Spalding & Phillips, 2007). I used snapshot vignettes purposefully to describe my training experience in Club Moana, characteristics of participants, the sporting environment and particular incidents. In comparison, moving vignettes are longer and can contain several short vignettes which record events that happened at different times. Moving vignettes are useful for showing the development of an event or a person's experience (Ely et al., 1997). A long moving vignette has been developed to illustrate my experience of evening and morning activities in Chunli's Club. CAP ethnography practices are also reflective methods, since ethnographers or researchers learn more about themselves through the process (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005).

In another form of CAP ethnography, I created co-constructed narratives about Māori cultural understandings of water safety in Chapter Five based on my field notes of waka ama paddling and transcriptions of interviews with female waka ama paddlers. This form of representation was inspired by creative analytic ethnography (Richardson, 2000), ethnographic fiction (Bruce, 2014), creative non-fiction (Tedlock, 2011), narrative vignettes (Barbour, 2011) and co-constructed narratives (Ellis, 2004). Like these researchers, who weaved their participants' narratives and field notes together to create a coherent text, I found similar qualities in my data, since there were shared and complementary narratives across interview transcripts, which were like conversational exchanges. To collate these narratives from different participants into co-constructed narratives can create the flow of a storyline. Through the process of writing co-constructed narratives, I gained a deeper understanding of Māori cultural beliefs and practices of water safety, in which human beings, history and nature are connected and considered. These co-constructed narratives were what Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) called "the crystal" (p. 963) or the crystallization of the phenomenon researched that reflects different dimensions of phenomena and gives us "a deepened, complex, and thoroughly partial understanding" of the research topic (p. 963). Additionally, co-constructed

narratives allowed me to legitimate participants' own voices alongside my analytical voice. This form of writing can also lead readers to focus on "what the experience meant to the speaker" rather than what it meant to the researcher (Bishop, 2008, p. 449). By writing co-constructed narratives, I acknowledged that knowledges produced in this research were co-constructed between the researcher and participants. Next, I discuss the evaluation criteria of my ethnographic research.

The Evaluation of My Ethnographic Research

To evaluate my ethnographic research, I follow a list of criteria developed by Clifford (1986) that coheres with the epistemology of situated embodied knowledges. Clifford (1986) identified six criteria that ethnographic research should be 1) located contextually, 2) rhetorically appropriate, 3) disciplinarily identifiable, 4) genre-specific, 5) sensitive to the politics of representation and 6) historically situated. I explain how I considered these six aspects in my research.

First, this research was located in multiple contexts. For example, my ethnography was contextualized in sport clubs (waka ama and table tennis), ethnic cultures (Māori and Chinese) and Aotearoa New Zealand society. I also considered the interrelations between these contexts, rather than viewing them as entirely independent social contexts. Nevertheless, the contextualization of ethnography affirms Clifford's (1986) claim that ethnographic truths are "inherently *partial*—committed and incomplete" (p. 7, italics in original). Hence, my ethnographic study of risk, pain and injury in table tennis and waka ama sport cultures and Māori and Chinese ethnic cultures may not be generalized to other socio-cultural contexts. Second, to remain rhetorically appropriate, I retained Māori words and Chinese expressions participants used. Third, this study is located in the sub-discipline of sociology of sport, which embraces both standard realist tales and more creative CAP writing practices and representational forms. The target readers of this ethnographic study are sociologists of sport, Māori and Chinese cultural groups and those who are interested in waka ama and table tennis. Fourth, having these readers in my mind, when presenting findings, I resorted to not only the standard representation (e.g., realist tales), but also to genres (e.g., vignettes and co-constructed narratives) that participants could access. I gave drafts to participants who indicated on the consent form that they wanted to receive them, and asked for their comments on my description of their sporting fields. Only two from waka ama replied and indicated their approval of my writing. I discussed face-to-face with some table tennis participants about the findings and they

also approved my interpretations. This procedure related to the fifth aspect, the politics of representation. Even though I claimed that ethnographic methodology helped me to gain an insiders' understandings of Māori and Chinese cultural contexts in New Zealand, it was participants' positive feedbacks that affirmed that my writing did not reinforce the otherness identities of already under-represented Māori and Chinese cultures in the existing literature on risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport. Sixth, based on my epistemological belief about the situated knowledge, the ethnography I produced attempted to reflect contemporary Māori and Chinese cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

To sum up, in this chapter, I explained ethnographic methodology and methods, which allowed me to immerse myself in exploring the dynamics in the sport contexts of table tennis and waka ama and in the cultural contexts of Chinese and Māori in New Zealand. In the next four findings and discussion chapters (Chapters Five to Eight), I present the evidence in the form of original textual data, quotes from field notes and interviews, and re-organised data, such as vignettes and co-constructed narratives, as well as visual data of photos. In the case where evidence came directly from field notes, I used (FN, date) at the end of the quote.

CHAPTER FIVE

DOCILE WAKA AMA PADDLERS AND PERCEPTIONS OF RISK

Introduction

Physical risk, the focus of this research, refers to those risks which have the potential to result in pain, injury, illness and even death. In this chapter, I illustrate that Māori female waka ama paddlers' experiences can provide culturally-rich and theoretically-based understandings of risk in sport or physical activities. Further, using evidence from waka ama, I critique a dominant representation of sporting risk which is rooted in male contact sports. This chapter has four sections to show different aspects of risk. They are 1) the nature of waka ama paddling and Māori women's embodied experiences of risk, 2) the docile paddling body and the ways to reduce risk, 3) the intersecting discourses of caution and risk and 4) the gendered and Māori cultural influences on understanding risk.

To analysis these aspects of risk, I applied Foucault's concept of disciplinary technology to elaborate the notion of the 'docile' paddler and how multiple disciplinary technologies help to control individual and collective risk in waka ama paddling. The multiple intersecting discourses, relating to sport norms and values, water safety, gender and ethnic culture, are also identified. I also employed Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology to investigate paddlers' agential actions of 'I can' and 'we can' and sensuous feelings of paddling techniques within their disciplinary practices.

Identifying the Risk in Waka Ama

The risk in waka ama can be attributed to the sporting environment of waka ama, which is normally on the sea, river or lake, and which contains uncontrollable factors, such as wind, tides, waves, currents, and undertows. To avoid unnecessary risks, before on-water training, members and coaches of Club Moana check onboard equipment following Waka Ama Safety Rules, to make sure there is a lifejacket per person, bailers, spare paddles, and white lights (in the evening) (Maritime New Zealand, 2011). Experienced paddlers pay attention to natural conditions, such as the weather, wind, and currents. For example, Conny explained the importance of being able to read the dynamics of the water:

I started paddling on the Waikato River¹⁰. It's flat, but it's hard. When you're running down, you're going with the current. When you come back up, you're fighting against the current all the time, so that's where you learn how to hold and paddle hard. That's a totally different dynamic to paddling on the ocean. Ocean is a lot lighter, and you get the enjoyment of the waves and the variety, while the river is either up or down, but it's still strong. If they open the gates of Taupo or Karapiro¹¹, the water was flowing faster, and you got whirlpools, so you've got to be able to read rivers and oceans. If you see a 'plop', that's a rock. If you see a whirlpool, you know when your tail or front hits it, it's gonna spin your canoe, so you got to have the speed to go through it.

The dynamic water conditions lead to dynamic risks in paddling. Paddlers who have the knowledge of various water conditions will not only paddle efficiently, but also paddle safely, avoiding the hidden dangers in the water. The following sections show how appropriate application of paddling techniques could to some extent reduce risks related to nature on the water. Nevertheless, nature in Māori participants' perceptions is not just a risky environment but an essential element of Māori culture and history. This point will also be elaborated in the following sections.

Technologies of Docility in Waka Ama Paddling

I use Foucauldian concepts of the docile body and disciplinary power to illustrate paddlers' responses to risk in waka ama. Discipline, as Foucault (1979) argued, "is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (p. 170). Paddlers' bodies are the objects on which disciplinary technologies work, by dividing the body into units, and creating movement in time and space (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Their bodies are also the corporeal sites that enable the waka ama disciplines to be applied. To use the concept of disciplinary power to analyse the sporting body, based on evidence from the fieldwork across the entire period, I identified five disciplinary techniques: appropriate techniques, waka fitness, spatial distribution on the waka, awareness of timing, and the system of command. These techniques shape bodies into well-disciplined and efficient paddling bodies, which respond to and reduce the risk on the water.

¹⁰ The longest river in New Zealand.

¹¹ Two lakes in the North Island, New Zealand that are used for water storage, have control gates to release water into Waikato River, and regulate the flow of water in the river.

1) Appropriate Techniques

The paddle and paddling techniques have changed over time. Tania, one of the coaches in Club Moana, remembered that in her early days of waka ama, the paddle was longer, and paddlers leaned their upper body far forward, and most people felt sore after paddling [FN, 10/02/2015]. She explained that now paddlers sit up straighter and only reach their paddles forward to the place where they feel powerful and comfortable [FN, 10/02/2015]. Hence, waka ama paddlers continuously relearn and reshape their paddling body positions with the updated equipment and techniques.

Coaches in the club stressed that the appropriate techniques help to prevent injury. This stress is supported by a study of multiple sports (i.e., Charlesworth, 2004) that poor training methods on a daily basis can cause injury. The following paragraphs are a vignette extracted from my field notes, which demonstrate the teaching and learning of appropriate techniques in the waka ama club.

Tania, one of the club coaches, and I stood in the shallow water, holding our paddles and waiting for our turns to get on a six-person waka, known as W6. While we were waiting, she suggested we keep practising the strokes. She showed me the appropriate technique that we were supposed to use in paddling. She began to twist the core and hips, as well as synchronize shoulders and arms in back-and-forth movements. To complete a stroke, we need to engage our core, hips, legs, arms, and shoulders.

Tania also suggested that off-water practices need to become a habit. She would do the core twisting while waiting in a queue in the supermarket. "I don't care about people thinking that I'm nuts. I blend the practice into daily life," Tania said. She insisted, "You've got to practise when you sit, when you're watching TV, and then when you get on the canoe, it will be more natural. But to wait until you come down to waka training, it's really not gonna work."

While we were talking and practicing, a male paddler on the W6 asked for a substitution, because he felt lower back pain and needed a break on shore. Tania said to him, "If you rotate your torso, instead of throwing your body back and forth, your back won't get sore. You could also get tired easily if you're constantly lunging yourself back and forth." Then she turned to me, "Technique is important. Getting the right technique is a way to avoid injury. Paddling is a sophisticated sport, eh?" [FN, 27/05/2015]

Tania's explanation of the right technique by synchronizing different bodily parts can be understood in Merleau-Ponty's (1962) words that the body is "not an assemblage of organs juxtaposed in space" (p. 98). The appropriate techniques allowed the paddlers to experience a "living connection" among bodily parts and "the synthesis of one's own body" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 205). Moreover, the right paddling techniques move the body as "a melodic whole with down and up beats, with its characteristic rhythm or flow" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 132). The subtlety of positioning arms, legs, and torso to make an effective stroke also echoes Foucault's (1979) conceptualisation that "[d]isciplinary control ... imposes the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed" (p. 152). Hence, a docile paddling body is being created through the process of embodying appropriate techniques.

A docile paddler not only acquires correct body positions but also corrects others' inefficient bodily movement and helps to reduce their pain and injuries in training. Therefore, disciplinary techniques minimize individual pain and injury and the collective risk on water. Tania helped me to understand the relation between techniques and collective water safety, by saying "Correct techniques are about being safe on the water. Whoever comes to training has the responsibility to keep each other safe on the water. It's everyone's responsibility." In this sense, docility is not mere compliance with regulations but actively taking responsibility for oneself and others.

In my observation, women tended to be more likely than men to adopt the correct whole-body techniques emphasised by Tania, which suggested an interaction between the disciplinary techniques and gender. Ricky, a male paddler, stated to me:

Men tend to 'muscle' the waka, while women use other approaches in paddling. Sometimes men could not resist paddling hard. Their strokes are like boom, boom, boom ... Women were born with those techniques. They are better than men in techniques. [FN, 26/02/2015]

In relation to Ricky's suggestion that there is a gendered difference in paddling techniques, Tania explained that it is because "men don't have to use all their bodies but women do". She gave an example of paddling while in early pregnancy; "When you got a belly out here [she pretended to hold a large pregnant belly], you have to learn to use all of your body to sit down and get up." The early pregnancy, according to Tania, does not necessarily weaken women's sport performance. Tania's perspective is reflected in Young's (1998a) observation that the

“bulk and weight” (p. 278) of her pregnant body did not obstruct her accomplishment of aims. This uniquely female embodied experience of paddling and the adaptation to the whole-body techniques are what Bigwood (1991) called “a female bodily wisdom and fleshy openness” (p. 68). In waka ama, the awareness of and flexibility in changing and refining techniques and skills is crucially important in the fundamental stages of becoming a docile paddler. In the following analyses, I demonstrate other dimensions of the disciplinary technology, and the paddlers’ conformity and resistance.

2) Waka Fitness

In a discussion we had about waka fitness being central to becoming a capable competitive paddler, Conny commented in her interview that:

Lots of people do think they can just come to train two days a week. But to compete, you have to do paddling off water, training, stretching, nutrition, like any another competitive sport. You have to do all of those. Unless you want to do a social team, just race and paddle.

Nevertheless, waka fitness is a disciplinary technique to reduce the individual and collective risk in all levels of paddling. As Tania stated, “Taking an unfit person on the waka is risky”. In this section, I illustrate what waka fitness consists of and how it decreases on-water risk.

Waka fitness is constructed in the waka ama context and built up through off-water workouts and diet. For example, most training I attended had off-water workout as a warm-up session. The workout could be short, like jogging around the club shed, and completed in 10 minutes. Sometimes workout sessions were around an hour, especially at the times preparing the Masters women’s and men’s teams for national competitions. The longer fitness-building workout combined HIIT (High-Intensity Interval Training), weight training, jogging and rowing machine workouts. Even though I had a few weight training sessions in the gym and started regular jogging, I still found it was very exhausting to complete the long off-water workout, as shown in a vignette below.

Today, Dave and his friend drove a pickup truck to bring weight plates, barbells and a rowing machine to the club. These gears were quickly offloaded onto a flat piece of ground beside the boat ramp. Tania and Barrie explained that in today’s warm-up session we were expected to complete 100 pulls on the rowing machine, 10 clean and press and a medium-speed

lap run around the club shed and its parking lot. Members quickly lined up in front of the barbell or the rowing machine. When my hands touched the handle of the rowing machine and pulled, I felt the high resistance from the machine. As I laboriously pulling the machine, Tania yelled beside me, "Quicker, quicker, people are waiting..." Off the rowing machine, I walked towards the barbell with sore arms. Dave and Barrie saw me coming and quickly removed all the weight plates from both ends. Feeling a bit confused, I asked, "Only the bar?" "Yes, only the bar," Dave confirmed. Putting my hands on the bare bar and trying to lift it, I was so surprised by its weight (later they told me the bar itself weighted 20kg). Dave and Barrie remained standing on my sides and held the ends of the bar to help me through the press phases. Just as I finished the tenth press and straightened up my trembling body, Barrie said, "Now, run the lap." [FN, 24/09/2015]

Before the on-water training, the soreness and pain from the warm-up workout had already accumulated in my body. After the entire training, my body was painful and tired, but such pain was considered to be 'good pain' by other paddlers. I complained to a 60-year-old male paddler that I hated feeling pain, and he said to me, "It's just the pain. It'll go away. It's nothing but you'll be better and stronger at last [FN, 19/02/2015]." Waka fitness aims to increase paddlers' strength and endurance via the so-called good pain. Good pain or positive pain is a state of injury-free fatigue, which elite sport participants intend to maximize for enhancing overall performance (Howe, 2004). As paddlers push their bodies through 'good' injury-free pain, they gradually become fit and consistent paddlers for either sprint or long distance, as well as capable of handling different situations on the water. Paddlers also become the subjects of disciplinary power; that which carefully measures and controls pain to increase "the subject's productive capabilities" (McWhorter, 1999, p. 179). In this context, the productive capability is the waka ama paddler's power and strength, and their physical competence to respond to changes on water.

Even though waka fitness is about physical strength, both male and female paddlers challenged the idea that being strong is the crucial element in paddling. After a training session, I apologized to the crew for my lack of power and strength. Tania replied, "You don't need big muscles. You need to use your whole body in paddling, to use the strength from the core and legs as well." However, the image of a muscular paddler is still a dominant discourse, as the vignettes below shows.

After I have trained with the club for several weeks, one of my flatmates squeezed my upper arms and teased me, “Do you have bigger biceps now?”

...

Once my Māori friend took me to see the sacred Wairaka Spring. Two middle-aged Māori women stopped cleaning the flax growing on the bank to greet us. After a round of pepeha [self-introduction], my Māori friend told them that I was paddling waka ama right now. Curious looks appeared on their faces. They walked towards me and gave me hongī, the traditional Māori greeting by pressing one’s nose and forehead to the other. One of them said, “Ka pai. You’re a paddler.” Then, the other reached her hand to grab my left arm, and pinched my upper arm through the thick sleeve of my down coat. I hoped she did not feel my thin arm. She said nothing, but I was awkward and felt she saw through me as a fraud. [FN, 01/08/2015]

This vignette reflects the public and my internalised discursive belief that a paddler should have strong and muscular arms. Even though I knew that the appropriate technique with moderately good fitness was enough for me to cope with the weekly training, I still felt guilty for not having big biceps.

All the female participants interviewed used diet as a disciplinary technique to gain waka fitness. Also during my fieldwork, I observed that after training, if we had lunch together, before eating these female participants would drink a bottle of protein shake made from small packages they brought with them to the club. Tania and Barrie always prepared their own high-fibre and high-fat muesli with oats, nuts and seeds. During the interview, Conny was drinking a chocolate-flavoured protein shake, while explained that controlling food intake is necessary before and after the training, “You need to have a protein shake afterward... you have to know what your body wants.” Once after a Sunday training, I had lunch with Tichy and I talked about how difficult it was for me to cope with the intensive training and how I needed a long rest to recover from soreness [FN, 05/07/2015]. Tichy shared her experience with me that staying hydrated and taking supplements, such as BCAA (branched chain amino acids), protein and minerals were very important to help muscles to recover from intensive training [FN, 05/07/2015]. In the interview, Tichy further revealed that she was also on a disciplined “high protein, high fat” diet to maintain a quick-recovery and a strong paddling body, as she explained:

Four times a day, I will have avocado and chocolate. Helps to sustain energy and make sure your muscles get fed, because if you're overloaded, you'll be very tired. And your muscles wanna go 'feed me, feed me'. You got to listen to it and respond to it.

From Tichy's description of listening to her body's needs, she did not use diet as a way to fix the body-object but saw her body as an agential subject. Tichy also became her own guardian within the panoptic mechanism surrounding around the female sporting body. This includes training regimes, weight management, the regulation of the sporting female image, and the paradoxical pursuit of the slender and toned bodily ideals (see Chapman, 1997; Duncan, 1994; Heikkala, 1993; Markula, 1995). However, Tichy's diet is different from the women's weight-loss body management approaches revealed by studies of female rowers (Chapman, 1997) and seen in women's fitness magazines (Duncan, 1994). The "lean, taut embodiment" is still the stereotypical image of athleticism (Throsby, 2015, p. 770). However, Tichy's purpose in controlling her diet is to maintain a strong and healthy paddling body, rather than to conform to an image. Tania and Conny pointed out that waka fitness can be achieved by a range of body shapes and sizes. In the club, even though all members looked taller and stronger than me, their body shapes were actually varied. There were muscular men who had years of weight training, trimmed and toned men, as well as male paddlers who had obvious big bellies. As for female paddlers, there were some tall women, while some were about my height (around 160 cm). Most female members had thick waists and thick and long limbs. Their perception of fitness serves as a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse of the ideal feminine body, and does not simply embrace the 'normal' and 'ideal' body shape and ignore the diversity of bodies excluded by such criteria.

Waka fitness increased waka ama paddlers' ability to mitigate the risk on water. To some extent, it empowered female paddlers' athletic performance through fitness regimes and diet. Therefore, the intersecting disciplinary and agential practices are identified from female paddlers' embodied experiences of waka fitness.

3) Spatial Distribution on the Waka

Waka ama can be regarded as a disciplined and functional site, in which the different seats in six-person or twelve-person waka are examples of "*partitioning*" (Foucault, 1979, p. 143). Partitioning indicates a disciplinary and analytical space, which distributes each individual or body into controlled spaces, and aims to "know where and how to locate individuals ... to be

able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits” (Foucault, 1979, p. 143). Hence, partitioning on the waka means dividing the disciplined unity (i.e., waka) into sections (i.e., seats), and distributing paddlers to different seats based on their skills, strength, and experiences.

Due to my lack of paddling experience and waka fitness, I was not allocated to seat one or two, which are reserved for experienced paddlers with a good sense of rhythm and consistency. Seats three or four are the ‘powerhouse’ of the waka and the place of strong paddlers, so my usual place was seat five (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). This is immediately in front of the coach’s seat, so I could easily hear instructions.



Figure 3 Five crew members on a W6, paddled on one side (Seat one was empty. I was at seat five, the second seat from left).



Figure 4 *Five crew members on a W6, paddled on alternative sides (Seat one was empty. I was at five, the second seat from the right. Seat two and four paddled on the same side, while three and five on other side. Seat six, the steerer, was on my side to compensate for my lack of strength.)*

The seat numbers are not in a hierarchy of importance, but are a pattern of responsibilities. For example, I started paddling at seat five but later on, when other new paddlers joined the club and occasionally I was assigned to seat four or even one [FN, 19/03/2015; FN, 02/06/2015]. Sweet, an experienced paddler, explained the responsibilities attached to different seats:

My role at [seat] one is to create a rhythm for the crew to be able to back me up. Seat two's role is to support number one and then seat three's role is to call the hups¹² or be able to put in a bit more power, energy. Seat four the same. Seat five, their role is to support seat six. So everybody got their roles in the waka, and that's why I really enjoy waka. There is a time for me to stop thinking about me and start to think about we, cause waka is about we, until you get into a W1 [single-person waka].

Therefore, different seats clearly distribute paddlers' roles and responsibilities on the waka. Individual bodies seem as parts of the "multi-segmentary machine" (Foucault, 1979, p. 164). The interdependence of different seats strengthens the function of the waka-machine. Recalling her effort to make a W6 turn around a buoy in a national race, Sweet said, "Even if you think you're the sole person responsible for something at [seats] one and two, what three and four

¹² A call for paddlers to switch side of paddling. Upon hearing 'hup' or 'hut', paddlers do one more stroke, and then lift their paddle blades out of water, and reach the blades into water on the other side of the canoe.

and five were doing still impact on whether the waka can go around.” Regarding the obligations attached to seats, Tania corrected the common belief that it is seat six or the steerer’s responsibility to keep the waka running straight. She said, “The steerer does not keep the waka straight. The paddlers do. What the steerer does is to correct the errors that paddlers are making.” Arataki also confirmed in interview that if a disciplined crew do what they are supposed to be doing, and then the steerer can focus on using the currents, the tides and the winds to move the canoe more efficiently.

The disciplined technique of spatial distribution on the waka is to maximize each paddlers’ different advantages and strengths and make the team work effectively and efficiently. An effective and efficient crew can minimize the risk on water and deal with dynamic risk situations, such as suddenly changing weather conditions. In the next two sections, I illustrate the timing of movements and the system of command respectively. These two disciplines help to reduce the risk by strengthening the collective paddling.

4) The Awareness of Timing

The awareness of timing is a discipline relating to collective water safety. Coaches claim that timing is the crew’s willingness to work together and adjust to changes together. Missing the timing is seen as an undisciplined behaviour and attitude, because it brings risks to the canoe and its crew. For example, Arataki pointed out the consequence of a crew out of sync on a double-hulled waka (Figure 5), which is two canoes connected by two kiato [cross arms]:

The structure of a double-hull waka requires the crew on both canoes to stroke at the same time or otherwise two canoes will move at different times. If the canoes are opposing so much, one is going one direction and one is going the other. The taumanu [thwart], which is the piece or the structure that the kiato [the cross arms that connect the hull to the outrigger] actually sits on, has a potential to be damaged. ... It’s the kiato that connects the two canoes. The strength from the opposing canoes can break the kiato. If you break up the kiato on the double-hull, the canoes sink.

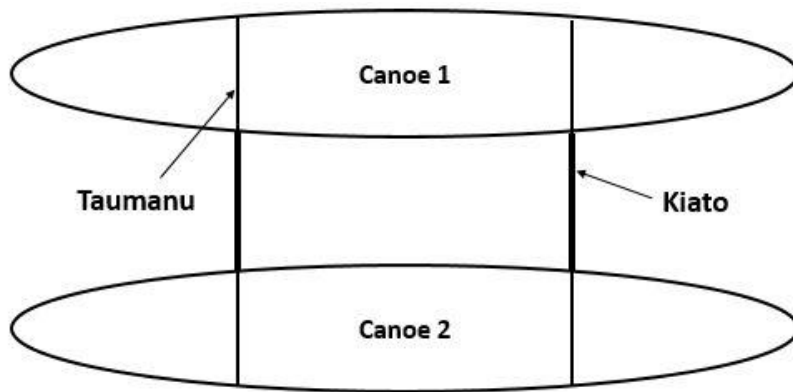


Figure 5 *The structure of a double-hulled waka (W12) (researcher created image).*

When I asked Conny which is more important in paddling, timing or power, she asserted that the former is more important:

Lucen: You're strong, not a problem for you [to paddle with males].

Conny: But we don't need strength, you need timing. Timing is the main key. Timing and flow in the canoe. You can be as weak as anything. You can be as strong as anything and have no timing, so those big bodybuilder fellows, you put them in and they blow out like three sets because they're all just strength ...

Disciplinary timing can be seen as “a collective and obligatory rhythm, imposed from the outside” (Foucault, 1979, pp. 151–152). To cultivate the disciplinary timing of paddling, each body copies the bodily movement in front of it. A drilling method, ‘run with the rope’, was used in the club to increase the crew’s sense of togetherness. Members jogged on alternate sides of a rope, one hand holding onto the rope, and each stepping forward at the same time. Initially, the group moved as individuals, but the hands on the rope sensed the tension of the rope and accordingly, each person adjusted their jogging speed or stride length to move together at the same rate [FN, 08/10/2015]. Nevertheless, this training method also indicated that disciplinary timing does not preclude the body as an agent or a body of “I can” (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1999, p. 110), since to run at the same pace, individuals needed to actively feel the pace and constantly adapt bodily movements to different conditions. In this case, disciplinary timing also had been internalised into individual paddlers’ bodies and, hence, it was no longer merely “imposed from the outside” as Foucault (1979, p. 152) suggested. Moreover, a body of ‘I can’ and paddlers’ bodies of ‘we can’ are reflected in an example of sensuous responses towards the timing.

As a new paddler, I found that my visual sense was crucial for me to keep the timing. Even when we paddled near the Auckland CBD, around a scenic island, or by a rising full moon, I did not dare to look at the scenery [FN, 09/04/2015; FN, 02/08/2015]. Tania agreed that if one took a look, one missed what the crew was doing, subsequently missing out the correct timing of the next paddle stroke. However, as I paddled more in the dark winter evenings, I realised that my other senses could also help me to stay in the rhythm. The hiss of the pulsing water becomes the aural timing, and the rhythmic cadence of the hull across the sea becomes the tactile timing. Merleau-Ponty (1962) noted that “[t]he body is borne towards tactile experience by all its surfaces and all its organs simultaneously, and carries with it a certain typical structure of the tactile ‘world’” (p. 317). My embodied experience revealed that vision and touch are equally important in implementing the disciplinary technique of timing. This finding reflects how Merleau-Ponty (1968) discussed the intertwining of visible and the tangible feelings:

[E]very visible is cut out in the tangible, every tactile being in some manner promised to visibility, and that there is encroachment, infringement, not only between the touched and the touching but also between the tangible and the visible, which is encrusted in it, as, conversely, the tangible itself is not a nothingness of visibility, is not without visual existence. (p. 134)

In waka ama paddling, the timing is found in the ‘encroachment’ and ‘infringement’ from hearing the splashing of the paddles, watching other paddlers’ movements and kinesthetically sensing the waka’s response to the interplay of wind, waves, currents and paddles. The timing becomes subtle sensuous feelings, in which “the operations of different parts of the body appear equivalent” and my body becomes “the unity of an ‘I can’” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 314).

Apart from reducing the risk on water, paddling in time with both the crew and the waka can also be a pleasant experience shown in a vignette below.

When we circled Browns Island, Tania instructed, “Change to long and deep stroke. Feel your strokes, like meditation”. After the change, our strokes felt so easy, and we smoothly skimmed the water surface effortlessly. “We’re in flow,” Tania said. In a jubilant mood, she exclaimed, “We fly!” If that particular state of movement was flow, whether it was the air flow, the water flow or the natural flow, I felt peaceful and contented in it, a calmly meditative bliss sweeping across me. [FN, 02/08/2015]

Mastering the disciplinary timing and being able to experience the moment of flow, allowed me to gain a deeper and “visceral” understanding of waka ama, which I could share with participants about a particular paddling moment (Denzin, 1997, p. 46). I explored the disciplinary technique of timing using both Foucault’s and Merleau-Ponty’s theoretical tools and revealed that the paddling body is both a disciplinary docile body and a sensuous agential body. I continue to explore the docile paddler and collective safety in the next section.

5) The System of Command

Foucault (1979) defined the system of command as a series of signals to mobilize movements and activities. The command needs to be brief and clear and “does not need to be explained” (Foucault, 1979, p. 166). During training, commands from the steerer, skipper or coach on the canoe are concise calls, such as set up, hoe, hup, power, short, and hold, which all paddlers have to respond to. Conny emphasised the importance of following the commands:

You really have to listen to what the steerers want, because they can see everything. And you just have to remember to do your job, those you have been asked to do, or otherwise the whole thing goes out ... So you have to really trust that person at seat six, and then everyone needs to know what they’ve got to do. It just gets one person not to play the game to put us all in jeopardy.

From the coach’s perspective, Tania explained why following commands is relevant to reduce risk on water:

When a boat moved closer to the canoe, all that I will say is “next change is power up”. You don’t know why you have to suddenly do that. You don’t know what it is. You just have to listen and do what you’re asked. There is a reason.

The system of command demands quick reactions from the recipients (Foucault, 1979). To avoid collision, as Tania illustrated, immediate responses from the crew are needed. Even if the command may not be what paddlers expect to do, no negotiation takes place between paddlers and the steerer. From a steerer’s view, Conny explained, “If seat six asks for something and you’re thinking something else, do what they say, doesn’t matter what you think”. Giving commands is the steersperson’s or the coach’s right and responsibility, while following commands is the paddler’s obligation. However, in special circumstances, a command can also come from a paddler. Conny described such a situation:

Seat one can see something coming, and they have got to tell them or react. Seat one may see a rock, but the seat six might not see it. It's about the whole crew, a whole crew thing. Not just sitting there paddling for the sake of paddling, doing the motions.

Conny's example shows that paddlers, the seemingly passive followers, can also articulate authoritative command. This example illustrates how "[p]ower comes from below; that is, there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations, and serving as a general matrix" (Foucault, 1978, p. 94). Both coaches and fellow paddlers are docile paddlers, whose experiences of risk have been shaped by the disciplinary technologies.

The five dimensions (appropriate techniques, waka fitness, spatial distribution on the waka, the awareness of timing and the system of the command) of docility have particular relevance to reducing risk on water at individual and collective levels. While I examined the five dimensions, I was also aware that disciplined sports participants are not passive recipients but critically, creatively and reflectively responded to the disciplinary techniques. Foucault (1980c) stated that "[d]isciplines are the bearers of a discourse" (p. 106), and the analysis showed that docile paddling bodies are the bearers of the discourses. In the next section, I illustrate the intersecting discourses of caution and risk in waka ama paddling, and how the docility is also created within Māori cultural discourses and New Zealand discourses of water safety.

“People’s Lives are in Your Hands”: The Co-existing Discourses of Caution and Risk Taking

In this section, the evidence presented was primarily based on interviews with three female club coaches, Conny, Tania and Arataki, and some of my observations in the club. From these data, I explore how different discourses have shaped middle-aged female Māori waka ama paddlers' experiences and perceptions of risk. I identified two seemingly contradictory but co-existing discourses, the culture of *caution* and the culture of *risk*. The interplay of these two discourses indicates taking risk in a controlled manner. In particular, the cautious attitude in sport has been largely ignored in earlier research, which has primarily focused on young Western male high-level athletes. The dominant discourse of masculinity has worked to silence and marginalize the various ways of expressing and using the body in sports (Pringle, 2003, 2008). Nevertheless, findings based on my observations showed that the articulation of pain

and injury associated with the culture of caution was not a marginal discourse in the club. The finding of the culture of caution supported my argument that to enrich our understandings of sport-related risk, we need to value and explore sport participants' diverse social identities and their levels and types of participation, in this case, serious recreational middle-aged female Māori waka ama paddlers.

The culture of caution was frequently observed in the communication of injury or illness between coaches and fellow paddlers. Coaches discourage training with injury or illness, which aligns with the Maritime New Zealand (n.d.) ruling that the kaihāutu [skipper] or steersperson needs to know the crew's medical conditions. During the fieldwork, I heard coaches saying that members apologized for not coming to training because they had asthma attack before the day of training, and saw that members posted their apologies for being unable to join training on the club's closed Facebook group due to their workplace injuries. Once, I saw that a female paddler discussed her asthma condition with Tania and then took her inhaler on board the waka [FN, 26/07/2015]. When I discussed with Conny about what I had observed, during the interview, she supported these cautious practices as a practice of safety:

You need to let your team know before you go on the water, if something's wrong. Like [before] we went out in rough water and we're doing water changes¹³ as a trial and I said I've got a sore shoulder. It's too dangerous. If we had a flip, you could not get yourself back in the canoe. It's about honesty.

Conny recalled that in a W6 race, one paddler's actions left the whole crew at risk:

One of the girls jumped out¹⁴, because she was fatigued and she wasn't ready for the race. [This] left five of us, so you still paddle home, 9 ks, because you're a team still. You just still back your mates up and you still paddle as hard as you can ... It's about committing to something and doing it all the way no matter what, because it's your life there, and their lives. It would be nothing worse than going out there, if you lose anybody.

¹³ Water change: In a race using a W6, changing paddlers (3 in, 3 out) happens on the water while the W6 is moving forward. Three paddlers jump into water, and three paddlers, waiting in water, climb onto the W6 to fill in the seats.

¹⁴ This person was picked up by the chase boat.

Paddling with a crew, one's physical or mental condition is no longer an individual risk. Conny illustrated that paddling with a crew is like being in a relationship:

When you commit to something, you make sure you see it through. . . . It's like a relationship, if you commit to something, you either do it all the way or you just don't do it at all. So when you are in the canoe, you commit to your friends, because that's your life. If . . . there is a big wave and there is something going on, you have to be there for your mates in the canoe no matter how bad it gets.

Conny, Tania and Arataki, have all expressed the pressure to ensure safety during the training. For example, Arataki asserted:

I'm a strict coach. I just don't tolerate poor performance and the lack of respect for the ocean. I don't tolerate unsafe practices. So when I lose it and get angry, it's generally because of somebody's behaviour, action or inaction, has a potential to cause unsafe [situations].

Conny also said sternly, "Any wrong movement and the waka flips over, and someone drowns, and it's on you. The investigation is on you". Similarly, Tania stressed that:

People's lives. People's lives are in your hands . . . You can't just go and paddle. You have to learn how to paddle properly, so you can handle any situation . . . Because your life is in my hands, and everyone else's life is in your hands.

The situations above described by participants reflect the co-existing risk-taking and cautious attitudes and behaviours, in which paddlers keep participating in waka ama even with the awareness of the persistent existence of the possibility of losing their own or others' lives. This situation can be regarded as the culture of co-existing caution and risk-taking in waka ama. Participants' perception of risk-taking contains but goes beyond the culture of risk identified and discussed in extant studies. For instance, participants tended to equate risk with the worst possible outcome, the loss of life through drowning. In contrast, in the sociology of sport, the culture of risk is more commonly individualized and defined as "[a] dilemma" (Nixon, 1993, p. 190) that:

teaches them [athletes] to accept risk taking in sport and to minimize or ignore pain and injuries as much as possible, but it does not protect them from the physically, socially,

economically, or emotionally debilitating or disabling consequences of chronic pain and serious injuries. (Nixon, 1993, p. 190)

Safai (2003) summarized the culture of risk as “the unquestioned tolerance of pain and injury in sport” (p. 128). Although these definitions of risk culture considered risk-taking as externally-imposed and self-internalized, the external factor was mainly the pressure from various people involved in sport, such as coaches, teammates and parents of athletes. Omitted was the uncontrollable nature of the sporting environment. The fatal risk in waka ama is not commonly anticipated in activities taking place in sporting spaces, such as soccer (Roderick et al., 2000) and university sports (Charlesworth, 2004; Safai, 2003). Interestingly, these two kinds of risks were revealed in Tania’s comparison between rugby players and waka ama paddlers. She said, “All Blacks got nothing like ... what we do ... but they got all the attention. They don’t have the life of each other in their hands when they play this sport. Not like us”. Tania challenged the dominant and superior position of men’s rugby in New Zealand sporting culture by questioning the nature of risk in rugby. In doing so, she raised a voice from the margins of the sporting world (Bruce, 2013, 2014).

From the participants’ narratives, we can see how risks in different sports have been socially constructed with meaning and significance. Donnelly (2004) pointed out that the culture of risk is “a useful shorthand” (p. 33) to synthesize the prevalent normalization and acceptance of injuries and even death occurring in sports, but this concept has also been challenged by the idea of safety in sport. The finding of female waka ama paddlers’ acceptance of and cautious attitudes towards risk provide us with a complex contextualization of risk and the responses to it. In the next section, I explore the gendered implications and Māori cultural influences in female waka ama paddlers’ perceptions of risk and practices of water safety.

The Gendered and Māori Cultural Implications in the Discourses of Water Safety

I begin this section with a conversation with Conny and Tania about the relation between being women and Māori and the risk on water:

Conny: On the [Waikato] river is terrible. On river, if you flip, you’re gone. There are so many undercurrents.

Tania: But you won’t die, you are a woman.

Conny: Yeah.

Tania: They just found another man the other weekend. It only takes men, not women. The river doesn't like men.

Conny: All women who died in the river have either died before they got in there or on impact. If you go back to the history of who were those people who have died in the Waikato River, you'll find the majority were the men being taken.

Lucen: Is there a reason for that? Or is it a myth?

Conny: The taniwha [mythical water spirits or creatures] is a woman, so 'he piko, he taniwha'. At every bend, there is a taniwha, a kaitiaki [guardian]. It's a female.

Tania: So you just say a prayer before you go out there. That's why we do karakia.

Conny: If you ever feel something is not quite right when you're paddling, you do a karakia again. You might not know what it is, but you could be going over tapu land, someone could have died, or it could be a sunken ship. Anything could be underneath you that you're paddling on, and you just don't know.

This conversation illustrates an intersection of gendered beliefs of drowning risk and Māori cultural practices of water safety and strongly supports my argument that sociological investigation of risk, pain and injury needs to venture beyond the existing Western male-dominated perspectives and explore a broader interaction of factors, such as gender, culture, ethnicity, types of sport and sport participation. Since the experiences of risk are culturally and contextually dependent (Frey, 1991; Messner & Musto, 2015), Pringle (2016) argued that drowning prevention skills and strategies and socio-cultural and environmental understandings of water and water activities are all important to deal with water-related risk in the New Zealand context. Hence, to further interpret Māori female waka ama paddlers' perceptions of risk in water in the New Zealand context, I focus on discussing two factors, gender and culture.

Some sociological research on sport also supports Conny's and Tania's statements. Messner (1992) concluded that "the internal structure of masculinity" drives male players to endanger themselves in sports (p. 74), foreshadowing the general observation that males tend to overestimate their abilities and underestimate the risks associated with their activity on the water, compared to females (Water Safety New Zealand, 2017). It is to what Moran called

these “dangerous masculinities” that he attributes the disproportionately high rate of male drowning death (Moran, 2011, p. 264).

Conny referred to the Māori tale of taniwha to interpret the higher number of male drowning cases. Statistically, in 2016, 90% of Māori drowning cases were men (Water Safety New Zealand, 2016). Furthermore, the 2016 statistics demonstrated the over-representation of Māori in drowning fatalities in New Zealand. Māori, 14% of the New Zealand population, made up 21% of the drowning deaths (Water Safety New Zealand, 2017). A similar situation was found in Canada, with the Aboriginal population accounting for 3% to 5% of the country’s total population, but representing 10% of drowning fatalities in water-related activities (Giles, Strachan, Stadig, & Baker, 2010). An irony can be seen between the statistics and the Māori traditional and cultural attachments to the sea: for example, gathering kaimoana [seafood], and waka-based transportation on the inland lakes and rivers (Moran, 2010; Wikaire, 2016). The over-representation of Māori drowning cases may be due to the unequal educational opportunities of swimming and water safety education, which left behind students from low social-economic backgrounds, such as Māori students (Moran, 2010). In the context of Canada, Giles et al. (2010) critiqued the over-representation of Aboriginal people in drowning statistics as an indication of how the educational programmes of water safety may not have met the needs of people from diverse cultures and ethnic and racial minorities. Hence, even though in the New Zealand context, the concern of water safety was geographically¹⁵ and historically¹⁶ decided, nowadays it also reflected social problems related to Māori ethnicity.

Responding to the over-representation of Māori in drowning deaths, Wikaire (2016) criticized the practice of water safety in New Zealand, such as surf lifesaving, as reflecting a “Eurocentric culture”, which “ostracised Māori” (p. 23). The surf lifesavers are usually Pākehā and this water activity has been perceived as “a Pākehā institution” by Māori youth who therefore were reluctant to participate (Wikaire, 2016, p. 24). Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki et al. (2016) identified the problem of Māori drowning cases as resulting from “a disconnection to

¹⁵ The estimated New Zealand coastline ranges from 15,000 to 18,000 kilometres (Walrond, 2005), and the total length of rivers is over 180,000 km, among which are fast-flowing and often-flooded rivers (Young, 2007). This natural environment offers diverse water-based leisure and sport opportunities, such as swimming, canoeing, boating, sailing, surfing, diving, and fishing.

¹⁶ Historically, in the 19th century (1858-1901), among the early European settlers, a large number of drowning cases had been recorded (n=6,204) (Maynard, 2013). Drowning came to be known as the New Zealand death due to the number and frequency of deaths within New Zealand and in comparison to other countries (Maynard, 2013; McSaveney, 2006). In 2016, 108 people died due to drowning, which is the fourth highest cause of accidental death in New Zealand (Water Safety New Zealand, 2017).

Tangaroa”¹⁷ (p. 26) and hence, they aimed to promote water safety programmes via making and paddling waka. Another example is the iwi-based Ngati Porou Surf Life Saving Club, which encourages and attracts Māori participation in the surf lifesaving movement and aims to reduce Māori drowning cases (Wikaire, 2016). Instead of avoiding water activities or being risk averse, Māori practices of water safety stress the connection with water and the learning of traditional knowledge of navigation (Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki et al., 2016). The consideration that Māori cultural beliefs have their own advantages in dealing with risk direct us to adopt a strengths perspective (Paraschak, 2011, 2013; Paraschak & Thompson, 2014; Saleebey, 2013). The strengths perspective of Māori water safety can be associated with the taniwha tale and other cultural principles, such as tapu, rāhui and karakia, which I discuss later.

Taniwha as kaitiaki give Conny confidence and security in her water activities. Taniwha are mythical water spirits or supernatural creatures. Some Māori people believe that taniwha “eat and kill people, or kidnap women”, while, for others, taniwha¹⁸ are “guardians for a tribe, and people would offer them gifts and say a karakia” (Keane, 2012, para 3). The spiritual aspects need to be acknowledged, if one adopts Māori perspective and methodology in research, although this is unusual in Western research and inquiry (Erueti & Palmer, 2014). Tania mentioned saying karakia before paddling, which is a Māori tikanga as well as one of the Māori principles complied with in Club Moana. Noticeably, even though all Māori participants revealed the significant Māori cultural influences on their practices of waka ama paddling, we cannot take for granted that Māori ethnicity, Māori culture and waka ama are necessarily connected. As Tania argued:

People think because waka ama is a Māori sport and I’m a Māori that I embody Māori culture, but I was brought up in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s as a New Zealander. That’s my culture, not so much the Māori aspect of that.

Tania’s participation in waka ama was due to what she called the enjoyment of “being fit”, the love of “the water and fresh air”, and the interest in “doing a unique sport ... not like rugby,

¹⁷Tangaroa is the spiritual god of the sea and fish (Moorfield, n.d.).

¹⁸ A well-known proverb from Waikato iwi about taniwha:

Waikato-taniwha-rau

He piko, he taniwha

He piko, he taniwha.

[Waikato of a hundred taniwha

At every bend a taniwha can be found.] (Royal, 2012, para 3)

netball, jogging”. The Māori perspective, for Tania, is a way but not the only way, to make sense of waka ama paddling.

Next, in two co-constructed narratives, I elaborate three Māori principles, *tapu*, *rāhui* and *karakia*, mentioned by participants in relation to Māori water safety and the natural environment. The co-constructed narratives are dialogues between me and Huia, a fictional character created by drawing upon my interactions with some Māori female participants in the two-stage ethnography and interviews.

Tapu [restriction/prohibition] and **Rāhui** [ritual prohibition]

On a Saturday morning, I came to the Club early and stood on the boat ramp admiring the partly clouded sky, and the bay surrounded by a nearby headland and islands, and dotted with boats and yachts of diverse shapes and colours.

“Mōrena [good morning],” a joyful melodious voice greeted me from behind. Huia approached the ramp with her big short-haired dog.

“Ah, mōrena,” I replied, “Very low tide this morning.”

“Yes, it is,” she confirmed. Clumps of brown seaweed were piled on the dry middle section of the ramp.

“I’ve seen the news, saying a person drowned near the headland yesterday. Can we still paddle today? Is it tāpu [forbidden] to be on water?” I asked her.

She replied, “A teenager was drowned after diving from a wharf, but we have been told about this too late. It is too late to carry out a rāhui [warning]. But the tāpu [restriction] is still there. To pay respect to the dead, we will make sure our club members keep away from that area when they go paddle.” I nodded and tried to memorise each of her words for writing the field notes later, and I wanted to know more about the rāhui.

I asked, “Usually, how long is a rāhui?”

“Rāhui is normally a week staying out of the water.”

“For paddlers, a week is quite long.”

“Yeah. We’ve been challenged on that, and my position on that is I don’t care. This is our customary practice. If you don’t like it, go to paddle in another club,” she said firmly, and there was an inviolable mana¹⁹ in her voice.

She added, “Rāhui is a tradition handed down to us from our father and from his father’s father. It has always been practised, back to a time when rāhui was placed for protection and preservation. So when my dad was young, local people were collecting kai moana [seafood] in the bay. They wouldn’t take seafood from the water where somebody has died in it, and their rāhui practice used to be until the new moon, waiting for the turning of the tides and the cleansing of the water. Now ... cuz it’s contemporary and the bay is used by people who we can’t control or advise.

“So the club practise rāhui to show respect to the dead?”

“Also remaining safe. So rāhui for me, I’m not saying this for everybody, for me, it’s about people’s safety. Observing there are bigger forces than human beings at play, and we need to remain connected. You know, in the past it’s just been us. But slowly over time, rāhui had filtered to other clubs.”

I clarified, “To other waka ama clubs?”

“Yes, to other waka ama clubs and also filtered to other sports. Ever since I put the first notice up about rāhui, and expressed sadness for the person who lost the life and for the family and friends, it’s slowly filtered through to other people, stand-up paddle boarders and kayak people, for example.”

Karakia [prayer/ ritual chant]

In club Moana, there is an opening karakia before the training and a closing karakia after the training²⁰. Regarding karakia, I asked Huia a series of questions, “Why do we do karakia twice in the training? Is it a Māori tradition to say prayers? Why use a Christian version as the closing karakia?”

¹⁹ Mana: (noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, and charisma.

²⁰ See Appendix 3 for the club’s opening and closing karakia [prayers], which are also commonly practiced in Māori contexts in New Zealand.

“Firstly, the Christian version is easy. A lot of people know it. Apparently, it’s a benediction, so it gives us a blessing. And we had discussed writing our own closing karakia, but it takes time.” She continued, “So karakia is an incantation that connects you to the spiritual realm. It doesn’t have to be prescribed. It doesn’t have to be in Māori. It can be in any language. It’s more about the intent. So the opening karakia intends to free people from the burdens of their days and work, whatever they bring in to the session, and ask for safe passage and guidance on water. It also acknowledges Tangaroa’s realm of the ocean. We are visitors, and it is a matter of privilege to be there. And then the closing karakia, it’s about clearing people, closing the kaupapa [issue/programme], and closing that particular event. The training could be a very hard training, or an emotional training, when you’ve been driven and yelled at, and coached and pushed, and you might be feeling upset about it. The karakia is about closing off that particular event, having everybody leave complete.”

I nodded and concluded, “There are multiple layers of meaning inside karakia, and it’s very spiritual.”

Huia agreed, “That’s why we do karakia. You say prayer before you go out there. If you ever feel something is not quite right when you’re paddling, you do a karakia again. You might not know what it is, but you could be going over tāpu land, someone could have died, and it could be a sunken ship. Anything could be underneath you that you’re paddling on, and you just don’t know. One morning, I went down on my SUP [stand up paddle board] to a nearby harbour. Something kept saying, ‘Don’t go down there. Don’t go down there ...’ so I turned around and came back, and ended up they found someone drowned down there, so you have to listen. You have to listen when you get told things.

“Listen to ...? Where was that voice coming from?”

“It just appeared, the voice. It’s not a voice. It’s a thought. A thought appears in your head. You know when you’re paddling, it’s not just: ‘I want to get from A to B’. You’ve got to be aware of all your surroundings, the whole environment. You can feel it. It came from a feeling or a knowing. It’s hard to understand, but as you paddle, you grow. You’ll mature a lot more, cuz you have to be aware of all the senses, not just one or other. Sometimes, there could be a whale coming up next to you, and no one else can see it, but you can. There could be a big shark coming next to you, but no one else can see it. You don’t want to scare the whole canoe. All you

do is have a karakia to the shark, have a kōrero to the shark, and the shark goes off moving on its way.”

The two co-constructed narratives highlight Māori participants’ confidence and caution in facing risk and danger in nature. Their confidence and caution were formed based on kaupapa Māori [Māori principles]. Māori culture and tradition informed and guided them to culturally determined understandings of risk and safety on water. In the second co-constructed narrative, the expression—“aware of all the senses, not just one or other”—explained a synthesis of sensuous perceptions of detecting danger and risky situations in Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) phenomenological regard of the synthesis of human senses. Again, the reaction to risk is embodied and agential, as well as discursive and disciplinarily shaped.

These two co-constructed narratives also reveal how our reactions to risk reflect who we are. For example, Māori female participants’ perceptions of risk have been influenced by Māori cultural beliefs and practices of Māori water safety. Māori cultural beliefs also remind us that, as humans, we rely on environmental conditions while conducting sporting activities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I firstly identified the uncontrollable natural factors of risk in waka ama and how paddlers adopt five disciplinary techniques (right techniques, waka fitness, spatial distribution on the waka, awareness of timing and the system of the command) to negotiate these risks. Applying Foucauldian and Merleau-Pontian approaches, the paddling body has been understood as both passive recipient and active agent. Hence, docility is by no means being passive.

Further, two marginal but valuable perspectives of risk are identified in this chapter: 1) the co-existing discourses of caution and risk in waka ama, and 2) the Māori cultural influences on paddlers’ attitudes and reactions towards risk. Female waka ama paddlers’ cautious and confident attitudes in handling risks in waka ama paddling are new evidence of sport participants’ responses to risk that challenges rather than reinforces the dominant discourse of unquestionable risk-taking behaviours associated with men’s sport in general and particularly with men’s rugby in the New Zealand context. Their practices and perceptions of water safety embodied Māori history, culture and traditions, which offer us a culturally-dependant view on risk in sport. Even though risks related to nature are unavoidable in waka ama paddling, Māori female participants do not view these risks as obstacles in their sport but adopt disciplinary

techniques, as well as appropriate Māori cultural practices to cope with these risks. Hence, only using theories of masculinities to interpret sport-related risk is limited and obscures the factors of gender, ethnicity and culture. In the next chapter, I explore female Māori waka ama paddlers' embodied experiences of pain and injury, which have been overlooked in previous studies, and in doing so, reveal the complex interplay between socio-cultural discourses and embodied agency.

CHAPTER SIX

PAIN AND INJURY IN WAKA AMA: MULTI-DIMENSIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS

Introduction

This chapter investigates waka ama paddlers' multi-dimensional embodied experiences of pain and injury. Three dimensions were identified from the data: life-course perspectives, sensuous perceptions, and Māori cultural views of pain and injury. This chapter is structured around these three aspects. Nevertheless, these three dimensions cannot be clearly separated. For instance, my discussion of the life-course perspective of pain, injury, healing and wellbeing in sport and life intersected with Māori culturally-dependent views. Hence, to interpret these experiences, I applied Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology together with Māori cultural concepts.

Also in this chapter, I discuss a rarely researched aspect of pain and injury under the Māori cultural dimension, the emotional and spiritual injuries. Moreover, findings indicated the interchangeable states between emotional injuries and pleasure, for which Foucault's concepts of knowledge-power and pleasure are insightful to the analyses.

Life-course and Culturally-dependent Perspectives on Pain and Injury

Due to the focus on younger athletes' experiences, the existing knowledge tends to show a fixed temporal view of pain and injury. Very few studies have addressed female athletes' evolving understandings of risk, pain and injury in relation to their bodies, their sporting participation and their sense of self (cf., Dashper, 2013; Sparkes, 1998). In this research, the five female waka ama paddlers are all around 50 years old and have long experiences of pain and injury in sport and life. The interview data revealed these participants' rich understandings of pain and injury, their own bodies, health and wellbeing, as well as lay knowledge of medical treatment.

Conny, an experienced paddler, once devoted herself to competitive paddling. She took part in eight sessions of training a week, but now enjoys social paddling once per week. During the interview, she expressed different attitudes to her pain and injury at different life stages. First, her experience of competitive paddling and pain and injury were similar to the findings in prior studies:

Lucen: Have you experienced any injury?

Conny: Oh, lots. I have done my rotator cuff. I have done my shoulder, just the right one mainly. I have done my hips and I have done everything. You have to maintain it by stretching and doing yoga. You can't just expect to paddle and go off without doing any work on it.

Lucen: Did you stop paddling when you had pain and injury?

Conny: No, you go get fixed, so when I did my back before a race, I went home and got acupuncture during the week. Came back, and killed it again in the weekend, because you've committed to that race, and then when the race's over, then you take time out, but you have to have like acupuncture or massage. The rest of the world can wait while my whole life is fitted around that goal. If I have planned to go to Worlds or Nationals, then I will slot it in, and I'll do all the training that's required to get there. Once you commit, you can't go back. Like I said, I hurt my back and fixed it, and came back. That's about commitment to the team and friends. After the race you're like, 'now my body can crack up and pass out', whatever.

The phrase 'go get fixed' is an expression that two participants seized onto (Conny and Arataki). Young and White (1995) termed such expressions by male and female athletes as "injury talk" (p. 53). However, I would be simplifying and objectifying Conny's experiences of pain and injury if I only focused on her expression of fixing up pain and injury during her competitive years. Conny has shifted her waka ama participation from competitive paddling to social paddling, and she told me that, now, paddling is "not the waka or anything as a sport that you do", but "it's you as a person. Just be free. Allow yourself the freedom to just paddle without bringing all that head stuff." Conny also drew on Māori cultural elements and claimed that the cultural side and the competitive side of waka ama paddling can be complementary. As she explained:

They can be complementary to each other ... If you just go straight to the competitive side, we have some paddlers saying, "That's why Māori don't get as far as they should, because they haven't got that competitiveness. They can't drop this side to do this side". That's who we are, and they look at you differently if you have too much of that [cultural] side ... I have been in crews where there is no tikanga, no cultural aspects, and it doesn't feel right, cuz you can't feel their wairua in the canoe. It's just going

through the motions. It's very hard to paddle like that. It's just not how I like to paddle. Now I know what I want, which is at the middle and having both.

Conny's narrative outlined a life-course perspective of waka ama paddling. Her commitment to races regardless of pain and injury was most pronounced in her competitive phase, while later she integrated a Māori cultural view into her social paddling phase.

Arataki, a co-founder and coach of Club Moana, started waka ama in 1999. She has torn her rotator cuffs many times as a kaihāutu [steerer], since she needed to hold the weight of a canoe and its crew sometimes in conditions of strong wind and currents. Her strategies for dealing with pain and injury depended on the time frame of competition, as she explained:

So sometimes, suck it up. Just keep going and doing. Or I have got enough time to train for that particular race, take time, rest, and recover, so all depends. I've done a race, where I dislocated my wrist and you just have to keep going. Another race, I tore cartilage in my ribs and dislocated this finger. But you just have to keep going. Otherwise, you let your team down.

As Arataki said, some of her injuries occurred during races, so she chose to continue her role and ignore her pain and injury. Arataki's experience is similar to findings that team commitments motivated female athletes to compete and train while hurt (Charlesworth & Young, 2004). I asked Arataki if she may give up waka ama, since she has had so many injuries from it. She directed me to look at a painting on a wall (Figure 6), and responded to my question:



Figure 6 *The painting of Lion Rock, Piha, Auckland Region, New Zealand.*

See that painting over there. It's Piha, right? That's Lion Rock. I fell 21 feet off a cliff at Piha in my 20s. You know, when you've sustained that kind of injury and experienced that kind of pain ... I don't ever remember when I didn't have pain. I've played sports since I was 6 years old. I sprained ankles, and I started to go to a physiotherapist at the age of 13. Pain is pain. It's just a part of life. You can never let it control you by stopping. Just learn to live with it. Keep going. I don't keep going so much so that it's really harmful to me. I'm kind of keeping an eye on it. If it is just pain, I sustain it; am I going to really injure myself, or is it just aches and pain that I can push through? It's not about self-damage.

The image of Lion Rock evoked Arataki's memories of pain and injury. Her narrative indicated that she not only accepted pain and injury in sport, but also acknowledged that pain and injury were part of her life project, so she learned "to live with it". Arataki developed her understandings of pain and injury alongside her sport participation over time. She tolerated pain during races, sought help to cure it, and learned to live with it. The Lion Rock image can be seen as a crystallization of Arataki's status of past, present, and future life around physical activities, pain and injury, self-determination and resilience. There was not a clear beginning or an end to Arataki's pain in her memories of life and sport pursuits. Pain and injury in the past provide useful resources for future action; as Grosz (2011) illustrated, "[l]ife is not the

coincidence of the present with its past, its history, it is also the forward thrust of a direction whose path is only clear in retrospect” (p. 72).

From a phenomenological perspective, Arataki’s life-course perspective of pain and injury was about being, becoming, and knowing. Pain is not only a consciousness to think about, it is about being. As Leder (1990) stated, pain is a mode of being-in-the-world. As life is becoming, pain is becoming. Hence, Arataki has not finalised her interpretations of and attitudes towards pain. Pain is also knowing, especially knowing from the past and projecting into the future. Sweet’s narrative below demonstrated more about drawing on past experiences and cultural experiences to interpret one’s pain and injury.

Sweet has been a long-term recreational triathlete and started waka ama paddling two years ago. She has lower back issues but by visiting an osteopathic physician and a masseuse, she has accumulated physiological knowledge of her muscles and bones. This has guided her to train her lower back, strengthen the core muscles, and be careful about overuse. Sweet’s experiences of pain and injury confirmed Howe’s (2004) observation that after a long career in sport and constantly seeking medical help, athletes acquired a basic knowledge of the human body in motion. A life-course evolving view of injury was also found in Sweet’s narrative, as she said:

Injuries are opportunities to learn how to heal, so it’s really important I think, cause sometimes we can have an injury and it can become an excuse to not to do something. I’ve seen how the body can be so adaptable to self-repair, to self-rejuvenation. So I think there’s that saying, ‘use it or lose it’. If I want to keep my range of motion, keep my back healthy, I’ve got to use it.

For Sweet, pain and injury were an accepted part of her body’s response and recovery process. They were more than simply ‘unwelcome’ outcomes, as suggested in previous studies (e.g., Charlesworth, 2004; Charlesworth & Young, 2004, 2006). Like Arataki, Sweet included pain, from sport or outside sport, as part of her life project, as she discussed the physical pain while receiving a tā moko [Māori traditional tattoo] on her lower back:

They do hurt. They are sore, very sore. There are certain places that hurt even more. Just feels like a burning sensation. But in comparison to some of the things you endure in life ... In the big scheme of life, that physical pain is only temporary.

About the moko pain, Penehira (2011) stated that moko recipients carry the knowledge of moko pain, and apply that “endurance and determination into other challenges they may face in their lives” (p. 121). For Sweet, her sport-related pain intertwined with moko pain. Sweet’s tā moko is like Arataki’s memory around the Lion Rock, which encapsulated her perspectives of pain and injury and her recovery from body damage.

The meanings Sweet gave to her pain also drew on her Māori cultural heritage, as she explained:

We are the practitioners. We know our bodies. Okay, we might not be able to access herbs ... but we actually know what feels good and what doesn’t feel good. We are our own healers, you know. We go to places when we are unwell. We have a place we all go. Okay, when I’m feeling unwell, blue, sad, or just like I had a stink day, so in that way when I’m unwell, I’ll go somewhere like ... Generally, it will be near the bay somewhere, and I will put my feet in the water and I will have a think. Now, that is healing as well, like I go to do my exercises, ensuring that I heal or strengthen my back. I think that two [physical and mental] go hand in hand. And wairua [spirit] too, the heart, the stuff you can’t see.

In Sweet’s narrative, she mentioned the three main principles of Māori wellbeing, “physical, spiritual and emotional states of being” (Penehira, Smith, Green, & Aspin, 2011, p. 179). Sweet relied on establishing the connection with nature, including the bay and water, to restore her holistic wellbeing and health. Such recognition of nature can be seen in the understanding of the spiritual dimension of Durie’s (1998b) Te Whare Tapa Whā modal, in which the natural environment, such as land, mountains, rivers and sea, contains spiritual elements and mouri that are vital to Māori health and wellbeing. Differing from the notion of discursive space, in which docile paddlers are produced, Sweet revealed an embodied connection between the paddling body and the paddling environment.

To further understand Sweet’s experience of healing at a specific water area (i.e., the bay), a Māori concept, whakawhanaungatanga, is helpful. Literally, it means the process of establishing relationships. Culturally, it derives from Māori epistemology, identifies a person’s whakapapa [genealogy and descent], and links the person to “all other living and inanimate creatures and to the very earth we inhabit” (Bishop, 1998, p. 203). To understand the healing function of the bay for Sweet, we need to understand how her life history has been connected with that specific area. Sweet recalled:

My whanau [extended family] is actually from up north somewhere ... when I was 17 years old, I had a baby and I lived in a house above the bay, and those, back then, were the happiest days in my life. I used to walk down to the bay. Although I am not from here, I am from here. You know, that's where I had my first child ... That's where I did my big contemplations and goals for the future, so in a way, I am from there. My mother left New Zealand when I was 16, and she went to live overseas, and Rangitoto²¹ became ... where I would go to when I was feeling ... you know, I've got no mother. I was only a child by myself left in New Zealand ... So I actually transferred my mother's figure to Rangitoto, so when I go down to the bay, I'm down there hanging out with my mum. So I'm from there. I feel my wairua comes from there. So definitely I feel I'm from this bay. So paddling in it and paddling on a waka is more than just being physically fit for me ... When I'm out there, I'm very conscious of the fact that I'm travelling in areas that my great-great-great-great-grandfathers have possibly travelled as well, so it's a really humbling and uplifting feeling as well, when I'm out there.

Sweet's healing process went through re-creating whakawhanaungatanga, such as physical, spiritual and emotional connections with the bay. Whakawhanaungatanga between the human body and nature reflects Bishop's (1998) explanation that "[o]ur mountain, our river, our island are us. We are part of them and they are part of us. We know this in a bodily way, more than in a recitation of names" (p. 203). Rather than the loss of connection to ancestral space or nature that can contribute to poor health (Durie, 1998b), Sweet's healing process involved gaining access to the bay, where she experienced important life moments and felt the spiritual connections. Arataki, also from the bay area, gave an example that affirms Durie's (1998b) interpretation of the significance of tribal land or natural elements in Māori health and wellbeing. She recalled that about a hundred years ago, an above-ground sewer pipe had been built across the beach of local hapū and pumped raw sewage into the bay. Arataki said:

Sewage has been pumped into the bay and that killed off the natural food resources from the sea [which] the hapū relied on. You know one way to attempt to destroy a people is by taking away their food source.

²¹ Rangitoto Island is an iconic landmark of Auckland, and can be easily seen from the waka ama club and the local hapū.

Although the pipeline has been removed, the effects still affect people who live around the bay. Arataki pointed out that nowadays paddling waka ama in the bay is not only doing a physical activity or playing a sport but an embodied display of local Māori people's resilience and recovery from Western colonization, and of their intimate relationship with nature. Arataki's and Sweet's embodied experiences of waka ama paddling reflected an intersubjectivity between the human body and world: as Merleau-Ponty (1968) stated, "the world is at the heart of our flesh" (p. 136). These Māori participants did not see the paddling space as merely a physical and geometrical distance to travel across but a lived space that "binds" them to Māori culture and history and to the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 286). Also, Merleau-Ponty (1962) noted that culture has influences on our being-in-the-world, and Sweet's description of her healing process illustrated a cultural being-in-the-world, which embodied Māori history and traditions and the natural environment.

Besides connecting with the surrounding environment and past, Sweet also viewed the connection with people as an important element in health and well-being. Sweet showed me a photo-decorated wall in her living room (see Figure 7), on which a big stingray design was surrounded by photos.

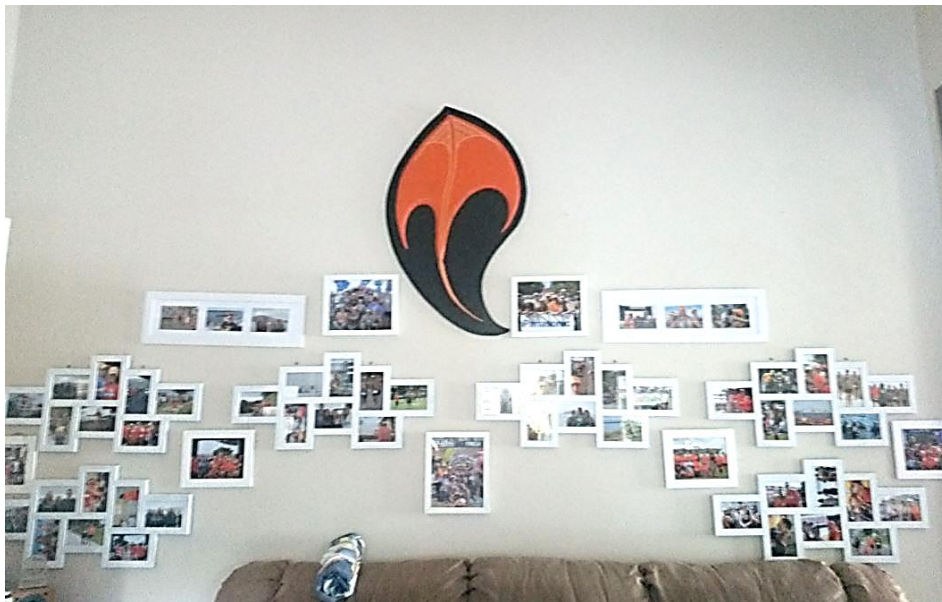


Figure 7 A photo-decorated wall in Sweet's living room.

For Sweet, the big orange stingray symbolized health and wellbeing, and the photos on the wall recorded her activities with her sporting 'whānau', including the triathlon team and the waka ama club. The decorated wall meant her sporting whānau support each other's health and wellbeing. Sweet's embodied experience of healing from pain and injury reflected Foucault's

(1986) idea of the ethical care for the self. She not only drew on the practices in her indigenous culture, but also extended the care of herself to the pursuit of a collective wellbeing among the people with whom she did sports.

The life-course interpretations of pain and injury across their sporting life added phenomenological meanings to the sporting discourse of participation while hurt. As to culturally-dependent perspectives, Sweet resorted to Māori cultural meaning to interpret her pain and injury, healing, wellbeing and health, which comprised a holistic view from which to consider sport participants' experiences of sustaining pain and injury. In the next section, I connect the concept of synchronization in paddling with the sensuous dimension of pain and injury.

The Embodied Sensuous Dimension of the Potential Pain and Injury in Paddling

The sensuous dimension of pain and injury relates to the disciplinary technique of timing, discussed in Chapter Five. Drawing on interview and ethnographic data, I first illustrated in more detail the embodied feelings of paddling in synchronization. Then I linked the disruption of the synchronization or timing to pain and injury in paddling. This link indicates that the paddling body is sensuous and intersubjective. To analyse these sensuous experiences, I applied Sheets-Johnstone's phenomenological concepts, the whole-body synergy and the emotion-motion dynamic.

1) Participants' Experiences of Synchronized Paddling

Participants used different words and phrases, such as “mana [power]”, “hononga [connection]”, “to tune in” and “the flow”, to emphasize the harmonious feeling of paddling with the crew. For Arataki, the togetherness of paddling is mana, and she reflected, “Sometimes when you paddle with people who you know you be compatible with, so ego gets out of the way. I believe you only feel that mana when everybody is aligned.” Sweet used hononga to describe the synchronization of paddlers:

The waka is an opportunity for six individuals to come to hononga, to come together as one being going forward. That is a challenge. Sometimes we get into a waka, and we are all thinking of me doing this, me doing that. There is a time for me to stop thinking about me and start thinking about ‘we’. It's like when I'm out at [seat] one, I'm thinking

how I can make my stroke effective enough for the crew behind me to follow comfortably, so they feel strong. If it was about me, I would be going flat tack, cuz I can, cuz I'm fit, but that's not what I'm doing at one.

Tania used the phrase “to tune in” to explain the synchronization of the crew:

When Arataki and I paddle, I'm on the one and Arataki's steering. I know what Arataki's thinking and I know what she's going to do, and I know what she is going to say before she says it. And I have already done it when she calls something, I'm already in the middle of doing it, cuz I've already known. So that's how you tune in. ... There's no need to talk. You can focus on what you're doing and do the job. You know when we kind of had a little bit of that when we were around Browns Island. ... I call it the flow or meditative or Zen, being at the moment of focusing, which is meditation, right? But people have to practise all the time. You can't just get out there and then it just happens, got to practise with the little things you do.

Curiously, in sport psychology, Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi (1999) used the term flow to describe a type of highly-valued optimal experience or state, when sportspeople focus on and are absorbed in the present action and feel the harmony of mind and body. Perhaps Tania has encountered the psychological term—flow (e.g., Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999), or she improvised this particular feeling of togetherness and responsiveness in paddling as flow. Tichy also used the word “meditation” to describe her experience of synchronization:

You know I found ... paddling can change my emotion. It's kind of like a meditation. Takes a lot of things from you ... You feel the strength to move forward, and you get strength from your team. It is the power of all, instead of the power of one. It's really, really motivating.

These participants' experiences and aspirations of paddling emphasised the crew paddling together as wholeness, transforming individuals into collectiveness through synchronizing the tempo of their paddle strokes into a harmonious rhythm. In addition, synchronizing with the natural environment and the canoe are also important. When paddling, a crew needs to share the movement of the natural forces, such as wind, gusts, waves, currents and undertows. During a training, Barrie asked paddlers to be responsive to the rhythm of the environment. As he said:

I know we are focusing on the paddle and the stroke but still, we need to see the sea, feel the wind, and know when the wave is coming and we either split the wave and go through or we ride on the wave to move forward. [FN, 07/02/1015]

Similarly, Conny asserted that a paddler has to pay attention to the surroundings:

You have to read what the wind is doing. You have to read what the sky is doing. You have to read what the ship is doing. You have to read what the current is doing. You have to read what that kayak is doing over there. ... You have to feel, and you have to reflect. You can't just be analytical. All those things you were brought up with from school, visualizing it on the board and write it down, all of that goes out of the window, cuz you haven't got pen and paper when you are out there.

Hence, effective paddling is about being in embodied connection with the world. Conny mentioned that analysing paddling was not doing a calculation with “pen and paper”, meaning that the sense making of ourselves, other and the world happened in “a whole-body synergy”, which demonstrates the intertwined sensuous perceptions and bodily movements (Sheets-Johnstone, 2010, p. 124). This synergy is the enhanced experiences of the tactile-kinesthetic dynamic, which denotes a living sense of movement that coordinates with sensuous perceptions (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999, 2010, 2015a). In the process of achieving synchronization, the paddling body is not just a head, arms, legs, and a torso but reflects an “all-of-a-piece autonomous” agency in the body (Sheets-Johnstone, 2010, p. 123). Sheets-Johnstone's (2010, 2011) phenomenological perspective of bodily movement not only synthesizes the varied possible dimensions and qualities of movements, but also adds a kinesthetic layer to Merleau-Ponty's embodied agency of ‘I can’. The paddling example showed that even though sport training is governed by disciplines and rules, that lived spontaneity and the agential awareness was not, as Shilling (2008) claimed, “emptied” from sport (p. 54).

The paddling bodies directly sensed the rubs, bumps, and jolts on the waka, and accordingly changed the amount of energy and the direction of force in strokes, which demonstrated the collective and intersubjective ‘we can’ among the crew and between human and nature. Hence, the feeling of synchronization is an affective, sensuous, whole-body, agential and ‘we can’ experience with the crew and the environment. Tania's narratives below further explained the whole-body experiences of paddling and the inseparable tactile perceptions and movements. In the interview, Tania described her ability to distinguish varied rhythms and tempos among paddlers:

Lucen: Can you really feel whether a crew was together or not?

Tania: So for me, it doesn't matter what seat I'm on, I can feel when people are out [of the rhythm].

Lucen: Really!

Tania: Yes, so sometimes when I paddle, I have to tune out, so I do not feel all of that, so otherwise it messes with my head. I can feel if someone goes in before me or after me, whether they pull long, whether they're still in the water when I come out, all sorts of things. You can feel their feet moving, and you can feel when they change. Ah, it's awful! Haha... It doesn't matter what seat I'm on.

Lucen: That's based on experience?

Tania: Experience and desire and wanting to gel together as a team. It's about awareness, so you can't zone out, you have to be fully aware of every stroke, every time, the whole time. That takes a lot of practice as well, and people don't practise.

Like the disciplinary technique of timing, synchronization is also a subtle whole-body temporal awareness. However, when the synchronization or the rhythm-tempo wholeness is lost, participants pointed out that the sudden change of tactile feeling can lead paddlers to injure one another.

2) The Loss of Synchronization and the Potential for Injury

This section explored participants' subtle feelings about the relationship between the loss of synchronization in paddling and the potential for injury. There were many possible ways to lose synchronization in paddling. Here I use a personal example of emotional disruption, in order to bring the experience to life.

After my good performance and praises from coaches on Sunday, I met my Waterloo on the following Tuesday training. On that rainy and chilly Tuesday evening, my cheerful mood for paddling shunned me, but I still went to the club. When I arrived, I had not yet cheered myself up, and study-related stresses clouded my mind, such as a seemingly endless data collection becoming more and more tiring and time-consuming, a conference paper that needed cutting and trimming, and a talk to exchange students about ethnography tomorrow.

On the water, I was torpid and did not respond to Tania's coaching and did not make any adjustment to my movements, yet I kept saying yes to her and nodding my head. She finally asked me to stop paddling and sit still, feeling how the waka moved and how the others paddled. During a break, I slouched in my seat, staring at water reflections of the Auckland downtown. Tania said she was too disappointed to correct me, so she asked me to stop. She was seriously distracted by me and could not focus on coaching the rest of the crew. "What is wrong? You are turning back to be the old Lucen. Where is the strong Lucen on Sunday?" asked Tania. I remained silent, and she continued, "Who said paddling is easy? If you don't try hard each time, you are not going to be stronger. You come to training and think it's a challenge. Do you want to change your way of paddling? If you don't, my coaching will be nothing for you."

Tania's words cut through my emotional dreariness and in the rest of the training, I began to physically respond to her coaching and move with how the waka moved. During the post-training debriefing, Tania inquired, "Did you have a hard day at the university?" I was in awe of her question and said yes. "I guessed so," she said, "There are things on your mind, but it's unfair to others if you bring in your negative moods to training." [FN, 16/07/2015]

This event illustrated the body's ability "to affect and to be affected" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p. xvi). Stewart (2007) stated that affect is "not about one person's feelings becoming another's but about bodies literally affecting one another and generating intensities" (p. 128). Sheets-Johnstone's (2010) concept of the emotion-motion dynamic can explain my experience that "[e]motions are ... dynamic phenomena that are experienced in the flesh" (p. 124). Since I was not emotionally engaged in training, my bodily movements were not compatible with the other paddlers, and hence I became a disturbance in the waka and to the coach.

Tania and Conny further explained how movement can disclose a paddlers' emotional state or inner feelings.

Tania: Even your mates' body positions tell you a lot about their states of mind, where they are at, whether they are sad, they are happy, they are energetic. You can tell by the way they paddle.

Conny: Yeah. You can tell. They can be all happy and chirpy but then get on the canoe ... You can't hide your feeling when you're on the canoe. From paddling, it shows

whether they've argued with their husbands or their wives, or they're mad about something, or depressed about something or something is really on their mind.

Tania: Yeah. The really-on-their-mind part is probably the one that stands out most on the waka.

Conny: Ah, you can tell when someone is not ... And sometimes it's best not to come when you're too far gone.

Lucen: Yes. One evening, I was stressed but still went to training. I didn't realise that my body wasn't doing what I wanted to.

Tania: So I said, "What's wrong, Lucen? What's wrong?" [Turned to Conny] She thought about it, and then fixed it. Then she was able to paddle.

This conversation illustrated an affective process from motion to emotion. Sheets-Johnstone (1999) discussed the bilateral emotion-motion relations that "[w]hat is kinetic is affective, or potentially affective; by the same qualitative measure, what is affective is kinetic, or potentially kinetic" (p. 259). Paddling reveals an "affective dimension of interpersonal relations" (Diprose, 2012, p. 75). As emotion and affect travel between bodies, my performance on the waka affected Tania, so she made me aware of it. Tania explained that sometimes due to the lack of focus or timing, wrong movement, or fatigue and tiredness, a crew did not paddle together and they can actually injure one another. Regarding a loss of synchronization and the potential for injury, Tania explained:

You're in danger of hurting each other. You haven't had that yet. You don't sit at [seat] one very often, but when you sit at seat one or maybe other seats, sometimes you go in and take a stroke, but people don't go with you at the same time or they don't go in as hard as you. You get like a big jolt at your back and you, "Oh! It hurts", because you're taking the weight of everybody onto your paddle, onto yourself, and it hurts. That happens if you've taken your stroke properly, but everyone else hasn't.

The "jolt" Tania mentioned indicated a sudden disruptive change of force, disconnecting paddlers from one another. I further explored the connection between the loss of synchronization and injury with Tania and Conny:

Lucen: On last Sunday, Conny debriefed, "When seat two missed a stroke..."

Tania: Then Conny had to pull for both, cuz she was on four, and two and four were paddling on one side, and one, three, five on the other. If one of those two paddlers was not paddling, you've only got one paddler working against the other three.

Lucen: She doubled the power of her strokes.

Tania: Because she got to cover that one or otherwise the waka will just swing off. One side is stronger than the other.

Conny: You have to cover what they're not doing.

Conny reflected that she almost hurt her lower-back by increasing power. Paddling together is not only a disciplinary practice, but also a phenomenological experience of being responsible, since “we are connected to our world and, indeed, to one another” (Crossley, 2012, p. 133). To live in a body is “to make an unending sequence of ethical decisions”; this statement is also true for living in a paddling body (Frank, 2012, p. 391). Merleau-Ponty (1962) stated that we are “in an inextricable tangle” with others and the world, which limits our freedom and increases our commitments. In the case of paddling, due to the trans-corporeal feelings, the bodily movements are simultaneously (un)ethical actions and attitudes towards other paddlers.

This section examined the synchronization in crew paddling through a phenomenological lens, such as Sheets-Johnstone's (1999, 2010, 2011) concepts of the whole-body synergy and the emotion-motion dynamic. Paddlers' sensuous experiences of synchronized paddling unfolded an intersubjectivity of the body that one paddler's body can be affected by other paddlers' movements and emotions. Hence, pain and injury may not derive from one's own conduct, but result from the interaction among paddlers on the waka. Further, one distracted paddler can injure other paddlers and compromise the collective safety of the waka and crew. In the next section, I explore less studied experiences of injury in sport, namely emotional and spiritual injuries via a Māori cultural lens, which differs greatly from the extant Eurocentric scholarship of sport-related risk, pain and injury.

Māori Cultural Interpretations of Emotional and Spiritual Injuries

This section focused on discussing emotional and spiritual injuries. Some female Māori paddlers reported their emotional injuries without referring to any physical pain or injury, which differed from studies examining the relations between emotion and physical pain and injury (e.g., Bale, 2006; Dashper, 2013; Duquin, 2002; Lee Sinden, 2012, 2014; Pringle, 2003,

2009). The findings of emotional and spiritual injuries met my research attempt to explore diverse voices of pain in sport, which potentially challenges the “extreme and problematic pain regimes” attached to hegemonic masculinity in sport (Loland, 2006, p. 55).

Physical and spiritual suffering has been regarded, in the Western tradition, as an essential process for cultivating virtues. Through enduring pain and confronting physical injuries, one’s spirit transforms or ascends (Coakley, 2007; Scarpa & Carraro, 2011; Stephens & Feezell, 2004). In this section, I draw on a Māori parable of knowledge and a Māori health model to understand the Māori participants’ descriptions of their emotional and spiritual injuries. I also use a nexus of knowledge-power-pleasure, based on Foucault’s concepts, to analyse the interchangeable states between emotional and spiritual injuries and pleasures.

In Club Moana, experienced paddlers, such as Arataki, Tania, Barrie and Conny, take on coaching responsibilities voluntarily. With that comes legal obligations for the safety of the crew and the craft. Under the pressures of maintaining safety as well as delivering effective coaching, Arataki stated sternly, “I don’t need people to like me. I need to get people back safe. That’s what’s most important to me.” Arataki explained that in her coaching experience, she has experienced emotional and spiritual injuries, and she used a metaphor of emptying a fruit basket to illustrate such injuries:

I guess, as a coach and a captain over the years, I’ve also sustained emotional and spiritual injuries from paddling. There is an expectation that you, as a coach, give to everybody and lots and lots of individuals. If you think about yourself as a vessel or a basket of fruits when you are coaching, everybody reaches in and takes from your basket for the fruit that they want. Very few people bring something to put back in the basket, so the person who is continuous to expected to replenish the basket, it’s yourself. And there are some people who take more than they should. A lot of people don’t want to fill in the basket ... there are some people contribute nothing at all, and they have a sense of entitlement to you as a coach, to your knowledge, to your time. They’re highly, highly expecting, and they don’t value it.

In Māori mythology, the god Tāne collected three kete [baskets] of knowledge from the heavens and brought them back to the earth for the collective wellbeing (Smith, 1999; Taonui, 2012). The ‘basket’ Arataki brought to coaching was specifically filled with her experiences and knowledge of waka ama paddling accumulated throughout nearly two decades. However, by sharing her knowledge and receiving very little in return, Arataki felt an inner emptiness

that has been left for her alone, and she did not feel a collective wellbeing together with other paddlers. Moreover, Arataki's explanation of her emotional and spiritual pain and injury resulting from unequal knowledge exchanges in coaching made me feel embarrassed. As an incapable swimmer and a physically-unfit paddler, I was unable to establish reciprocal relationships with coaches and fellow paddlers, since I always demanded knowledge from coaches' and fellow paddlers' 'baskets'.

Similarly, Conny shared her opinion on being drained in coaching:

A lot of people hold it in and don't share. You get some selfish paddlers though. They will come to draw your energy off you, and that's a dangerous part about it. You find people continually doing that ... people would just come and keep coming and keep sucking you dry, sort of thing. And then you have to just pull them aside and go... hmph...

Arataki's emotional and spiritual injuries and Conny's energy draining in coaching can be interpreted through the Māori concept of mouri. Mouri is an integral element of Māori health models, such as in Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1998b), Te Wheke (Pere, n.d.) and Mana Kaitiakitanga (Penehira et al., 2011). The well-known Te Whare Tapa Whā model provides an insight into Arataki's emotional and spiritual injuries (Durie, 1998b). As discussed in Chapter Two, this model consists of four interdependent dimensions: te taha wairua [the spiritual side], te taha hinengaro [thoughts and feelings], te taha tinana [the physical side] and te taha whānau [family] (Durie, 1998b). Te taha wairua appears to be the most significant element of Māori health, which implies "to have faith and to be able to understand the link between the human situation and the environment" (Durie, 1998b, p. 70). Mouri connects with wairuatanga [spirituality], and decreasing mouri is a detriment to health and wellbeing. To restore one's mouri and spirituality, in Sweet's case, she practised re-connecting with the natural environment and the specific ancestral space. For Arataki, emotional and spiritual injuries were not triggered by physical damage; rather her emotional and spiritual injuries in sports were culturally dependent. If the emotional and spiritual injuries become unbearable, Arataki claimed that a coach has to give up the incompatible relationship and tell the paddler to find another coach that he or she can thrive with. Yet, Conny, with a positive attitude, claimed that we empty our baskets and, at the same time, fill up others' knowledge baskets:

Because you understand that you're there to help others, the more you're going to give, the more you're going to receive in any type of sport, in any type of thing you do. Once you start understanding and you start giving back.

Conny's narrative revealed a shift from her experiences of emotional and spiritual injuries to the process of empowering other paddlers. Conny's experience implied a shift from emotional and spiritual injuries to pleasure in coaching waka ama. Thus, even feeling emotionally and spiritually injured were not fixed experiences of negative coaching experiences.

The Shift from Emotional and Spiritual Injury to Pleasure

Some participants' narratives led me to explore the interchangeable state between emotional and spiritual injuries and pleasure. For instance, even though Arataki talked about emotional and spiritual injuries in coaching, she also acknowledged the pleasure of establishing harmonious coach-paddler relationships:

I guess the pleasure for me is paddling with a crew who understands me and who gets me, one that doesn't resist, fight and get all upset about being coached, and people who can get on and do the work. I now coach women, who are ok with being told what they are doing is not right, and they are committed to listening and learning, and be coached. That's what I get pleasure from.

Arataki replenished her knowledge basket at the moments when paddlers corrected techniques according to her instructions, which was the pleasurable moment in Arataki's coaching. To explore Arataki's emotional trajectory in coaching, I drew on Foucault's concepts of power-knowledge and pleasure. Foucault (1979) pointed out that power relations and knowledge are tied in power-knowledge, in which they interact with and enhance the effect of each other. The power-knowledge always focuses on the human subject (Foucault, 1983b). Arataki's position as a coach and her knowledge of waka ama, water safety and Māori culture shaped the power relations between her and fellow paddlers. The pleasure emerging from the power relations was what Arataki described when paddlers displayed "willingness to listen and to learn and to change and to surrender to the process of coaching".

Although coaches have more power than paddlers, they do not have the absolute power to force paddlers to learn or change their way of paddling. If the coach-paddler relationship affects the overall team's and individual paddlers' effectiveness, either the coach or the paddler

is free to terminate the relationship. As Arataki stated, “if there is an incompatibility between coach and paddler, you both need to give up”. From a coach’s side, Arataki said coaches “should have those courageous conversations with somebody, and say to somebody ‘actually you can’t be coached by me, and I can’t coach you. You need to find somebody else that you will strive with’.” In power relations, “a net-like organisation”, individuals are not only caught up by the net, but also exercise power alongside the threads (Foucault, 1980c, p. 98). Both the coach and the paddler need to enact their power to make the decision, which will lead both sides to gain more pleasurable experiences of paddling.

Power relations between coaches and paddlers can be seen as an example of Foucault’s claim that “[p]ower is not evil” (Foucault, 1987, p. 129). Foucault (1987) argued that “I don’t see where evil is in the practice of someone who, in a given game of truth, knowing more than another, tells him what he must do, teaches him, transmits knowledge to him, communicates skills to him” (p. 129). Foucault (1980a) maintained that “power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress” (p. 59), and contended that the productivity of power “induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse” (p. 59). Hence, power-knowledge can transform Arataki’s emotional and spiritual injuries into the state of pleasure (Foucault, 1980b, p. 119). With a responsive and obedient crew, a coach is more likely to accomplish the emotional journey from knowledge to pleasure.

Foucault (1983a) suggested that we ask: “Is the pleasure of the other something which can be integrated in our pleasure” (p. 233). Regarding the pleasure of coaching, Tania’s comments are insightful:

Lucen: What are the possible benefits of doing this?

Tania: What sort of benefits? There’s no financial. There’s only the pleasure of sharing knowledge ... The dragon boat people have come to waka to learn the secrets of waka ama paddling, because when waka ama paddlers go to do dragon boat, they beat the dragon boat paddlers. Two years ago, we had surf lifesavers. They came because when they went to their national competition, the waka ama people beat them, so we coached them a little bit and they started winning their races. So there’s the other way of sharing knowledge and promoting the sport. I’m really interested in cross-promoting. I want us to mix them all together and enjoy all the different water sports, like surf skiing, stand up paddling, kayaking and canoeing.

With Tania's coaching, participants in other water sports adjusted their bodily movements to waka ama techniques, which helped them to achieve in their own sports. Tania's pleasure of cross-promoting waka ama techniques interlocked with dragon boat paddlers' and surf lifesavers' pleasure at improving their skills and winning their competitions. The answer to Foucault's question is positive.

The findings and analyses of emotional and spiritual injuries bring Māori culturally-dependent perceptions of injuries to the Western sociological scholarship of sport-related injury. Nevertheless, female sport participants' emotional injuries reinforced gender implications in sport, as studies found that female athletes were more likely to express their emotions and feelings of pain and injury than their male counterparts (Charlesworth & Young, 2006; Curry, 1993; Sparkes, 1996). Perhaps, as Gard and Meyenn (2000) argued, pain is more obvious to see in male sports, whereas "pleasure exists below the surface, unstated, lacking socially sanctioned vocabularies" (p. 32). Since I did not ask male paddlers about whether they also experienced emotional and spiritual pain and injury, a comparative analysis of the gendered implications was not possible in this research.

Conclusion

This chapter identified three dimensions of pain and injury primarily from interviews with middle-aged female Māori waka ama paddlers, who have participated at competitive and recreational levels for a long time. These dimensions, in terms of life-course understandings, sensuous perceptions and Māori cultural interpretations, can extend the current knowledge of pain and injury in the sociology of sport.

Evolving life-course perspectives of pain and injury indicated that participants have actively constructed temporal, subjective and contextualized meanings around their pain and injuries in sports and in life projects. Findings of sensuous perceptions suggested that paddlers' pain and injury can result from the embodied experiences of the disruption of synchronized paddling. Thus, pain and injury in crew paddling is the consequence of (ir)responsible interactions among paddlers and failure to sense the (subtle) changes on the waka. A Māori cultural perspective helped me to understand emotional and spiritual injuries that did not depend on physical pain or injury. With the help of Foucauldian concepts, the interchangeable states between emotional and spiritual injuries and pleasures were explored.

The next two chapters discussed the findings around young and middle-aged Chinese women who play table tennis at elite and recreational levels. I continued to develop my argument that the exploration beyond the dominant research foci allows us to gain richer, more complex and more nuanced understandings of the phenomena of risk, pain and injury in sport and physical activity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FEMALE CHINESE TABLE TENNIS PLAYERS' DIVERSE UNDERSTANDINGS OF RISK, PAIN AND INJURY

Introduction

Table tennis, as a non-Western culturally-dominant and non-contact sporting site, is regarded as the national sport in China and reflects a Chinese national ethos (Brownell, 2000). I discuss younger and middle-aged female Chinese table tennis players' embodied experiences of pain and injury. My findings revealed that young elite players have shown both conformity and resistance to the sport ethic of China's table tennis culture. Middle-aged female table tennis players, like middle-aged female waka ama paddlers, also perceived their pain and injury from life-course perspectives and through their interactions with others and the society. The examination of Chinese women further illustrates how the interplay of factors, such as ethnicity, cultural background, gender, age, sport culture, levels and length of sport participation produced more nuanced and complex understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury.

Identifying and Controlling Risk in Table Tennis

Table tennis is not a risky sport, and has no uncontrollable natural factors like in waka ama. However, Chinese participants reported risk, in terms of the potential factors for recurrent pain and injury, as well as preventive methods. Recreational players, Angie, Lai and Rose stated that playing table tennis can trigger their chronic pain and illness, such as lower back pain and tennis elbow. Elite table tennis players, Yin, Kaili and Chunli, also mentioned the risk of recurrent and new injuries. Before moving to New Zealand to pursue her education and gain new life experiences, Yin trained and played in a professional table tennis club in China from age 12 to 23. For Yin, the risk also occurs when she practises new techniques. She explained:

Your body is unfamiliar with new moves, and you don't know how to use your strength and power. You may also need to use a part of the body which you haven't used before. Injury may occur during that process.

Echoing Yin's explanation, Kaili, who trained in a junior team affiliated to a professional table tennis club in China before coming to New Zealand to study, described an injury she had from learning a new technique:

That was in the club's junior team when I learned side-backspin service. The coach showed me how to use the strength to spin the ball. I practised and practised for some hours, and I only cared about how to generate more power from my right arm and shoulder to drive the ball. I didn't realise I over-used these muscles [she drew a circle on my right shoulder blade]. After that training, I could not raise my right arm or move my right shoulder for a few days.

Chunli, the most experienced participant who had represented both China and New Zealand internationally, argued that any physical activity can be risky, and has the potential for injury but she affirmed, "I won't stop playing table tennis because of the worry about injury". Even though the chance of pain and injury was not as great as in waka ama, elite table tennis players also showed cautious attitudes in their practices. For example, to prevent recurring elbow injury and heel pain, Chunli always wore protective gear in training, such as a wrist brace and silicon shoe insoles. Before competing in the 2015 International Table Tennis Federation Oceania Cup, Chunli trained and played carefully with club members. One evening, she refused game invitations from a few male club members, and she explained that strenuous games could trigger her right forearm pain. Even though Chunli expressed that she was not afraid of injury, she did not ignore the risk of triggering pain and injury before important competitions. Similarly, Yin talked about pre-game risk control during her competitive days:

You know your common injuries, so you will be particularly careful to prevent the injury before the game, like using protective measures, or relatively reducing the amount of training. Like if I feel my wrist is a bit sore, I will do fewer service practices, which involves using the strength of the wrist. If my knees are hurting, I will reduce footwork practices. If the pain or injury is getting worse before the game, you can ask for a pain-killing injection to ensure you can play as usual.

Additionally, Yin's professional club arranged weekly yoga class for players as a way of injury prevention. Yin explained the purpose: "My ligaments are tight. Yoga helped me to stretch ligaments, and prevented muscle strain. I do find my flexibility improved. Generally, athletes have strength but lack flexibility, except gymnasts". Like the disciplinary waka ama paddling techniques, yoga as a disciplinary practice was seen as having risk prevention effects. Next, I

explore diverse embodied experiences of pain and injury from Chinese female table tennis players in two age groups, the 20s and 40s to 60s.

Overuse Pain and Injury: Childhood Experiences of Elite Table Tennis Training in China and New Zealand

This section focuses on one former (Villa) and two current (Kaili and Yin) elite table tennis players. Their childhood elite table tennis training experiences provide the comparison between the production of pain and injury in the New Zealand and Chinese contexts. Villa, Kaili and Yin all had overuse pain and injury from their competitive years' training as teenagers. I analyse these overuse pain and injury through Foucauldian disciplinary time regulation and Merleau-Pontian embodied temporality. Thus, theoretically, young players' experiences of pain and injury were produced by discursive training regimes and embodied agency.

Villa, a Chinese-born New Zealander, received her entire table tennis training in New Zealand from Chinese immigrant coaches. Table tennis training was an important part of Villa's primary and middle school years. "I had regular table tennis training, usually after school and on weekends ... On every Saturday morning, my mum took me to training. The training started at 9 and finished at 12," Villa said. Villa's table tennis achievements were inseparable from all the time and effort spent in training. Between 14 and 16, she was a member of the New Zealand national junior table tennis team. Once she represented New Zealand in the Oceania Junior Championships and won singles, doubles and mixed doubles competitions. Anita, Villa's mother, remembered:

She has represented New Zealand Junior Team twice. Before she made the team, New Zealand hadn't won the Oceania [Junior] competitions for a long while. After that, she stopped playing table tennis in order to go to university. After all, Chinese think highly of education. Besides study, if you still have time, you may do other stuff.

Hence, at 16, Villa retired from junior elite table tennis and focused on study. Villa's end of athletic life echoes the finding from overseas Chinese families, such as in Australia, Singapore, and the U.S., that among Chinese families, academic success is regarded as an essential social ladder for upward mobility (Pang, Macdonald, & Hay, 2015). The sole pursuit of sport achievement does not satisfy Chinese parents' standards of success. A Chinese cultural discourse mediated perception of risk is revealed from Anita's preference for Villa's academic

achievement over her sport achievement. Hence, Villa's academic development had replaced her elite table tennis pursuit around the age for university.

When I approached Villa for this research, she was a 22-year-old early-career architect, and only played table tennis for fun with friends. During a conversation, she said that she still felt the pain from training in her teenage years. When she used the stroke of forehand drive, she would always pull the muscles on the right arm. Villa said, "Every time after I played with friends, my right arm got really sore. I think it's because those muscles have been strained too many times. I think the pain will be there forever". The pain Villa had from training in her teenage years became recurrent. To better understand Villa's experience of junior elite table tennis training in New Zealand, I provide a vignette of a teenage player's training session in Chunli's Club. Chunli used to be the head coach of the New Zealand national junior training camp, which Villa had attended. This vignette may provide a glimpse of the disciplinary training commonly seen in the Chinese coach-dominated New Zealand table tennis environment.

One day in her eponymous club, Chunli was coaching a junior player, about 7 years old, who had been sent to her club to learn table tennis by his mother two months earlier. She was instructing the boy to use a forehand drive to return backspin serves. A plastic basket filled with balls was beside her, so she could continuously feed balls to the boy's forehand, while talking incessantly to correct and encourage the young trainee, mixing English and Mandarin words:

Stand square. Face to where you want the ball to travel. Good. Squat and lean forward slightly. Good boy. Nice. Ten more hits. One, two, three . . . Control your bat, good, come on, hao de [good], nice, jia you [come on]. Where do you put your left hand? Don't fix your left arm at the side. Put it in front of your body.

When the boy failed a few returns, she gave criticism, "Playing table tennis needs thinking, not just moving your hand. Training is not fooling around and playing brainlessly". The boy nodded quietly as his response. When the boy became slow from physical tiredness, she started to encourage him: "Ten more drive returns, ok? Try to hit ten good ones. Imagine you're in a competition. Concentrate and be consistent". However, she was not content with the boy's performance, so asked him to do another ten shots. She insisted, "Ten more. Hit harder. I could hardly hear your shots. We've only trained half an hour so far. Come on. Look at you, swaying and staggering".

After coaching the boy, Chunli sympathetically commented that every player will face difficulties in training, while only few can endure the hardship. "I had been through what this boy is going through now. I had the similar training in China 40 years ago but more strict and tiring," she said. Taking this boy as an example, she summarized her view of the different athletic development in China and New Zealand:

He trains twice a week, which is far from enough. Many [New Zealand] young players have high potentials, but they have to go to school, so four times a week is their maximum. In China, professional junior players only do two things: eat and train. No distractions. The country feeds them. They practise eight hours a day or even more, which is unlikely for players here [in New Zealand]. Thus, Chinese table tennis players have no excuses not to win every game. Well, in our New Zealand national squads, none of them is professional. They attended the training camp, had a few month's intensive training and then went to competitions. [FN, 12/03/2015]

The vignette revealed that Chinese training regimes were relatively unchanged between generations, and within China and overseas. The relatively unchanged training regimes in China consolidated and reflected the elements of the sport ethic and sportsnet (Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Nixon, 2004), which started influencing teenagers in formal training. Compared to Villa's training in New Zealand, Chunli, Yin and Kaili have received stricter training and experienced more severe pain and injury at younger ages due to China's highly professional and competitive table tennis environment.

Kaili was born and raised in Mainland China. Her table tennis training began in primary school years. At around the age of 11 or 12 (about the last year at primary school), Kaili made up her own mind to become a full-time player, so she joined a junior team affiliated to a local professional club. Since then, from ages 12 to 15, Kaili's daily life was strictly controlled by a tight timetable in the team. Even now, about a decade later, she could still recite her daily routines:

Every morning we got up at 6:30 and coaches took us to jog for half an hour. Breakfast at 7:30, morning training session from 8:30 to 11:30 and lunch from 12:00 to 12:50. After lunch, we took a nap in the dorm and the wake-up bell rang at 2:30. Afternoon multi-ball training started at 2:40 and finished at 5:30. Dinner at 6:00 and shower at

6:30. Then, rest. Some of us may have extra training from 8:00 to 9:00, which depended on your coach's plans. At 10:00, the bell rang again and it's bedtime.

Foucault's (1979) analysis of the activity control in eighteenth-century elementary schools is applicable to the time regulation in Kaili's junior team. The division of the training time became "increasingly minute" and each daily activity was "governed in detail by orders that had to be obeyed immediately" (Foucault, 1979, p. 150). The timetable, as disciplinary time regulation, does more than segmenting the time. It is an act "of extracting, from time, ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces" (Foucault, 1979, p. 154). The timetable as a disciplinary technology gained "access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes, and modes of everyday behaviour" (Foucault, 1994b, p. 125). Hence, the timetable as a part of the Chinese high-performance sport culture is "deeply constraining", and makes an exhaustive usage of each segment of time to produce competent players at a young age (Shilling, 2008, p. 54). However, the disciplinary control of timetable was not unchallenged. Kaili and her teammates found a way to extract a few minutes of free time from the fixed timetable:

After lunch, we usually took a nap and a bell rang at 2:30. Some coaches required their players to show up in the training hall as soon as the bell rang, but our coach was not very strict, so we got out of the dorm around 2:40 and showed up around 2:45 pm.

This example can be interpreted by Foucault's (1988e) understanding of power relations that "[i]n order to exercise a relation of power, there must be on both sides at least a certain form of liberty" (p. 12). By taking advantage of a good-tempered coach, Kaili and her teammates enacted a certain amount of freedom or liberty, namely taking more time to rest.

The heavy-training loads produced by the timetable caused an injury to Kaili. She had her first serious injury, a lower back injury, at the age of 14:

Week by week, the coach asked me to practise side-to-side footwork alongside the table. As I was sidestepping, I also need to reach out my hand to touch the edge of the table. Gradually, I felt the pain in the left lower back. Later, a doctor diagnosed a muscle strain on my lower back and a slight dislocation.

After 16 years old, Kaili left the table tennis training school and went back to school. At about 19 years old, Kaili came to New Zealand to pursue her bachelors degree. In New Zealand, Kaili kept table tennis training in her spare time. As she explained:

I coach table tennis in a training camp on every Tuesday and Sunday. I also compete. Before the game, I train for four or five weeks consecutively to find the feeling, the subtle feelings in playing. I won't let my table tennis skills rust.

However, when Kaili tried not to let her skills rust, the pain from her teenage years kicked back in, especially when she prepared for competition. She said:

I was training for four or five weeks consecutively. Then, the pain in my lower back recurred, so I went to see a physiotherapist, and she told me my low back has an old injury, and the muscles are tense and tight.

In both Villa's experiences of training in New Zealand and Kaili's in China, their overuse pain and injury were produced by the disciplinary technique of timetable. Next, I discuss Yin's experience of formal training at younger ages, which further reflect the impact of discourse of sport ethic on young table tennis players' experiences of pain and injury.

Yin reflected that in her early years of table tennis training, it never occurred to her that she might become a professional player. She said, "In primary school, I trained for 2 or 3 hours every day after school, and I did quite well in primary school competitions". Around 11 years old, which is regarded the golden age to begin formal training, Yin and her parents faced a hard choice between Yin continuing study and starting full-time table tennis training, since Yin did well in both areas. Yin recalled that:

I was a good student. In every exam, I ranked in the top three in the class ... I've spent hundreds of thousands of painstaking hours in table tennis, and reached a high athletic level. ... You definitely have to give up one, either study or sport. Instead of doing two things concurrently and be mediocre in both, we felt that it would be a shame if I gave up all those years' training.

Eventually, Yin and her parents chose table tennis. She joined a junior team of a Chinese Super League²² club and became a full-time table tennis player at the age of 11. "Suddenly, I found the training was intense, about six or seven hours per day," Yin said. At the age of 15, Yin had

²² Super League is the top domestic table tennis league, including both men's and women's leagues. Many top domestic and international players play for Super League clubs.

her first serious injury, a knee injury that required a surgery, but she regarded herself as very fortunate, because she said that was the only injury in her athletic career.

In the above three cases, Villa had repetitive muscle strain before 16 years old, Kaili had a lower back injury at the age of 14 and Yin's knee was injured at around the age of 15. These findings support Messner and Musto's (2014) statement that when children were highly involved in sport and adopted "sport identities, practices and goals" (p. 115), sport participation became a detriment to health. Since their teenage years, these table tennis players internalized the socially-constructed discourse of the sport ethic, as can be seen from Yin's and Kaili's taken-for-granted experiences of pain and injury. As Yin stressed:

I think every professional player more or less has pain and injury. It's very common. On the contrary, it's not normal for athletes not having any pain or injury, so a normal athlete, more or less, has injuries. For example, table tennis players have common injuries on wrists, knees, and waist.

When I invited Yin to further explain the idea that pain and injury are normal for athletes, she replied, "You can see the team doctors are busy all year round, because injuries happen on daily basis. Players got injured every day, new or recurrent. It's not just me. Other players have the similar ideas". When I expressed my concerns and sympathy for the fact that pain and injury are normal for athletes, Yin reaffirmed that "It's really common to have injuries ... at least very common to have minor injuries. It's also normal for an athlete to be training with minor injuries for six to eight hours a day". When I asked Kaili whether she would skip training or quit a competition due to discomfort and injury, immediately, she disagreed:

I'd keep training because if you keep training, the soreness will gradually disappear and you will get less soreness later. If your injuries got worse before the competition, you may receive a pain-killing injection or taping. I think it's normal to go into a competition with minor injuries or discomfort. You can bear it and finish the game. After an injection, you can barely feel any pain, and there's always a way to solve your problem before the game.

Yin also explained embodied feelings of keeping training with minor injuries. She said, "At the beginning [of the training], you may feel the pain of your injured body part, but after ten or twenty minutes when you get used to the movement and gradually you become numb and won't feel the pain anymore". These two young table tennis players' attitudes and reactions towards

pain and injury shared similarities with Conny's 'go get fixed' attitude and Arataki's determination to endure pain and injury during races in their younger years' competitive waka ama sporting experience.

Even though Kaili and Yin did not view pain and injury through the life-course perspective, an interesting point reflected from their narratives is that pain is an indicator of time duration. Their feelings of pain decreased as they kept playing or training. Pain became a corporeal temporality, which united each movement in the past, present and future (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and transformed the body into "a temporal landscape" (Kirmayer, 2007, p. 391). The changing feelings of pain signify a carnally-based temporality, which differed from the external strict and fixed timetable. Hence, Yin's and Kaili's embodied experiences of pain and injury were not static experiences of the present, but experiences linking "between a here and a yonder, a now and a future" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 140). I further argue that their embodied experiences also imply a continuum between a healthy body and a painful or injured body, rather than creating a clear boundary. Athletes, like Kaili and Yin in table tennis and Conny and Arataki in waka ama, blurred the binary classification of health and illness by their disciplinary practices of sport training. Since pain and injury are embedded into the occupational culture of sport (Roderick, 2006a), neither Kaili nor Yin would use pain or injury as an excuse to avoid training or competition. Curry (1993) stated the reality that "[a]t the elite level, those who do not share the norms that normalize pain and injury risk being dropped from the team or placed in secondary positions" (p. 284). Noticeably, even though Villa, Kaili and Yin reflected on their formal training in their teenage years, they did not question the normalization of overuse pain and injury in sport.

It is widely accepted that overtraining has "negative physiological and socio-psychological consequences" in child athletes (Oliver & Lloyd, 2014, p. 169). But older elite athletes can also be physically and socially vulnerable due to heavy-load training and their internalization of the sport ethic. When Villa, Yin and Kaili uncritically accepted the overuse pain and injuries as normal, and an athletic life with pain and injury as a normal life, they became vulnerable to the high-performance sport ethic.

The next section discusses junior elite table tennis players' communications of pain and injury with their significant others (e.g., parents, coaches, team doctors and teammates). The findings reveal dynamic power relations between junior elite table tennis players and their

significant others and the junior athletes appeared as both passive actors and active agents in their sport networks.

Former Junior Elite Table Tennis Players' Pain and Injury: Discursive and Agential Experiences in the Sportsnet

Based primarily on the experiences of Yin and Kaili, this section explores how pain and injury were shaped through their interactions with others. Social relationships and interactions have shaped people's narratives of and attitudes towards pain and injury (Bourke, 2014; Hardcastle, 1999; Honkasalo, 2000). To understand the social interaction in sport, I drew on Nixon's (1992) concept of sportsnet and Roderick's (1998) and Walk's (1997) suggestion to explore the agency of athletes in the sport context. For this thesis, sportsnet is seen as a net of power relations, in which former junior elite table tennis players' embodied experiences of pain and injury were shaped. I argue that their embodied experiences provide empirical evidence to extend Nixon's conceptualisation of the sportsnet by highlighting athletes' agency and resistance.

Yin's parents shared the same belief with Yin that pain and injury were normal aspects of athletic life. Similar, when Kaili complained about training with pain to her parents, her father replied that if other players were training like that, she should stop complaining. This kind of communication between young athletes and their parents affirmed the "uncritical and unquestioned acceptance and idealisation" of sport-related pain and injury that has also been found in Western contexts (Safai, 2003, p. 127). The daughter-mother relationship between Villa and her mother and how their relationships have been shaped by their understandings of sport, risk, pain and injury will be discussed in the next chapter.

Regarding coaches' attitudes²³, Chunli recalled that Chinese coaches would not force athletes to train, and they would require athletes to seek treatment, but athletes themselves might not follow coaches' wishes. Chunli emphasised athletes' own agency in playing hurt, as she said, "Competitive players care about the results of competitions. Training improves athletic performance, while injury means losing time for training. Normally, players won't give up training easily, so they will train with injuries and keep training with great persistence". Additionally, Chunli argued that "China's high-performance sport system spends a lot of money to hire sport doctors, aiming to efficiently cure athletes' injuries. It is an act out of the

²³ The genders of coaches were not identified by Chunli.

concern for athletes, for their good performance and good results in competitions”. Nevertheless, Kaili and Yin revealed that sometimes their coaches were dismissive of their pain and injuries. Yin believed that a coach’s unsympathetic attitude could really injure athletes. As she said:

One day I felt unwell and tired, my right knee was aching. I said to the coach my knee was aching and I wanted to rest, but the coach replied to me, “You haven’t completed today’s training plan, so you’d better continue”. So I continued. Coaches may wish injured athletes to get rest, but the reality is, most of the times, they think you’re just feeling tired or you want to avoid training.

In Yin’s case, the coach did not trust her intuitive feelings of discomfort, and her communication of pain to the coach was unsuccessful. Later, unfortunately, a knee injury was diagnosed. In Kaili’s memory, she did not dare to negotiate a rest with the coach:

In regard to the fitness training, the coach used to ask us to squat jump around the training hall. After few laps, I couldn’t bear the soreness on the back and legs, because I have a back injury. The coach was very bad-tempered. If you didn’t accomplish an assigned task, the coach would scold you. Then I thought if others were trying their best to accomplish that training, so could I. The next day, I couldn’t even walk.

Poor interactions and miscommunications were found between Yin and Kaili and their coaches. These communicative relations are also power relations (Foucault, 1983b). Foucault (1983b) claimed that relationships of communication can modify “the field of information between partners, [and] produce effects of power” (p. 218). Both Yin’s failed negotiation with coaches and Kaili’s fear of communicating with coaches indicated that they were situated at a less powerful position in their communicative relationships with coaches. However, the discussion below about the communications with team doctors highlights the capability of athletes as free subjects in power relations.

In the U.S. context, Nixon (1994) stated that team doctors are supposed to be “the only ones in the athletes’ everyday interactive sportsnet who are qualified to treat the athletes’ pain and injuries” (p. 351). From Kaili’s experiences, rather than team doctors, coaches were the ones who conducted preliminary diagnosis of players’ pain and injury:

You can't go to the team doctor whenever you like. First, you need your coach's permission. If the coach thinks you're alright, you're unable to see the doctor. Team doctor is an easy piece, but the coach is a hard nut to crack.

Even when Yin had the access to the team doctor, she expressed low expectations and distrust of the team doctor's diagnosis and treatments. She said: "The team doctor only provided limited types of treatment: acupuncture, massage, and heat therapy, or first-aid care, like taping you up or giving you a pain-killing jab before the game. Eventually, you need to go to a hospital". Her distrust resulted from a team doctor's misdiagnosis and inefficient treatment, which worsened her knee injury:

After an intense game, my right knee was swollen. I went to see a team doctor, who didn't pay much attention to my symptom, just telling me I was over-using my knee, so it inflamed. In the next two or three months, my knee frequently got swollen and painful after intensive training. At last, I couldn't bear the recurring pain and went to a hospital. The doctor there told me a bone chip has fallen off my knee joints. I guess it's in that intense match. Then, quickly a new piece of bone grew back, so that fallen piece had nowhere to go, but floated around the knee, and constantly caused inflammation. Then I had an operation to remove that extra piece and I rested for two months.

The reaction of Yin's team doctor reinforced the notion of health in the context of high-performance sports, which "inevitably means compromising health" (Theberge, 2007, p. 190). However, in the communicative relationship with the team doctor, Yin also showed a degree of resistance and agency in the patient-doctor power relations by actively going to the hospital and seeking treatment.

As an athlete-patient, Yin problematized the medical services in her club. Not only did Yin report that but she explained that many of her female teammates did not let the team doctor make the sole judgment of their pain and injury, so they went to see the team doctor already with a type of treatment in their minds. Yin said, "Generally, I know how to deal with my recurrent pain and injury. I would discuss and negotiate a solution with the team doctor". Sometimes, instead of going to see the team doctor, teammates helped each other. As Yin recalled: "One day during the training, I complained about my low back pain to a training partner, and she replied, "Your lower back hurts? Come here. Let me give you a quick massage". A Chinese idiom can summarize this phenomenon of negotiable medical practice and patients' agency in self-medication: 久病成医 [prolonged illness makes the patient a

doctor]. Even if athletes, like Yin and her teammates, seemed to have the least amount of power in the dynamic power relations—the sportsnet—they exercised some “sovereignty over the treatment of their own bodies” (Walk, 1997, p. 54). Yin’s and her teammates’ interactions with their team doctor affirm that athlete-patients are both docile bodies and reflexive users of health care at the same time (e.g., Thing, 2012). Thing (2012) argued that medical knowledge in sport becomes “a field in which everything is up for discussion” (p. 195). Safai (2003) pointed out that the reasons for athletes to seek or not to seek medical treatments are multiple and complex. Yin and her teammates and the doctor played a power game in the field of medical knowledge. Therefore, the dynamic power relations reflected from former junior table tennis players’ communications of their pain and injury complicate Nixon’s (1992) sportsnet by highlighting athletes’ agency and resistance.

Yin’s final resistance to the Chinese high-performance sportsnet was her choice of retirement at the age of 23 when she was still in her prime time of athletic performance. Yin explained her decision:

Lucen: What was the reason that you gave up your table tennis career in China?

Yin: I felt tired of playing. I’m 23 years old, if I continue to play for two more years, I’ll be 25 then, when normally players choose to end their careers but I would miss so many things in life. I think it’s a good retirement plan—to retire at the peak age of athletic performance. When I told the coach about retiring, he still wanted me in the team but I said no. I don’t want to wait till my performance going downhill and the coach asks me to retire. Then it will be stressful.

Yin’s breaking away from the elite table tennis sportsnet, which she had spent around 10 years in, reflects a young athlete’s agency. In New Zealand, Yin was a full-time student and a part-time coach in NZTT. Applying a life-course perspective to Yin’s athletic and post-athletic periods, the sportsnet, even though it greatly shaped her reactions to pain and injury, was just a part of her life course.

The following sections focus on middle-aged Chinese female table tennis players’ embodied experiences of pain and injury. Even within these participants, there are different embodied experiences due to their different levels of sport performance and the length of sport participation. I apply the Confucian concept of *ren* [benevolence] and Foucault’s technologies of the self to interpret their experiences of pain and injury.

Diverse Embodied Experiences of Pain and Injury within Middle-aged Female Table Tennis Players

Compared to the findings of younger players, findings suggested that middle-aged table tennis players tended to be more reflective and even more positive about their physical activities and their health conditions. For example, Angie and Lai are long-time recreational players in NZTT, whose positive attitudes towards table tennis outweigh the facts of their recurrent pain and injury in this sport. Angie regarded playing table tennis as a double-edged sword, which induced her backache and pain in the right hand, but was good for her overall physical health and refreshed her days.

One day, I saw Angie in the volunteer program standing beside a table with a ball machine. She was wearing the bright orange coach t-shirt with the program acronym printed on the back in big black English letters. With her high energetic voice, she encouraged a child to continuously hit the coming ball from the machine. During a break, Angie told me that she had severe lower back pain today, so she could not hold a bat to coach but she still could stand beside the ball machine and instruct children how to hit. I asked her why she did not stay at home and rest. She said she had stayed at home for a few days and now really missed the children and her volunteer friends [FN, 17/02/2015]. In Lai's case, playing table tennis actually worsened her tennis elbow and affected her daily routines, such as cooking, cleaning and holding things, but sometimes in the morning club, Lai wore an elbow bandage and still came for games with friends [FN, 29/03/2016]. For Angie and Lai, the social benefits and overall wellbeing gained from playing table tennis in NZTT can offset their physical pain and injury. Such comparisons between health benefits and pain and injury were explicitly illustrated by Chunli.

Chunli, an elite player in her early 50s, has been playing table tennis at the competitive-level for about four decades and, inevitably, had pain and injury. At the age of 29, Chunli injured her right shoulder twice, which stopped her training and playing for a few months. Between her 30s and 40s, she had an elbow injury and chronic neck pain. However, she emphasised the long-term health benefits of being physically active. As she illustrated:

Injuries are not just from sport, like today Mr. Zhou [one of her club members] had a gardening injury. Just that if you do more physical activities and sports, you're exposed to higher chance to get injured. Am I right? I'm quite old now. Even though sometimes I had this and that injuries, in general I would never end my sport career due to injury.

Those injuries are curable. I started training at a very young age and gradually built up my overall fitness, so the chance for me to get severely injured is very low. So, you see those who lack physical activities will get injured even lifting a box or gardening. For me, the best way to prevent injury is keep doing physical activities, but also take time, step by step.

Even though Chunli had injuries at different stages of her athletic career, she thought the long-term high-performance table tennis career benefited her health. Chunli's situation illustrated "the lived contradictions" among athletes that sport was supposed to have health benefits but the real sporting experiences were filled with pain and injuries (Safai, 2003, p. 128).

Regarding her chronic neck and elbow pain, Chunli said, "When I turn my neck to right, it feels so tight. This neck pain doesn't affect my table tennis performance, but it affects my daily life". The neck pain resulted from her pen-hold grip of the table tennis bat, which is a traditional bat gripping style in East Asia. I asked her why she had not changed the way of bat gripping, and Chunli replied, "I've used penhold style for my whole life, and I won't change it. As a professional player, I spent a long time to learn and master this style. I've adopted the pen-hold grip since I was little". Chunli's pen-hold bat gripping signified a "body-weapon, body-tool, body-machine complex", which is fixed in her body but productive for her activity (Foucault, 1979, p. 153). Even though a certain body-tool complex can cause pain, high-level players, like Chunli, would not change their playing styles and techniques. From a phenomenological perspective, the bat can also be seen as an "incarnate subject" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 185), and the relation between high-performance athletes and their equipment reflects Merleau-Ponty's (1974) statement that "[t]hings are ... incrustated into its flesh, they are part of its full definition" (p. 284). The body and the bat are "fastening them to one another" through disciplinary sporting techniques (Foucault, 1979, p. 153). The pen-hold grip, even though it implies an instrumentalist relation between Chunli's body and the bat, is Chunli's signature throughout her table tennis career. Nevertheless, contrasted to Chunli's fixed bodily relation with her bat, next I discuss Rose's changing table tennis techniques after an injury.

Rose, in her late 40s, is a recreational table tennis player. Before coming to New Zealand, she and her husband regularly played badminton in Hong Kong, but she found badminton more tiring and injury-prone. Since they moved to New Zealand more than ten years ago, Rose and her husband had stopped playing badminton, but came to NZTT at least once a week to practise and to volunteer in a table tennis program with children with special needs.

During the school holiday, when there was no volunteer program with school children, Rose or her husband, Deng, would practise basic forehand and backhand techniques with me to help me enhance my techniques [FN, 26/01/2016]. Rose was passionate about acquiring new techniques and skills, so she hired different coaches in the club to teach her different skill sets. Due to practicing table tennis, she had tennis elbow on her right arm. Instead of giving up table tennis, she used Chinese medicines to treat her tennis elbow. More importantly, Rose started to learn to play with her left hand in order to give her right arm enough time to rest. Rose said it was a hard but worthwhile transition:

The feeling [of the left hand] is odd, like I have no control over my body. I also spent the time to meditate and imagine, trying to transfer skills from my right hand to the left. After nearly half a year, then I could do forehand continuous counterhit. Now I can even shift hands while playing. My husband said I'm like *Xiao Long Ni* [Little Dragon Maiden²⁴]. I think this change was a good practice to balance my right and left sides of the brain and the body ... Playing left-handed was a lot of fun. Do you know why? I always felt something wrong with my right-hand techniques, such as my problematic handshake grip, but after so many years that problem became a habit, hard to fix. While my left hand was a whole new beginning, I can adopt the correct grip at the very beginning.

The injury drove Rose to change her previous techniques and reflect on the ways she used to experience her body. Regarding the differences between Chunli and Rose in coping with pain and injury, Chunli, a long-term elite player, had fixed relationships with her body and chronic pain and recurrent injury in certain bodily parts. Rose, a recreational player, adopted new bodily techniques which allowed her injured arm to rest. The different ways of coping with pain and injury between Chunli and Rose were due to their different levels of performance in table tennis.

After learning table tennis techniques as a beginner, Rose reflected that now she could better understand the difficulties for novices and children with disabilities she volunteered with. A new self-awareness and new purposes in playing table tennis were found in Rose's narrative:

²⁴ A female character, in one of Jin Yong's Kung Fu novels, who can simultaneously use both hands to fight with multiple opponents.

Suddenly I became a novice in table tennis, but everyone starts as a novice and the primary difficulty is no one wants to play with you. I used to be a bit arrogant to play with beginners, because with them you always spent more time picking up balls than playing. Now, I've learned that such attitude was my obstacle in understanding and making progress in table tennis. Actually, I can make progress in diverse ways. If I play with beginners, I can practise the placement of my return balls, which helps the beginners to hit and practises my ball control. I won't say I can coach them but at least I can share. As I share my experiences, I feel satisfied with playing table tennis. After all, it's not an individual game. You need to spend both quality and quantity time with whoever standing opposite to you. Such attitude also helped my life outside table tennis. A good table tennis player, now in my mind, is good at playing as well as sharing.

Rose's experience of pain and injury revealed an evolving and changing perspective of pain and injury, which has also been identified from middle-aged waka ama paddlers. Her own way of coping with pain and injury, through practicing left-hand techniques, became the starting point of her awareness of being-in-the-world-with-others, since her reflections of pain and injury led her to empathize with novice players. Rose's empathetic experience of pain and injury revealed the bodily-based understandings and connections among people, which is the embodied intersubjectivity in Merleau-Ponty's (1962) regard. Rose's intersubjective experience of pain and injury changed her perceptions of good table tennis players and, theoretically, extended the embodied agency of 'I can' to "I relate, therefore I constantly become" (Kleinjans, 1990, p. 113). Additionally, through a Confucian lens, Tu (2007) claimed that the proper way to deal with our own pain and suffering is to transform our unpleasant feelings into emphatic energy, which enhances interpersonal understanding, community solidarity and harmony with nature and universe.

How Rose has been changed by injury can also be seen as performing "technologies of the self" or "arts of existence" (Foucault, 1985, p. 11). As Foucault (1985) identified, there are four steps to accomplish technologies of the self: "the *determination of the ethical substance*", "the *mode of subjection*", "the forms of *elaboration, of ethical work*" and "the *telos* of the ethical subject" (pp. 26-27, italics in original). First, Rose's reactions to sport-related pain and injury are the chosen *ethical substance*. At this stage, Rose problematized her pre-injury competitive self in table tennis. The *mode of subjection*, the second aspect, means that one establishes a relation with rules and carries that relation into practice. Regarding the new relations and practices, Rose developed the new embodied relation with her left hand and

enjoyed the new tactile sensation in relearning the techniques. The next aspect is *ethical work*, which emphasises the creation of a new self rather than the compliance with rules (Markula & Pringle, 2006). Rose's new purpose and inspiration—being “good at playing as well as sharing” table tennis—can be seen as “the tools or techniques that one has at one's disposal to engage in self-transformation” (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 142). The final aspect is *telos*, which is a certain mode of being that the ethical subject commits to. This stage witnessed Rose's aspiration of being a good communicator of table tennis and distributing her knowledge of table tennis to novices and people with special needs.

Next section focuses on Chunli, who has the longest table tennis career and experience among all the table tennis participants. Her long-term experience of table tennis and various pain and injuries interweaved with her immigrant-athlete identity in New Zealand society, which revealed in-depth understandings of a long-term high-level immigrant table tennis player's pain and injury interlocked with her passion and aspiration for this sport.

“I can be a role model to encourage people”: Li Chunli's Prolonged Athletic Career and Pain and Injury

This section focuses on Chunli, who has played table tennis at the elite level in both China and New Zealand. Now in her middle 50s, she still represents New Zealand in international competitions. To interpret Chunli's prolonged table tennis career stretched over four decades with recurrent pain and injury, I employ Confucian concepts of the self and the discourse of model minority discussed in Chapter Three. I explore the layers of meaning of pain and injury in Chunli's sporting life, which illustrate the multiple perceptions of pain and injury due to the interplay of age, cultural and sport backgrounds, performance level and length of sport participation.

Chunli has the longest elite table tennis experience among all participants in this research. She has played for both Chinese and New Zealand national teams. At the age of 11, she was selected into a Chinese provincial junior team; at the age of 15, she joined the national junior team and then the Chinese national team in her early 20s (in the 1980s). Chunli's upward mobility in China's high-performance sport was successful, she won mixed doubles twice (1984 and 1985) in China's national competitions. At around 29 years old, she retired from the Chinese national team and immigrated to and started her table tennis career in New Zealand that continued during the research period. In New Zealand, Chunli not only represented the

country in international competitions, but also coached the New Zealand national table tennis team for the 2006 and 2010 Commonwealth Games (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). Chunli's coaching position can be contrasted with the situation in China that no female had ever been the head coach to the Chinese national table tennis team.

Due to the unpopularity of table tennis in New Zealand, new immigrant players, Yin and Kaili, did not devote themselves to this sport but focused more on their education. In contrast, Chunli showed her persistence in and passion for competitive table tennis:

In the first couple of years in NZ, friends told me to stop playing table tennis since I was not young, but I didn't listen to them, because I really like table tennis. I just wanted to play. When I was 40, I won the Commonwealth Games, and I beat Singapore's Li Jiawei. No one thought I could be a champion again, neither did I. Then I realised, even at 40, it is possible to be an international champion. It really depends on your techniques ... I don't know which is more likely to be the obstacle, the skill or the age. How old is old? I don't know.

Yin compared her early retirement to players like Chunli who delayed their retirement and commented: "Some players became coaches after retirement and maybe they are the ones who truly love table tennis." In Yin's criterion, Chunli is one of those who "truly love" the sport. Apart from pursuing her own elite table tennis, Chunli coaches table tennis for a living and has been achieving popularizing this sport in New Zealand. The vignette below describes how Chunli managed her club and interacted with club members, which reveals the interplay between Chunli's pain and injury and her pursuit of table tennis at the elite level in the New Zealand society. To understand this interplay between an athlete's pain and injury and the sporting and social context, I draw upon Confucian concepts of the self, namely *xiao wo* and *da wo* discussed in Chapter Three.

By 2016, Chunli has been running her club for 11 years. The club permanently holds four table tennis tables and is located in the basement of a multi-functional sport hall. There were photos of club members and Chunli and the club's posters on walls in the basement. Chunli also set up temporary table tennis tables at the corners of the sport hall for morning and evening clubs.

I arrived at the sport hall at 7 p.m. to attend Chunli's evening club. Her evening club was behind a futsal gate, and there was a loud futsal game with squeaking, screeching, and banging

noises. Between Chunli's evening club and the futsal game were thick black curtains about 2 metres long hung between two side walls. Very often, a football would suddenly appear on the side of Chunli's Club.

Chunli was there alone, pushing a big trolley full of court barriers and nets out of a storage room. A dull-yellow wall decorated with a banner, a flag and a photo, indicated the connection between her club and the national table tennis body (Figure 8).



Figure 8 A wall beside Chunli's evening club.

She cheerfully greeted me, but did not stop pushing the trolley. She was around 160 cm, slightly hunched, and her short dyed hair was fiery red. She walked fast, spoke with great enthusiasm, and laughed a lot. She was wearing her own branded tracksuit, with her surname 'Li' embroidered on the left chest, and later I noticed that most of her club members were wearing the 'Li' brand sportswear.

While we were moving the tables, she joked, "Moving tables is my favourite activity". From interviews with Yin and Kaili, I learned that many table tennis players have lower back pain and injuries. Hence, I said to her with concern, "Is that heavy? Let me help to set up those tables". She kindly refused, saying, "No worries. Since the very first day I opened this club, I've been doing this by myself for 10 years".

About 7:30 p.m., members gradually appeared and Chunli walked around the court to greet everyone. After organizing members into pairs to play, Chunli began to warm up beside a wall, stretching her limbs and twisting her waist, while waiting for a student to arrive for a training session with her. [FN, 12/03/2015]

...

Chunli's morning club is at the other end of the sport hall, adjacent to the entry to the basement. Usually, there were other sports played besides the morning table tennis club, such as basketball, volleyball or badminton (Figure 9).



Figure 9 A member of the morning club waiting for others to arrive watches a basketball game in the same space.

Most of the morning club attendants were middle-aged and older Chinese men and women. There were fewer competitive games but more casual conversations in the morning club. A male player, who migrated from Hong Kong in the 1970s, said to Chunli, "Coach, I still remember I watched you in the Barcelona Olympics on TV. You are famous". She laughed as she replying, "Oh well, you people are kind and come to support my club".

Wang, a lively older female player, also from Hong Kong, tried to catch Li's attention, "Shi fu [master], shi fu, watch me, shi fu. How's my hitting? Good?" She sounded like a sincere disciple in the old Hong Kong kong fu films. Chunli turned to Wang and praised her steady

backhand techniques. Then, Chunli explained to me, “Wang is 70 years old, and the guy playing with her is Deng, 69 years old. Both of them just started table tennis, and they are pretty serious about it. I told my younger trainees even these grandpas and grandmas are trying hard”.

Wang heard and cut in, “Playing table tennis is good. Shi fu is very patient in coaching old people. When Shi fu founded this club 10 years ago, very few members. I told all my mahjong²⁵ friends to come along. Now instead of playing mahjong in the morning, we play table tennis”. Chunli laughed and affirmed, “Right. You all should play more table tennis than mahjong”. [FN, 06/04/2015]

Confucian concepts of the self consist of a “private and individuated self (called *xiao wo*, 小我, literally meaning the small self)” and “a larger collectivity to which one belongs ... (called *da wo*, 大我, the large self)” (Yang, 2006, p. 347). Both *xiao wo* [the small self] and *da wo* [the large self] can be found in Chunli’s table tennis involvements in New Zealand. These two aspects of the self are interrelated in her perception of the future development for New Zealand table tennis. As Chunli envisioned:

To develop table tennis, I think recreational and professional table tennis need to go together. But professionalization is much more difficult ... In my club, I try to ensure the combination of popularization and professionalization. I believe winning international games can increase the popularity of table tennis in New Zealand, so I play international games. I really want to try my best to raise New Zealand’s table tennis profile. I can be a role model to encourage people and to let them know that New Zealand also has very good table tennis players.

Given Chunli’s aspiration for New Zealand table tennis, her pain and injury, athletic career and New Zealander identity are interlocked. These interconnections explained why she has prolonged her career in table tennis, despite pain and injury.

Just as table tennis has been an essential part of Chunli’s life, so has pain and injury. In her long athletic career, various injuries occurred between her 20s and 40s, particularly chronic neck and elbow pain. Her shoulder was injured twice at the age of 29, elbow pain reoccurred between 30 and 40 and repetitive right heel pain occurred last year yet she did not terminate

²⁵ A traditional Chinese tile-based game.

her athletic career, which is explained by her love of table tennis. Chunli actively sought treatments in China and New Zealand. When she went back to China to train with a provincial table tennis team, she went to the team doctor for acupuncture, massage, Chinese medicine or sometimes a nerve block (injection) around the heel. In New Zealand, she visited physiotherapists for massage.

In the 2015 Oceania Table Tennis Championships, Chunli lost to a Chinese-immigrant Australian player. After that, Chunli reflected on her difficulties as her table tennis career continued:

Even though not many people care about table tennis in New Zealand, I've treated each game seriously. I'd love to see the New Zealand national flag flying after the match, but it's more and more difficult to win competitions, because I've been playing for a long time and other players have analysed my styles and strategies and they improved a lot. Also, I had this pain on my right heel for quite a long time. Every night at bedtime, it feels worse and I'm disheartened and even doubt myself whether I can carry on.

There are conflicting goals in Chunli's career between recovering from pain and injury and promoting table tennis in New Zealand. She underplayed 'the goal of the small self', namely, recovering from pain and injury, in order to accomplish the goal of large self, namely promoting New Zealand table tennis. Therefore, in the case of Chunli, she continued playing table tennis despite her pain and injury not merely because of her conformity to the sport ethic. Rather, it was due to her sense of responsibility, which can be interpreted as the connection between Chunli's care for her bodily performance in table tennis and the status of table tennis in New Zealand.

Chunli's sense of responsibility for maintaining her high-performance table tennis body for New Zealand table tennis somehow also reflected the discourse of the model minority. The discourse of the model minority stereotypes Asian migrants' characteristics, such as "hard work, self-denial and delayed gratification" (Ip, 2003, p. 241). These characteristics can be seen from Chunli's attitudes towards training and sported-related pain and injury. In early New Zealand history, concerning the stature of citizenship, "Māori were ... second-class citizens, and ... the Chinese were quintessential outsiders" (Pearson, 2009, p. 40); even in the early 1990s, "[t]he Chinese ... had no place in the blueprint for New Zealand nationhood" (Ip, 2003, p. 233). However, in the 1960s, Chinese immigrants in New Zealand and other Western countries "became known as the country's 'model minority'" (Ip, 2003, p. 241). Ip and Murphy

(2005) argue that new Asian migrants are very much like on probation, because “[m]any New Zealanders felt that these newcomers needed to prove themselves worthy of the privilege of being granted residence in the country” (Ip & Murphy, 2005, p. 30). Chunli’s expressions, for example, “try my best to help New Zealand” and “I can be a role model”, resonate with the discourse of the model minority. It is easy to associate Chinese with table tennis but difficult to make that link between New Zealanders and the sport, while Chunli kept challenging herself with that task.

Chunli’s aspiration faces a harsh reality that the country of New Zealand is not interested in the Chinese-dominant sport of table tennis. On the list of sports that are funded by New Zealand High Performance Sport, table tennis is not included (High Performance Sport New Zealand, 2016). Evidence can also be seen from studies of New Zealand media coverage of Li Chunli in the 2002 Commonwealth Games, who won four medals (e.g., Bruce, 2009; Wensing, 2003). Even though Chunli won more medals than any other New Zealand athlete in the 2002 Commonwealth Games, she received only 8 (5%) medal images, much less coverage than Pākehā, Māori or Pacific athletes who won fewer medals (Bruce, 2009; Wensing, 2003). Based on the case of Chunli, Bruce (2009) concluded that New Zealand sports media constructed New Zealand as the not-Asian nation. Hence, as Chunli talked about trying to win medals for New Zealand and popularizing the sport in New Zealand, she was actually trying to find a place for Chinese in New Zealand nationhood and nationalism.

The aspiration of using table tennis to contribute to the New Zealand society was not just found in Chunli’s narratives. From the ethnographic data of NZTT, among the older players who volunteered to coach children with special needs, I also found evidence that reflects the interconnections between their *xiao wo*, benefiting their health and wellbeing from playing table tennis, and their *do wo*, helping children with special needs and raising the image of Chinese in New Zealand. Like the case of Angie mentioned above, she came to volunteer in the program despite her lower back pain. All older Chinese participants hold New Zealand passports or have permanent residency. They were unpaid volunteers in a three-hour weekly table tennis program offering students with special needs one-on-one table tennis coaching and robot challenge (playing against the ball machine). In addition to the weekly activity, this program also hosted an annual cross-school competition, when 80 to 100 students would attend accompanied by their parents and teachers. During a yum char lunch, Joe, Rose, Deng, Angie, Gu and Emily shared with me that New Zealand is home and their New Zealander identity

intertwined with their aspirations to contribute to society [FN, 17/03/2015]. Joe, a Hong Kong immigrant in his early 60s, who has been involved in this program for five years, said:

I want this country to be good and prosperous and I also know my ability and limitations, so I can only focus on what I can and in the thing I am good at. I think coaching [in this program] is one way of contributing what I can. [FN, 17/03/2015]

Angie and her husband Gu, both in their late 50s, had lived in New Zealand about 10 years and they also expressed that New Zealand was their home. Participating in this program for three years allowed them to carry on what they used to do in Malaysia, as Angie explained:

In Malaysia, when our kid was in school, my husband and I involved ourselves in his school programs and we went to the school to do volunteer work. Like we run a mobile library and reading programs for children in the school. Because of our previous experiences, I feel natural and familiar to work with children at here ... We are not like those patriotic immigrants who have strong attachment to their home countries. We are quite liberal. We praise the good sides of New Zealand and we also criticize its issues. [FN, 17/03/2015]

Rose and her husband Deng, who was over 60, volunteered in this program for more than 10 years and their self-identifications reflected both the opportunities and the challenges of being Chinese living in New Zealand and promoting this table tennis-related volunteer program. Deng reflected that, as Chinese, they are different from the majority of people of European descent in New Zealand, and that table tennis, the sport they played, was very marginal in New Zealand. Nevertheless, Deng pointed out that:

During these years, I began to think it may be a good opportunity to promote Chinese communities through this program, so we tried to reach out to schools and invite students who study social work to our program and in recent years, even representatives from Special Olympics New Zealand have visited us. We let them know it's not just a Chinese program. [FN, 17/03/2015]

Related to Deng's comment that "it's not just a Chinese program", in my field work, I experienced learning the New Zealand national anthem with these Chinese table tennis volunteers. It was a preparation for the Ribbon Day, an end-of-the-year big event, inviting all children, their parents and teachers, and representatives from Special Olympics New Zealand to participate. Two weeks before the Ribbon Day, after the weekly volunteer program, we

gathered at a corner in the table tennis hall, listened to the New Zealand national anthem broadcasted from Deng's laptop, and memorized the lyrics, both Māori and English, from A4 papers that Deng printed out for us (Figure 10). Deng said when we sang the anthem, we acknowledged the country and those children and adults in this country [17/11/2015].

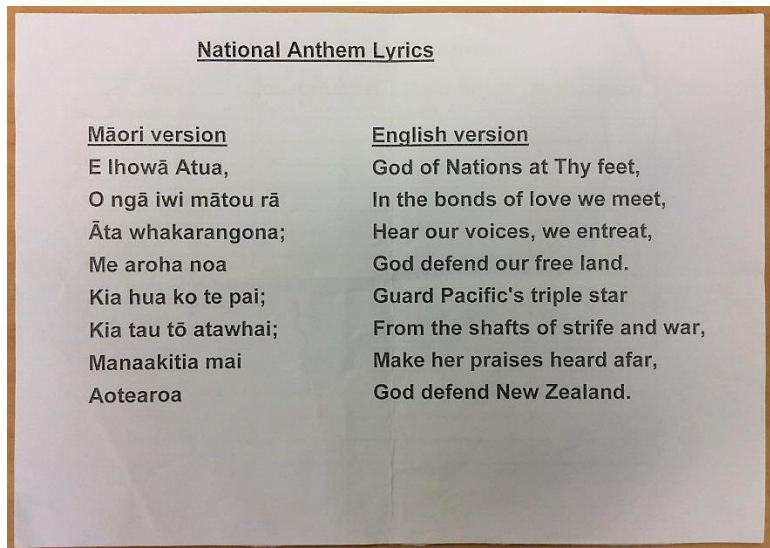


Figure 10 *The lyrics of the New Zealand national anthem printed out by Deng.*

Emily, a Hong Kong immigrant in her 50s, agreed with Deng, but she also stressed age and health issues that old volunteers such as herself faced during her more than five years stint in this program:

We need to admit that we have limited number of volunteers and our volunteers are mainly old Chinese, so we can't expect them to come to the program weekly and to treat this program as their priority in life. Sometimes, I don't feel well and I don't come. Over the years, I've seen volunteers come and go. Sometimes volunteers were sick but when they recovered, they came back. But you don't really know whether they can come back or not. We are old and we may not come back again. There were volunteers left us forever. [FN, 17/03/2015]

Even during my fieldwork in NZTT, I attended the funeral of an old volunteer with other Chinese participants. Angie positively replied to Emily's opinion: "I believe not just Chinese people like playing table tennis or volunteering. It's just that people outside our social circle do not know that playing table tennis and volunteering can be done at the same time." Nevertheless, Chunli and these Chinese table tennis players, who used table tennis as a vehicle to make contributions, were seldom recognized or noticed by the society. In a sharply funny

way, Oscar Kightley, a New Zealand comedian, said that Asian communities will truly be recognized when there is an All Black player with an Asian surname (Kite & Hakaraia, 2002).

Conclusion

First, in this chapter, I identified the low risk in table tennis and I saw table tennis as a safety zone. Apart from the nature of these two sports, my cultural background, upbringing and unfamiliarity with water activities also drove me to highlight the risk in waka ama. As I conducted the waka ama fieldwork and gradually learned how to paddle, my perceptions of risk continued to form and change. However, I did not feel the same level of risk in table tennis due to my previous sporting experience and my cultural familiarity with it.

In the second part, findings around former junior elite Chinese table tennis players broadened understandings of Nixon's (1992) concept of the sportsnet with evidence of athletes' active agency in and resistance to power relations in the sport context. I applied Foucauldian analytical tools of disciplinary time regulation and power relations and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological concepts of temporality to analyse the interplay of discourses and agency in younger participants' embodied experiences of pain and injury, such as the dynamic power relations found in young players' negotiations of their pain and injuries with others.

In the third part, findings from middle-aged female Chinese table tennis players indicated that the embodied experiences of pain and injury were different even within an ethnic and cultural group. Young and middle-aged female participants perceived their pain and injury differently. In particular, middle-aged and old participants, including Chunli and other recreational players, revealed their intertwining Chinese ethnic identity and New Zealand nationality from their involvement in table tennis and table tennis related pain and injury. Professional and recreational players also showed different coping strategies to pain and injury. Their different experiences reinforce the value of gaining nuanced and complex understandings of sport-related pain and injury. Their experiences also challenge the existing knowledge of risk, pain and injury that may have lost sight of the nuances in athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury due to its narrow focus on a specific group of sport participants at a specific point in their sporting careers.

In the next chapter, I further explore the interrelating influences on Chinese table tennis players' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury by closely examining the interview data from Villa and her mother, Anita. Based on their data, I identify and discuss the interconnecting

factors of one's cultural upbringing, discursive beliefs of the racial/ethnic body, Chinese cultural views of gender and China's elite table tennis culture.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE INTERPLAY OF INFLUENCES ON EMBODIED EXPERIENCES OF PAIN AND INJURY: A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF A CHINESE IMMIGRANT DAUGHTER AND MOTHER

Introduction

In this chapter I primarily focus on the findings from a close study of a Chinese immigrant daughter (Villa) and mother (Anita) in New Zealand, because the rich interview data from them clearly revealed the interplay of multiple influences, such as cultural identity, ethnic identity, gender identity and relationships with family members, on the shaping of embodied experiences of pain, and injury. Additionally, I provide interview data from two young Chinese immigrant table tennis players, Kaili and Yin, to further support the findings produced based on Villa and Anita about the interplay of influences on experiences. Racial/ethnic, gender and cultural identity were the three main interacting factors identified from Villa's and Anita's perceptions of the sporting body and its pain and injury.

I adopted Foucauldian concept of discourse and Butler's (1986, 1988, 1989b) early works to illustrate the body as both agential and socially and historically shaped. In particular, Foucauldian discourses helped me to identify three main discursive beliefs, which are revealed from Villa's embodied experiences of, and Anita's perceptions of, sport, pain and injury: 1) the discursive belief about the racial/ethnic body and sport, 2) discourses of sport femininity and Chinese gender relations and 3) the cultural discourse of sport participation. To explore the interplay of these discourses and agency in Villa's experiences, I use Butler's (1988) early theorisation of gendered bodies as active bodies enacting social and historical meanings, which offers the analytical strength to interpret Villa's sporting body as active and agential as well as being shaped by multiple intersecting factors and influences.

The Perceptions of Sport, Pain and Injury through a Chinese Immigrant Daughter and Mother

Villa, the daughter raised in New Zealand, was a former junior elite New Zealand table tennis player between age 14 and 16. At the time of the interview, she was 22 years old. Anita, the

mother, is a Chinese immigrant, who did not do much sport, except playing table tennis occasionally, but has influenced Villa's early experiences of sport. Villa's father stays in China and has not been involved in her education from primary to university or her sport in New Zealand. As relatively few sociological studies of sport have investigated female family members' involvements in and influences on children' sport in New Zealand (e.g., Marfell, 2011; Thompson, 1999), findings from the interview with Villa and Anita contribute to expanding knowledge in this research area.

On the day scheduled for the interview with Villa, I waited with Anita in their home for Villa to return home from work. While Anita and I were waiting, she showed me Villa's artistic and table tennis achievements, including several oil paintings, watercolours and pencil drawings hung on walls and a glass-door display cabinet full of medals and trophies. Before long, Villa walked into the living room in a long-sleeved jersey and bike shorts, with her hair pulled into a ponytail. She cycled between home and her workplace almost every day. She accomplished a Masters degree in architecture and just started working in an architectural firm. She is about 160 cm, slim, toned and tanned.

I interviewed Villa with Anita present. Not only did Villa and Anita answer my interview questions about Villa's sport participation, but they actively commented on each other's answers and opinions. Anita's participation during the interview echoed Irigaray's (2000) statement that "[m]others are in the stronger position ... They 'have' the daughters about whom they talk; as for the daughters, they 'are' only daughters, the mother isn't their property like the daughter is for the mother" (p. 34). Villa's narratives and Anita's comments on Villa's sport participation allowed me to understand how sport-related pain and injury are social and interactive experiences. The interaction between Villa and Anita provide insights on the interplay of influences on pain and injury.

1) "Football?! Definitely a no from me": Discursive Beliefs of the Racial/ethnic Body and Sport

A racial discourse around the Asian body and its weakness was reflected in Anita's concern about Villa's physicality and Villa's potential pain and injury in sports. Before I asked Villa about her table tennis experience, Anita complained about Villa's recent passion for scuba diving. As she emotionally recalled watching Villa in a scuba diving lesson:

My heart ached when I saw her tiny figure slowly rising up from the icy cold lake, shivering and shouldering a big oxygen tank about her height. In the lake, all those divers were big tall Westerners except her.

Villa: Mum, do you know why that oxygen tank looked big? Because it's the coach's gear and didn't fit my size.

Anita: Anyway, after that training, I forbade her to dive and cut off financial support. Who would have thought she secretly ran off to Turkey to continue diving.

According to Anita, besides scuba diving, Villa has accomplished a variety of risky activities while growing up in New Zealand, such as bungee jumping, parachuting, snow skiing, surfing and rifle shooting. Villa said on her to-do list are race car driving, airplane flying and paragliding. Villa's safety in sports and outdoor activities has always been Anita's biggest concern.

Unlike Yin's and Kaili's childhood sporting experiences, which were solely focused on table tennis, Anita pointed out that table tennis was not even Villa's first sport experience, and Villa nodded to show it was true. As Anita said:

In primary school, she was so into football. She and her classmate, Jenet, represented New Zealand in junior football games. [Suddenly Anita's voice became loud and high-pitched] How was that possible! Football! That's ... that's for Māori and white people.

Anita believed that football was physically and racially impossible for Chinese to practise, which implied a self-racialisation of body and physicality. Based on her judgment of Villa's physicality, Anita further disapproved of Villa's interest in football. One reason related to her sense of Asian bodies as weak and small, and another appears to reflect my own experiences in waka ama where I was concerned about being wet, muddy:

Aiya²⁶! In the rainy and cold winter, so cold, but she asked me to take her to football. Mud all over her. You don't know how tiresome it was to wash her muddy dirty jersey. Look at her! She is so skinny and tiny. Playing football?! It will only break her arms

²⁶ A Chinese phrase to express displeasure, surprise or blame.

and legs, ripping her limb from limb. She'll be torn apart in pieces. [Villa laughed] She plays football? Definitely a no from me.

Villa: You're exaggerating.

With the worry of Villa getting seriously injured in football, Anita determined to shift Villa from football to table tennis, which she regarded as a safe sport for her small-figured daughter. Anita explained the process and again stressed the potential physical damage of football:

I decided I had to change her mind and stopped her paying attention [to football], so I took her to a table tennis club and met a Chinese coach there ... If I let you [she turned to Villa] play football, certainly either your legs would break or your arms would be lost, or you would be crippled now. What a miserable life you would be having now!

The connections between sports and different ethnic bodies were reinforced by Anita's view of Villa's physical body and a proper sport for Villa. In addition, these connections represent ethnic and cultural divisions of sports. For example, Anita stated that diving is for Westerners, football for Māori and white people, and table tennis for Chinese. Further, Anita perceived that a mismatch between the racial/ethnic body of sport players and their sports (such as Villa and football) would result in pain and injury (such as broken legs or arms). Studies of Chinese immigrants in New Zealand identified a similar pattern of Chinese perceptions of the relationship between racialized bodies and specific sports (Lau, 2015; Wu, 2011). For example, Chinese mothers have viewed rugby as "physically not possible" for their Chinese or New Zealand-Chinese sons (Wu, 2011, p. 135). However, Wu (2011) argued that the lack of Chinese participation in rugby may be due to Chinese attitudes towards and values of this sport rather than their weak Chinese physical body, and rugby itself is very foreign to Chinese immigrants' sporting experiences. My experience of waka ama echoed Wu's (2011) argument that one's cultural upbringing plays a vital part in one's sport choice. Contrasting to rugby, table tennis is not at all foreign for Chinese and hence, Anita made the choice of table tennis for Villa. Hence, Anita's belief of the connection between her daughter's Chinese body and table tennis is a racial/ethnic belief as well as a cultural belief. This cultural preference for a particular sport will be elaborated in the section on the cultural discourse of sport participation.

Anita made contrasts between Villa's "skinny and tiny" body and white Western and Māori physical appearances in sport. The colonial racial discourses can be used to interpret

such racial attachments to sports and bodies. Notably, the colonial racial discourses operated differently on the Chinese body and the Māori body. On one hand, Chinese have internalised the Western colonial discourse and constructed their ethnicities as physically weak (Chong, 2013). Under the colonial racial discourses, Chinese women were believed inferior to Western women due to having genetically and biologically weak physiques, which hindered them from practising physical activities (Gao, 2013). Hence, Anita's belief that Villa's Chinese body was more prone to pain and injury can be regarded as the self-internalized colonial discourse of the Chinese body. However, Villa's participation in a variety of outdoor sports revealed that she did not share her mother's beliefs in the connections between the racial/ethnic body and sports and that the consequence of physical injuries was due to the mismatch of body and sport. Villa said she loved the speed and the excitement in outdoor sports. Furthermore, her "skinny and tiny" body in football and scuba diving, as Anita described, actually challenges the discursive beliefs of physically weak Chinese.

On the other hand, although Anita's interpretation appeared most strongly connected to discourses of the weak Asian body, colonial racial discourses on Pākehā and, particularly, Māori bodies can also be detected in her narratives. Historically, Māori men have been selectively given two pathways to enter Pākehā dominated society, through war and sports, rather than through intellectual pursuits (Hokowhitu, 2004b, 2007). Hokowhitu (2003b) argued that like black athletes, Māori have been viewed as physically gifted due to the biological discourse or the quasi-theory of natural selection. Anita connected Māori and Pākehā bodies to football, which she saw as a heavy and aggressive contact sport. In her perception, Māori and Pākehā bodies were much stronger. This potentially reflected the biological and racial discursive belief that Māori body is athletic and physically strong (Hokowhitu, 2004b, 2007); though in reality, men's football is actually seen as a less aggressive and masculine sport in New Zealand compared to men's rugby (Bruce & Stewart, 2015; Cox & Thompson, 2003). Hence, the implication of racial discourse of sporting body is identified from Anita's concern for Villa's physical risk in sport. In the next section, the gendered discourse of the feminine body provided another reason for Anita to shift Villa from football to table tennis. I discuss how particular gendered discourses—sport femininity and Chinese gender relations—have influenced Anita's and Villa's perceptions of sport, pain and injury.

2) “My right arm looks like a man’s arm”: Discourses of Female Athletic Body and Chinese Gender Relations

This section explores how Chinese relational views of gender (Brownell, 1995) can be applied to understand Villa’s and Anita’s perceptions of sported-related pain and injury.

Reported in the last section, the reasons for Anita disapproving Villa’s participation in football, such as the possibility of physical damage and the muddy dirty jersey, echo Iris Young’s (1980) analysis of “[t]he modalities of feminine bodily existence” that “[t]he girl learns actively to hamper her movements. She is told that she must be careful not to get hurt, not to get dirty, not to tear her clothes, that the things she desires to do are dangerous for her” (p. 153). Towards Anita’s disapproval of football, Villa protested, “I won’t be as seriously injured in football like you said”. Anita replied assertively, “Let me tell you. If you’ve played football, you would be bulky and bull-necked, and your muscles ... Wah! I’m doomed. If you kick me, you’ll break my legs, aiya!”

Anita may exaggerate her view of female footballers’ muscular and attacking abilities, but her narrative signified a shift from the discourse of racially-based physicality to female normative physical appearance in her comments about footballer’s “bulky”, “bull-necked” and muscular body. Villa also shared this discursive view of female physical appearance, as she described her right arm and her legs from playing table tennis:

Villa: I didn’t care about my physical looks when I had table tennis training. I was too young to think about appearance at that time. ... My right arm is bulky [粗/cu] and more muscular than my left. When I buy clothes, I will choose a size bigger, in case one sleeve is tight and the other loose. For a long time, I would not wear sleeveless clothes, say a tank dress, because my right arm looks like a man’s arm. It’s so abnormal.

Lucen: Will you exercise your left arm?

Villa: No. I like the way of my left arm, because it’s normal.

Lucen: Don’t you want these two arms to look balanced?

Villa: No, I don’t. The right arm is bulky. Table tennis training also made my legs strong and big. Muscles on lower legs are especially hard to get rid of, even though I’ve stopped training for a long time. I’m kneading and massaging my legs every day to help the bulk muscle stretch. When I was little, I didn’t care about how my body looked like,

but now I'm like: 'my legs are thick' and kept kneading and hoping to make them slimmer.

Villa used a Chinese word, *cu* [粗] (I translated to bulky) to describe the size of her right arm. Interestingly, Brownell (1995) also recoded the use of the word *cu* in her research discussing Chinese femininity, sexuality and athleticism. Chinese women in traditionally male sports, such as football, were considered as *cu* [粗] (in this context meaning vulgar), instead of homosexual (Brownell, 1995). However, the discourse between homosexuality and female football players was widely found in New Zealand (Cox & Thompson, 2000, 2001) and the UK research (Caudwell, 2002). Villa and Brownell referred to different meanings of *cu*: thick/big and vulgar respectively. These two cases showed that the Chinese female athletic body provided a site to link these two meanings of *cu* together. For example, long-term table tennis training developed obvious muscles on Villa's right arm and legs, a contrasting bodily image to "a dainty figure", which is highly appreciated by the traditional Chinese aesthetics that defined feminine beauty (Wu, 2009, p. 80). Hence, thick/big limbs had the connotation of unaesthetic vulgarity. Nevertheless, female table tennis players already represent a traditionally acceptable feminine appearance, since female table tennis players' bodies are "considered neither too slim nor too huge" (Wu, 2009, p. 75). Also in China, table tennis has been regarded as "an 'intelligent' sport", in which it is "not necessary" for female players "to be especially strong, fast, tall or agile" (Wu, 2009, p. 75). Hence, table tennis can be approved by Anita as a gender-appropriate sport for Villa to practise. Yet, long-term table tennis training still developed obvious muscles on Villa's right arm and legs, which are signs of athletic strength and power, but did not fit in Villa's self-monitored desire for less bulk in her muscles.

In addition to Chinese cultural perspectives of female body and femininities, I also looked into earlier studies of female athletic bodies (e.g., Bartky, 1990; Duncan, 1994; Krane, 2001; Krane et al., 2004) for insights that can simultaneously interpret Villa's dislike for her strong and muscular arm developed in table tennis and her passion for New Zealand outdoor sports. In the earlier studies, scholars view these balancing acts as paradoxical, in terms of concurrently developing a muscular body and maintaining a socially acceptable feminine body, which have long been perceived as fragile, lacking muscle, slender, gentle and sexy (Bartky, 1990; Duncan, 1994; Krane, 2001; Krane et al., 2004). The desire for slim limbs Villa demonstrated could be produced by the discourse of hegemonic femininity that requires women to be "emotional, passive, dependent, maternal, compassionate, and gentle" (Krane, 2001, p.

117). Additionally, Bartky (1990) argued that “the modernization of patriarchal domination” (pp. 65-66) shapes women’s disciplinary practices of pursuing the right bodily size, shape and manners. However, these characteristics of hegemonic heterosexual femininity or patriarchal domination would seem to be obstacles that would prevent further involvement in sport for Villa, which was not the case, based on her passion for outdoor sport. Hence, the argument in early studies that female athletes are caught in a dilemma trying to balance between being feminine and athletic, and between expectations from the sport world and the larger society (e.g., Krane, 2001; Krane et al., 2004) does not truly reflect Villa’s complex gender enactments in sport. To better understand Villa’s gender enactments, I took the insights from the recent study of the media representation of female athletic body, which proposed that researchers need to “take seriously sports women’s own sense-making” (Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017, p. 366). Hence, to explore Villa’s own sense making of her gender identities in relation to sport, I needed to consider her embrace of diverse sports and rejection of obvious muscles. This consideration of complex gender enactments also related to the life-course perspective used in the discussion of middle-aged and old participants in waka ama and table tennis. Hence, Villa said that she did not care about physical appearance when she was young and receiving elite training but her attitude changed when she retired from the junior team and when her athletic body was no longer the focus in her post-athletic life. Examples below around Yin also provide a similar example of the complex gender enactment within and outside sport, which needs to be perceived through a life-course perspective or the discourse of beauty and strength.

In 2014, at the age of 23, Yin retired from a professional table tennis club in China and came to New Zealand for education, while she also joined NZTT as a coach. Also in 2014, she defeated Kaili who was the previous-year champion in a local competition. When I met Yin outside the club for an interview, she was in a polka dot skirt and a light blue sweater and looked like a lively university student. She is fair-skinned, medium-sized and about 160 cm. The curly ends of her light-brown dyed hair just touched upon her shoulders. Contrasting to her sporty pony-tail and sweatsuit look at the table tennis court, I was a little surprised by her feminine appearance outside the sport context. During the interview, Yin said her hair was short two to three years ago, because she had kept her hair short since she started formal training:

At the time I started formal table tennis training, I dressed up like a boy. My father’s friend once asked me whether my father intended to raise me like a son [laughter], but

I had no particular feelings towards it [my appearance], because all the other kids [in table tennis training] were just like me, dressed like me and hair cut like me.

Around 11 years old, when Yin joined the junior team affiliated to a Chinese Super League club, she needed to follow a short hair rule imposed by a female coach. Yin said, “In that junior team, long hair was not allowed, so I kept hair short, really, really short. Many female teammates complained, but at the end they still got their hair cut very short.” Yin said when she was old enough to join the club team, she gradually grew her hair long, because the club team did not have short hair rules. Yin further explained short hair as a common appearance among Chinese athletes that “female athletes, more or less, are like tough women or iron girls [女汉子]. Female athletes usually tend to have short hair, so from their appearance, they’re not girly girls.” Yin also provided a practical reason of female athletes’ short hair, as she said:

Long hair is troublesome. After the long hour of training you’re too tired to care about dressing up and being pretty ... Everyone just had short hair and put on sportswear ... You really want to spend every second in resting and making yourself as comfortable as you can. Hence, I think female athletes are more or less boyish.

Yin pointed out that being comfortable and feeling less disturbed by the hairstyle while training was more important than dressing up to look good, but this reasoning only partly provided the reason for young Chinese female athletes’ collective choice of short-hair. It seems that young female players’ short-hair is a contextual creation in the context of Chinese elite table tennis training. The short-haired iron girls Yin mentioned can be traced back to a gender discourse pervasive during the Cultural Revolution (1962-1976) (Jin, 2006; Mann, 2011) and the “sports system under Mao’s regime” (Chong, 2013, p. 252). The iron girl was a peculiar image created during the Cultural Revolution to symbolize that “men and women are the same” (Jin, 2006, p. 629). Chong (2013) illustrated how Chinese nationalism had influenced the gender discourse in China’s elite sport that:

[t]he significance of the nation seemed to surpass all differences, including gender. The discourse of gender equality—a product of the Communist China’s modernisation project—disguised the fact that female athletes had to look and act like their male counterparts, not vice versa. (p. 259)

Yin’s narratives below also revealed that at least in the context of Chinese junior elite table tennis the discourse of gender sameness advocated in Mao’s regime and the Cultural

Revolution remained, and more importantly the so-called gender sameness reflected male supremacy. As Yin further explained the short-hair rule in her junior team:

The coach thought that since we were adolescents, and girls with long hair look attractive, the club tried to prevent romance and relationships, those sorts of things, to happen between the female and the male teams ... if girls look like boys, boys will lose interest in girls [laughter].

The short-hair rule in Yin's former club not only created a type of gendered appearance, but also gender inequality because women took the blame for distracting men's focus from training.

Young (1980) stated that "woman lives her body as *object* as well as subject" (p. 153, italics in original). Yin's sporting body is both an object and subject in the Chinese elite table tennis context, if we consider her narratives of athletic and post-athletic periods. Yin's short hair was discursively produced by the Chinese high-performance sport regime, as well as by her own pragmatic reasoning. Later in the club and after her retirement from professional table tennis, she chose to grow her hair and change appearance. Her different gender enactments reflected Butler's (2004) argument that on one hand, gender enactments became conventions and discourses due to the influences from particular practices, ideas and beliefs, and on the other hand, there were moments when socially constructed meanings of gender were "malleable and transformable" (p. 216). In Yin's narratives of her own appearance and Chinese female athletes in general, there are discursive influences of gender relations and Chinese high-performance sport culture, as well as her agential choices of the ways to present her image as a female athlete in the Chinese high-performance sport context. Butler (1986) argued that the temporal movement of becoming our gender is not a linear progress and both Yin's and Villa's changing appearances revealed life-course changes, which were temporally and spatially non-linear progressions of their gender enactments in sport. Below Anita illustrated more about the intertwining of Villa's gender identities with her cultural upbringing.

Apart from concern about Villa's safety in sports, Anita preferred Villa playing table tennis to outdoor sports, because she worried that Villa's sporting experiences could affect her obtaining future familial roles, such as wife and mother. As Anita said to Villa:

You're so wild. You're not suitable for marriage. [Anita turned to me] Her schedule is so full. All her weekends are spent in diving, skiing or doing other activities. [She turned

to Villa] As a woman, you know, after marriage, don't you need to do housework? Will a man find a wife who spends all her time in the outdoors? Now you even want to be up on the sky and under the sea. You tell me which man wants a wife like that?

Villa: At least, I will learn how to fly an aircraft.

Anita: Don't even dream about marrying a rich guy and using his money to learn flying aircraft. You must rely on yourself. I know you're different from other Mainland Chinese. [She turned to me] She is very Westernized, very different from her Chinese cousins who also have been here for about 10 years.

Villa [laughed]: I'm not like other Chinese Kiwis or Chinese immigrants. I play hard and work hard and I know how to enjoy New Zealand. But they don't. I'm always angry when my younger cousin says New Zealand is boring and almost every international student I talked to, more or less, said that. I felt so angry about such saying. You can't blame New Zealand simply because you don't know how to enjoy life here. I tried to invite my cousin and her friends to join me to Tauranga next week to swim, surf, dive and watch dolphins, but she doesn't like all these.

Anita's comments on Villa's outdoor-sport ambitions offered a cultural perspective of femininities to look at Villa's gender identity. Through this perspective, we have seen Villa's agency that reflects a New Zealand identity focused on outdoor recreation. Villa's outdoor sport participation, in Anita's mind, also shaped Villa's gender identity. Butler (1988) stated that "bodily gesture, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self" (p. 519), but even though "there are nuanced and individual ways of *doing* one's gender", one's gender enactment follows "certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter" (p. 525, italics in original). Villa's gendered self has been mediated by her inclination towards hegemonic heterosexual femininities and her active involvement in outdoor sports.

Anita was concerned that outdoor sport participation might disadvantage Villa in finding a husband, which revealed a relational concept of gender. Brownell (1995) noted that gender in the Chinese notion is situational and relational, rather than based on the binary notion of sex as in Western contexts. A Chinese relational gender perspective can be found in traditional Confucian thinking that expressed gender identities as "familial roles" (Rosenlee, 2006, p. 47). Thus, Chinese relational female identities are as mother, daughter and wife. Such

perception of gender is relevant to Butler's (1990) idea that "gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities" (p. 3).

Noticeably, even though Anita complained of Villa's divergence from the traditional Chinese female ideal and its associated social and familial roles, there was a twist at the end of Anita's narratives—I know you're different from other Mainland Chinese—that recognized that it may be inappropriate to apply Chinese values of 'woman' onto Villa's Westernized lifestyle and sport pursuits. Anita's understanding of gender has been shaped by Chinese and Western cultural influences over the years watching Villa in various physical activities and sport in New Zealand. By choosing table tennis for Villa, Anita tried to keep Villa away from injuries and in this process she also influenced the formation of Villa's hybrid Chinese-New Zealand gender and cultural identifications. To some extent, Anita's perceptions of Villa's gender and cultural identities and potential pain and injury were changed alongside Villa's sport participation. In the next section, I explore the role of cultural identification in Anita's and Villa's reactions to overuse pain and injury in table tennis training. I also link the racial, gendered and cultural discourses together in the discussion.

3) "We Chinese are good at table tennis": Pain and Injury in the Racially, Gendered and Culturally Appropriate Sport

To summarize all the reasons for Villa to participate in tennis table, Anita said to me:

After all, we Chinese are good at table tennis, aren't we? At least in New Zealand, it's very easy to be a top table tennis player and a table tennis national champion. Can you ever achieve that in football?!

Among the variety of sports in which Villa participated, Anita approved of table tennis, since she saw it as racially/ethnically, culturally and gender appropriate sport for Villa. Additionally, Anita's preference for table tennis is also underlined by historical, political and pragmatic reasons. Historically, Chinese table tennis players had the highest achievement in the world. Politically, table tennis helped China re-establish its foreign relations with the U.S in the early 1970s. Pragmatically, Anita explained that Villa has greater opportunities to succeed in table tennis in New Zealand society. All these reasons were condensed into Anita's assertion that "we Chinese are good at table tennis".

Anita's judgment is supported by Kaili's statement that New Zealand table tennis lacks competitiveness, compared to what she had experienced in China. Anita's point was also

affirmed by Yin, as Yin said, “When I played in the Chinese Super League ... each club was full of high-level players. They’re national team players and world champions. The level of table tennis in New Zealand is rather low”. Due to New Zealand’s lack of table tennis talent, Kaili and Yin had been granted talent work visas and then residency. The historical, political and pragmatic rationales supported Anita’s choice of table tennis as a prime opportunity for Villa’s sporting and social successes. Villa’s sporting body in table tennis also became “a peculiar nexus of culture and choice” (Butler, 1986, p. 45). Nevertheless, Villa’s success in the New Zealand Junior Table Tennis Team was not due to her Chinese ethnicity but hard work. Next, I explore the connection between Chinese hard-working culture and table tennis training through the discourse of model minority. I highlight the interplay of Chinese cultural attributes and the sport ethic in shaping Chinese (immigrant) table tennis players’ attitudes toward overtraining and its associated pain and injury.

Even though Villa cautiously challenged Anita’s statement of easy success in table tennis by saying, “If I kept football training...”, fundamentally she agreed with Anita. As Villa said:

Other players [in New Zealand] would not train as hard as I did. For a while, I trained very hard, so I improved quickly and won many games ... Many Chinese kids play table tennis and non-Chinese kids generally were not as good as Chinese. I remembered once I beat a white kid in a game, who was older than me and she sat on the ground crying.

Villa’s narrative combined both diligent training and Chinese ethnic identity. Regarding training hard, Villa gave her rationale, “If you miss it, you won’t be good enough to compete against others. You must keep training, and it becomes a habit”. Nevertheless, the hard-working character Villa revealed also reflects the stereotype of hard-working/diligent Asian (especially East Asian) found in the Western world (Kibria, 2003). The hard-working Asians have been identified as the model minority in the U.S. (Choi & Lim, 2014) and New Zealand (Manying Ip & Pang, 2005).

Scholars have criticized the discourse of model minority, despite the diversity among Asian students, for homogenising Asian students, into a singular group of hard-working model students (Choi & Lim, 2014; Kibria, 2003). Choi and Lim (2014) pointed out that those Asians in the U.S. society who do not fit into this model suffer from “cultural maladjustment, academic failure, low self-esteem, and many other cultural, academic, or psychological problems” (p.

51). Villa also had the pressure of being a ‘model’ player in table tennis, as she stressed that “You have to play well. Otherwise, you’ll feel diu lian [losing face], and you’ll be scolded by coaches. ... Bad performance was losing face. If your opponent wasn’t that good and you lost, it’s so humiliating. You need to try hard to keep your reputation”.

Villa used a Chinese phrase, “diu lian [losing face]”, to express the embarrassment of losing a game. This expression—losing face—strongly attaches to how Chinese construct their social life (Chang & Holt, 1994). To some extent, the hard-working character and the discourse of model minority together with the sport ethic shaped not only Villa’s perception of sport and pain and injury, but also Anita’s understanding of Villa using pain and injury for higher athletic achievements, as illustrated below.

Apart from Anita’s and Villa’s shared ideas of femininity, the mother-daughter relationship was also enhanced by the shared belief in hard work, which directly led to the acceptance of sport-related pain and injury. Villa has developed a hard-working character since she was young, as seen from this conversation between Villa and Anita:

Villa: Since I was little, I knew that being hard working would allow me to succeed, because my mum she was always there beside me, keeping an eye on me and following me to every after-school program. She told me if I wanted to be outstanding, I should be different from others.

Anita: Not like what she said. I’ve only asked her a question, when she was little, “Do you want to be special or ordinary?”

Villa: My mum’s very shrewd. Though she allowed me to choose, I had no choice and she pushed me to achieve all those things.

Anita: I did it for your own benefits, since you’ve said you wanted to be special.

‘Do I have a choice?’, the title of Pang and colleagues’ (2015) study on the influences of family values on young Chinese immigrants, captured Villa’s situation. To become an outstanding table tennis player, Villa’s only choice was to undergo extensive training and practice, which caused the repetitive muscle strain on her right shoulder (illustrated in Chapter Seven). Villa’s commitment to the sport ethic interweaved with the Chinese cultural discourse of hard work and the discourse of model minority.

Contrasting to Anita's protection of Villa from pain and injury in football, Anita highly valued Villa's pain and injury in table tennis. As Anita said:

About six or seven years ago, Villa and her peers really ate the bitterness and endured the hardship. I was moved by her perseverance. She used to train a lot and had blisters on her soles. She kept training with bleeding feet, without a rest. Once in Chunli's training camp, Chunli gave me a call and said Villa had a fever but insisted on training. For a few times, she underwent training with fever or a bleeding nose. About 2006 or 2007, she was in the New Zealand junior squad and went overseas for the World Junior Challenge. When the team returned home, the coach told me Villa's nose was bleeding again during the game. All those things that happened to her were told to me by her coaches. I really admire her grit. Now the coaches said to me, in these days players lack Villa and her peers' perseverance and resilience and athleticism. The younger generation in training are more playful and less serious, and they do not have a strong mind.

Anita and Villa both acknowledged the role of pain and injury in table tennis training as a path for higher athletic achievements. Anita's narratives contained contradictory attitudes towards sport-related pain and injury. On one hand, Anita diverted Villa's sport interest from football, due to the belief that the mismatch between the racial body and sport would cause Villa sport injuries. On the other hand, Anita valued the positive effects of Villa's pain and injury in table tennis, in terms of enhancing athletic performance and skills in table tennis. Anita's seemingly paradoxical attitudes towards Villa's sport-related pain and injury was influenced by the interacting discursive beliefs of the racial/ethnic body, gender and cultural identity. Due to the multiple discursive influences, Villa's ability to sustain pain and injury in table tennis has been praised by Anita as a valuable and positive trait, while Villa's (potential) pain and injury in football have been devalued as negative results.

To sum up the findings around Villa's and Anita's narratives relating to the sporting body and its pain and injury, discourses of the racial body, female athletic body and the hard-working Asian model minority have been identified. Anita's and Villa's attitudes and reactions towards sport, pain and injury created both conflicts and bonds in their relationship. Even though I discussed racial, gendered and cultural discourses in different sections, they all interlocked in Villa's sporting body. Villa and Anita's case supported the importance of exploring interweaving factors in sport participants' embodied experiences and perceptions of

pain and injury, as well as that the concept of sport ethic alone cannot reveal the interplay of culturally-dependent, gendered and ethnic/racial interpretations of pain and injury in sport.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the discussion of Villa's case highlighted the importance of multiple interacting factors in athletes' embodied experiences of pain, and injury. Findings suggested that the concept of the sport ethic that has emerged from Western sport contexts may not capture the interplay of culturally-dependent, gendered and ethnic/racial interpretations of pain and injury found in Chinese female table tennis players' embodied experiences and attitudes, just as it fails to capture such interplay in Māori female waka ama paddlers' experiences. Even though I stated at the beginning of the thesis that table tennis is not a male-dominant Chinese sport, gender inequality and masculine discursive gender practices in the Chinese society were still revealed in these participants' experiences, which echoes Birrell's (2000) statement that sport, "a gendered activity" (p. 61), reflects the gender relations in the larger society.

In the close study of Villa and Anita, the interplay of three main discourses, race/ethnicity, female athletic body and cultural identity were identified, which together shaped Villa's experiences and Anita's perceptions of pain and injury in sport. In return, the racial/ethnic, gendered and cultural discourses constructed the relationship between Villa and Anita. Like Chunli's case (in Chapter 7), findings revealed how Villa's experiences reflect mixed Chinese and New Zealand cultural beliefs and practices in sport. Additionally, Yin's experiences were used to support Villa's diverse gender enactments in sport. Yin's narratives of the short-hair rule particularly helped me to examine the sport ethic in a specific cultural context—China's elite table tennis training. By exploring these young elite participants' narratives in this chapter, I argued that when applying the sport ethic, the interplay of factors (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity and culture) need to be carefully considered.

Theoretically, Foucauldian discourse was used to interpret Anita's discursive beliefs around Villa's sport participation and its associated pain and injury. Butler's (1986, 1988, 1989a, 1989b) phenomenological approaches towards gender were applied to analyse Yin's embodied gender enactments (e.g., changing appearance and adopting masculinized female techniques) in Chinese elite table tennis, which are embedded in Chinese cultural discourses, as well as agential resistance. The analysis of Anita's, Villa's and Yin's attitudes towards, and experiences of, sport, pain and injury reminded us of Foucault's (1988e, 2003b) argument that,

instead of asking for total freedom, we should always remember we are the products of historical and cultural discourses. In the next chapter, I review the key findings around waka ama paddlers and table tennis players that contribute to the existing knowledge of sport-related pain and injury in the sociology of sport. I also propose the theoretical contributions that expand the current understandings of embodied experiences of pain and injury.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This conclusion brings together findings and discussion throughout the thesis to better address the two research questions: 1) what interplay of influences (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background and sport culture) have shaped Māori female waka ama paddlers and Chinese female table tennis players' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury?, and 2) how have discourses and power relations interacted with participants' embodied agency to shape their experiences of risk, pain and injuries?

In this thesis, I investigated the previously unexplored experiences of sport-related risk, pain and injury from the perspectives of female Chinese table tennis players and Māori waka ama paddlers in New Zealand. Neither these sport participants nor their sports have received attention in the field of risk, pain and injury in sport. By investigating participants who are not young, Western, white, high-performance sportsmen, this research provided deeper understandings of how a complex interplay of influences can shape participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Foucault (1988f) argued that “[t]he main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning” (p. 9). By participating in waka ama and table tennis and encountering Māori and overseas Chinese in New Zealand, I am no longer the same researcher as I was at the start of this research. My reflections on my own experiences of participation in both waka ama and table tennis made me realise that my own cultural upbringing and previous sporting experiences have shaped my perceptions of risk, pain and injury in these two sports. I no longer make assumptions about what New Zealand and its people look like, and the kinds of embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury participants might have. My current self-understanding has integrated with perspectives gained in this research, especially Māori cultural attachment to nature and overseas Chinese attitudes towards home and host countries.

In this chapter, I summarise the major findings that answered my research questions and can contribute to the field. To answer the first research question, I argued for *the legitimization of female embodied experiences* as worthy in their own right. I then paid attention to female sport participants' diverse and different expressions of risk, pain and injury. As I did

this, an important finding surfaced and demonstrated that gender identity is not always the most important influence. In prior studies, male athletes' attitudes and reactions to risk, pain and injury were interpreted as diverse expressions of masculinities (e.g., Curry, 1993; Laurendeau, 2014; Messner, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 2007, Pringle, 2008, 2009; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Young, 1993; Young et al., 1994), or diverse relations with different sports (e.g., Howe, 2004; Liston et al., 2006; Malcolm & Sheard, 2002; Malcolm et al., 2005; Roderick, 2006a; Roderick et al., 2000; Waddington, 2006). Instead, I argue that gender identity interacts with other influences, such as age, ethnicity, cultural background and performance levels to shape female participants' relations with sport and their embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. In particular, my research found that *Māori and Chinese cultural understandings of risk, pain and injury*, as well as *the co-existing sport cultures of risk and caution in sport* have shaped these Māori female waka ama paddlers and Chinese female table tennis players' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Regardless, my findings suggested that there were diverse intersecting influences from the sport context, larger society, as well as individual subjectivity and agency that shaped embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Hence, how sport participants made sense of risk, pain and injury was shaped by a synergy of influences rather than a significant single influence.

To answer the second research question, which is a more theoretically-focused question, a theoretical framework primarily based on Foucault's and Merleau-Ponty's theories was used to analyse my data. In particular, I applied Foucauldian concepts of discourse and power relations to analyse the discursive constructions and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body to interpret the subjective, sensual, emotional and intuitive enactments in participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Findings revealed that participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury were contextually, discursively, actively and subjectively shaped. Prior studies have focused on investigating the values and norms in the sport context on athletes' reactions and attitudes to risk, pain and injury. These sets of values have been conceptualized as the sport ethic (Hughes & Coakley, 1991), the culture of risk and the sportsnet (Nixon, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996b). While these concepts have provided insightful interpretations of how socially constructed standards have shaped primarily elite athletes' perceptions and experiences of risk, pain and injury, they ignored elements such as athletes' resistance to the norms and embodied agency of 'I can' and 'we can'. On the other hand, two important findings from my research relating to—*pain and injury under discursive and embodied temporal influences* and *intersubjective and sensuous experiences of risk, pain and*

injury—allowed researchers to see how structural and agential influences were intertwined in participants' embodied perceptions and experiences.

Below I illustrate aspects of these empirical and theoretical findings: 1) the legitimization of female embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, 2) co-existing sport cultures of risk and caution in sport, 3) Māori and Chinese cultural understandings of risk, pain and injury, 4) pain and injury under discursive and embodied temporal influences and 5) intersubjective and sensuous experiences of risk, pain and injury. Finally, I reflect on my ethnographic experience from the waka ama field, where I gained insights that my perception of risk was personal, subjective and culturally-dependent. Then, I point out two aspects of methodological findings from my ethnographies, which are the limitations of the textualized bodily movement and the communication of pain.

Legitimization of Female Embodied Experiences of Risk, Pain and Injury

My research on female Chinese and Māori sport participants' embodied experiences legitimized female embodied experiences as worthy of attention in their own right, as well as challenged the previous marginalization of women generally and the 'otherness' of non-Western women. The findings affirmed that there are diverse and different expressions of risk, pain and injury among female sport participants.

Instead of conflating female experiences, my research illustrated both differences and similarities found within and between female Chinese and Māori sport participants' interpretations and understandings of risk, pain and injury. For instance, both waka ama paddlers and table tennis players revealed a mixture of cautious and risk-taking attitudes towards competition and training. Culturally, female Māori waka ama paddlers drew on the Māori myth of female taniwha to interpret the statistically higher rates of Māori male drowning cases. Among Chinese elite table tennis players, a shared Chinese belief in hard work shaped their attitudes to sport training and pain and injury. Regarding the influences of age, middle-aged waka ama paddlers and table tennis players showed a life-course view of pain and injury, whereas young adult table tennis players tended to hold a contextually rational view of pain and injury that has been identified in much of the existing research on the sport ethic and the sportsnet. This finding clearly demonstrated the limitation of existing studies that focused on athletes at the peak of their competitive careers rather than taking a longer temporal perspective of athletic and post-athletic life as shown in Laurendeau's (2011) and Sabo's (1989) studies.

These diverse views of risk, pain and injury within female participants were due to differences in their levels and years in sport participation, ethnicities, cultural backgrounds and age groups. Therefore, instead of analysing gender alone in athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury, gender needs to be considered alongside other factors. Thus, my research on female embodied experiences challenged the tendency of existing studies to generalize findings of risk, pain and injury from studies of high-level sportsmen to diverse sport participants.

In Chinese elite table tennis training, Yin's experience of the short hair rule and the associated reason for that reflected male domination in the Chinese sport context and Chinese society. More fluid expressions of masculinities or gender enactments were found in the mixed gendered waka ama club, where there were three female coaches and one male coach and more female members than males. The masculine-defined sport ethic was therefore unsuitable explaining female Māori paddlers' embodied experiences and perceptions of risk, pain and injuries. Moreover, female waka ama paddlers consciously questioned the male supremacy in New Zealand sport. Particularly, female waka ama paddlers pointed out that the physical risk they faced in waka ama was no less than in men's rugby, but the national and public focus has always been on the latter. My findings of Chinese and Māori participants' views on gendered sporting bodies can be supported by Giulianotti's (2005) argument that sport does not create a "patriarchal closure. Both men and women critically interpret conventional gender roles and norms, to establish fresh gender identities and diverse aesthetic codes within sport" (pp. 99-100). Many prior studies have overlooked the critical capability for challenging male domination in sport which lies in the exploration of the diversity in non-Western female embodied experiences.

Regarding female athletes' unique embodied experiences of pain, I neglected menstrual pain, which is a potential limitation of my research but a worthwhile topic for the future studies. Female sport participants' menstruation is seldom studied in the sociology of sport (c.f., Giles, 2004; Kissling, 1999; Thorpe, 2016). It was only towards the end of the research that I realised that I had ignored this unique type of female experiences, in part due to my cultural shyness to discuss this private matter with Chinese and Māori women. It was also because none of the participants raised this as an issue with me, nor did I observe anything directly relevant to menstruation or discussions about menstrual pain during the ethnographies. I did not include the investigation of female sport participants' menstrual pain in my research also because participants did not raise it themselves. Next, I discuss Māori and Chinese culturally-dependent

experiences of sport-related pain and injury to further highlight the complex interplay of influences shaping sport participants' embodied experiences.

Māori and Chinese Cultural Understandings of Pain and Injury

Culture, including sport cultures and ethnic cultures, clearly influenced sport participants' understandings of and reactions to risk. In this section, I highlight two main findings that revealed Māori and Chinese ethnic cultural influences on participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. These two findings were 1) Māori participants identified the existence of spiritual and emotional pain and injury based on Māori culturally-dependent perspectives of health and wellbeing and 2) Chinese immigrant table tennis players valued playing with pain and injury as an embodiment of their shared belief in the value of hard work.

The existence of spiritual and emotional pain and injury were identified by Māori waka ama coaches, Arataki and Conny. Their spiritual and emotional injuries were not subsidiaries of physical damage but resulted from an unequal exchange of knowledge between coach and members. I used a Māori legend, the three kete [baskets] of knowledge, to interpret these experiences of spiritual and emotional injuries. This finding of spiritual and emotional pain and injury also remind me, as a researcher in the field and a sport participant in a club, of the ethics of research and knowledge production. An easily-overlooked unethical behaviour can involve being greedy and requesting unlimited information and help from participants for researchers' own benefit without giving back.

Chinese participants, such as Chunli, Villa, Anita and other middle-aged and old recreational players, helped me to gain insights into the interplay between Chinese immigrant athletes' pain and injury and their social identity in the host country. Chunli's and other middle-aged and old table tennis players' pain and injury intertwined with their aspirations of promoting table tennis in New Zealand and integrating Chinese immigrant communities into New Zealand society. On the other hand, Villa's pain and injury interconnected with the shared belief between her and her mother that diligent training could make her a better player in the less competitive New Zealand table tennis environment. Therefore, even though some of these Chinese participants chose to play with pain and injury, they had different understandings of, and reasons for, playing hurt.

Particularly, Chinese immigrants' cultural preference for table tennis can be seen from the case of Anita and Villa. Anita not only pressured Villa into table tennis training, but also

highly valued Villa's pain and injury in table tennis practice as signs of athletic improvement. Anita's cultural preference for table tennis and approval of pain and injury in table tennis training were underpinned by the discourse of weaker Chinese ethnic body, Chinese cultural discourses of femininity and Chinese cultural discourses of hard work. Thus, the case of Anita and Villa further illustrated the influences of intersecting factors on Anita's and Villa's embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Moreover, the mother-daughter relationship between Anita and Villa expanded our knowledge of how female family members can influence children's socialization into sport norms and child athletes' attitudes to risk, pain and injury. Comparatively, prior studies of family influences on athletes' attitudes toward risk, pain and injury mainly investigated the interactions among male family members (e.g., Curry, 1993; Laurendeau, 2014; Messner, 1990, 1992; Pringle, 2003; Sparkes, 1996, 2012), in terms of father-son bonding via issues around sporting bodies, masculine identities, and pain and injury in sports. Thus, the case of Villa and Anita enriches our understandings of the mutual influences between daughter and mother surrounding the choice of sport and attitudes towards training and competition.

My research findings strongly suggest that cultural influences cannot be overlooked, and should be explicitly acknowledged and explored. Non-Western and indigenous cultures can contribute richer understandings that challenge the narrow understandings of risk, pain and injury produced in the Western mainstream high-performance sport contexts, in which the cultural contexts were obscured as a 'background', rather than explored and acknowledged.

Co-existing Cultures of Risk and Caution

In contrast to the widely discussed culture of risk, my research revealed a culture of caution. Similar to the culture of precaution Safai (2003) observed and the culture of caution Donnelly (2004) suggested, my research also found a culture of caution in both table tennis and waka ama clubs. For instance, in table tennis, competitive players, Chunli and Yin, acted carefully, such as wearing protective gear or practicing yoga, to prevent inducing pain and injury. In waka ama, the findings revealed coaches' intolerance for unreported injury and illness before training because of its potential to increase risk in the water for others in the waka. Hence, even though the culture of risk is prevalent across sports, especially in high-performance competitive sports, in specific sport and social contexts, the culture of risk cannot be interpreted as the sole or even the most important influence or discourse.

In terms of the co-existing cultures of risk and caution among competitive table tennis players, they are demonstrated in sport participants' commitment to continue training despite their pain and injury, while simultaneously being cautious with their repetitive pain and injury. Waka ama paddlers were willing to engage in the risky nature of paddling, while emphasising practices of water safety. Particularly in the field of waka ama, the co-existing cultures of caution and risk offered more complex understandings of how sport participants drew on their ethnic and cultural beliefs and social influences from the larger society to make sense of risk, pain and injury in sport. For example, the culture of caution in waka ama paddling was reinforced by Māori cultural discourses of health and water safety and a wider New Zealand discourse of water safety. Different from the concepts of the sport ethic (Hughes & Coakley, 1991), the sportsnet, the culture of risk, and contextual rationalization (Nixon, 1992, 1998) that were identified by investigating high-performance sporting contexts, the intersecting cultures of risk and caution were shaped by waka ama culture, Māori indigenous culture and New Zealand water safety regulations. Clearly, the nature of the interlocking sport, ethnic and social cultures all together shaped sport participants' experiences of, attitudes and reactions towards risk, pain and injury. Moreover, the culture of caution also can be interpreted as a Māori collective cultural perspective of water safety; instead of merely emphasising individual swimming competency and fitness, the crew's capability to handle the sudden changing natural conditions together on water was of primary importance. This finding reinforces Nixon's (1998) advice for taking both sportsnets and non-sportsnets into the analyses of athletes' risk-taking and playing hurt.

Theoretically, I have mainly applied Foucauldian concepts to interpret the culture of caution and Māori participants' attitudes towards risk in paddling. For instance, I drew on the concepts of disciplinary techniques and the docile body and identified five specific disciplinary paddling techniques (e.g., right techniques, waka fitness, spatial distribution on the waka, awareness of timing, and the system of the command) that transformed paddlers' bodies into docile paddling bodies with higher capacity to cope with the changing situations on the water. Hence, risk on the water was relatively controlled by docile paddlers, who adopted disciplinary technologies. My findings clearly demonstrate that disciplinary power does not just repress (Foucault, 1980a). Instead, the disciplinary power, as "a certain kind of restriction *in* production", creates productivity within restriction (Butler, 1997, p. 84, italics in original). I also adopted Foucault's concept of discourse to interpret the culture of caution shaped by Māori culture. For example, Māori participants drew on Māori cultural beliefs and practices, such as

taniwha, tapu and rāhui, and karakia, to form their understandings and practices of water safety in waka ama paddling. Hence, female Māori waka ama paddlers also provided an understanding of cultural risk, in terms of breaking tapu and rāhui or not properly practicing karakia. Māori discursive beliefs and practices of water safety also revealed Māori people's relation with nature, which is an intersubjective relation between the human body and natural environment. Māori cultural discourses of water safety, as Pringle (2016) and Wikaire (2016) argued, need to be integrated into the discourse of New Zealand water safety, especially if the disproportionately high rate of Māori drowning death are to be addressed.

The discourse of co-existing cultures of risk taking and caution came from examining a range of performance levels, such as recreational, serious recreational/semi-elite and elite, and paying attention to the interdependence between sport culture and ethnic and social cultures. These intersecting cultures of risk and caution that arise from examining a more diverse group of sport participants support my argument that the dominant prior research focus needs to be expanded and that generalizations based on previous studies need to be challenged, so that more nuanced and richer understandings of sport-related risk, pain and injury can be gained.

One limitation that emerged from the decision to focus on understandings of risk in high-performance organised sports is that I adopted a close connection between *physical* risk and pain and injury, resulting in the exclusion of research from non-organised, non-competitive and non-mainstream physical activity contexts. Nevertheless, my empirical findings also reflected social and cultural dimensions of risk. In Chapter Seven, I briefly point out cultural risks derived from a Chinese perspective and Māori perspectives. My findings that risk may have dimensions beyond the physical suggest the value of comparing and contrasting the experiences of participants in organised competitive sports with those in alternative sports. However, due to the particular focus of this study, I did not explore these two dimensions of risk in detail.

Next, I point out findings that revealed the interplay of agential and discursive influences on shaping embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury in sport.

Pain and Injury Under the Influences of Discursive and Embodied Temporality

My analyses identified two key temporal influences from participants' embodied experiences of pain and injury, namely disciplinary time regulation and embodied temporal feelings. The analyses of these two temporal influences suggested that, theoretically, sport participants' experiences of pain and injury have been simultaneously shaped by power relations and embodied agency. These findings also showed that Foucault's (1977) concept of the "inscribed" body (p. 148) that emphasised the social and historical influences on the body and Merleau-Ponty's (1962) 'lived body' that stressed the body's own abilities to act and perceive are not two independently different bodies but the different sides of the same body.

The techniques of disciplinary time regulation, such as timing and timetable, were found in both waka ama paddling and table tennis training. Yet, participants' experiences of time regulation were not entirely discursively constructed. For example, in waka ama paddling, the awareness of timing is a disciplinary technique that encourages the crew to move in synchronization. To do so, paddlers actively deployed sensual perceptions, such as hearing, and kinaesthetic awareness, such as tactile senses. Therefore, the disciplinary technique of timing produced embodied sensual experiences among waka ama paddlers including pleasure and feelings of synchronized paddling. Moreover, my findings on the young elite table tennis players' embodied experiences of pain and injury revealed that the disciplinary technique of timetable and the embodied temporality of pain were interlocked. For example, Kaili's and Yin's experiences of pain and injury before 16 years old were closely linked to the tightly controlled six- or seven-hour training per day by their junior teams' timetables. Nevertheless, the findings also showed Yin's and Kaili's embodied temporal experiences of pain within their commitments to the disciplinary timetables. For example, Yin and Kaili explained that their feelings of pain decreased as they kept up with playing or training. Therefore, their feelings of pain were embodied indicators of time duration in training and games. Their temporal feelings of pain were not static experiences of the present but an embodied temporality, which unites each movement in the past, present and future (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Moreover, these embodied temporal experiences of pain suggested a continuum rather than a clearly demarcated boundary between a healthy body and a painful or injured body.

As discussed above, neither disciplinary techniques of timing nor timetable precluded the body as an active agent, but still reflected Merleau-Ponty's active body of "I can" (Dreyfus

& Dreyfus, 1999, p. 110) and “we can” (McLane, 2006, p. 147). Hence, if I had only applied Foucauldian concepts of power relations and disciplinary power to analyse data, the agential, temporal, sensuous and intersubjective depth of the sporting body may not have been revealed. Moreover, findings about temporal influences on the experiences of pain and injury produced strong evidence to support the value of theoretical dialogues between Merleau-Ponty and Foucault in relation to the body. Next, I point out the findings that revealed the temporal functions and qualities of regulating and experiencing pain and injury in sport.

Life-course Experiences of Pain and Injury: Changing Attitudes over Time

From middle-aged and old participants, my research findings suggested that they have interpreted their pain and injury through a life-course perspective, in which their experiences of, and attitudes to, pain and injury underwent changes. For example, female middle-aged Chinese table tennis participants (e.g., Angie, Chunli and Rose), who have played at different performance levels, revealed that they perceived pain and injury in relation to their life experiences, as well as interactions with other people and the larger society.

With rich experiences of life and long-time participation in sport, female middle-aged (age 40s to 60s) Māori participants revealed in-depth, life-course and changing understandings of pain and injury. To be specific, when they recalled their pain and injury in their younger and competitive years, middle-aged waka ama paddlers reflected the contextual rationalization of pain and injury found in the existing research. Thus, this finding supports my argument in the literature review that the contextual rationalization was a particular perspective of risk, pain and injury that athletes acquired at a certain time and space. Contextual rationalization is especially recognized in high-performance sport and among young adult participants, which is a relatively short-term and static experience of risk, pain and injury. Nevertheless, waka ama participants (e.g., Conny, Arataki and Sweet) revealed that as their sport participation became longer, life experiences richer and age older, and after they shifted their participation from competitive paddling to social paddling, their previous commitments to competition and playing hurt changed. They saw pain and injury from waka ama and other activities as parts of their lives and integrated them into their life projects. Additionally, the life-course perspective was useful to understand the changing gender enactments of young participants, such as Yin and Villa, in their athletic and post-athletic periods.

Since the existing sociological research on sport-related risk, pain and injury has mainly focused on young high-performance athletes, the excessive commitments to taking risk and playing hurt produced in the high-performance sport context have become the normative and dominant understanding, albeit a narrow one. However, my research findings around middle-aged and old serious recreational and recreational sport participants suggested that experiences of and attitudes towards pain and injury were not fixed, but can change “as we age, engage with the world, and learn new ways of expressing ourselves and of listening to and interacting with others” (Lang, 2011, p. 89; see also Sabo, 1989). Next, I discuss what I have found from participants’ intersubjective and sensuous experiences of risk, pain and injury and the theoretical implications of using both Foucauldian and Merleau-Pontian analytical tools.

Intersubjective and Sensuous Experiences of Risk, Pain and Injury: Interacting with Others in Sport

My study found that the interaction with others was an important influence in shaping sport participants’ experiences of pain and injury. Moreover, by applying Foucault’s technologies of the self, Merleau-Ponty’s conceptualisations of being-in-the-world-with-others, and cultural concepts (Confucian *ren* and Māori concepts of *whakawhanaungatanga* and *whakapapa*), I found that interaction with others about one’s own risk-taking and pain and injury was an experience of going beyond oneself; therefore, an intersubjective experience.

In *waka ama* paddling, the intersubjective experiences of risk were reflected in the shared responsibilities for the crew’s collective safety on *waka*. Such experiences of, or attitudes to, risk sit in contrast with an individualistic responsibility for one’s own risk, pain and injury and sport performance seen in the existing research. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty’s concepts of the active embodied enactments and being-in-the-world-with-others, I interpreted *waka ama* paddlers’ collective responsibility to water safety as the intersubjectivity of ‘we can’ among the crew. This finding indicated that in *waka ama* paddling, paddlers’ commitments to their sport, team and teammates reflect their commitment to collective safety. Furthermore, shaped by a New Zealand discourse of water safety and embodied agency, *waka ama* participants’ attitudes and reactions towards risk were simultaneously agential and discursive.

In the context of table tennis, I particularly used Rose’s self-transformation through pain and injury to elaborate the intersubjective experiences. For example, Rose’s changing attitudes toward her own pain and injury and practices of new table tennis techniques led her

to develop empathy with other players' difficulties and disadvantages in playing table tennis and consequently change her own aspiration and purpose of playing table tennis. These stages in Rose's development of an intersubjective empathy with others were analysed through the four stages in Foucault's concept of technologies of the self and further indicated that embodied experiences of pain and injury were not static but evolving and changing. Furthermore, Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenological view of being-in-the-world-with-others allowed me to interpret that Rose's bodily movements with pain and injury not only provided her with new understandings of the world, but also a new empathetic relation with less skilful or physically challenged table tennis players. Waka ama and table tennis participants' embodied, intersubjective, empathetic and self-transformative experiences of pain and injury are seldom discussed in the existing studies of risk, pain and injury in the sociology of sport (c.f., Sabo, 1989). Nevertheless, these marginal experiences and voices of risk, pain and injury affirm that there are diverse and complex relationships that need to be explored between sport participants' (painful/injured) body and their sport, others in sports and the world.

Intersubjective experiences of pain and injury can be interpreted through Chinese and Māori cultural values and practices. For example, the Confucian ethics of *ren*, which use relational views to make the connection between one's own pain and suffering and others' was used to interpret Rose's empathetic and intersubjective and Chunli's and other Chinese volunteers' life-course experiences of pain and injury. It revealed that for Chinese, the proper way to deal with personal pain and suffering is to transform the painful feelings into emphatic energy and enhance solidarity among people and harmony with nature and universe (Tu, 2007). Similarly, by drawing on Māori cultural concepts of *whakawhanaungatanga* and *whakapapa*, Sweet's healing process from pain and injuries indicated an intersubjectivity between human and nature. Non-Western cultural interpretations of sport-related pain and injury support my argument that richer understandings of the phenomena of pain and injury can be obtained by widening the current narrow research focus on Western culture dominant Western mainstream sports.

Middle-aged female Māori and Chinese participants' intersubjective experiences of pain and injury showed that they did not alienate pain and injury from their own bodies and lives. This is in contrast to Messner's (1990b) finding that male athletes' bodies were used as weapons, inflicting pain and injury on others. These intersubjective experiences of pain and injury are seldom discussed from the perspective of interacting with others in sport. However, my study was able to highlight these experiences by investigating the intersecting factors (e.g.,

gender, age, ethnic culture and sport culture) and applying alternative theoretical lenses seldom used in studies of pain and injury in sport. Next, drawing on Merleau-Ponty's (1962) statement that intersubjective experiences are possible because of our senses, I highlight waka ama paddlers' sensuous feelings of potential risk, pain and injury.

The intersubjective experiences of risk, pain and injury in waka ama paddling can be seen in paddlers' narratives of their subtle feelings to the disruption in timing or synchronization, which may affect collective safety on the water. I identified these subtle feelings as sensuous experiences of potential risk, pain and injury. These sensuous experiences were interpreted via Sheets-Johnstone's (1990, 2009) concepts of the whole-body synergy and the emotion-motion dynamic, which further demonstrated the holistic bodily experiences and strong connections among senses, emotion and movements. Sensuous feelings of potential risk, pain and injury indicated that paddlers can affect and be affected by other paddlers' bodily movements and emotions. Based on the subtle sensuous feelings of paddling, paddlers can adjust their movements, such as strength and tempo, in accordance with the changes made by other paddlers. Therefore, the docile paddling body was also an experiential, sentient and intersubjective body. This finding supports my theoretical argument that sport participants' embodied experiences are shaped by discursive power and embodied agency, and further reveal the complementarity between Foucault's and Merleau-Ponty's theoretical concepts.

Methodological Reflections

When I reflected on my chapter-length discussion about risk in waka ama paddling (Chapter Five) and the much briefer introduction of risk in table tennis (Chapter Seven), I realised that my upbringing has played a significant role in me perceiving the risk in waka ama to be higher than that of table tennis. Epistemologically, my life trajectory affected my assumption of problems, the foci of analysis, and the production of new knowledge. In this section, I start with my reflection on why I have constructed waka ama as a risky context. Then, I discuss the difficulties that I found in representation of embodied experiences.

Reflecting on My Perceptions of Risk, Pain and Injury in Sport

During the ethnographic fieldwork, I enjoyed going to the table tennis clubs which were full of Chinese like me. But I started waka ama with fear, since I could not swim and only completed two four-hour swimming lessons with my mother before embarking on the waka

ama fieldwork. I did not share Māori waka ama participants' attachment to the sea or water, which I recorded in my field notes the very first time I was on board a waka.

Last week, I had a lesson on land about basic strokes and body positions. Today, holding a high anticipation of my first-ever waka ama training on water, I reached the club around 6 p.m. After checking attendance, the coaches decided to launch two 6-person waka on water. But 13 members turned up at the end. We gathered around the two waka and waited for the coaches to assign seats. Barrie turned to me, "You're going to sit on the kīato²⁷, and wait for swapping with seat five on the sea". I did not understand his instruction, so I awkwardly stood in the shallow water, while others started jumping on the waka and took seats. Tania asked me to look towards her, and she instructed me to straddle on the kīato with legs staying inside the hull. Realising that I was the thirteenth person and I would not sit inside the hull, I began to panic.

Driven by a surge of self-preservation, I quickly ran back to the boat shed, put on a lifejacket, and ran back to the waka. Then, from seat five I carefully reached out to the kīato and sat astride it. My legs shakily clenched the taumanu [thwart], and my hands pulled on one end of a band which strapped the kīato to the taumanu. Tania assured me, "You'll not fall off, and you can see very clearly how we paddle", and then she laughed in a friendly way. As I waited for the waka to take off, my heart pounded fast, and I frenziedly repeated in my mind, "Don't fall off. Don't fall off. Namō Amitufofo. Namō Amitufofo²⁸..."

With a call of "Hoe!" the paddles plunged into the water and I felt a jolt. My legs clenched the kīato even tighter. The sea water splashed high, and in a few seconds, I was drenched. Instead of observing how others paddled, I concentrated on how to keep balance on the kīato, and how to hold tighter onto it. When it was time to swap, I tremblingly crawled to the fifth seat. "Quickly. We lost 3 minutes for training", Coach said. Even sitting inside the hull, I was too nervous to effectively perform any stroke that I learnt on shore. [FN, 07/02/2015]

Due to my fear and concern about water activities, I highlighted, analysed and discussed the risk in waka ama in Chapter Five. However, the risk I felt may not be equally felt by other

²⁷ Kīato: the cross arm connected the outrigger to the hull

²⁸ Namō Amitufofo: a common Buddhist chanting said by utilitarian Han Chinese people whenever help from Buddhas is needed.

paddlers, since I saw that others sat at ease on the kīato, while continually turning their heads to cheer paddlers at the front and back. After the first month of waka ama training, the more I paddled, the more I realised that fear would be an indispensable part of my ethnographic experience of waka ama. Thus, I pleaded with my main supervisor to allow me to study table tennis exclusively. She replied, “No, you cannot. Tell me how you feel after six months. I know you’re really out of your comfort zone, but it’s a thing worth doing”. Waka ama, therefore, was an ethnographic as well as an emotional site that churned up my nervousness, worries and frustrations.

Even after many training sessions, in which I often got drenched in salt water and/or a sudden downpour of rain, I still displayed the same uneasiness towards the water and getting wet, as shown in the vignette below.

A clear Sunday morning, before the training, Codie and I were bailing out the rainwater that had accumulated in the hull from last night. I carefully bailed the water out and poured it gently away from my feet. Before I could clean a single waka, Codie had moved to bail her third one. She yelled, “Hey! Lucen. It’s just water. Not dangerous chemicals. Just splash it out on the ground. You’ll get wet anyway later in training”. [FN, 09/08/2015]

Unlike the tidy look that I could maintain after playing table tennis, I would be covered by a mixture of seawater, raindrops, sweat, and sometimes tears during waka ama training, and sometimes had seaweed and mud stuck on my legs and feet. What Codie said struck me that my bodily movements (e.g., carefully handling the water) overtly disclosed my uneasiness towards waka ama paddling. My motion-emotion dynamic was as Merleau-Ponty (1962) explained:

My love, hatred and will are not certain as mere thoughts about loving, hating and willing: on the contrary the whole certainty of these thoughts is owed to that of the acts of love, hatred or will of which I am quite sure because I *perform* them ... I make my reality and find myself only in the act. (p. 382, italics in original)

The emotions I performed in waka ama paddling cannot be separated from my cultural upbringing. Arataki suggested people’s different attitudes toward water sports may reflect their different cultural backgrounds:

If you think about it [sport] culturally, water sports are probably not an activity you would generally participate in. I used to give new Asian immigrants ... used to bring

groups down to the bay and I would introduce them to Māori culture using waka, and that was really new experiences for me as well. You know how we have to lift the canoe and get it in the water ... but the groups [that] come down would expect to have the activity done for them, and not doing the heavy work. They would turn up, and they would want to get into the waka and not get wet.

Arataki claimed, “When you look at our national sport, rugby, you just muck in and get dirty and on water, in waka ama, you just hop in and get wet. You just need to be prepared for that”. However, I really could not act cool, while being wet and dirty. It may not be a coincidence that my concern about getting wet and dirty was similar to those new Asian immigrants. Once I had a conversation about water sport with a Chinese-New Zealander and, unsurprisingly, she asked me what waka ama was, and her immediate comment was that Asian students would not normally participate in that. Contrasting to my vulnerability in water, Tichy told me her family has “a long love affair with the water” and they are “not really land lovers”. Conny reflected that “The waka world teaches you a lot, in terms of culture and who you are”. If it were not for waka ama, I would not realise that I had a timid and tidy ‘Asian’ attitude towards water sport.

I may never love the sea as much as Tichy and others do. Hence, reflecting upon the ‘chameleon ability’ that Hauraki (2009) proposed, I found it rather idealistic to assume that we can adapt to the environment by changing who we are. In my case, I may never be able to walk in Māori cultural context like a Māori. But, for once, my sense of being a misfit in the club decreased due to one incident. It was on a Sunday morning, and when we paddled the waka near shore, a group of Chinese tourists was there taking photos of and talking about us [FN, 30/08/2015]. At that moment, my physical movements of paddling the waka, instead of taking photos on shore, drew a closer tie between me and the Māori waka ama paddlers, rather than with my Chinese compatriots. These reflections on my ethnicity, cultural background and previous sporting experiences clarified my unbalanced discussion of the risks in waka ama and table tennis.

As I discussed in Chapter Four about finding my position between Māori and Chinese cultures, I had the understanding of Māori-Chinese relationships alongside Pākehā-Māori relationships before entering the waka ama field. I was concerned and nervous about whether Māori participants would accept me into their cultural and sporting environment, but their willingness, openness, kindness and trust were beyond my imagination. Similar responses were found among my Chinese participants. In my first year of doctoral study, after a presentation

about my research, Pākehā staff and doctoral peers commented that I was brave to study Māori culture. At that time, I only interpreted their comments as meaning that studying a culture other than our own was brave. Now I understand that I did not need to be as brave as they thought to be able to study Māori culture, since I did not carry the historical colonial burden of race relations between Pākehā and Māori, such as “Pākehā exclusion anxieties” (Jones, 2012, p. 100), into my ethnographic fieldwork. Regarding my access to the Māori context, only once in the early days of my paddling, did I hear a male paddler say “since when did Chinese come to paddle?” [FN, 27/05/2015]. However, the rest of my filed notes were about how participants welcomed and helped me to learn paddling and see connections between paddling and Māori culture. For example, a male Māori paddler spent time with me in a gym to show me how to improve my strength and endurance by effectively using gym equipment. Other participants, before our scheduled interviews, had long and serious conversations with me about the history of their hapū near the waka ama club and their life histories around the bay area. Trusting is a mutual practice. Not only did Māori participants trust me with reporting their experiences, I also trusted them on the water. My fear of water did not prohibit me from fieldwork, because I knew their efficient paddling skill could make the waka stay as steady as possible on the sea. After the first training, I no longer put on my life-jacket when paddling with the crew.

At the beginning, I did not see the link between Māori and Chinese ethnic groups, so I sought to read historical materials and studies around the issue of Māori-Chinese relationships. The more I read and the more I experienced in both cultural contexts, I started seeing the links between Māori and Chinese cultures, such as holistic understandings of the body and physical activities, as well as the collectivism in sport and other social activities. It was also true that if other scholars and I did not curiously delve into such quests, the cultural and sympathetic connections between the two different cultures and ethnicities would remain unknown.

The Challenges of Representation

There are two challenges while reporting embodied experience: the difficulty of trying to represent bodily movement in textual form and the challenge for participants to communicate pain.

To represent movements via texts, the immediate difficulty for me was to describe detailed movements of my limbs and torso when handling the waka ama or table tennis paddles, while not turning my field notes into technical instructions of how to perform waka ama and

table tennis. When I tried to channel my embodied experiences and observations from the fields into texts, I constantly asked myself, can these words really show readers what it was like to actually paddle a waka ama or to hit a table tennis ball? Such doubts led me to realise the difficulty in representing bodily movement. Scholars have identified that there is an innate limitation in using language, words and texts to represent movement (Markula & Denison, 2000; Sheets-Johnstone, 2009). As Sheets-Johnstone (2009) stated:

Languaging the dynamics of movement is a challenging task ... Pinpointing the exact character of a kinetic experience is not a truth-in-packaging matter ... The challenge derives in part from an object-tethered English language that easily misses or falls short of the temporal, spatial, and energetic quality dynamics of movement. (p. 206)

Challenging the academically privileged form of textualized representation, Markula and Denison (2000) asked: “Why should we expect writing to move, embody, or perform?” (p. 419). Reflecting on my textual forms of representation, I can resonate with Fielding’s (1999) finding that “the body we live is always enmeshed in varying degrees of ambiguity; it is the site of possibilities and potential relations that by definition can never all be actualized or even explicitly articulated” (p. 80).

The second difficulty is to represent varied feelings of pain in this thesis. I found that in participants’ narratives, they spoke about pain and injury interchangeably. Their descriptions of pain were vague. This phenomenon is identified as the “unsharability” of pain (Scarry, 1985, p. 4). The unshareable experience is due to pain’s resistance to language (Lascaratou, 2007; Scarry, 1985) or what Bourke (2014) called a “linguistic deceit” (p. 2). For Woolf (2007), temporality is a determining factor causing the inarticulate pain. As Woolf (2007) argues:

[I]f you ask patients to record their own pain in diaries, once they are out of pain, they find it very difficult to empathize with the pain they’ve already had ... it’s very difficult to record the pain when it takes over because it is such a total experience. But when it’s no longer there, it’s very difficult to recall that intense experience. Even self-empathy is a problem, never mind communicating it with other people. (quoted in Coakley & Shelemay, 2007, p. 357)

Similarly, for my participants, it was difficult for them to recall their previous pain experiences. When I read and re-read interview transcriptions, I realised that participants could describe their injuries in terms of areas, causes, and rehabilitative methods, but they hardly described

the feeling of pain. Additionally, Lascaratou (2007) explained that especially for chronic pain patients, their long-term pain is a familiarised part of them, and hence they cannot distance themselves from the pain and describe it.

Conclusion

My research demonstrated that it is timely for sociologists of sport to explore new contexts and adopt new foci to study risk, pain and injury. For example, researchers of organised, high-performance and competitive sport might also fruitfully draw on insights from alternative sport and physical activity contexts to enrich their understandings of the multiple dimensions of risk. By examining female Chinese and Māori sport participants in a broad spectrum of sport participation, my research demonstrated the limits of existing bodies of knowledge on the phenomena of risk, pain and injury. My findings answered my research questions to reveal that an interplay of influences—such as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background and performance levels—shaped female participants’ relations with sport and embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury, and that their embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury were culturally, contextually, discursively, actively and subjectively shaped.

The empirical implications of the findings above include the need for embodied approaches and investigations of intersecting influences in order to produce more multi-dimensional and nuanced knowledge that resonates with a wider range of sport participants. Theoretically, applying and combining Foucault’s theories and Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology allowed me to identify the interplay of socially-constructed influences and embodied agency in participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. This is in contrast to prior studies, which emphasised the discursive influences from sport contexts and the larger society. Rather, my thesis revealed the theoretical importance of considering the intersection of socially-constructed influences and embodied agency in shaping sport participants’ embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury. Moreover, my thesis also provided empirical evidence for the complementary application of Merleau-Ponty’s and Foucault’s theorisations of the body.

Methodologically, using ethnography to study embodiment and then trying to channel it into textual form made me realise the limitation of language in terms of textually representing movement as well as in communicating pain.

Further research might usefully explore life-course, empathetic, intersubjective, and non-Western and indigenous perspectives, which are helpful for sociology of sport researchers to keep challenging and broadening the current bodies of knowledge of sport-related risk, pain and injury.

APPENDICES

1) Examples of consent letters, participant information sheet and consent form

School of Curriculum and Pedagogy
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
A Block, Gate 3
74 Epsom Avenue, Epsom
Auckland 1023, New Zealand
education@auckland.ac.nz
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8898



30 November, 2014

Dear [table tennis club] President,

I am a PhD candidate in the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland. I am writing to you to invite you and your club members to participate in my research project. Participation in this study is completely voluntary.

The purpose of my research is to raise cultural awareness in the study of female athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury, particularly from diverse cultural perspectives, that have been ignored in current research. Table tennis, as a sport strongly influenced by Chinese cultures is one of the two sports I wish to study. Chinese table tennis players will be one of my foci. At the end of the research, both the researcher and participants may gain new understandings of Chinese cultures, the nexus of risk, pain and injury in sport sub-cultures, and holistic attitudes towards their sports participations in table tennis.

The project has two stages. In the first stage, I would like to join your club to gain a first-hand experience of this sport. I need to seek the unanimous consent from you and club members to allow me to initially participate in the club activities, and observe how this sport has been played. After this stage of approximately one month, with permission of members, I may take field notes and photos on site. Later, I would like to do individual interviews with 10 female Chinese club members.

The enclosed Participant Information Sheet explains the detailed procedures of the research project.

The purpose of this letter is to seek your approval for me to conduct participant observation in your club, your assistance to send out letters and forms to members, and your assistance to identify the members who have agreed to participate. If your permission is granted, please sign the attached Consent Form, and return it to my email address or arrange a time for me to collect it.

If you have any questions or queries about my research or need to know more about it, please feel free to contact me or either of my supervisors and advisor by phone or email (see Participant Information Sheet).

Thank you for considering my request.

Kind regards,

Lucen Liu
Doctoral Candidate
School of Curriculum and Pedagogy
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The University of Auckland
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Facsimile 64 9 623 8898



30 November, 2014

Dear [table tennis club] members,

I am a PhD candidate in the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research project. Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and does not affect your membership in the club.

The purpose of my research is to raise cultural awareness in the study of female athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury, particularly from diverse cultural perspectives, that have been ignored in current research. At the end of the research, both the researcher and participants may gain new understandings of Chinese cultures, the nexus of risk, pain and injury in sport sub-cultures, and holistic attitudes towards sports participation in table tennis.

The enclosed Participant Information Sheets explain the detailed procedures of the entire project. Please read the Participant Information Sheets. The first stage, called the ethnography, involves observing and participating in club activities to learn more about table tennis and its participants. The second stage involves an interview. If you agree to participate in the ethnography or/and the interview, please sign the appropriate attached Consent Forms. You can return your signed Consent Forms to your club president or place in the drop box before each stage begins. You do not need to decide about all stages immediately.

If you have any questions or queries about my research or need to know more about it, please feel free to contact me or either of my supervisors and advisor by phone or email (see Participant Information Sheet).

Thank you for considering my request.

Kind regards,

Lucen Liu
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Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
luцен.liu@auckland.ac.nz
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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

(For Table Tennis Club Members in Stage 1 and/or Stage 2 Ethnography)

Project title

Chinese and Māori female sports participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury: A cross-cultural examination.

Researcher

My name is Lucen Liu, PhD candidate of Chinese descent in the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland. This research project is part of my doctoral thesis.

Project description, invitation and procedures

The purpose of my research is to raise cultural awareness in the study of female athletes' experiences of risk, pain and injury, particularly from diverse cultural perspectives, that have been ignored in current research. Table tennis, as a sport strongly influenced by Chinese cultures, is one of the two sports I wish to study. There are two stages that you may agree to be involved in. All participants will be over the age of 16.

Every club member is welcome to participate in the Stage 1 Ethnography. During this initial period, of about one month, I will participate in club activities to learn more about table tennis and its participants. I will take notes of my reflections on what I see and feel and experience, but no information about particular members will be gathered at this time. The Stage 2 Ethnography involves more focused observations, for a period of about six months. I will pay additional attention to those who agree to participate. This indicates that I may take notes and photos of your activities in the club. Where appropriate, I will use a digital camera to take photos, which will be shown to you immediately afterwards. If you do not want me to use the photo, I will immediately delete it in your presence. As to those photos that you approve, I will send copies, both in original and obscured forms, to you by email. To be included in the Stage 2 Ethnography, the activity must take place in the researcher's presence for at least 30 minutes.

Data storage, retention, destruction and future use

To protect your identity, the hard copy of data (field notes and obscured images) will be stored separately from the Consent Forms and original images, in different locked filing cabinets at the university or at researcher's home, and can only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisors and advisor. The soft copy of data (field notes, modified digital images and photos) will be stored in researcher's computer safely with password protection. All forms of data will be stored for six years from completion of the research, and deleted after this time, unless the researcher continues with this line of research. Data collected will be used for academic and educational purposes, such as the researcher's PhD thesis at the University of Auckland, academic publications, conference presentations, teaching, and other forms of academic research dissemination.

Participants' rights

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your participation, non-participation or withdrawal will not affect your membership in the club. You are free to choose full participation, partial participation or no participation. You may withdraw from either the Stage 1 or Stage 2 Ethnography at any time until the observation period is completed. To thank you and the club, food may be provided, irrespective of your level of involvement, where and when appropriate. You are entitled to edit, expand upon or delete parts of my notes about your activities. You can indicate in the attached Consent Form whether you like to receive the final findings.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

No identifiable information about the club or you will be disclosed to a third party or the public. You can choose a pseudonym in the attached Consent Form, and the pseudonym will be used in your data, the thesis and future publications and presentations. Pseudonyms and your data will be separately and securely stored. Photos will be appropriately obscured by software. The researcher will make every effort to maintain confidentiality.

Contact details

All researchers are at the Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland, 74 Epsom Avenue, Epsom, Auckland 1023, New Zealand. You may also contact the Head of the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy, Professor Judy Parr: jm.parr@auckland.ac.nz or +64 9 623 8899 ext. 88998.

Researcher	Main supervisor	Co-supervisor
Lucen Liu	Assoc. Prof. Toni Bruce	Assoc. Prof. Richard Pringle
+64 9 623 8899 ext 48406	+64 9 623 8899 ext 48646	+64 9 623 8899 ext 48462
lucen.liu@auckland.ac.nz	t.bruce@auckland.ac.nz	r.pringle@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 87830/83761. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON for (3) years, Reference Number 012213.....

CONSENT FORM

(For Table Tennis Club Members in Stage 1 and/or Stage 2 Ethnography)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A MINIMUM PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Chinese and Māori female sports participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury: A cross-cultural examination.

Researcher: Lucen Liu

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and understood the nature of the research and why I have been invited to participate in this research project. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. My participation, non-participation or withdrawal will not affect my membership in the club.

For participants in Stage 1 Ethnography:

1. I agree to participate in the Stage 1 Ethnography, and my participation is voluntary.
2. I understand that the researcher will participate in my normal club activities.
3. I understand that the researcher will take notes of her reflections on participating in this sport.
4. I understand the researcher will not take notes of my behaviours in the club.
5. I understand that I can withdraw my participation at any time until the observation period is completed.
6. I understand that the data will be securely stored for a period of six years and then destroyed, unless the researcher continues with this line of research.
7. I understand that the data can only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisors and advisor.
8. I understand that no identifiable information about the club and members will be disclosed to a third party or the public.
9. I understand that the data will be used for the researcher's PhD thesis and may be used for academic publications, teaching, conference presentations and other forms of academic research dissemination.

For participants in Stage 2 Ethnography:

1. I agree to participate in the Stage 2 Ethnography, and my participation is voluntary.
2. I understand the researcher will take notes and digital photos of my activities in the club.
3. I understand any photos taken by the researcher will be shown to me immediately afterwards. If I do not want the researcher to use the photo, she will immediately delete it in my presence. As to those photos that I approve, the researcher will send copies, both in original and obscured forms, to me by email.
4. I understand that I can receive a summary of the researcher's notes specifically about me via email, cloud-delivery or face-to-face delivery.
5. I understand that no images will be used without permission and identifying features of persons and places will be obscured.
6. I understand that I can withdraw my participation and my data at any time until the observation period is completed.
7. I understand that I can choose a pseudonym and if I do not, the researcher will provide one.
8. I understand that the researcher will use this pseudonym in my data, the thesis and future publications and presentations of this research.
9. I understand that pseudonyms and data will be stored separately and securely for a period of six years and then deleted, unless the researcher continues with this line of research.
10. I understand that the data can only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisors and advisor.
11. I understand that the data will be used for the researcher's PhD thesis and may be used for academic publications, conference presentations, teaching and other forms of academic research dissemination.
12. I understand that no identifiable information of the club and me will be disclosed to a third party or the public.

If you agree to participate in part or all of the activities in this project, please tick one or more of the boxes and sign.

- I agree to participate in Stage 1.
- I agree to participate in Stage 2.
- I agree to be approached by the researcher after Stage 1 to discuss my possible involvement in Stage 2.
- I agree to be approached by the researcher after Stage 2 to discuss my possible involvement in an interview.
- I do not wish to be approached about an interview.
- I wish to receive the final copy of research findings by email or other forms (indicate _____).

My email: _____ Pseudonym: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
ON for (3) years, Reference Number 012213

2) Interview guide

Can you tell me about your ethnic or cultural background?

How long have you been playing table tennis/paddling waka ama?

What drew you to table tennis/ waka ama?

What were the memorable moments for you in table tennis/waka ama?

What keeps you playing table tennis/paddling waka ama?

Can you identify the risks in table tennis/waka ama?

What risks, pain or injury have you experienced in table tennis/waka ama?

Can you tell me about your most memorable experiences of risk, pain or injury?

How did pain or injury from table tennis/waka ama affect your life (outside of sport)?

What would you do when you were injured?

How do you feel when other club members get injured or suffer from pain?

How does table tennis/waka ama relate to your cultural beliefs and practices?

3) Māori karakia

A traditional opening karakia:

Whakataka te hau ki te uru

Whakataka te hau ki te tonga

Kia mākinakina ki uta

Kia mātaratara ki tai

E hī ake ana te atakura

He tio, he huka, he hau hū

Tīhei mauri ora!

[Cease the winds from the west

Cease the winds from the south

Let the breeze blow over the land

Let the breeze blow over the ocean

Let the red-tipped dawn come with a sharpened air.

A touch of frost, a promise of a glorious day.]

A Christian closing karakia:

Kia tau ki a tātou katoa

Te atawhai o tō tātou Ariki, a Ihu Karaiti

Me te aroha o te Atua

Me te whiwhingatahitanga

Ki te wairua tapu

Ake, ake, ake

Amine

[May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ,

and the love of God,

and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all

Forever and ever

Amen.]

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