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A Critical Look at Women's Role in Physical Education and in the USA During the 1930s

Mark Ellner

Physical education and sports are often viewed as a microcosm of society by reflecting the cultural climate of the time. By exploring the history of physical education and sport, important societal perspectives of the time period are established. From social justice issues, to the prioritizing of physical activity, to gender issues, the culture around physical education and sport presents a distinct view into the trends and societal beliefs of each time period. These views provide a foundation to understanding current societal expectations and ideologies. This historical research focuses on the role of women in physical education and sport during the 1930s. The purpose is to explore the trends that led to women's roles and expectations in physical education and sport during this time period. By exploring trends in physical education and sport, how women were treated, the expectations of women by society, and the views of women in sports are examined. The cause and mindset of a society that is responsible for encouraging and enforcing gender roles is addressed.

The 1930s and 1940s time period began in peacetime between World War I and World War II. This period also follows what is considered the Golden Age of sports in the 1920s.¹ The Golden Age derived from "the economic and technological boom of the twenties."² This led to more free time for men and women, thus there was an increase in participation of both leisure and sports activities such as listening to the radio, playing board games, attending and playing baseball games, and skiing. A shorter workday, along with new time-saving devices such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and electric irons, created time and mobility for families to attend sporting events.³ This, as well as the development and increase of sports coverage through radio and daily newspapers, promoted the public not only to watch, but to desire active participation in sports. Boxing, football, basketball, and horseracing were the most popular professional sports and the focus of media coverage.⁴ These sports were dominated, if not exclusively performed, by men.⁵

While professional sports participation and interest continued to climb, amateur sports' popularity began to explode during this time.⁶ Sports such as basketball, tennis, track and field, field hockey, and golf were among the most popular. These sports, while still dominated by men, began to have standout female athletes. One such female, Mildred "Babe" Didrickson, was a multisport athlete that competed and starred in golf, tennis, and track and field.⁷ The growth of amateur sports along with the introduction of intramural sport opportunities dramatically increased physical activity and sport participation during the 1930s.⁸

This time period also saw sport, dance, and physical activity becoming part of the regular education setting through physical education classes.⁹ "Although programs were distinctively different for men and women, physical education for graduation came to be required in more and more colleges and universities."¹⁰ The differences often came in the form of the level of competition and vigor with which physical activities were performed.¹¹ As WWII began in 1939, popular sports and training were adapted to train soldiers and not to provide leisure time fun.¹² With the development of physical education classes for men and women in schools, gender

roles continued to become increasingly defined by how and what they were taught, as well as, the standards to which each gender was taught.¹³ Research of gender roles in physical education and sports provides a greater context of a society determined to separate the sexes in terms of abilities and opportunities.

Through a broad review of the history of physical activity during the WWII time period, an obvious feature stands out. The role of women is convincingly diminished in respect to that of men. Going back hundreds of years, men used physical activity to prepare them to be strong for battle, while the woman's role was to prepare her body for child birth.¹⁴ Little was done to curtail this notion of women playing a passive role in sports and physical activity leading into the 1930s. Women's physical activity level, was for the most part, confined to low intensity activities to develop grace and balance, while the men were introduced to high intensity strength activities and sport-specific skill development.¹⁵ What little physical activity women were encouraged to participate in, was done to produce beauty, and to meet social standards created by society.¹⁶

The findings in this article are from primary and secondary sources related to physical education and sports during the 1930s and 1940s. Photo collections from the Library of Congress depicting physical education classes from the time period set the original context for this research.¹⁷ Examination of the collections showed stark differences in the organization and activities participated in between men and women. Further research of primary resources such as, books and journals from the 1930s and 1940s continued to emphasize differing roles between gender opportunities and expectations. These resources, along with secondary sources from the mid-to-late 1900s, provided a setting of physical education and sports during the early twentieth century. Secondary sources included history of sports books and scholarly journal articles.

Feminist Theory

In examining the history of physical activity in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, it's clear that the expectations and development of men and women were treated differently. To engage in effective research of this societal difference, a Feminist Theoretical Framework was employed to analyze primary and secondary sources related to physical education and sports during the 1930s.¹⁸ Minimally, a feminist view must include the following tenets:

1. Whatever else it may also be, gender is a system of inequality between males and females as sex categories by which things feminine are socially and culturally devalued and men enjoy greater access to scarce and valued social resources.
2. Gender inequality is produced socio-culturally and is not immutable.
3. Gender inequality is evaluated negatively as unjust, unfair, etc.
4. Therefore, feminists should strive to eliminate gender inequality.¹⁹

Burt and Code provide that "Our first assumption is that feminism must be inclusive."²⁰ These tenets are a beginning guide to understand a perspective of social inequality and oppression of women through a more open and inquiring perspective.

In relation to physical education and sports, it's critical to look at gender issues as more than just looking at women and men as opposite sexes with differing rights and abilities. Feminist theory recognizes that inequities are created as part of a greater system. "It moves beyond thinking

about sexual inequality in terms of the opposition between male and female roles to examining the way it is constituted by the structures of various social institutions that gender knits into intricately patterned domination.”²¹ In relation to women’s roles in physical activity, it requires going beyond the basic physical attributes of the two genders. While there are natural physical differences that exist, the equitable opportunities and societal expectations are the focus of this research.

Feminist concepts illuminate how the vast components of differences and oppression have affected underrepresented cultures and genders over a large period of time. This situates me as a white male in a position of uneasiness because my perspective on society is often in contrast with reality. I see life through a dominant position. I am not subjugated to being told what I cannot do simply because of my gender or race. I have not experienced life as an underrepresented or oppressed person. To go outside of my perspective of life is uncomfortable. This theoretical framework opens doors to explore this uneasiness and identify the need for change.

Feminist concepts are those that contain, as some of their components, the concepts of woman, women, or the feminine, but these concepts, none of which are simple or made up of a single component, are also in awkward conjunction with other concepts that often sit uneasily with them (woman plus biology, the feminine plus economics, maternity plus the war on terror), and it is this awkwardness that generates new thought, new concepts that cohere (when they do) to do the work of making new connections, new traces between concepts not adequately linked before.²²

I selected feminism because it most closely matches my beliefs and ethics as a teacher, a student, a father, and a researcher. “Mainstream theories about inequality of education are gender-blind and thus of little usefulness in explaining gender inequalities in education.”²³ A feminist approach provides an opportunity to tell a story of oppression that is often overlooked as just the way it is because that’s how people were born.

A feminist approach seeks to move beyond the obvious gender differences and delves into a larger systemic issue that has long lasting effects on both genders. For example, “The larger damage is to young people’s self-confidence caused by these culturally idealized views of how women’s and men’s bodies should look.”²⁴ It is because of examples like this and the many harsh effects of inequities between men and women, that a feminist view is essential to explore fully the role of women in physical activity in schools and society.

Setting of Physical Education and Sports in the 1930s and 1940s

Literature from the early 1900s suggests that while there was an uptick in women’s desires to participate in physical activity for both leisure and physical fitness, women and men had drastically different expected roles in terms of physical education and sports, especially when it came to participating in a competitive manner.^{25,26,27} “During the 1920s there was a gradual rising tide of opposition to interscholastic competitive sports and athletics [for women].”²⁸ Historically, “in American society the sports engaged in by men have always been considered more serious, more worthy and more to be encouraged than women’s sport.”²⁹ School budgets were drastically higher for men’s sport programs than women. Often men received as much as

90% more than the women's program.³⁰ This led to lack of quality in every aspect of women's physical education sport including, instruction, facilities, and equipment.³¹ "By 1930 the percentage of higher institutions participating in some form of intercollegiate women's competition had dropped from " 22% in the 1920s "to 12%."³²

Physical Standards for Boys and Girls in school physical education programs from 1922 sets a context for the view and expectations of girls in physical activity and sports in the early 1900s.³³ Charles Taylor's opinion is telling when describing the factors to take into consideration when training and assessing girls physically.³⁴ Taylor states, "First of all, the average girl is not interested in physical development. To be strong does not appeal to her nearly as much as her appearance."³⁵ He continues to discuss how girls should not be tested until they have been involved in physical education for a year or two since it takes time to arouse girls' interest in physical training.³⁶ Taylor's interpretation of women's physical activity needs provides a societal theme that vigorous physical activity in physical education belongs solely to men. In his view, women should be cautious when approaching physical education activities.

Photo collections from the Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information photograph collection (Library of Congress) of physical education and sports from the 1930s and 1940s depict a clear difference between the roles and expectations of men and women.³⁷ From the activities they are shown participating in to the equipment they are shown using, the collection portrays a picture of the times.³⁸ The photo collections from the Office of War Information tell a story of the times more clearly than much of the related text. Women are seen mostly in less strenuous physical activities than males. For example, women are performing static and balance activities in which they are standing still, while the men are using dynamic activities that have them moving through and around obstacles. The women's physical activities are used to provide grace and balance, while the men's activities are designed to develop physical strength and speed. Men's activities had the goal of developing soldiers and men ready to take on physically strenuous occupations.³⁹ Men participated in activities that developed muscle and practical skills for war situations. The activities included high levels of intensity. Educational institutions were beginning to have genuine physical education programs for women. These programs had different goals from already developed male programs. "The goals became improvement of physical condition, establishment of health habits, and the development of a permanent interest in sports and recreation as primary aims."⁴⁰ Typical exercises and activities were much less strenuous to the body. Activities were meant to be safe with little chance of undue stress to the women's bodies.⁴¹

The Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information photograph collection (Library of Congress) shows women participating in typical of the time physical education classes. Women playing a game with basketballs shows a basket in the middle of the floor while there is an actual basketball goal hanging from one end of the court. This suggests a difference in how women's games were played and organized when compared to the men's games. The women practiced basketball on a shorter goal in a less strenuous environment than the men. Another photo shows women participating in mass exercise activities that developed balance. The women were standing in rows with their arms stretched out holding a pose. Development of good balance and posture was a key factor in achieving grace.⁴² A clear difference in the men's and women's activities was the challenge level of the skills practiced. One example is depicted when looking

at two photos from the collection. Both photos show the men and women performing activities where they are working on the same skill of jumping from a height and landing safely. The men are jumping from a much higher level and landing on dirt, while the women are jumping from a relatively low level and have a mat underneath them to soften the landing. The skill practice for the women was much less challenging and performed in a less strenuous controlled environment.

Another difference in women's and men's physical education programs was the use of exercise equipment and apparatuses. Men often used free weights, obstacle course apparatuses, and strength equipment. When women used equipment, it was minimal in weight, height, and complexity. Women's opportunities to use equipment were much different than men's in that the equipment was less dangerous (lower to the ground and less weight) for women. The equipment was not used to develop strength.⁴³ The lack of equipment used emphasized the general thought of educators during the 1930s and 1940s that it was unhealthy for women to develop muscular strength.

Even with the vast differences in gender roles and expectations, progress was made towards increasing females' position in sports. One study by Judith Davidson concluded four trends in women's physical education and sport.⁴⁴

1. An increase in opportunities for sport for women and an increase in numbers participating.
2. A growing use of research as a basis for planning and improving sport and athletic programs.
3. A greater acceptance in society of the concept of women in sport.
4. A reexamination of the position limiting intercollegiate athletics.⁴⁵

While a more inclusive sports and physical education setting was being entertained by individual women physical educators and sport professionals, there was still continued opposition by large groups of administrators and organizations such as the International Olympic Committee and Physical Education Directors.⁴⁶

Factors Leading to Lower Expectations and Fewer Opportunities for Women

Cultural Views

A number of factors contributed to the differences of men and women in physical education and sport. One of the leading factors influencing gender roles was that women should act feminine and avoid imitating male skill sets. "Culture has imposed a stereotyped model of femininity that has excluded the well-skilled, movement-oriented girl, with her more competitive personality."⁴⁷ The idea of competition and a competitive spirit contradicts what is historically believed as being feminine.^{48,49,50} This cultural view of what femininity was and what a female should look and act like presents one of the greatest barriers toward women having equitable opportunities and equitable success in physical education and sport. Cultural views of women in the 1930s and 1940s saw the ability to improve their physical appearance as one of the few influences for women to actively participate in physical activity.⁵¹ Participation in strenuous physical activity and sports was considered unlady like by many.⁵² One leader of the Olympic games, who was against women competing in the Olympics stated that, "the Olympic Games should be the sole purview of men. Women have but one task, that of the role of crowning the winner with garlands, as was their role in ancient Greece."⁵³

A group of college directors in the 1920s provided a list of reasons against women competing in highly competitive athletics.

1. It leads to professionalism.
2. Training of the few to the sacrifice of many.
3. It is unsocial.
4. Necessity of professional coaches.
5. Physical educators, both men and women, of our leading colleges find results undesirable.
6. Expense.
7. Unnecessary nerve fatigue.⁵⁴

This list was their way of saying women do not have the ability physically or socially to participate in sports in a highly competitive setting and that physical development should not be a priority in women's lives.⁵⁵ The list also emphasizes that sports' programs are not willing to use the same resources they used for men to support women's athletics. It clearly displays a motivation from administrators to hold women back from the opportunity to succeed in areas of sports. This cultural attitude from education directors, as well as a male dominated society, made progress in sports for women difficult.⁵⁶ "In any discussion of gender relations a basic reality is that males have the dominant power in the culture, as well as in sport."⁵⁷

Female physical educators increasingly desired to have girls more active in physical activity, but they believed that they had to approach that desire with caution. Park and Hult explained: "Although their [female physical educators] work centrally involved physical activity for girls and women, cultural values which held sway in the larger society seemed to dictate caution."⁵⁸

Biologics Leading to Rule Changes.

Another factor pin the findings of the research that was a barrier to the women's role in physical education and sports was based on the physiological view of women's bodies, especially their reproductive systems.^{59,60} This time was "marked by a trend away from strenuous all-out interscholastic and intercollegiate competition in an attempt to keep (physical) activities "feminine" and well within what were then considered safe psychological and physiological limits for women."⁶¹ It was believed that women would be harmed when active or that their bodies would not allow for vigorous physical activity. The view was promoted that, as women started to become more interested in participating in physical activity, their physical capabilities put them in a weakened state. Park and Hult stated:

The dominant physiology of the nineteenth century held that each human being possessed a fixed amount of energy, and to use this for physical and intellectual tasks at the same time could be hazardous. For females, thought to be "periodically weekend" by menstruation, the risk is especially severe.⁶²

Even when women desired to teach, coach, and participate in physical activity, they often proceeded with caution due to their concern about objections from their male counterparts. Sports, as it was participated in during the early 1900s, was seen as a privilege afforded only to men. Park and Hult provided, "their (women coaches and athletes) situation was complicated by

the fact that working with games and sports brought them perilously close to the privileged realm of male athletes.”⁶³ This led to women participating under different rules in sports in order to make them less competitive and less rigorous than the men’s games. The idea of women imitating a man’s game or exercise program was taboo.⁶⁴ As women awakened to the delights of athletics, many roadblocks stood in the way. The director of physical training at one college stated, “If the advocates of athletics for women are ardent, their opponents are equally strenuous.”⁶⁵

Basketball is a prominent example of how women’s sports were changed to meet the perceived needs of females. Coming out of the 1920s and continuing into the 1930s and 1940s, basketball was one of the most popular sports for women’s participation.⁶⁶ Physical education teachers and coaches were well aware of the benefits of basketball. Playing the game developed postural muscles and muscles of the abdomen, as well as teamwork and strategy skills, and cardiovascular endurance.⁶⁷ At the same time, sports administrators and educators were also worried about the dangers of playing competitive and physical sports. One specific danger repeated was possible undue strain on the heart.^{68, 69} Critics of the men’s game for women believed that the game was too rowdy for women to play. To combat this concern, women played basketball by very different rules than the men.⁷⁰

Women played on a basketball court divided into three courts. The players were required to stay in their sections and play defense on a vertical plane.⁷¹ The overall court size was smaller than the men’s. This lack of movement kept women from over exerting themselves and away from the danger of making physical contact with other players.⁷² Women played with more players on the court at one time than did the men, and had more timeouts per game.⁷³

Another example of how the rules or organization of athletics were modified for women was the use of Play Days instead of intercollegiate competition. “High level competition, in which the male model of athletics was used for women, conflicted with the female physical educators’ philosophical commitment to recreational sports.”⁷⁴ “Play days were designed for women of several different colleges to be assigned onto teams organized solely for the play day. The events were usually informal and the program planned for mass participation.”⁷⁵ The key to play days was that the competition level was kept low and sports were adapted to meet the socialization and leisure aspects of sports.⁷⁶ Adaptations such as shortened game times and novelty games played throughout the day were employed.⁷⁷ The days typically ended with tea and a social hour.⁷⁸

Sexualization of Women Athletes

Another barrier to equitable opportunities for women revealed in the sports literature has been the sexualization of female athletes. Women, especially women athletes, were considered more for their physical beauty than their physical abilities during the 1930s and 1940s.^{79,80} An opinion piece by Alice Sefton from 1937 in the *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance*, discussed whether or not women need to look beautiful to participate in sports. The argument contests the dominant view that women’s appearance while participating in physical activity has a part in determining their ability to succeed.⁸¹ The article provides one thought of the time about women participating in swimming competition: “It is all right for a girl to go swimming, provided she does not soil the picture by wearing a bathing cap, and provided she sticks to the recumbent position in the back stroke.”⁸² Because there was pressure to look

beautiful while participating, women often were not allowed to participate in organized sports. While Sefton comments that women should not be discounted for their appearance and that women have the same motivations to compete and participate in physical activity as men, she concurs that women and men are on equal footing in sports. Sefton states,

In planning a program of sports, it is important that women should not ignore these physiological differences. When they try to imitate men and use men's rules in their games, and engage in strenuous competition, they are likely to become unfeminine and awkward.⁸³

She continued that when women continue physical stress and perform activities that exceed their power, "she loses her coordination, then she sacrifices some of her beauty because she is violating principles of health."⁸⁴

1930 through 1940 began the appearance of female athletic stars. The level of their popularity with the public was often based more on their attractiveness than their athletic skills.⁸⁵ The beautiful ones were looked upon with the highest regard and treated like film stars.⁸⁶ "Grace, form, and beauty were essential attributes in these role models for sporting women."⁸⁷ Along with the creation of the Miss America beauty contest, directors of women's athletic events began to hold beauty contests for the athletes during tournaments. A pageant queen was seen as a role model for women combining athletic ability, grace and beauty.⁸⁸

A review of the *Journal of Physical Education and Dance*,⁸⁹ from the 1930s and 1940s, indicates a trend of focusing on beautifying women in the advertising of women's physical education uniforms. When advertising women's clothing, there was often a model posing in a stance that featured beauty. Ads for women's uniforms concerned themselves with the appearance and fashion of the model. The text of the ads used words such as "modern design" and "very stylish" when describing them. This emphasizes further the argument that women had to look a certain way to participate in physical activity. The ads of men's uniforms situated them in an active and strong pose with little text describing the way the uniforms looked on the person or were often printed without pictures of models.⁹⁰

Conclusion

While an increase in physical activity within the physical education and sports settings was a trend in the 1930s and 1940s by men and women, there was a clear difference between roles and expectations of the genders. Though I held a general knowledge about the differences between men's and women's roles in physical education and sports, conducting the research through a critical and feminist lens provided a more systemic view of society's efforts to hold back women's opportunities to participate in and succeed in physical active settings.

What was depicted through my research was an effort on all levels to keep women out of the men's world of physical activity. This was most often visible by changing the rules of the games or providing alternative opportunities, which were created solely to eliminate competition and vigorous physical movements for women within physical education and sports settings. Explanations for such action focused on the perceived biological weakness of women and the

need to keep women from exceeding what was believed to be their limits physically and mentally.

The exploitation of women sexually was also prevalent in the research of women in physical education and sports. The idea that women should look a certain way to be considered successful permeates the research. It is exemplified by how sports stars were portrayed by the public, the uniforms or outfits sporting women were encouraged to wear, and the constant need of women to appear graceful, elegant, and feminine while participating in physical activity.

Throughout the research, regardless of what aspect of women's physical education and sports were examined, a constant theme of systemic opposition to gender equality was present. Not only were women's roles and expectations undermined by men, but the beliefs about women not being capable to participate in the same setting of men and society was often endorsed by women in positions of power. Fear of what consequences would result from vigorous activity and competition placed women in sports in an inequitable role compared to men.

This study contributes to the search for equity in the development of physical education programs and sports programs for women. By revealing past gender roles, a closer examination of current roles becomes clear. This research opened a window to the past, but it is not complete. To further resist gender inequities in physical education and sports, exploration of differing time periods leading up to the present is needed.

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¹ Betty Mary Spears., Richard A. Swanson, and Elaine T. Smith (Ed.). History of Sport and Physical Activity in the United States. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1978.

² Ibid:193

³ Ibid: 194

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Roberta J. Park and Joan S. Hult. "Women as Leaders in Physical Education and School-Based Sports, 1865 to the 1930s." *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance* 64, no. 3 (1993)

⁶ Spears et al., *History of Sport*

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid: 212

¹¹ Park and Hult, "Women as Leaders"

¹² Ibid.

¹³ James A. Michener, *Sports in America* (New York: Random House, 1976)

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Spears et al., *History of Sport*

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ These links provide a sample Library of Congress photos explored.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001025799/PP/>; <https://www.loc.gov/item/oem2002005667/PP/>;

<https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001037348/PP/>; <https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001037388/PP/>;

<https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001037323/PP/>; <https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001025854/PP/>

¹⁸ Looking through a feminist lens will provide the perspective needed to investigate gender issues as a systemic societal issue that has been perpetuated over an extended period of time. A feminist approach seeks beyond the obvious gender differences and delves into a larger systemic issue that has long lasting effects on both genders.

¹⁹ J. S. Chafetz, "Bridging Feminist Theory and Research Methodology," *Journal of Family Issues* 25, no. 7 (2004): 965-966.

²⁰ Sandra D. Burt and Lorraine Code, *Changing Methods: Feminists Transforming Practice* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1995): 106.

²¹ Lisa Disch. "Toward a Feminist Conception of Politics." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 24, no. 3 (1991): 501-

²² Elizabeth Grosz. "The Practice of Feminist Theory." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2010) 102.

²³ Nelly P. Stromquist. *Gender Disparities in Educational Access and Attainment: Mainstream and Feminist Theories*. 1988: 21.

²⁴ Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 252.

²⁵ Michener, *Sports in America*

²⁶ Spears et al., *History of Sport*

²⁷ Carl E Klafs, and Joan M. Lyon. *The Female Athlete; Conditioning, Competition, and Culture*. (Saint Louis: Mosby, 1973)

²⁸ Ibid: 7

²⁹ Michener, *Sports in America*, 122

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid: 123-124

³² Klafs, and Lyon. *The Female Athlete*, 7

³³ Charles Keen Taylor, *Physical Standards for Boys and Girls: A Handbook for the Use of School Physical Directors, Medical Inspectors* (Orange, N.J.: The Academy Press, 1922) Taylor's book presents standards for both boys and girls. He theorizes that different standards are needed for different build. He provides the standards in tables based on the differing builds. The males are categorized into five builds, while the girls are categorized into ten builds allowing for pre-and post-adolescence.

³⁴ Charles Keen Taylor at the time of this publication was the Director of the Department of Standards at the Cartaret Academy in Orange, New Jersey. He authored many other books regarding student standards and behavior.

³⁵ Ibid. 21

³⁶ Ibid. 22

³⁷ Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/item/owi2001025799/PP/>., <https://www.loc.gov/item/oem2002005667/PP/>.

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- ³⁸ Esther Bublely, October 1943, Washington, D.C. Woodrow Wilson High School Athletics and Physical Education., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., , <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004667488/>.
- ³⁹ Spears et al., *History of Sport*
- ⁴⁰ Joan S. Hult and Marianna Treckell, *A Century of Women's Basketball: From Frailty to Final Four* (Reston, VA: National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 1991): 31
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Spears et al., *History of Sport*
- ⁴⁴ The study was conducted by Judith Davidson in 1977 at the University of Massachusetts.
- ⁴⁵ Spears et al., *History of Sport*, 225
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Klafs and Lyon, *The Female Athlete*, vii
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Spears et al., *History of Sport*
- ⁵⁰ Michener, *Sports in America*
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Klafs and Lyon. *The Female Athlete*
- ⁵³ Ibid: 8
- ⁵⁴ Spears et al., *History of Sport*, 218
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Park and Hult, "Women as Leaders," 34
- ⁵⁸ Ibid: 36
- ⁵⁹ Park and Hult, "Women as Leaders,"
- ⁶⁰ Klafs and Lyon. *The Female Athlete*
- ⁶¹ Klafs and Lyon. *The Female Athlete*, 8
- ⁶² Park and Hult, "Women as Leaders," 52
- ⁶³ Ibid: 36
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Spears et al., *History of Sport*, 220
- ⁶⁶ James A. Michener, *Sports in America* (New York: Random House, 1976)
- ⁶⁷ Park and Hult. "Women as Leaders"
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Hult and Treckell, *A Century of Women's Basketball*
- ⁷⁰ Ibid
- ⁷¹ Playing defense only on a vertical plane required the women to keep their arms within the width of their body and that of the opponents. The defender could not put their hands to the side and steal the ball when it was passed around them. This was one more way to keep the physical activity of the game from being too vigorous.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Hult and Treckell, *A Century of Women's Basketball*
- ⁷⁵ Mary et al., *History of Sport*, 223
- ⁷⁶ Michener, *Sports in America*
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Spears et al., *History of Sport*
- ⁸⁰ Hult and Treckell, *A Century of Women's Basketball*
- ⁸¹ Alice A. Sefton, "Must Women in Sports Look Beautiful?" (*The Journal of Health and Physical Education* 8, no. 8 1937): 481-511
- ⁸² Ibid: 481
- ⁸³ Ibid: 511
- ⁸⁴ Ibid: 511

⁸⁵ Spears et al., *History of Sport*

⁸⁶ Hult and Trezell, *A Century of Women's Basketball*

⁸⁷ Ibid: 12

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ *JOPERD* has been continuously published since 1896, going through a few name changes. The journal during the 1930s and 1940s was named *Journal of Health and Physical Education*. *JOPERD* is considered the cornerstone of academic publishing in the field of PE, sport, and health.

⁹⁰ I reviewed a collection of the Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance dating from 1930-1949.