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Female collegiate volleyball athletes' perceptions of identity, specific to sport and gender, as understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices

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FEMALE COLLEGIATE VOLLEYBALL ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS OF
IDENTITY, SPECIFIC TO SPORT AND GENDER, AS UNDERSTOOD BY THEIR
IN-SPORT AND EVERYDAY DRESS AND APPEARANCE PRACTICES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Human Ecology
Department of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising

by
Jessica Ann Pattison
B.S., University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2006
December 2013

I dedicate my dissertation to my family and friends. With sincere gratitude, I thank my parents for their constant encouragement, guidance, and persistence that I finish my doctoral degree. Without either one of you by my side, always rooting for me, this degree would not have been possible. Mom, thank you for calling me every morning on your way to work to tell me what outfit you were wearing; your phone calls keep me motivated to dress-up and love what I do. Al, lucky you, I will no longer be on the family payroll. Thank you for your support. I love you both.

This dissertation is also dedicated to my sister, Allison. You have inspired me to achieve many personal goals, especially my academic one, as we ploughed through this achievement together. You have overcome many obstacles in your life and you challenge me to be a better person.

I also dedicate my dissertation to my late sister, Christina. I will always remember my first semester of graduate school when you and Zach moved me to Baton Rouge. You are a constant source of inspiration; you accomplished so much in your short but beautiful life, which motivated me to pursue my doctoral degree. Wherever you may be, just know that not a day goes by that I do not think about you. I love and miss you. To my brother-in-law, Zach, you are the most passionate and loving person I know. Thank you for teaching me the importance of unconditional love.

Without my friends, I would not have had any fun in life or in completing my dissertation. Bailey, thank you for being my sounding board and source of everlasting friendship. Last, but not least, I dedicate my dissertation to my dog, Baisley. You are truly a golden wonder and you keep me grounded.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore how female collegiate volleyball athletes use dress and appearance practices to create, maintain, and negotiate their sport identity and gender identity, in-sport and everyday, from the time they played collegiate volleyball to present day. The study was guided by grounded theory and phenomenology. Semi-structured, in-depth, active qualitative interviews with 12 women, who represented American, Brazilian, Canadian, and Romanian viewpoints, were analyzed using open coding and thematic analysis procedures. Analysis revealed three key themes related to female collegiate volleyball athletes' use of dress and appearance practices as a means to shape and influence their sport and gender identities: (a) conceptualizing the female collegiate volleyball culture as understood by dress and appearance, (b) female collegiate volleyball athlete subject formation, and (c) performing female collegiate volleyball athlete identities. Findings revealed that they used dress and appearance practices to understand their sport identity and gender identity when they played volleyball in college and that they currently use dress and appearance practices in their everyday lives as a way to understand their subject positions. Female collegiate volleyball athletes conceptualized their ways of understanding social and cultural expectations by using their dress and appearance practices and bodies as mediums for interpretation.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Introduction

By clothing one's self, an individual is continually creating identities that are unfixed, dynamic, negotiated, maintained, and constantly evolving (Banim, Green, & Guy, 2001). Furthermore, while clothed and dressed for an occasion, an individual may use dress and appearance to express her intended identity in any given social role. Characterized by "what a person does" in a social setting, a social role is performed and occupied by an individual who encompasses various identities (example: female collegiate athlete=female, college student, & collegiate athlete) that shape perceptions of self (Kaiser, 1997).

A moderate body of literature exists that pertains to female athletes, their dress, and social roles; and a minimal amount of knowledge about female collegiate athletes, specific to female collegiate volleyball athletes' (FCVAs) experiences with dress and appearance, and their practices: meanings and relationships with dress and appearance, and gender role identity is available. The limited knowledge about FCVAs' experiences with their in-sport dress and appearance and identity in the context of their everyday lives, provides an example to explore how women may create, maintain, or negotiate gender role identity within the context of their everyday lives, and use dress and appearance as a vehicle to transmit personal and in-sport meanings of dress and appearance and gender role identity. It is within the everyday context, through dress and appearance practices, and in the in-sport social role, that FCVAs experience gender role identity, "Despite some gains for women, inequities still clearly exist between men and women in the workforce as well as in other social contexts" (Kaiser, Lennon, & Damhorst, 1991, p. 51). Furthermore, dress signifies gender and when on the body, it serves as a means to

present new and emerging versions of gender identity (Barnes & Eicher, 1992; Lynch, Detzner, & Eicher, 1996).

The purpose of this study was to explore how female collegiate volleyball athletes (FCVAs) create, maintain, and negotiate their identity, specific to sport and gender, as understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, when they played and currently. According to Banim et al. (2001), it is important to understand the complexities of the woman's wardrobe as she dresses for various social roles and audiences, to examine women's relationships with their clothing, and to focus on women in their everyday lives.

To explore the use of dress and appearance of FCVAs in the context of their everyday lives in the U.S. is to inquire to understand the social, cultural, and personal changes, and technological developments one endures throughout her life. To fashion one's self is to produce clothes and appearances, as one negotiates subject positions (e.g., gender, social role, ethnicity, class), by borrowing, mixing, belonging, and changing (Kaiser, 2012). More specifically, the personal perceptions of change and individual experiences is hers and hers alone, in that, she is the firsthand knowledge of social-cultural meanings and relationships associated with her in-sport dress and appearance practices. The in-sport dress and appearance meanings and relationships an individual forms are products of collegiate, professional, and leisure sport cultures, as well as various social and cultural practices and institutions in the U.S., such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). To comprehend dress and appearance practices on both individual and collective levels is imperative to understand their effect on how individuals create, maintain, and negotiate their identity, specific to sport and gender.

According to Stets and Burke (2000), identity is composed of self-perceptions that emerge from the reflexive activity of self-categorization or identification in terms of membership

for a particular social role where meaning is signified by a structured society. Understanding ideas of self and others or how an individual is situated within an organization and becomes a member of a group, are key components to social and psychological development; it is how an individual makes sense and meaning out of social and cultural interactions and how they are experienced that enables an individual to identify within a given social role (Damhorst, 1991). Kaiser (1997) notes that identity “can be considered in greater depth if we look at how people come to view themselves in social contexts, as influenced both by cultural demands and personal interpretations and responses with respect to these demands” (p. 186).

Statement of the Problem

With the background of the study in mind, the problem investigated in this study was FCVAs’ self-perceptions of their identity, specific to sport and gender, in-sport and everyday, by inquiry of their dress and appearance practices, when they played and currently. As evidenced by Workman and Freeburg (1993), “An individual’s behavior may be affected in attempts to meet the demands of gender role expectations” (p. 103). This dissertation is a resource that explicates FCVAs’ voices and interpretations of the social and cultural meanings of their in-sport dress and appearance practices over the period of their life, illuminating their collegiate volleyball experiences, and current involvement with the sport today. Exploring FCVAs’ experiences with their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices allowed for the researcher to better understand volleyball identity and gender as understood by dress and appearance as a medium to communicate. The meanings of and relationships with their dress and appearance practices may unveil individual and collective perceptions of sport identity and gender identity, thus illuminating the process in which individuals and as a collective group of female collegiate volleyball athletes create, maintain, and negotiate their identity.

Research Questions

The overarching research goal that guided this study was to explore how twelve FCVAs create, maintain, and negotiate their identity, specific to sport and gender, as understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, when they played and currently. The three research questions that guided this study were: 1) How dress and appearance practices influence FCVAs' perceived sport identity and gender identity? 2) What are the ways FCVAs use dress and appearance practices to express their sport identity and in-sport gender identity? And 3) How are FCVAs experiences with in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, when they played and currently, influential to their perceived sport identity and gender identity?

Assumptions

A few assumptions encompassed this study. The first assumption was that conducting in-depth interviews with a select group of FCVAs will provide for a thorough understanding of the importance dress and appearance have in identity creation, maintenance, and negotiation within both the in-sport and everyday contexts. The second assumption was that FCVAs will be able to distinguish the difference in their identity from the time they remembered playing sports to their present day involvement. The third assumption was that there was no identity, specific to gender, ascribed to female collegiate volleyball and the dress and appearance practices, yet there may be a socially perceived underlying assumption that American society assigns a feminine gender role expectation of the FCVA. The fourth assumption was that FCVAs have little influence in the in-sport dress and appearance decision-making process. Finally, FCVAs' in-sport dress and appearance comprises of the gameday uniforms, practice uniforms, warm-up clothes, and travel clothes, all of which are symbols that signify social role, thus assuming the individual was able

to define the rules addressing her dress and appearance and to advocate her perceptions of meanings and relationships with society in which she lives.

Conceptual Framework

The foundation of knowledge in everyday life is a social reality theoretical in character and “forms the subject matter of the empirical science” (Berger & Luckman, 1966). This study does not test one particular theory; it will attempt to develop theoretical concepts and ideas by incorporating various theoretical bases stemming from grounded theory, phenomenology, symbolic interaction theory, and interpretive theory. The phenomenological nature of this research did not follow a particular treatise, nor did it subscribe to one particular standpoint (Heidegger, 1962). Also, the aim of this study did not elaborate on or create theory; rather, it sought to formulate some kind of conceptual model that captured the understandings of FCVAs’ everyday experiences with their dress and appearance practices and identity as those meanings and relationships emerged from the interview transcriptions. In terms of textile and apparel research, Workman and Freeburg (1993) note that the combination of research approaches helps to analyze and explain the relationship between “socio-cultural influences (the social construction of gender and the cultural aesthetic) and psychological perceptions (impressions of masculinity and femininity, stereotyping, and categorization)” (p. 107).

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), inductively derived from the phenomenon of interest, grounded theory “begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge” (p. 23). To begin to understand the everyday experiences of an individual, one must also inquire about the foundations of their reality in a phenomenological analysis that is purely descriptive in nature and “refrains from any causal or genetic hypotheses, as well as from assertions about the ontological status of the phenomena analyzed” (Berger & Luckman, 1966, p.

20). Meanings and realities of FCVAs in the context of their everyday lives are essential to consider for this study as these experiences inform a body of knowledge about FCVAs' personal and social gender role identities and ideologies as understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices. Unveiling the experiences of FCVAs may assist in the development of socio-cultural ideologies of FCVA gender role identity and the symbolic representations of ideologies understood by in-sport dress and appearance practices, and/or personal and socio-cultural identity that is unique to FCVAs and the subculture of collegiate athletics, specifically female athletics.

Procedure

A phenomenological approach guided this study. Once an insider, presently, an outsider, the researcher is a former National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), Division-I FCVA and was inspired from her own personal experiences with in-sport dress and appearance practices to attempt to understand the current significance of FCVAs' in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices and self-perceptions of identity, specific to sport and gender. The inquiry stemmed from the researcher's first-hand knowledge, acknowledgement of cyclical changes and trends in the female volleyball uniforms at the amateur and professional levels, in addition to experiencing socio-cultural changes in gender role ideology in both sport and everyday contexts. With her background and personal interest in this study's topic, the researcher believed a phenomenological approach was best suitable for the purpose of this study in an attempt to benefit textile and apparel research, and to build theoretical implications and findings to date. In her study of interviews with college students about their constructions of love, Snyder (1992) signifies the importance of qualitative approaches, such as the phenomenological approach, to "extend [these] findings and add a new dimension by

emphasizing the role of interpretation and the social construction of reality” (p. 45). Reality of the FCVA is central to this study and is what will drive the analysis, as everyday life can be interpreted and subjectively meaningful from the individual who embodies the experience (Berger & Luckman, 1966). The researcher would like to give voice to the FCVA, as representations of professional female athletes have the tendency to sexualize and marginalize the female athlete (Ain, 2012; Daniels & Wartena, 2011; Grau et al., 2007; Jung & Lee, 2009; Streiber, 2012). The participants of this study embraced being collegiate athletes, while some participants’ involvement with collegiate volleyball ranges from the amateur level all the way to professional levels (indoor and beach volleyball).

Initially, this study’s sample was expected to be FCVAs from an NCAA, Division-I university in the Southeastern region of the U.S. After contact with the anticipated participants’ academic athletic advisor and head coach, approval was granted. Even so, the researcher had to progress forward and meet with the university’s associate athletic director. Post-meeting with the associate athletic director, it was determined that the research would not progress further with the anticipated sample.

In turn, the purposive semi-snowball sample of this study comprised of twelve women, between the ages of 25 and 54, median age of 29 years, who played collegiate volleyball at some point in their lives, and who considered themselves FCVAs. All twelve women of this study played NCAA Division-I volleyball in the U.S. The sample consisted of one Canadian, one Romanian, two Brazilian, and nine American women. The careers of these women ranged from housewife, coach, teacher, professional indoor volleyball player, sales manager, photographer, graphic designer, entrepreneur, to professional beach volleyball player. In-depth, semi-structured, open-ended, long qualitative interviews averaged forty-five minutes to two hours in

length, and were conducted via Skype, telephone, and in-person. Qualitative data analysis was used and will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

Significance of the Study

This study is important in various ways. One of which is to inform and provide accurate information that is limited in the body of knowledge in regards to FCVAs' dress and appearance practices and identity, specific to sport and gender. The background to this study illuminates the notion that the body of knowledge pertaining to FCVAs in textiles and apparel research is extremely limited and in sport, media, feminist, social and psychological disciplines, female athletes are under- and misrepresented, in a manner that is most often times objectified, marginalized, and sexualized. Dickson and Pollack (2000) note the dynamic nature of sport identity and clothing that contribute to an athlete's identity is unfixed and changes as the sport evolves. Meanwhile, Tyner and Ogle (2007; 2009) imply that appearance, dress, and the body in everyday life are essential to understanding gender and that a symbiotic relationship between textiles and clothing and feminism exists. Other textiles and apparel research scholars have used a phenomenological approach to elucidate human experience (Ha-Brookshire & Dyer, 2008; Ogle, Tyner, & Schofield-Tomschin, 2011; Shen, 2008), while others encourage the use and incorporation of the methodological approach (Damhorst, 1991; Hamilton, 1993; Hodges, DeLong, Hegland, Thompson, & Williams, 2007; Kaiser, 1991; 1993; 1997; Tyner & Ogle, 2007; 2009).

This study has the potential to benefit scholars in disciplines other than textiles and apparel, such as feminist/gender studies, socio-psychological studies, cultural studies, performance studies, media/mass communication studies, and social psychology of sport studies. A significant aspect of this study to inform a variety of disciplines will be that FCVAs'

experiences were heard through their narratives. Additionally, this study contributes to the body of knowledge on and demonstrate the linkage between female athletes, dress and appearance practices, personal and socio-cultural gender role identity, and use of various perspectives and methods of research.

Clothing is an integral component to our lives in that the meanings of such inform a sense of *being* and *becoming* individuals situated within places in society and reflects our cultural systems (Cunningham & Lab, 1991; Lennon & Burns, 1993). Linking personal interest in clothing and awareness of clothing in everyday life is important to consider when certain types of clothes and appearances have personal meaning and importance (Kaiser, 1997). Therefore, behaviors linked to dress and appearance in everyday life assist researchers to “understand how material objects are results of production and distribution—both dependent on labor, which itself is the axis on which issues of *gender* (emphasis added), ethnicity, class, and national origin all intersect” (Hodges et al., 2007). This study is important because it has the capacity to explore the social-psychological practices of FCVAs and their dress and appearance and gender role identity that may lead to new meanings and/or revisions of cultural practices (Kaiser, 1993).

This research also has implications to incorporate a various methodological and theoretical practices. Textiles and apparel scholarship is not aligned with any single discipline, rather it is “relevant, captivating, dynamic, and aesthetically sensitive subjects of inquiry that touch on everyday life” (Kaiser, 1993, p.40). Butler (2004) notes, that when exploring [critiquing] gender norms for a given group and for another given group, such as the FCVA, the exploration “must be situated within the context of lives as they are lived and must be guided by the question of what maximizes the possibilities for a livable life, what minimizes the possibility of unbearable life or, indeed, social or literal death” (p. 8). In their exploration of alternative

modes of inquiry within clothing and textiles from a philosophical perspective, Hodges et al. (2007) encourage creating frameworks to comprehend clothing and textiles with diverse perspectives and approaches to knowledge-making. Furthermore, Hamilton (1993) takes cultural context into high regards when comprehending the significance of dress in the human experience, which will ultimately, contribute to theoretical development in ‘the field’. This study maximizes the opportunity to contribute to the current textiles and apparel theoretical framework of understanding dress, appearance, and identity in FCVAs’ everyday lives.

Summary

In this first chapter, the purpose of the study is stated, an overview of the study, essential background information addressing limitations in knowledge, stereotypes and media influence on the portrayal of female athletes, and implications for interdisciplinary gender research in addition to the statement of the problem, research objectives, assumptions, conceptual framework, procedure, and significance of study are provided.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The overall objective of this study was to explore how twelve FCVAs, between the ages of 25-54, create, maintain, and negotiate their identity in regards to sport and gender, as understood by their dress and appearance practices in-sport and everyday, when they played and currently. This literature review illuminates the following areas: background of the study, dress and appearance and clothing, emerging adulthood and identity; clothing and social identity; female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress and appearance; out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance; gender role identity and dress; social construction of dress and gender; defining dress and appearance and clothing; context, self-perceptions: appearance and the individual; research approaches to studying perspectives of dress; and a summary.

Background of the Study

Various issues frame the background of this study. The first of these is related to female athletes in textile and apparel research and the scarcity of knowledge about FCVAs, in general, and particularly, their dress and appearance practices. Secondly, preexisting stereotypes and media regarding the nature of women's collegiate athletics (underrepresentation and misrepresentation), female collegiate athletes, and the change of women's social roles. The third issue relates to the current emphasis in textiles and apparel scholarship to draw from feminist studies to examine how gender is embedded within our behavior. Each will be addressed in the following sections.

Limitations of Knowledge

It seems as though few researched or reported subject areas, specific to textiles and apparel research, illuminate an under-represented and misrepresented group within the U.S. and throughout the world. The subject area of female athletics, in particular, the group of FCVAs, contains little research and knowledge. A limited research base in textiles and apparel in regards to female collegiate athletes' clothing, dress and appearance practices is known to represent various female collegiate athletic sporting groups within the U.S. It is important to understand the sporting experiences of female athletes and to consider the cultural influences that "can potentially alter their experiences, behaviors, and psychological states" (Krane, Choi, Baird, & Aiman, 2004, p. 315).

Sport and clothing, or the act of dressing one's self for sport, is a very specific clothing behavior. In 1988, Warner looked at women's sports dress, specific to gymnastics and tennis, for sport and physical education purposes in the mid 19th and early 20th centuries and the influence of men on women's sport and exercise clothing. Grossbard and Merkel (1990) studied the 1880s social phenomenon of bicycling for women and how standards of fashionable women's dress evolved to the functional purposes of the sport. In the years to follow, Casselman-Dickson and Damhorst (1993a) compared two varying levels of involved bicyclists and their use and interest in sport clothing.

Studies that followed suit of the previously mentioned textiles and apparel and women's sport clothing regarding female collegiate athletes are as follows: Feather, Ford, and Herr (1996) began researching female collegiate basketball players' perceptions of

their bodies, garment fit, and uniform design preferences. In 1997, Feather, Herr, and Ford explored black and white female collegiate basketball players' body satisfaction and garment fit, while also examining the relationship between body satisfaction and garment fit. Soon thereafter, Wheat and Dickson (1999) surveyed female collegiate golfers and their satisfaction with team uniforms and influencing factors of satisfaction.

In 2000, Dickson and Pollack studied clothing needs and preferences of female in-line skating clothing consumers. Mitchka, Black, Heitmeyer, and Cloud (2009) framed a functional design study that investigated dance practicewear, expectations, importance of clothing attributes, and garment satisfaction of adult female dance students. While the researchers have addressed female athletes, the research has not been specific to female collegiate athletes, specifically, FCVAs.

According to Warner (1988), costume historians used sports clothing as a visible and obvious way to represent changes in sportswear and clothing in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the late 1980s, few costume historians looked at sports clothing as a means to demonstrate changes in sportswear and clothing (Warner, 1988). In 1997, Warner looked at women's dress and appearance and early participation in the Olympics as a means to parallel the long-standing struggle women have had to achieve their goals of participation and success in sport.

As per the previously mentioned textiles and apparel researchers who have tapped into the sportswear behavior of female athletes of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries (Warner, 1988; Grossbard & Merkel, 1990; Casselman-Dickson & Damhorst, 1993a, 1993b; Feather et al., 1996; Feather et al., 1997; Warner, 1997; Wheat & Dickson, 1999; Dickson & Pollack, 2000; Mitchka, Black, Heitmeyer, & Cloud, 2009), the researchers

indicate knowledge of female athletic involvement and attention to their sport specific clothing behaviors. The aforementioned research studies have identified the importance of studying women's sportswear for collegiate, intercollegiate, and non-collegiate sports, while also, addressing the need to study female collegiate athletes and their satisfaction with uniform, performance aspects of in-sport clothing, and use of clothing in terms of identity, as well as the importance of women's social roles. The relevancy of these studies may substantiate the idea that little knowledge about FCVAs exists in regards to their clothing, dress and appearance practices, and gender role identity. However, few studies, if any, specifically address the practices that FCVAs use to create, maintain, and negotiate gender role identity, through their dress and appearance practices in their daily lives for various social roles.

Stereotypes and Media Influence on Women's Sports

Relative to U.S. culture, a general definition of gender would be the behavior of how men and women act in social roles. Gender describes the social and cultural differences between sexes of male and female (Kaiser, 1997). Misrepresentation of women in sport, namely, stereotypes of female athletes has been long standing since before the inception of Title IX in 1972. In regards to appearance and clothing, Kaiser (1997) states that gender stratification in a culture pertains to the meanings of masculinity and femininity, as well as the culturally coded differences that ultimately lead to inequities. Dress scholars take into account the history of dress and its importance in society as signifier of role, identity, place, status, and the importance men have been in the arena of women's fashion (Warner, 1988). Undoubtedly, women who play sports in the U.S. embrace a struggle to compete without social resistance to changing women's

roles, as exemplified through clothing and dress and appearance practices. Unlike men, women have had to work for their clothing in sport that permitted them to participate and compete at a level that would enable them to succeed (Warner, 1997).

Women in sport face the challenge to maintain a strong presence in the sport world; one that is not frivolous, rather a presence that is serious and competitive.

O'Reilly and Cahn (2007) illuminate the issue of popular perception (misrepresentation) of sport that engenders a masculine identity, resulting in women's athletic involvement as controversial and suggests that female athletic participation resists social, cultural and political norms (e.g., women's athletic involvement=masculine). This resistance, real or imagined, to conventional femininity poses as "an issue for today's collegiate sportswoman" (O'Reilly & Cahn, 2007, p. 52). Messner (1988) may also be used to exemplify the issue at hand, in that:

Organized sport, as a cultural sphere defined largely by patriarchal priorities, will continue to be an important arena in which emerging images of active, fit, and muscular women are forged, interpreted, contested, and incorporated. The larger socioeconomic and political context will continue to shape and constrain the extent to which women can wage fundamental challenges to the ways that organized sports continue providing ideological legitimation for male dominance (p. 208).

Messner (1988) further observes that "increasing athleticism represents a genuine quest by women for equality, control of their own bodies, and self-definition, and as such represents a challenge to the ideological basis of male domination" (p. 197). In her examination of how African American women athletes experience gender and racial stereotypes, Withycombe (2011) indicates the notion that preexisting stereotypes empower structure, reinforce, and construct repressive attitudes of female athletes participating in sport. Additionally, Messner offers a realistic, yet contested ideology of

women's placement in sport. In an attempt to link representations of women in sport in the 1980s and 90s with their sport dress, one may relate Messner's perspective to Warner (1997) who exemplifies women's "struggle to participate in sports of any kind has been fundamentally linked to dress and appearance" (p. 64).

Further perpetuating cultural ideologies and stereotypes of women's participation in sport, media also serves as a backdrop for this study. Today, media in the U.S. tends to be a source of information that garners attention to athletes, and to the portrayal of athletic stereotypes. At this time, an issue is raised: how do media portray female athletes as physical objects-products of hard work and beauty, or as sexual objects? Butler (2004) signals awareness to this question in that "the very attribution of femininity female bodies as if it were a natural or necessary property takes place within a normative framework in which the assignment of femininity to femaleness is one mechanism for the production of gender itself" (p. 10).

The representation of females in sport may be contributed to by the media and its' varying sources of publication. Jung and Lee (2009) acknowledge advertising is essential to selling fashion and the effects of advertisements set standards of ideological beauty, spread gender role ideology of the feminine body, as well as objectify and depersonify women's bodies, thus reducing them to aesthetic objects of desire. In the past, media sources have presented narrow interpretations of women in their everyday lives (Kaiser, 1997). Harnessed by media, gender stereotypes may be presented through exaggerated portrayals of men and women, contributing to the changing perceptions of how men and women should behave (Kaiser et al., 1991). The authors also acknowledge the relationship between clothing and personal appearance to the social construction of

gender, not only in everyday life, but cultural imagery as found in popular media (Kaiser et al., 1991).

Daniels and Wartena (2011) characterize media influence on the portrayal of female athletes in two lights: as performance-focused (athletic) and sexualized (sex objects), both of which are important to the background of this study. Granted, the aim was to understand adolescent boys' responses to the contradictory representations of female athletes, where the majority of objectification research is self-perception focused (Daniels & Wartena, 2011). It is a cultural tendency to sexualize women in media, and female athletes are often times sexualized in print and visual media, where the sexualized imagery depicts provocative clothing or photographs an individual in ways that focus on physical attributes, rather than athletic performance skills (Daniels & Wartena, 2011). Sexualized media images have the tendency to objectify the female body and reproduce stereotypical gender roles as they correlate to "physical appearance and influence women's experience with feelings about their bodies" (Jung & Lee, 2009, p. 275). In their research, Daniels and Wartena (2011) illuminate the issue of gender, representation, and the disparity between perceptions (self and observer) and media's objectification of female athletes, which serves as important to this study which will address in-sport dress and appearance practices and self-perceptions of gender role identity of FCVAs.

Jung and Lee (2009) note effects of fashion advertising and sexual objectification of women, where Daniels and Wartena (2011) give an example of how female athletes have been objectified by media imagery as sex objects, in *Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit edition "which came out just as the Winter Olympics began" and "featured several Olympic athletes in skimpy bikinis and semi-nude poses" (p. 567). Similarly, athletic

media source, ESPN, organizes an annual special body issue: *ESPN The Magazine Body Issue*. The issue seeks to provide perspectives on the athlete and her body, in regard to sport and self. Written to describe its purpose in Bodies We Want, *ESPN The Magazine* online (espn.go.com, 2012) photographer, Peggy Sitora (2012) writes:

It's okay to stare. That's what The Body Issue is here for. Each year, we stop to admire the vast potential of the human form. To unapologetically stand in awe of the athletes who've pushed their physiques to profound frontiers. To imagine how it would feel to inhabit those bodies, to leap and punch and throw like a god. To...well, gawk. So go ahead; join us.

Morty Ain (2012) conducted extended interviews of athletes in the *2012 ESPN The Magazine Body Issue*. Among the many interviews collected, the 2012 U.S. Women's National -Volleyball Team participated in the interview sessions posted online, weeks before their departure to the 2012 London Olympic Games. Photographs for the 2012 Body Issue were artistically maneuvered by Art Streiber (2012).

In an interview, *Heather Brown gets naked*, with Heather Brown (33-years-old) member of the 2012 U.S. Women's National Volleyball Team, Ain asked, *Why did the team want to pose in the Body Issue?* Brown responded:

It was an opportunity that we don't get all the time, and our sport isn't followed a lot in America, so when we do get the chance to get out there and get some exposure, it's a cool thing to do. We have so many junior programs in the States. There are so many young women who play our sport, so I think it's neat to have someone for them to recognize (Ain, 2012).

Megan Hodge loses her shorts, an interview with Megan Hodge, one of the youngest girls on the 2012 U.S. Women's National Volleyball Team (23-years-old), which portrays a textual image of their in-sport uniform, Ain asked, *Which body part do you work out for mostly aesthetic purposes?*

Hodge replied:

I don't think we're that kind of team, but I guess because our uniforms are really short spandex, people would probably say they focus on legs. They are out there for the world to see. But our legs get toned during practice and doing weights. I think if it were up to us, we probably wouldn't be wearing the "bun-hugger shorts." It doesn't bother me, but if you walk into practice, you'll rarely see anyone wearing the little spandex. At practice, we wear either basketball or running shorts or knee-length spandex. Some people even wear sweatpants (Ain, 2012).

In the context of *Body Issue 2012*, from the text and visual images produced, perspectives into the female athletes' athletic lives and bodies are exposed. Grau, Roselli, and Taylor (2007) examine the frequency and nature of portrayal of female athletes to the public, by analyzing magazine advertisements. The researchers found magazine advertisements featuring female athletes have the tendency to dress female athletes [more] provocatively [than their male counterparts] and highlight their sexuality rather than their athletic ability (Grau et al., 2007). The interviews Ain conducted with the U.S. Women's National Volleyball Team, and extant reviews of the sexualization of female athletes in media (Daniels & Wartena, 2011; Grau et al., 2007) may be used as a model and starting point to create and document additional knowledge about female volleyball athletes. For the purpose of this study, media is an essential primary source to create and document knowledge to substantiate what is limited in scholarly textiles and apparel research. Text becomes a context where authors can create or represent worlds, voices, or experiences, and may be used to describe or imply points that are missing or colliding (Pink, 2007). This research attempts to bridge the gap of disparity between scholarly sources and media sources. "Text that allows academic, local and individual narratives to co-exist, implying no hierarchical relationship between either the discourses

that are represented or their medium of representation, certainly offers a temptingly democratic model” (Pink, 2007; p. 144).

Interdisciplinary Gender Research

Various disciplines set the background for this study. Dialogue pulled from various disciplines will be used to illuminate and support the issue of gender, textiles and apparel scholarship, and FCVAs. Today, throughout society, gender, sport, and academia and issues concerning inclusiveness and equality are subjects to be explored. An interdisciplinary approach to explore the relationship between dress and appearance practices of FCVAs and identity, specific to sport and gender, is essential to uncover the significance of “Factors such as culture and gender may lead people to think differently about clothes because of varying social backgrounds and experiences” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 3). In consideration of gender and how it is socially constructed, Butler (2004) notes, gender:

...is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint. Moreover, one does not ‘do’ one’s gender alone. One is always ‘doing’ with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary. What I call my ‘own’ gender appears perhaps at times as something that I author or, indeed, own. But the terms that make up one’s own gender are, from the start, outside oneself, beyond oneself in a sociality that has no single author (and that radically contests the notion of authorship itself (p. 1).

Gender, a social construct, embraces social norms that are culturally and socially significant. “It is important to remember that group norms, values, and ‘looks’ are created and negotiated through processes of social interaction” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 360). Social norms of gender are created and negotiated in individuals’ attempts to fit in and interact. In particular, gender norms for a given group within a group are dynamic and complex. The complex nature of gender and how it applies to this study is essential to its

background. Gender theories, social and identity theories, symbolic interaction-
psychological theories, and feminist theories encompass this study, while also provide
significance to linking gender and textiles and apparel disciplines. Tyner and Ogle (2007
& 2009) evidence a trend that supports the notion of an interdisciplinary alliance between
textile and apparel scholarship with feminism. Concerned with understanding how gender
is socially constructed, Kaiser (1991) states that:

...both feminist studies and textiles and clothing is diverse and complex, drawing
from a variety of disciplinary perspectives... We share with feminist studies the
need to examine how gender becomes a factor in virtually everything we do... We
need to uncover gender biases and to be conscious of the power relations that
influence the degree of value our society places on our subject matters,
viewpoints and activities (p.211).

In addition, gender is of a performative nature (Butler, 2004). The female body is
the object, as are the dress and appearance practices of FCVAs. Within the context of
performance, specifically ritual performances (Lynch et al., 1996; & Geertz, 1973)
objects reflect and constitute cultural systems. Lynch et al. (1996) illustrate the influence
dress has within both cultural and performative contexts, as “dress becomes a means of
negotiating identity using forms of dress that carry meaning from the past and negotiate
meaning in the present” (p. 265). Excluding dress and appearance practices from the
scholarly equation and yielding to gender and sport scholarship, Koca, Aşçi, and Kirazci
(2005) document that the social construction of gender through sport may be highlighted
through sport practices (e.g., dress and appearance practices). The authors support the
notion that body and physical performance in athletic experience enables sport to be a
setting where gender ideologies are constructed and confirmed. Sport may be used as a
space where females and researchers explore the dynamic nature in which alternative
femininities are created, maintained, and negotiated within a social context (Becker,

2009; Carlson, 2010; Finley, 2010). Today's society challenges conventional social roles and it is within [alternative] subcultures such as sports (e.g., women's roller derby) that women compromise their practices of femininity that fit into the subcultural mold, while making efforts to maintain femininity (Finley, 2010). It is not to say women's collegiate volleyball is a new, upcoming, and alternative subculture in sport. Rather Finley's (2010) and Messner's (1988) research balances the idea of understanding FCVAs' gender role and dress and appearance practices, while it also suggests that society acknowledge that female involvement in subcultures (e.g., sports, athletic participation) and "The process of feminizing unconventional behavior can reestablish the hegemonic gender relations if the content of new femininities continues to organize around male dominance" (p. 36).

Destinee Hooker (24-years-old) represented the U.S. at the 2012 London Olympics as a member of the 2012 U.S. National Women's Volleyball Team. In her interview with Ain (2012) for *ESPN The Magazine Body Issue 2012*, she expresses the need to accurately represent her sport to society. Ain asked, *What misconception about women's volleyball do you want to set straight?* Hooker responded:

Volleyball is not as easy as people think. *It's not just spandex and pretty girls.* (emphasis added) Overseas, girls get down like the men's sport in the U.S. We work hard every day, and I don't think we should be cast aside as a girlie sport with ribbons. There are girls hustling after balls and running into each other. We work just as hard as any other sport, we represent our country like any other sport, and we deserve respect for that. As a team, we know the deal: the U.S. is male dominated when it comes to sports. It is what it is. Volleyball is not going to bring in as much money as MLB or the NFL or the NHL, but at the same time, we want everyone to know that we are here, that we represent our country well. When the NBA lockout was going on, we actually got publicity on ESPN, and were like, "So it takes a lockout for us to get some love, really?" But we take what we can get. So if it will be like this only every four years, we'll give them a show, every four years.

Correlating dress and appearance practices to professional volleyball misconceptions and representation, Nellie Spicer (25-years-old) responded to Ain's (2012) question, "What misconception about women's volleyball do you want to set the record straight on?" with:

When little girls play, it's a lot of bows and spandex, and people don't think it's a serious physical sport, but it truly is. There is a grind we definitely have to go through, and it's not always pretty. Every day you have a new bruise or cut from floor burn. Dislocated pinkies are the most recurring injury, but we don't even consider them injuries anymore; it's just a part of our everyday lives.

Although dress, appearance, and clothing practices of FCVAs are not specifically addressed within textiles and apparel, feminist, sociological, and psychological studies, the researchers mentioned allude to the notion that it is important to incorporate disciplines other than textiles and apparel to create knowledge of the complex nature of FCVAs dress and appearance, and gender role identity.

The Meanings of Dress, Appearance, and Clothing

Dress can be verbalized and discussed. A descriptive, yet broad, definition of dress, synonymous across national and cultural boundaries, includes the assemblages of modifications and/or supplements to the body displayed by a person (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Dress is a process of communicating the distinguishable differences between human beings resulting in a product of self-expression, while addressing physical, social, and cultural needs and expectations (Eicher et al., 2008). Moreover, in addition to dress, appearance "communicates our social identities because people have negotiated and attached meaning to dress cues such that specific cues are linked to specific identities" (Johnson et al., 2008).

Clothing

Clothing is referred to as any “tangible or material object connected to the human body” that encompasses pants, skirts, tops, and other body coverings (Kaiser, 1997, p. 5). Clothing items are concrete, visual, and material objects that are often times used in the social psychology of clothing (dress) research and can be applied to abstract concepts or perspectives of clothing (Kaiser, 1997). It is also a part of an individual’s appearance and is considered to be a social symbol used by any individual who is defining her identity because it is used in daily activity, constitutes frequent public display, and the choice of clothing serves as an easily manipulative symbol (Feinberg et. al, 1992). In a more specified manner for industry use, the term apparel is defined as any covering of the body that is an actual physical garment constructed with fabric (Sproles, 1979). For the purpose of this research, the term apparel will not be used singularly; it will be used in conjunction with dress.

Clothing and Social Identity

Clothing and social identity researchers have indicated three prominent themes in clothing research: impression formation of an individual by an observer is created based on clothing cues, observers behave according to their interpretation of clothing choices made by an individual, and individuals use clothing to communicate similar images they have of themselves (Feinberg et. al, 1992; Davis, 1984; Buckley & Roach, 1974; Workman, 1988; Bickman, 1971). Clothing serves as a medium to communicate personal and social identities and is essential to identity formation. An individual uses clothing to define and communicate social identities to others (Feinberg et al., 1992).

In Feinberg, Mataro, and Burrough's (1992) study, it is suggested that clothing has meaning and the relationship between clothing, its meaning, and identity is complex because observers' meanings of clothing may not always be related to the identity of the wearer. The researchers specify three reasons why observers' meanings may not be found to be identical to the wearer. First, clothing is said to be related to the identity of the wearer and it is important to specify the aspect that the clothing relates to the individual, not all clothing reflects all aspects of the person. Second, the assumption that all clothing represents a person's identity does not always consider that clothing choice may reflect components of the individual other than her identity or may reflect nothing at all. Third, proving that there is a relationship between clothing and identity and that clothing cues have meaning will not suffice. It is important to demonstrate that the meaning of the clothing cues to the observer coincides to the identity/self of the individual. Feinberg et al. (1992) found that when individuals chose clothing to represent their personalities, a close relationship was noted between observers' perceived meaning of clothing and the self-reported social identity of the individual; also, that when clothing choices were limited and were not reflective of the individual's personality, the differences in clothing conveyed different meanings although the differences did not reflect actual identity differences. An example of the aforementioned use of clothing when clothing choice is limited and not reflective of the individual's personality can be documented by Ulasewicz's (2003) study.

Ulasewicz (2003) suggested in her exploratory study that girls in a juvenile detention center feel, communicate, and interpret the meaning of the uniform differently and it is incorporated into their ideas of self. In another similar study, Strauss (2003)

explored the social construction of identity among Confederate reenactors, specifically, the ways in which dress contribute to the identity construction of the individuals. For the Confederate reenactors, the Confederate uniforms were not only historical artifacts; they held personal and symbolic meaning as well. This symbolism was reflected by dress and incorporated as a key element of the reenactor's identity (Strauss, 2003). Therefore, one can conclude that clothing is significant and meaningful to the wearer as it is defining both personal and social identities, while it also serves as a communicator of identity to observers. The meanings of the Confederate reenactors' uniforms and its significance to the wearer were explored through qualitative methods, implicative that understanding clothing cues and its meanings to the wearer must be further investigated.

In general, assessing the importance of dress and appearance to an individual will aid in developing better and further understandings of individuals and their various roles. Accurately identifying dress and its potentially identifiable characteristics "is an essential preliminary to analyses of dress in general and to our analysis of dress as a non-verbal means of communicating identity" (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 2). Reflective of various aspects of an individual, dress reflects various aspects of an individual, society, and culture that includes what people may think, how people organize themselves, behave towards others, and create meaning within groups (Damhorst, 2005, p. 10). Together, dress and appearance serve as a symbolic social signifier of identity for an individual and can be used to portray meaningful clothing cues and meanings associated with the wearer and the context of use. Representative of both personal and social identities, dress and appearance serve as a medium to express identity, characteristics of dress, relationships of clothing to the wearer and observer, and definition of situation

and/or relationship, aside from the physical material clothing the body (Damhorst, 2005, p. 2).

Appearance

Appearance is a non-verbal communicative method to convey messages about the wearer and for which context she is wearing her dress. Dress and appearance are usually used together as a term together in apparel research. Together they indicate the total assemblage of the wearer that visually displays the composition of the human body and all its modifications in a way that includes the clothed body to have the potential to be visually perceived by other human beings, while, dress is the act of altering appearance with modifications (Damhorst, 2005).

Dress and appearance are significant components to be considered when an individual is using it as a medium to define and portray an identity to a particular audience at a particular time. Dress and appearance decisions may in fact be, either unconsciously or conscientiously decided to be worn and displayed by an individual who is informing an audience of their interests, personality, role, group membership, age, gender, and status.

As a medium for expressing oneself, dress and appearance serve as a form of non-verbal communication that also convey particular information about the individual prior to verbal interaction with another human being. Meanings of dress and appearance may be extensive and not only intended to make a statement about age, gender, and status, while the meanings communicated by the dress and appearance of an individual are dependent on the subjective interpretations of them (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Subjective interpretations may be seen in social and cultural interactions between the

wearer and observer(s). Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) indicated “only through social interaction [for] people, as psychologically unique individuals, learn to interpret, utilize, and modify socially constructed meanings of dress within their cultural settings, contemporary, and historical” (p. 4). Thus, an individual will dress according to social and cultural expectations for a given context as well as alter and/or modify her dress and appearance to convey a particular meaning of self.

Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) have evidenced in their study the social function of dress as a means to communicate individual and social standards by ways of aesthetic, functional, social, and cultural characteristics of dress. One characteristic of dress and appearance may be more important to an individual and also indicative of their identity than the total ensemble. For example, the color, texture, physical function of a garment, and context clothing is worn in may influence the individual to dress a particular way in order to meet not only psychological satisfaction, but also social and cultural expectations. The reasons and meanings to dress in a particular manner for a particular audience may be endless, but the behaviors are seemingly unique and worthwhile to understand. Understanding the meanings of behavior may aid for a better understanding of social and cultural expectations of an individual for given contexts of behavior. One can ascertain valuable information about an individual by observing her behavior in regards to dress and appearance, while also understanding the social and cultural expectations.

A study by Freeburg and Workman (2010) identified and validated social norms related to dress, specifically body modifications. The researchers indicated the practical relevance to identify the prevailing social norms as they related to dress, as every society

has dress norms and their particular social meanings; they also documented body modification norms prevalent for a particular time. Such sensitivity to the prevailing social norms is thought to contribute to success in everyday life as well as in work settings for an individual (Freeburg & Workman, 2010). In the third phase of a three phase, mixed-methods study, Freeburg and Workman (2010) found that the six-step method and process of social control is useful in explaining the normative order for body modifications. A method incorporating a subgroup analysis inclusive of individual characteristics such as: gender, age, social class, ethnicity, and marital status were used to confirm or refute statements of the total group. Social norms and norm violations were best indicated and reported through content analysis of letters to advice columns, because “the content reflects views of a broad cross-section of society” (Freeburg & Workman, 2010, p. 51). Freeburg and Workman (2010) validate the notion Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) demonstrated about an individual’s dress and appearance in regards to body modifications being easily observed when an individual displays modifications to other human beings, noting that the Freeburg and Workman’s study identified 35 statements inferred from letters to advice columns to be norms through content analysis. The norms most notably inferred were visual and “related to musculoskeletal system (cleanliness, height, public nudity, weight), hair (color, length), skin (cosmetic use, tattoos), breath (halitosis), teeth (cleanliness, false teeth), and nails (length, decoration)” (Freeburg & Workman, 2010, p. 53).

The study provided support of the effectiveness of mixed-methods to identify and validate dress norms through content-related evidence that assesses the representation of the sample of social norms of the subgroups as compared to the larger society.

Confirmation that dress norms are reflective of social norms via body modifications as a visual medium for communicating personal and social identity is evidenced. This study supports the idea to study subgroups within a larger society in order to better understand the social dress norms associated with that group and the similarities between society and an individual's psychological perception of social dress norms. Dress and appearance and social norms provide important information about a society and culture that is reflected and communicated by an individual for a given context and time. It is necessary to consider further examination of the contextual meanings of dress, appearance, and social norms in order to gain valuable insight about the FCVA's identity in-sport and out-of-sport contexts.

Emerging Adulthood and Identity

Emerging adulthood defines a developmental period in an individual's life between the ages of 18 and 25. It is a time of exploration and change "when many directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course" (Arnett, 2000, p. 469). The most distinguishing factor that separates adolescence from adulthood is that emerging adulthood is relatively independent from social roles and from normative expectations (Arnett, 2000). Although the years of emerging adulthood are used to explore self and identity, Arnett (2000) notes that culture influences structure and at times restricts the individual from exercising independent exploration. As for FCVAs, emerging adulthood is a time for exploration of self and identity in both the in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday roles and contexts.

The process of trying out roles and identities in the exploratory process allows for a role to be either accepted or rejected. Erikson (1997) relates the psychosocial concept of identity to the self and the core psychology of an individual to be a time when “a pervasive sense of identity brings into gradual accord the variety of changing self-images that have been experienced during childhood (and that, during adolescence, can be dramatically recapitulated) and the role opportunities offering themselves to young persons for selection and commitment” (p. 73). Erikson does not distinguish the emerging adulthood period of an individual’s life, but he does distinguish the process of role and identity of self as a process of trying out existential identities that are experienced by an individual. Arnett (2000) speaks of Erikson (1968) as distinguishing a difference between adolescence and young adulthood as a time period, without name, in “which adult commitments and responsibilities are delayed while the role experimentation that began in adolescence continues and in fact intensifies” (Arnett, 2000, p. 470).

This transitional and pivotal time in an individual’s life presents myriad opportunities of trying out, accepting, and rejecting roles and identities, whether they be culturally and socially constructed and defined. Erikson (1997) offers the antithesis of role fidelity to be role repudiation. Repudiation involves “an active and selective drive separating roles and values that seem workable in identity formation from what must be resisted or fought as alien to the self” (p. 73). This diffident or repudiated role discovery may lead to a negative identity that combines the socially unaccepted and hesitantly affirmed identities (Erikson, 1997). Important to both role and identity acceptance (and rejection) is context: social, cultural, and historical (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1997;

Keniston, 1971). The importance of context to identity formation and role development is that if a context does not offer any reasonable alternatives for the individual, a rejection of experience and reward will be intact.

When certain roles are established, such as the in-sport role of a FCVA, role configuration will lead to ideological confirmation (and eventually ritualization) depending on the needs, skills, and goals of the social group—particularly, sports groups that foster identity formation and experimentation (Erikson, 1997; Miller, 1993). Miller (1993) notes how the stage of youth and adolescence is important and essential in identity and role formation:

[youths] seek their true selves through peer groups, clubs, religion, political movements, and so on. These groups provide opportunities to try out new roles much in the way someone might try on jackets in a store until finding one that fits. The ideology of society, this stage's counterpart in the social order, guides this role playing by conveying which roles are valued by society (p. 166).

One may infer from Miller that sporting groups, such as collegiate volleyball, are ways in which identity and role experiments take place, thereby providing a context where emerging adults may experience and encounter the processes that contribute to identity formation. The FCVA is an individual who experiences various roles and identities, gender identity in particular, and navigates the life stage of an emerging adult who indeed experiences and experiments with identity and role on a daily basis in various contexts.

Uniforms

Little scholarly research is dedicated and published in regards to clothing of FCVAs. However, other research regarding sport and athletic clothing indicates a similar notion that whenever people perform their sport, they dress differently than how they would in a non-sport activity. In addition, an in-sport uniform is developed “only after an

organization has become permanently differentiated from other groups” (Joseph, 1995b, p. 182) and purposefully incorporated for a particular sport under the notion that the uniform’s characteristics and features serve a functional purpose for performance. For example, the libero (all-time defensive player on the court) must wear a shirt or jersey that clearly contrasts to her teammates’ either in color, shirt sleeve length, and/or design details (i.e., piping and trim) (Johnson, 2012).

Nathan Joseph (1995b) notes in his research that organizations determine the characteristics of the role uniform wearers because the public enforces the organizational (societal) norms expected of the uniform wearers. The uniform also symbolizes societal values, beliefs, norms, and perhaps issues, much like how fashionable women’s clothing of the late 19th and 20th centuries demonstrated women’s oppression with role restricting and confining clothes. In 1972, Congress passed legislation against sex discrimination, Title IX, which trickled into and is strongly associated with women in sport. In George Bush and Perry London’s (1995) research, the authors conceptualize the idea that social role and self-[perception] are reflected in clothing modes that are continuously changing over periods of time, “in the clothing of any subgroup of society, may reflect changes both in the role attached to that group by society, and in its corollary, the self-[perceptions] of the individuals composing the group” (p. 107). Title IX enabled women to compete on nearly all levels of sport and also parallels gender and clothing issues associated with women in sport: Dress and appearance of women in sport was to signify those female athletes and sport and gradually began to consider women’s comfort while playing their sport. The transformations in women’s roles within athletics reflect their changing social roles and gender roles of being female and athlete. These societal and

role changes are exemplified through the uniform. The dichotomous role female athletes are faced with, may lead female athletes to have concerns regarding their uniforms and out-of-sport appearances. In their study, Krane et al. (2004) identified two perspectives that female athletes are concerned with in regards to their uniforms: a) that they (female athletes) look too big and b) they are being sexualized in their in-sport uniforms. Herbert Blumer (1969) introduced a theory that acknowledged changes in fashion on both the individual and collective sides of a social process that included negotiating and maintaining behaviors regarding fashions. The collective selection process inhibits the construction of shared meanings and tastes amongst individuals in a representative group, while also considering the contexts in which the fashions are worn.

Female Collegiate Volleyball In-Sport Dress and Appearance

With those previous perspectives in mind, it is important to consider the following and current traditions in volleyball uniforms as they are understood by uniform representation by leading athletic sport apparel manufacturers. A consensus style of 2011 female collegiate volleyball in-sport game day uniforms would consist of primarily short spandex shorts, appropriate sports bra, a fitted to semi-fitted short/capped sleeve volleyball specific jersey designed to adhere to movements sought in volleyball, or a long sleeve semi-fitted jersey, with mid-calf tube socks, form-fitted knee pads, ankle braces, and technologically advanced volleyball specific sneakers. Appearance styles, additional flare, such as hair bows/ribbons, headbands, hairstyles, etc. are delegated by the team and possibly any restrictions granted by coaching staff and institution's athletic administration. The colors and styles of uniforms have previously been established by individual collegiate institutions and decided upon by the leading apparel sports

manufacturer and possibly the manufacturer the collegiate institution has established a contract with for the upcoming season(s). It is usually at the discretion of the coaches and institution's athletic administration to make the executive decisions as to colors and styles as offered by the apparel manufacturers and binding contracts if applicable.

The variety of apparel choices offered to collegiate athletic programs across the United States allows for major money making athletic programs to seek out contracts by major athletic apparel manufacturers, such as Nike, Adidas, Mizuno, Russell, Reebok, Under Armor, to mention a few. The appearance styles vary from team to team, depending on the societal and cultural norms expected of female (collegiate) volleyball athletes and their team.

Roles. Dress and appearance of FCVAs is designated by their societal counterparts and their interpretations of societal values, beliefs, and norms, as well as the consensus of her teammates, leaving little room for individuality and expression of gender role identity. The presentation of self in a specific social role may be conveyed symbolically by dress and appearance, to reflect self and society in any given role. Workman and Freeburg (2009) define roles as a set of rights and obligations associated with the behavior expected of an individual, who has a variety of roles from various groups and status. Behavior of individuals within a particular role are expected of the individual and it is the identification of shared dress norms within a role or realm of social control that specify "how people should or should not look under given circumstances" (Workman & Freeburg, 2000, p.48).

Clothing as a medium. The average Division I National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) women's volleyball squad size is 15 and the number of scholarships awarded to the sport by the NCAA is 11 (NCAA, 2012). At least 11 women shift from in-sport to out-of-sport identities on a daily basis, experiencing student and athletic identities in a mixed blend. Clothing serves as a medium, moreover, a vehicle to express identity; it is not core and central to this research, rather it warrants contemplation and meaning in connection with identity and the crisis of how an emerging female adult is represented in American society. Clearly, there is a difference between the in-sport gameday uniform and in-sport practice uniform. See Figures 2-1 and 2-2 below.



Figure 2-1: Practice uniform, 2011



Figure 2-2: Gameday uniform, 2011

The difference indicated in the images is that of the long sleeves and closer fit silhouette of uniform of the gameday uniform to the short-sleeve, loose fit t-shirt silhouette of the practice uniform. Garment components such as textiles and material differences are not indicated, neither are personal style preferences of individual players. Society and culture are dictating that women wear these uniforms, but the purpose of the uniform is unknown. Is it for function? Performance? The concept is unclear and seen by the previous Figures 2-1 and 2-2. Thus, the uniform raises the issues and contradictions of agency vs. no choice, function vs. sexual objectification.

Out-of-Sport/Everyday Dress and Appearance

Dress and appearance are symbolic devices that non-verbally communicate messages and fashions of a given time and place, and may also indicate differences in identities according to the context in which clothing and fashions are to be worn. For the purpose of this study, out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance of an FCVA will include all dress and material items that are worn outside of her performance while in her in-sport role. The wardrobe for a FCVA, while assuming her in-sport role as an athlete, may consist of but not be limited to her game uniform, warm-up clothing for games, travel, and practice, along with her practice uniforms. This wardrobe signifies various identities within the in-sport context and thus, may lead to behavior that encourages the FCVA to wear her in-sport dress for her out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance. Outside of her in-sport role as FCVA, the individual may have differing views on her fixed in-sport identity, seen in the in-sport social context, and be led to maintain and/or negotiate her in-sport identity with an out-of-sport/everyday identity in that social context. Researcher Nathan Joseph (1995a) indicates that dress signals and transmits

messages depending on the audience and for what role the wearer dresses herself; dress signifies the idea that the wearer carries different gender roles that contradict the conformative ideal of gender roles. Thus, this rebellion or “defiance of repressive norms may be revealed by displaying the concealed layers” that needs to be expressed to others (p. 82).

On a daily basis, FCVAs transform their social and personal lives from in-sport roles to their everyday roles and to some, may be seen as a simple transformation. Through a careful examination of FCVA’s out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance and in-sport dress and appearance, information can be acquired in regards to the influence and importance of social and internal factors, context, and dress and appearance have on FCVA’s self-perceived gender and dress and appearance choices in her everyday life in the social community of athletics that is most notably viewed as masculine.

Kaiser, Nagasawa, and Hutton (1995) introduce a Symbolic Interactionist (SI) theory that supports the linkage between Blumer’s (1969) collective socially significant and constructed meanings of dress and appearance in social contexts, with the significance of meanings of dress and appearance on an individual in social contexts. Drawing upon three main SI theorists Blumer, Fred Davis, and Gregory Stone, Kaiser et al. (1995) utilize various components of the aforementioned work in order to support their model of five principles associated with fashion and the cultural context. Blumer’s perspective takes on a larger scope (i.e., macro-level) that enables one to make adjustments to change through the support system of collective selection and emphasizes the idea of negotiating styles and changes as a collective social process. This collective group behavior of negotiating styles and changes has been awakened by some innate

desire from individuals within the selected group, and this is where Fred Davis' concept of ambivalent identities (i.e., gender) redirects changes from the makers of fashion. In order to further understand 'how' and 'why' individuals and/or groups incorporate new fashions into appearances constructed for everyday purposes, a connection to Stone's work on fashions in everyday appearance is implicit upon the understanding of how an individual manages to construct and validate ones' sense of self (Kaiser et al., 1995). According to Stone (1970), these appearances created and managed by the individual are transactions, that in group life, are negotiated and that is when a new look emerges, as do appearance concepts and interpretations of the appearances by the observers of the collectively representative group.

The integration of the three SI theorists' (Blumer, Davis, and Stone) concepts serve as an effective tool in understanding the fashion processes of groups and individuals in everyday acts of dress and appearance [management] (Kaiser et al., 1995). Potentially, Kaiser et al.'s SI theory of fashion as a social process engaged by ambivalence and style change may provide a substantial basis in further understanding how and why female collegiate volleyball dress is created, thus understanding how dress, appearance, and gender are supposedly demonstrated by FCVAs in their in-sport uniforms. Because of this negotiation process, suggested by Kaiser et al. (1995), observing the everyday dress, appearance, and gender of FCVAs in the out-of-sport context may provide a basis for understanding how and why negotiations and maintenances of dress, appearance, and gender are managed.

Furthermore, Roach-Higgins et al. (1995) provide a theoretical framework that links the relationship between dress and individual identity to be dependent on the

context of participation within a social organization. The recognized social organizations “provide opportunities for leisure activities [that] provide facilities for both spectator and participatory kinds of sports” (p. 157); and these organizations include family, economy, polity, religion, special associations such as schools, clubs, and fraternal orders, and lastly, leisure and sports activities. Both, the out-of-sport/everyday and in-sport ‘social’ contexts influence the creation, maintenance, and transformation of an individual’s identity, especially seen from one context to another.

Dress and appearance of the human body is a concept that entails the assemblage of ideas of self and of those surrounding the individual on a day-to-day basis. Dress and appearance of the human body is a means of symbolically portraying one’s idea of self and society to those surrounding the wearer, not necessarily only the material objects being worn. When dressed, an individual conveys visual cues such as one’s gender, social role(s), and identity(ies). These cues serve as a protection device for the individual from psychological and social ideals not shared with one’s familiar environment (Damhorst, 2006).

Individual meanings in an individual’s life such as the various roles played, the culture and society in which one lives, gender, age, personal interests, and identities may be communicated through dress and appearance (Kaiser, 1997). An individual may use dress and appearance as a means to express a variety of identities influenced by their social and cultural environments. Meanings of dress and appearance in certain social roles may be unknown to the wearer and discovered through social interaction. A variety of identities may be symbolically portrayed by dress and appearance of a wearer, according to self-concepts, social and cultural norms. The presentation of self in various

social roles, professional and personal, may be influenced by social, cultural, and psychological factors. Identities of the wearer may be maintained, negotiated, or created within social roles and the social expectations within that role.

Symbolic portrayal of an individual's social role using dress and appearance may vary from one social role to another. Symbolically, an individual and society use devices, such as dress and appearance in order to adhere to or deviate from the social norm and whether the individual fits into her surroundings or interacts accordingly (Morrione & Farberman, 1981). Through role analysis and symbolic interaction sport role adoption by an athlete is a vital social dimension as it combines self-recognition with social recognition specifically, sport and athletics' place within modern society (Weiss, 2001). A female athlete may communicate the simple and complex dimensions of herself and social identities displayed by her dress and appearance.

Donnelly and Young (1988) construct and confirm a theory of identity in sport subcultures identifying mannerisms, attitudes, and styles of dress, speech, and behavior that is perceived to be characteristic of established members, supporting the idea of dress and appearance of female collegiate athletes to communicate their gender roles and identities in two social roles: in-sport and out-of-sport. A female athlete's identity and role performance is intended for two audiences: members of larger society and members of the subculture. Female athletes express their identities as they shift from social role to social role (Donnelly & Young, 1988). Edward Sapir (1931) mentions that emotional qualities of a group can be represented through the approval or disapproval of fashions of a collective group, thus, understanding the social contexts, in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday, that FCVAs participate in will allow for a further understanding of their

dress, appearance, and identities as a collective-representative group and the differentiation of individuals' identities from the in-sport context to the out-of-sport context.

Gender Role Identity and Dress

Uncovering the meanings of dress and appearance and the influence of context has on their gender role identities may lead to a further understanding of how dress and appearance impact clothing behaviors of FCVAs when there is limited, if any, choice in deciding what clothing will be worn for their in-sport uniforms and when there is a decision to make regarding clothing choice for their out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance. Literature regarding FCVAs' gender identity and dress and appearance in any context is limited. Additionally, existing literature on female athletes as consumers and wearers of clothing in an in-sport context only provides a limited understanding of how dress and appearance influence gender identity of FCVAs in both in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday contexts. The lack of previous research conducted warrants research in other areas. Clarification of the use of gender identity for this study is distinguished by the use of gender identity rather than gender role, sex, and sexuality.

One may wonder how gender is associated with dress and appearance, but what one may not consider is how dress and appearance serves as a canvas to paint the body and demonstrate how the individual is identifying with the social constructs and internal notions of what gender should mean to the individual. Unlike sex, a biological determination of whether an individual is a man or woman, gender is a socially constructed ideal within any particular society, determining standards of what being 'feminine' and 'masculine' should look like. Gender identity could be considered a way

in which an individual decides, based upon the gendered assumptions and norms established by a society, how and for why an individual is expected to adhere to the norms and behave accordingly. As previously noted, dress and appearance is a material way of behaving and interpreting the social norms of gender. The individual may be expected to portray an assumed gender identity previously established, but is capable of internalizing what it means to be feminine or masculine and behave differently. In other words, the behavior to depict how an individual perceives their gender is gender identity and may be expressed by one's choice to dress and appear in a way that they wish to be perceived by others.

Although not directly related to FCVAs and female collegiate athletic teams, Arthur's (1999) study of dress and the social construction of gender in two sororities on a college campus demonstrates the similarity between females in subgroups (collegiate athletic teams and sororities) affiliated with a university have socially constructed gender roles and norms. The research indicates that social construction of femininity is present in sororities based on the finding that role committed young women embrace organizational definitions of gender roles, in particular, femininity were noted by adherence and maintenance of idealized images of each sorority and by use of the Greek letters as clothing symbols (Arthur, 1999). The expected use of clothes and symbols by the sororities exemplify a member's identity, therefore, the individual adopts the sorority's dress and gender norms and it was noticed that these norms become a part of an individual's identity (Arthur, 1999). The positions defined by an individual and her social relationships, otherwise known as roles, are integral parts of one's identity and the roles continue to pile on for the individual as age progresses (Damhorst, 2005).

Damhorst notes that role “performance is guided by social expectations for the role-player’s behavior (including dress), knowledge, and attitudes” (p. 7). For the purpose of showing one’s affiliation with a sorority, young members, often athletes, experience role conflict with some ambivalence toward the sorority’s image and some members were less involved as they progressed with age and status, many of whom developed “more individual styles...In addition to personal growth, sorority members became aware of the negative ramifications of the sorority’s stereotype” (Arthur, 1999, p. 91).

The use of dress and clothing symbols has shown the operationalization of organized collegiate structures, such as sororities, to be important to consider while understanding the social norms, construction, and maintenance of gender in the sorority. This finding supports the idea that further investigation of how gender is socially constructed may provide as a substantial basis for understanding how dress and appearance may be used in two social contexts for FCVAs and the maintenance and or negotiation of their gender identities for the social contexts FCVAs naturally partake.

Gender role and identity may shift from one social role to another and may be exemplified by dress and appearance. The uniform is symbolic of social and cultural norms, and ideals of the female collegiate athlete gender role. Gender role and identity may be maintained, negotiated, or created through various social roles the female collegiate athlete plays.

In the past forty years, women in sport contended with issues of gender role and identity as portrayed by society to those ideas of gender role and identity as created by self. The process of masculinizing and feminizing female sports, or all sports for that matter, substantiates the critical issue of gender identity in which an individual is

expected to portray and not expected to portray. As sports are being both recognized at the national and collegiate levels, Title IX still plays an important role in developing and installing female athletes and sports at the national and collegiate levels. Because female athletes in sport are continually being developed, and relatively new to many recognizable institutions, research is scarce in that concern and this research may be beneficial to those who wish to acquire, interpret, and understand more about the female collegiate athlete's gender roles and identities as portrayed by dress and appearance in-sport and out-of-sport. Very few studies have investigated the factors (social and internal) and how context influence gender role identity of female collegiate volleyball athletes as seen by their dress and appearance and understood by the wearer.

Gender, in its simplest form, can be understood as the socially constructed, learned, and expected appearance and behaviors that observers and wearers of dress use to distinguish females from males. Jacob and Cerny (2004) evidence the importance of gender to one's identity in their study of gay radical drag queens, "it sets limits on appearance and behavior" (p. 122). Their study investigated personal feelings and social experiences of cross-dressing men that were preliminary to the formation and maintenance of radical drag queen identities and appearance. Therefore, dress, gender, and identity coexist with one another and work together to portray social and individual belonging. What their study does not address is the fact that in one context, there is a uniformed appearance expected of a social group, such as a female collegiate volleyball team.

The meanings of dress, gender, and identity an individual wishes to convey may vary according to the context in which it is performed. Meanings are therefore, socially

constructed and deemed appropriate for certain times and places. Commonly worn dress may reflect explicit social meaning; for instance, Barnes and Eicher (1992) note that material items such as the “betel bags of West Sumba reveal an [individual’s] status, age, and gender” (p. 6).

Dissatisfaction with uniforms may be indicative that role conflict is important to consider of FCVAs’ dress and appearance when considering gender identity while wearing their in-sport uniforms. Wheat and Dickson’s (1999) study investigated female collegiate golf players’ cause for dissatisfaction and role conflict with their team uniforms as influenced by clothing characteristics. The variable of femininity was investigated and found to have influenced players’ satisfaction with their team uniforms. A variable of importance to the current study is femininity of dress, especially in-sport uniforms of female collegiate volleyball players, and the variable that was found to significantly contribute to satisfaction was unfeminine fit and size. The researchers found that players were dissatisfied when their uniforms were big, bulky, and unfeminine, therefore, they concluded that if the uniforms have an unfeminine fit, female golf players will be more likely to be dissatisfied with their uniforms (Wheat & Dickson, 1999). The second component essential to Wheat and Dickson’s (1999) study was the influence of role conflict experienced by players and its influence on uniform satisfaction with golf team uniforms. Role conflict was only a minor problem variable in player satisfaction with golf team uniforms; it did not significantly contribute to satisfaction (Wheat & Dickson, 1999). Essential to the current study is the influence of clothing characteristics and role conflict to player satisfaction with their in-sport uniforms. A variable that is significant to uniform satisfaction is femininity of clothing which makes

the current study at hand worthy of investigation of the factors that influence gender identity as perceived by female collegiate volleyball players in their in-sport uniforms and out-of-sport everyday dress and appearance. Their findings relate to a different female collegiate sport than volleyball, the research is indicative of some component that gender identity and clothing are interrelated and of interest to researchers and collegiate uniform manufacturers that can be further investigated for other female collegiate athletic teams.

Leslie Davis' (1985) study investigated the association between one's biological sex, gender identity, and behavior concerning sex-related clothing among male and female college students. Students' behavior of wearing particular types of clothing according to socially constructed meanings of gendered dress were explored to determine if gender identity was associated with socially constructed sex and gender-role related clothing behavior. Gender identity is not the biological sex of an individual; it is the personal, psychological, feeling of being masculine or feminine. According to Davis (1985), "from a sociological viewpoint, the wearing of socially defined sex appropriate clothing is an overt expression of appropriate sex-role behavior" (p. 20). Meaning, a person shows he is a male by wearing masculine clothes as a female would wear feminine clothes. The researcher found that 'masculine' clothing was not confined to only males; subjects considered masculine clothing to be socially appropriate for both men and women. Therefore, men and women subjects felt free to express their gender identities with 'masculine' clothing in opposition to 'feminine' clothing, which is considered to be socially appropriate for one sex only, females (Davis, 1985).

Social Construction of Dress and Gender

The importance of roles to the construction of gender and how roles and gender are portrayed through dress is essential to understanding FCVAs in both in-sport and out-of-sport contexts, as the roles determine the possibility that gender identity may not be transmitted for each context the FCVA performs. The development of gender identity occurs through the social construction of gender. Roach-Higgins et al. (1995) mention that an individual learns to interpret and transmit messages through dress while interacting in any social situation. Dress is pertinent behavior an individual learns and is socialized to perform for certain roles. Roles can be defined as the position an individual occupies in a group or social situation (Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Kaiser, 1997); for these social occupations, expected behavior of the individual is socially constructed. Thus, roles are performed by individuals who are “prescribed by social convention” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 192). Society guides the expectations of behavior and appearance, including dress, of the role performer (Damhorst, 2005). To facilitate role behavior, concerning dress and appearance, an individual must ‘look the part’ with clothing that society has come to expect of an individual in a given role (Kaiser, 1997).

Athletic apparel researchers, Casselman-Dickson and Damhorst (1993) support the idea that dress for roles is socially constructed in their study of female bicyclists and their interest in dress for role performance that bicyclists, as a sport subculture, have traditions and ritualistic adherence to role dress. Two levels of involved female bicyclists (high and low involvement) were evaluated on their interests in and use of bicycling apparel for role dress. The researchers found that the two levels of female bicyclists differed in their concern with attractiveness, dressing correctly, and conforming to dress

for their professional performance roles as bicyclists (Casselman-Dickson & Damhorst, 1993). The research suggests that the more involved and experienced the female bicyclist is about her sport, the more knowledge she has about dressing appropriately for particular bicycling events (individual rides, organized racing). Drawing on Solomon's (1983) symbolic interactionist perspective of clothing serving as a social stimuli, previous research on clothing and human behaviors have been shown to support a model suggesting that combined together, attitudes, goals, type of role, and gender influence an individual's prerogative to use dress as a symbolic prop. Researching the actual behaviors of the individuals, rather than just their attitudes has been supported, thus Casselman-Dickson and Damhorst (1993) suggest researching not only attitudes of individuals, but their behaviors as well. The previous findings allude to the idea that dress is often times used as a symbolic prop to signify an individual's role and/or belonging to a group, while simultaneously understanding their identities through their behaviors. What these authors have not included in their research was gaining the perspective from the wearer as to 'how' and 'why' dress is symbolic interpreted through their eyes. An individual's sense of belonging to a particular group may vary according to the social circumstances and contexts in which she is to perform. Further understanding the context in which an individual behaves in allows researchers to observe and report social construction and meanings of dress and gender in various roles.

Context

The year 2012 marked the 40-year anniversary of the passage of Title IX of the Educational Amendment of 1972 that prohibited discrimination against women in federally funded educational athletic programs. As indicated in the 2004-10 NCAA

Gender-Equity Report (NCAA, 2012), female participation of NCAA Division I institutions is 45.6 percent. Between 1971 and 2000, female participation in collegiate sports increased 456 percent (Thomas, www.america.gov, 2008). Decades beyond the passage of Title IX, collegiate female athletes may experience a sense of conflict between expected behaviors in an in-sport role as female-athlete and out-of-sport role as a female. The various social roles female collegiate athletes perform are portrayed by her dress and appearance in various contexts. For example, roles may include those in an in-sport context when wearing a uniform and in an out-of-sport context when wearing her everyday dress.

In order to further investigate the relationship between dress, gender, and context, one must be familiar with how context becomes meaningful to an individual's development for an identity as well as to a collective group identity, such as a female collegiate volleyball team. The use of the term social context for this study will be used in such a way that describes an actual time and place where dress, appearance, and gender may be maintained and negotiated from one contextual experience to another and considers the temporal conditions and traditions in sport associated with a given time (i.e. in-sport context and out-of-sport context). Related research on gender role identity and athletes unspecific to clothing, like Harrison and Lynch's (2005) study, indicates that athlete's roles-social roles in various contexts-"rather than athlete[s] gender, would primarily guide perceptions of athletes' gender role orientation" (p. 234). The research also found that in-sport gender role orientations influence perception of athletes' out-of-sport gender role orientations providing a basis for the notion that there could be conflict between FCVAs' perceived in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday gender role identities.

Turning to a feminist geographer's perspective relating context as a place where gender roles and identities may be expressed, Linda McDowell demonstrates (1999) the construct of place to encompass the social, cultural, and political atmospheres in which an individual lives. In a more specified use for this study, the social significance of dress and appearance is shaped by social circumstances, historical and cultural ideals, and political agendas that set up a framework for the everyday use of clothing (Kaiser, 1997). Context embodies the social, historical, cultural, and political ideals that in turn, shape the appropriateness in which an individual will dress and appear for identity maintenance and social roles. The importance of context to this study is that the importance of where clothes are to be worn are for a purpose (e.g., FCVA use in-sport uniforms for a game performance in a social context and the use of out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance for the FCVA takes on a new meaning in a social context exempting her from her in-sport role). What one wears, for what purpose, and when says a lot about an individual considering, both the individual's identity as well as the social identity. In this sense, dress and appearance, clothing, and the human body may be considered to be material cultural items (McDowell, 1999) and thus, an individual has the capacity to be a different person, as demonstrated by identity and role formation (Damhorst, 2005; Kaiser, 1997), in and for different contexts. Material culture can be used as a symbol in various ways in various situations, or contexts, as previously mentioned.

Clothing and identity researchers, Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) developed a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between identity and dress. The researchers defined dress to be a nonverbal method to communicate identity, specifically, where an individual displays her dress and appearance "for a particular place and time"

(p. 2). Dress simultaneously communicates and constitutes a list of possible meanings for an individual, of those meanings and characteristics; gender is conveyed by dress (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Dress is a daily practice for individuals and serves as a non-verbal language that may not translate easily from one context to another. The meanings of the non-verbal language of dress changes over time and context, and often times, the language may not translate as intended by the wearer of dress from one context to another.

Embodied Identities: A Public Mirror and Model of Identity

The body may be better understood as a social, psychological, and biological process that is used to reflect social beliefs, cultural ideals, and personal interpretations. In this nature of embodiment, Dyck and Archetti (2003) suggest that the embodied athletic self and one's appearance of her body "[have] the capacity to express and reformulate identities and meanings" (p. 1). The relationship between appearance, body, and identity is a broad one, but what can be ascertained from understanding embodied identities may uncover the relationship between social process, personal interpretations of those social processes, and the struggles to maintain or negotiate identities for particular audiences. Goffman (1971) notes that an individual may feel alarmed in a situation where normal appearances, typical appearances, and proper appearances are similar, but the arrangement of combining the three appearances together, inevitably will result in disconnect. Goffman suggests that 'normal appearances' and 'proper appearances' must be qualified and understood, as do the social process that ascribe normal and proper connotations to appearance. The dressed body conveys an appearance

as well that symbolizes society and self. The relationship between the two for given cultural groups is uncertain and requires a qualification process suggested by Goffman.

Symbolic interactionists primarily believe the dressed body and appearance that informs us of meanings. Stone (1995) alludes to Mead's (1934) empirical theory that the study of dress as communicative of apparent symbols follows the following premise that meanings of symbols always vary. According to Stone (1995), "identifications of one another are ordinarily facilitated by appearance and are often accomplished silently or non-verbally" which he uses the example of examining the "necessity for and process of gender in social transactions" (p. 21). The use of appearance and the body helps to establish identity in which others can draw inferences from them (Ogle, Tyner, & Schofield-Tomschin, 2011). Identity is in fact essential to facilitating meanings of self to others by use of apparent symbols such as uniforms (Stone, 1995). After portraying meanings of self, identity, to her audience, and individual uses the appearance of her body to reflect upon her own meaning of self and interpret what the 'other' has appraised her as her sense of self.

Davis (1985) indicates through his description of clothing and fashion serving as channels of communication of society and self to others that social identity is beyond the scope of symbolic portrayals of society, rather it digs deeper to the concept of self which "individuals can through symbolic means communicate with others, in the instance of dress through predominantly nondiscursive visual, tactile, and olfactory symbols" (p. 23). Davis' perspective supports the notion that the significance of dress and appearance of an individual's embodies meaning beyond the scope of society and portrays the psychological ideas of how information is interpreted amongst various individuals.

According to 1960 contemporary symbolic interactionist perspective, Blumer (1968) thought the idea of fashion as a social mechanism is comprised of social interaction in a context and being representational of a society, thus a part of the collective selection process. Blumer (1968) identifies collective taste to be “an active force in the ensuing process of selection, setting limits and providing guidance...undergoes refinement and organization through its attachment to, and embodiment in, specific social forms” (pp. 341-45). The concept of collective taste is important to keep in mind when considering the idea that FCVAs may portray different gender identities, dress and appearance when interacting in different social contexts, and for each context, she maintains and negotiates her in-sport identity for her out-of-sport/everyday identity. Social-Psychological researchers in apparel support the notion that dress and appearance are meaningful in social contexts and are worthy of further scholarly inquiry (Damhorst, 1985; Kaiser, 1983-1984; Kwon, 1987; Lynch, 2007; Miller, 1997; Johnson et al., 2002).

Context, as previously reviewed, may be socially or culturally significant to an individual and encourage specific behavior for a specific situation or context. Mayer (2007) demonstrated the significance of context for female nudity during Mardi Gras as cultural meanings of identity, performance, and body as portrayed by behavior seen on video production and tourist economies. Contemporary U.S. cultural meanings of gender, race, and socioeconomic class demonstrated ordinary women who portrayed unordinary behavior, such as nudity, in the context of Mardi Gras. Mardi Gras, an event, a time, a place, a context that enables individuals to behave and reenact expected behavior of women during this particular event. Hence, female nudity as revisited

through video production and reality may be considered to be something expected from women during Mardi Gras. The ‘costuming in the nude’ behavior during Mardi Gras tends to be a choice women, and men, make and want to partake in to embrace the normalization of behavior in a context where an ordinary identity is not expected to be performed.

In their suggestive research for a paradigm to approach the study of the social meanings of clothing, Nagasawa, Hutton, and Kaiser (1993) propose a paradigm consisting of essential components to major theories in the study of clothing. The paradigm consists of three symbols: $S [O] R$. S is some stimulus that is external to the researcher that may consider the social situation, context, or other actors, whereas $[O]$ specifically refers to the individual or human organism; brackets around the letter O refer to the individual’s internal state of unobserved properties that is independent from their R , otherwise known as their behavioral response. This model supports the notion that a stimulus has an effect on the individual whose behavioral response is taken into consideration and all three elements are then further analyzed through various models. Moreover, “The paradigm reminds us that we cannot separate the study of clothes from everyday life” (Nagasawa, Hutton, & Kaiser, 1993).

One model, the cognitive approach, relates to the social psychology of clothing and for the purpose of this study provides an “understanding [of] perceivers’ actual assignments of meaning to specific clothing cues” (Kaiser, 1983, p. 2). A second model, the symbolic approach “provides a rich, conceptual basis for the study of dress, emphasizing such concepts as the meanings assigned to clothing symbols and the dynamic nature of dress in social interactions” (Kaiser). A combination of the two

approaches in the study of social psychology of clothing can result in stronger theoretical and rigorous methodological orientation (Kaiser, 1983). The aforementioned theories, research examples, and approaches to study embodied identities exemplifies strong theoretical and empirical support that a female's perception and experience with her body, the act of dressing and appearing, while also incorporating society as a mirror serves a mode to inquire how and why identities are maintained or negotiated for various contexts.

Self-Perceptions: Gender, Appearance, and the Individual

Dress can be used to symbolize meaning of both individual and social entities. Previously noted was the concept that meanings may vary according to the social entity and role and also dependent on the meaning associated with the individual. One of the important signifiers of dress to gender is that dress and appearance are symbolic communicators of socially and culturally constructed ideas of what gender should be for both female and male athletes. Stone and Farberman (1970) suggest an order in which to attempt to understand meaning (of dress), personal life and how meaning is transformed, lost, and regained: "Meaning, however, can only be established in communication" (p. 2). In their words, they emphasize the significance of stimuli to an individual as it informs her of society, culture, and physical environment (Stone & Farberman, 1970). Kaiser (1997) illuminates the process of self-identification to be one where individuals practice appearance management in anticipation of trying out identities for social situations when they identify and express their own identities. Others respond to us based on appearance cues that indicate ascribed and achieved identities such as gender and female-athletic identities, respectively (Kaiser, 1997). In addition, Kaiser (1970) suggests that

appearance management enables individuals to “understand themselves and to reflect on identity” (p. 187).

In the case of an FCVA and in correlation to Kaiser’s (1997) self-identification theoretical standpoint, new forms of self-expression are provided through cultural prescriptions and/or expectations that allow individuals to maintain, negotiate, or create identities in a way that can be self-expressed. An identity is “situated within the realm of social relations” and then becomes a behavior where an individual chooses “when a particular identity becomes important for defining the self, as opposed to other identities” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 188). Clothing, dress, and appearance easily serve as a medium for individuals to express ideas of self even if the identity ascribed is not the most accepted by the self but mandated for a particular role. “In everyday life, negotiation is a necessary part of identity construction” and “One factor that contributes to negotiation is the cultural restlessness about identity that may be characteristic of modern life” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 190). Presentations of self are found in unique forms and in the position of a FCVA, if her in-sport gender role identity is not consistent with her out-of-sport gender role identity, the context of her everyday life serves as an opportunity to present her self-perceived gender role identity.

In their research, Harrison and Lynch (2005) note that existing “research on athletes’ self-perceived gender role orientation suggests that there is a relationship among athletic participation and perceived masculinity and femininity” (p. 228). The researchers suggest that evidence supports the idea “that female athletes often experience significant conflict with the negotiation of their identities as both athletes and women” (p. 228).

Further, sports participation influences athletes' self-perceived gender role orientations, and female athletes often struggle to reconcile their identity as women and athletes...women and girls who participate in athletics often suffer from negative judgments fueled by gender stereotypes concerning athletic participation (p. 229).

Harrison and Lynch (2005) support the idea that female athletes have identity crises in regards to their athletic roles and gender, yet the evidence to understand the crises did not support or identify the importance of clothing, dress, and appearance to this foreseen issue. Stone (1970) suggests that "The meaning of appearance, therefore, can be studied by examining the responses mobilized by clothes" (p. 403).

The time in which a FCVA is free to create and demonstrate her gender role identity the social Symbolic interactionists Dress, appearance, and gender have been studied by both the wearer and their self-perceptions of gender (e.g., Jackson et al., 1988; Jacob & Cerny, 2004; Arthur, 1999; Miller & Levy, 1996; Klomsten et al., 2005) and the observer's perception of the wearer's gendered appearance (e.g., Knight & Giuliano, 2002; Lennon et al., 1999; Davis, 1985); in addition to the observer and wearer dichotomy of studying dress, appearance, and gender, ethnographies and content analyses from various fields have borrowed from the clothing and textiles research field (e.g., Lynch et al., 1996; Lynch, 2007; Tyner and Ogle, 2007, 2009; Krane et al., 2004; Huisman & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005). For the purpose of this study, the meanings of dress, gender, and identity will be explored from the perspective of the wearers and not observers of the subject as the literature reviewed to gain a self-perception perspective of an individual's gender identity as portrayed by her dress and appearance will provide accuracy in representation of the FCVAs.

Studies Focusing on Females and Their Experiences with Clothing

“To look at the symbolic dimensions of social action—art, religion, ideology, science, law, morality, common sense—is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life or some empyrean realm of de-emotionalized forms; it is to plunge into the midst of them. The essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said.”

Clifford Geertz (1973)

Experiences and self-perceptions of individuals who indeed experience the act of ‘dressing; themselves on a daily basis for various roles, much like the role of a FCVA who is both female and athlete, is often times overlooked in clothing research. One’s experience with clothing may lead to a thorough understanding of how and why women dress and how they as individuals interpret social beliefs, values, and norms through their own process of internalization within a broader social and cultural context than the one(s) being observed. Dickson and Pollack (2000) did not take the individual’s experience and perceptions of clothing and her identity in their exploration to identify the needs and preferences of female athlete consumers in female in-line skaters. Feather et al. (1996) also failed to gain an understanding of the female collegiate basketball players’ perceptions of their bodies and in-sport uniforms. Similarly, yet different to the aforementioned clothing and athletic studies, Wheat and Dickson (1999) partially took into consideration understanding collegiate female golfer’s perceptions of dissatisfaction and role conflict with their in-sport uniforms. The lack of incorporating the heuristic interpretive approach to uncovering female athletes’ experiences with their in-sport clothing limits the knowledge produced from the previous research types that are strictly quantitative and/or mixed with qualitative methods.

Adomatitis and Johnson (2005) investigate clothing and identity as it relates to flight attendants' self-perceptions of their uniforms by using a line-by-line approach to understand their personal accounts and experiences with their clothing. From gathering the experiences of flight attendants with their clothing, the authors were able to give voice to the flight attendants and note that they felt different while wearing a formal uniform rather than when they were wearing a casual uniform. The qualitative methodological approach the researchers used enabled them to conclude that the formal uniform was effective when communicating their identities as flight attendants, but left little room to express individuality, while it also certified their authority in their specific role. In addition, this methodological approach allowed the researchers to discover that the casual uniform did not properly convey their identity or authority. However, unlike the formal uniform, the casual uniform was a status leveler and created uniformity. The researchers also gained a consensus that "The flight attendants were perceived [by others] as an athletic team, that is, as equal members of a group when wearing the casual uniform" (p. 99).

In Ogle, Tyner, Schofield-Tomschin's (2011) study of married couples who expressed concerns about the postpartum body, the researchers' "findings illuminate[d] the complexities of wives' and husbands' lived experiences relative to the appearance of the postpartum body and the reclamation of the Woman I/she Used to Be" (p.48). Their interpretive methodological approach allowed the researchers to gain an enriched understanding of the perspectives of the participants and the data they provided. The framework suggests that researchers should conduct work that tracks experiences of participants and that the self is capable of enduring multiple and coexisting views

(identities, roles) across moments in times (contexts) and that this framework is applicable to selves that are perceived to be liminal and transitory.

Dissertation Research on Identity and Clothing

An extensive and thorough review was conducted for research regarding “female collegiate volleyball athletes”, “self-perceptions”, “gender identity”, “in-sport dress”, and “lived experiences”. Searches revealed little to no peer-reviewed literature relating to the main and relevant search criteria for the study while searching large databases such as PSYCHinfo, Google Scholar, EBSCOhost, Ingenta, LexisNexis, JSTOR, to mention only a few. However, three various unpublished doctoral dissertations were identified from across the United States. The students and candidates who produced valuable insight into the social identity theories of dress and clothing were guided by dress and clothing theorists and scholars mentioned throughout this study’s literature review. Here are some findings from the dissertations relevant to this field of inquiry.

A few unpublished doctoral dissertations coming from a graduate clothing and apparel program in the University of Minnesota demonstrate the use and incorporation of approaches to hearing voices of women and their experiences with dress, clothing, and appearance. In her dissertation, Katherine J. Leonard (2007) voiced seven women’s aesthetic responses to dress in the context of their professional appearance from 1950 to 1975. Personal and historical accounts were combined from these women, recollecting their lived experiences with their professional appearances. Leonard (2007) conducted in-depth interviews in the open-ended format, allowed for participants to share visual accounts of appearance, and found that the methodological approach to inquiring about how these professional women experienced dress and appearance during the pivotal times

of the 40s, 50s, 60s, and 70s “is informative and has received little attention in research, not only about who they are as individuals but their reminiscence of how they reacted to and experienced this particular time period” (p. 189). Leonard portrays the importance of recollecting seven women’s perceived experiences with dress and appearance for both the social collective and individual processes of understanding their meanings.

The women of the time period being investigated (1950 to 1975) share a similar crisis to the female collegiate athlete: pushing the limits during a time, context, and profession when women are not commonplace or viewed equally. One of the three themes illuminated in Leonard’s study was how these professional women perceived and created their professional appearance through their philosophies related to their personal lives as well as their professional lives. The balance of both their professional and personal identities and roles were illuminated through personal accounts of their experiences with dress and appearance in the professional context.

In a similar fashion, Claire Kapstein (2006) updated current literature with 10 voices of New York City women real estate brokers over the age of 60 and their personal experiences and meanings of their everyday experiences with dress and appearance. An interpretive hermeneutical phenomenological approach to inquire and explore the urban professional woman’s wardrobe and relationship with her wardrobe was used. Kapstein found that the methodological approach used allowed for women to narrate their stories and uncover issues of modernity, professionalism and fashioning the self in ways that update current literature and expand upon what is possibly missing from the literature pertaining to professional women’s sartorial clothing decisions.

An interpretive approach to understanding women's experiences with dress and clothing was also utilized in Elka Marie Stevens' (2002) ethnography on Ghanaian women and the ways in which they contemporarily construct, modify, and maintain their social and personal identities and how they utilize appearance in their everyday lives. Stevens found that Ghanaian women's appearance and appearance practices were essential when constructing one's own identity through the socialization process and that uncovering this information was a product of the interpretive approach to understand the significance and meaning of these women's experiences with their appearances.

A theme central to all three aforementioned dissertations was that the interpretive approach to uncover and understand the importance of women's voices and their experiences. The meanings, whether shared or not, behind women's experiences with dress, appearance, and/or clothing allowed for readers and researchers to gain a perspective from the individuals experiencing the relationship. An extensive academic search via online databases, searching for dissertations using an interpretive hermeneutic approach to uncover female collegiate volleyball athletes' experiences with dress was not found.

The Premise of Phenomenology

Phenomenology states no exact methods of inquiry, yet it implies that any competent researcher should demonstrate rigorous and credible research throughout the research process (Tillman, 2006). Max van Manen (1997) suggests that phenomenology is not empirical or theoretical in nature, yet it accounts for experiences of space, time, body, and human relation as they are lived; thus, the search for meanings of being and experiencing is empirical and worthy of documentation. van Manen (1984) implies that

the phenomenological approach to “doing research” does not have a set of fixed procedures, but is a combination of six research activities involving a research phenomenon that truly interests the researcher, investigates an experience as it is lived as opposed to how it is conceptualized, reflects on the essential themes that describe the phenomenon of inquiry, describes the phenomenon through writing and rewriting, maintains a strong relation with the phenomenon, and considers parts and whole of the experience (pp. 3-4). These essential activities suggested by van Manen provide a valid basis and structure for a phenomenological research design.

The research process began by gathering a thorough background of information regarding female collegiate volleyball athletes and their dress and appearance as it is known to scholars and from my personal experience. A review of the body of knowledge available about FCVAs is limited, but dress scholars have emphasized the importance of dress and appearance, identity, and the individual as a collective social process as well as a psychosocial process.

Interpretive Heuristic Phenomenological Approach

In regards to scholarly research in apparel, the prevalence of qualitative research is minimal, yet not uncommon. When studying the social-psychological aspects of dress, a researcher is concerned with the individual’s experiences with dress and appearance. In more recent years, the qualitative research approach has become more prominent among clothing and textile scholars (Adomaitis & Johnson, 2005; Tyner & Ogle, 2007; Tyner & Ogle, 2009; Ogle et al., 2011; Lynch, 2007; Kapstein, 2006; Stevens, 2002). Various research methods are incorporated in interpretive qualitative research when exploring and understanding dress and appearance and the human experience, for example, the methods

of interviews, focus group interviews, accounts of personal life experiences, ethnography, participant observations, content analysis, visual and verbal documentation.

The naturalistic phenomenological paradigm gained its roots from German philosophy and phenomenology. Edmund Husserl, Max Weber, and Alfred Schutz helped further develop and incorporate the concept of *verstehen* as a philosophical origin in the social sciences. Verstehen supported what now may be considered a *post-positivist* approach that is based on some of the following premises:

The physical and social worlds are composed of complex phenomena that exist independently of individual perception, (a “realist” ontology). Human beliefs about these phenomena, however, are inevitably multiple, partial, approximate, and imperfect. Humans interact in patterned ways. Those patterns “reify” beliefs, and infuse them with consequence...The “emic” intentionality and experience of social actors should be preserved in explanations. Research conducted in natural settings is useful for documenting contextual influences on social action. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are legitimate resources for conducting research. The use of multiple methods enhances explanations of complex phenomena...Qualitative methods are valued for their contribution to highly structured (and potentially quantitative) analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 9).

Coinciding with the post-positivist philosophy is the commitment to the naturalistic phenomenological paradigm of sociological *interpretivism* that is based on human experiences and social actions. The knowledge of social realities is dependent from the researcher who then serves as the instrument evidencing knowledge that preserves the subjective experience and motivations of social actors in their meaningful performances (Lindlof & Taylor). Schutz’s (1967) social phenomenological approach to understanding human behavior is grounded in the idea that meaning is attitudinal on behalf of the self and only when attention is reflected toward the self does experience become meaningful. The phenomenological method of inquiry is based on “the premise

that reality consists of objects and events as they are perceived in human consciousness” (Kawamura, 2011, p. 129). It emphasizes the first-person point-of-view and subjectivity.

A naturalistic phenomenological paradigm may be interpreted as a means to frame or reference various views on the social world, specifically, those related to the social meanings of clothing. Kaiser (1983) suggests that from the perceiver(s)/wearer(s) point of view in order to emphasize meanings of clothing symbols, psychological states, role taking, identifying with wearer’s appearance, and interpretation of wearer’s behavior and situation (i.e., stimulus), the use of a naturalistic/qualitative research approach is necessary in attaining that purpose. Therefore, through the narratives told by the female collegiate volleyball athletes involved in this study, their willingness to share their experiences in regards to gender role identity as understood by their dress and appearance in two contexts allows me to uncover the essence of their experiences.

Summary

Included in this chapter was an overview addressing dress and appearance, context, psychological and collective behavioral tendencies of FCVAs, while they are in a pivotal time and experiencing the period of emerging adulthood. Issues of gender role identity were addressed and used to illuminate the significance of the difference between in-sport and out-of-sport appearances of FCVAs. The various viewpoints of approaching and understanding women and their experiences with dress and appearance were addressed in this chapter. Moreover, variations in dress and appearance of FCVAs were used as a medium to portray gender role identities in various contexts. In the following chapter, a review of the methods used for this study is addressed along with sample, data collection procedure, analysis, a discussion of qualitative rigor, and limitations.

CHAPTER THREE METHODS

Methodology

Extant research as it relates specifically to FCVA athletic dress and appearance and gender role identity in the in-sport context is limited. Several research studies of female collegiate athletes and clothing were formulated on the notion of the ‘team’ as a whole, in other words, on a collective level. Mainly, these studies used quantitative methods incorporated with little to no qualitative methods (Casselman-Dickson & Damhorst, 1993; Dickson & Pollack, 2000; Feather et al., 1996, 1997; Mitchka et al., 2009; Wheat & Dickson, 1999). For instance, the most relevant approach to understanding female athletes’ everyday experiences, in regards to their in-sport dress and appearance is prominent in Wheat and Dickson’s (1999) study. Their study incorporated qualitative methods with open-ended questions at the end of a survey addressing female collegiate golfers’ satisfaction with their team uniforms and the factors influencing their satisfaction, focusing primarily on the uniform design and its influence on role conflict and satisfaction. The previously mentioned research studies are not intended to address the meanings of and relationships with in-sport dress and appearance practices, gender role identity, and their experiences.

This study was designed to acknowledge that there may be social and cultural implications and marginalized personal understandings of socio-cultural gender role expectations in connection with FCVAs’ lived experiences in their in-sport lives. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, in order to understand peoples’ social worlds, Kaiser (1997) states that, “qualitative methods are especially well-suited to the study of meanings that people assign to phenomena in their everyday lives” (p. 47). Qualitative

methods are well suited for this study because they aim to examine how “humans use such cultural objects as clothing to make sense of everyday life” (Kaiser, 1997; p. 57).

Holstein and Gubrium (1998) suggest that employing qualitative methods may be a good fit for interpreting lived experience, as experience may be conditioned to the context that it is under. In addition, qualitative methods may be best suited for studies that seek to give voice and representation of humans’ realities from the perspective of the individual who experiences these realities (Berger and Luckman, 1966). For the interest in the FCVAs’ lived experiences, meanings and relationships with their in-sport dress and appearance practices as it relates to identity, sport and gender, the use of interview-based qualitative methods was deemed appropriate to achieve this goal.

This study received human subject permission by the Institutional Review Board (IRB): Institutional Review Board Louisiana State University, IRB # E6091 (Appendix A).

Sample

A qualitative approach, unlike quantitative methods, is not based on random sample/assignment, and does not seek well-defined variables or causal models, in order to replicate and generalize (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Seeking generalizable data is not a goal for most qualitative research; rather, it seeks to capture meaning of processes (Gilgun, 1992). Sampling for qualitative research must have a purpose; it must provide depth, significance, and relevancy. The researcher determined individuals who were most likely to provide rich data. The purposive sample of the study is defined next.

Criteria for Participant Selection

A purposive population sample of “female collegiate volleyball athletes” was used for this study. Women who played NCAA –Division-I volleyball, who are currently emerging adults and adults (25-54 years of age) were asked to participate in the study. The research questions addressed in this study were intimate in nature and deemed appropriate for women who played collegiate volleyball. In addition, the women asked to participate in this study were eager to discuss their perspectives of life and share intimate details of their lives with regards to sexuality, gender, race, ethnicity, and time. The participants openly discussed how they connected dress and appearance, volleyball, then and now, and how it shaped and influenced their perceptions of identity, specific to sport and gender.

Invitation to Participate

Potential participants were invited to participate through Facebook Friend Request, if the participant was not a friend of the researcher, and via Facebook Messenger if already a friend of the researcher (Appendix B). The diversity in sample characteristics, such as age, nationality, race, ethnicity provided for a unique rich data sample, which offered more data than expected. The participants’ age range was 25-54 years. The variations in educational background, professional and career background, nationality, and ethnicity provided richness in sample, and allow for an extensive examination of in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, and identity, specific to sport and gender, in the life of females who experienced playing collegiate volleyball and are somehow, currently involved with female volleyball.

Sample Size and Characteristics

The sample consisted of twelve women. All participants played volleyball at an NCAA, Division-I university in the U.S. at some point in their lives. The age range was 25-54 years, median age of 29 years. The following nationalities were represented: American, Brazilian, Canadian, and Romanian. The following self-described ethnicities were represented: American, African-American, Black, Brazilian, European, Euro-American, Euro-Canadian, and Romanian. See Table 1, for participants' self-described demographic information.

The collegiate in-sport uniform does not only consist of the game day uniform seen for a winning performance; it also consists of the practice uniform that is worn on a daily basis to prepare for an FCVA's game day performance. There are differences in the game day and practice uniforms. The in-sport uniform consists of two sets of dress and appearances that potentially enable the wearer to shift identities in the in-sport context based on the clothing differences. FCVAs create, maintain, and negotiate their in-sport gender role identities as understood by their in-sport dress and appearance practices for both practice and game day uniforms and signifies importance to understanding personal and socio-cultural meanings of gender role identity. The FCVA experiences identity shifts, gender role identity in particular, as she embarks on her personal and professional careers as a student and student-athlete in school and in her sport, thus, creating, maintaining, and negotiating her identity for various social roles. Uncovering the perceived gender role identity in the in-sport context as understood by FCVAs' in-sport dress and appearances practices, as experienced by the individual, is important during this pivotal time in an emerging adult FCVA's life.

Table 1: FCVA Participant Demographic Information

Name	Age	Location	Race	Education	Years Played	Ethnicity	Career	Interview Type
Kim R	27	Calgary, Alberta, Canada	Caucasian	U of LA-Lafayette, B.S.	2003-2006	Euro-Canadian	Sales manager in menswear	Skype
Eliane	30	Gulfport, MS (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)	Black	Idaho Jr. College & U of OK, B.S., M.S.	2003-2006	Brazilian	Life coach, housewife, professional beach volleyball player	In-person
Amy	34	Portland, OR	Caucasian	Clackamas CC & U of LA-Lafayette, B.S., M.S.	1997-2000	Euro-American	Financial loan officer	Telephone
Ioana	25	Duluth, GA	Caucasian	MS St. U, B.S.	2006-2009	Romanian	Professional photographer	Skype
Bonnie	54	Southeastern U.S.	Caucasian	B.S.	1976-1979	American	High school teacher and volleyball coach	In-person
Hope	28	Broussard, LA	Caucasian	U of LA-Lafayette, B.S.; Southeastern LA U, M.S. expected 2014	2003-2005	Euro-American	Special needs teacher	Skype
Kim W	32	Humacao, Puerto Rico	African American	U of HI-Manoa, B.S.; Nicholls S U, B.S.	1999-2002	African-American	Professional indoor volleyball player and professional basketball player	Skype
Jessica	28	Fort Walton Beach, FL	Caucasian	Florida St. U, B.S.	2003-2006	Caucasian	IT marketing and advertising: recruiter for job placement	In-person
Joy	33	University in Southeastern U.S.	White	B.S.; M.S.	1998-2001	Euro-American	Assistant volleyball coach at D-I volleyball program	In-person
Hollie	31	Broussard, LA	White	U of LA-Lafayette, B.S.	2000-2004	Caucasian	Owner/manager of restaurant; freelance graphic and fashion designer	Telephone
Ashley	28	Fort Walton Beach, FL	White	MO So. St. U, B.S.	2003-2006	Caucasian	Secondary education teacher	Telephone

Design and Procedures

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) note that “Qualitative research, as a set of interpretive practices, privileges no single methodology over any other” (p. 5). For the purpose of this study, elements from various qualitative methodological approaches will be used to provide relevant data. The overarching approach that will be used in this study is phenomenology. The phenomenological approach is atheoretical in nature and seeks to focus on participant groups’ lived experience. Therefore, the data may be better suited to provide a basis of knowledge grounded in meaning and action, and to provide balance to the “predictive aims of the quantitative realm” (Hodges et al., 2007; p. 327).

The Active Qualitative Interview

This study relied on the use of the active interview perspective (Holstein & Gubrium, 2001). Seeking free expression from individuals, the use of active qualitative interviewing approaches will be used: creative and active as interpretive practice. Incorporating creative interviewing strategies into research “allows the research subjects to express themselves more freely, and thus to have a greater voice both in the research process and in the research report” (Fontana & Frey, 1998, p. 62). The creative interview approach if used in conjunction with the active interview as interpretive practice involves the respondent and interviewer to “provide an environment conducive to the production of the range and complexity of meanings that address relevant issues, and not be confined by predetermined agendas” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2001, pp. 63-64). Qualitative interviews allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding, while creating a significant and mutual trust with the respondent and her lived experiences of realities and meanings of experiences. The ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of their experiences of realities and

meanings take place are less likely to be understood through data collection techniques such as surveys, observation, and secondary sources of information without a firsthand explanation from the participant.

Interview schedule. A brief explanation of the interview process was presented to the participant via Invitation to Participate and briefly prior to the actual interview with the researcher with a letter explaining the interview procedure (Appendix C) and the completion of questions from a semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule of nine questions (Appendix G). The interview schedule was based on the essential components to the study as expressed in the research questions: (a) creation, maintenance, and negotiation of identities, (b) self-perceptions of in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, and identity (sport and gender), (c) in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices and the construction of gender role identities, (d) meanings of gender role identity and in-sport dress and appearance practices, and (e) influence of collective and individual meanings of gender role identity on in-sport and everyday dress and appearance, and identity, then and now. Framing the content of the interview questions was pertinent to attain the overall research objective, yet incorporating creative interviewing allowed the researcher to engage with the interviewee and make the “interview more honest, morally sound, and reliable, because it treats the respondent as an equal, allows her to express personal feelings, and therefore presents a more ‘realistic’ picture than can be uncovered using traditional interview methods” (Fontana & Frey, 1998, pp. 67-68).

Prior to the interview, the researcher asked the participants to read and sign a form consenting to their participation (Appendix D).

Interview procedure. Interviews were semi-structured and varied in length (between a forty-five minute and two-hour range) with an average time of about an hour and one half. Interviews were conducted individually and in a myriad of ways: Skype (five interviews), phone (three interviews), and in-person (four interviews). The researcher traveled to Mississippi and Florida for two interviews, and met with two participants in her city. No incentive was offered to the participants of this study, due to limited personal researcher funds. However, the participants were friends of the researcher's and some new friends, and all were willing to provide their time, free of cost. Interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and iPad, and were immediately transferred to a digital folder for verbatim interview transcription.

Narrative Approach to Interviewing

Another technique incorporated into the design of the study is the element of the narrative approach. The interaction between social actors in the interview setting (interviewer and participant) encourages the reciprocity of perspectives if the interviewer shares similarities in experiences or recognizes differences in perspectives (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998). At one point in time, the narrative approach was used by ethnographers to produce an empathetic view of the data that was reflective of the natives' own point of view, and in time became the principal practice for anthropological knowledge (Tedlock, 2001). On a deeper level, the narrative approach enables the participant to expand upon an experience (personal narrative) that illustrates realities, meanings, and beliefs. In the semi-structured interview schedule, a participant may describe or answer the interview question, yet the answer may require follow-up question(s) directed by the researcher. The researcher can ask the participant to expand

on their answer and give specific examples of experiences, regarding the ultimate end result to answer the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of the phenomenon in question. Gubrium and Holstein (2001) state the importance of narratives in interviews is that researchers pay closer “attention to the social patterning of the narratives that give diverse voice to shared experience, to the going concerns that shape and condition narrative constructions, and to the undernarrated and unnarrated mediations of the communication that is the grist of storytelling” (p. 331). Narratives are something that cannot be gained from most other approaches other than the directive social interaction between the participant and researcher through the qualitative interview. The researcher transcribed nine of the qualitative interviews and hired a transcriber for three. Although three interviews were initially transcribed by hired help, the interviewer listened to, reread, and edited the interviews verbatim.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The purpose of phenomenology is to uncover the meanings or “themes” of experiences that define the meaning of the question(s) of inquiry through detailed descriptions. In order to achieve and capture a deeper understanding of the experiences at hand and communicating those as significant and as a phenomenon, the researcher must identify the singular statements (i.e., concept or category) and portray them as thematic statements that convey the actual experiences expressed by the individual (van Manen, 1984). As suggested by van Manen (1984), two thematic analysis approaches useful in uncovering the meanings of experience are: 1) highlighting and 2) detailed or line-by-line approaches (p. 21). The first approach forces the researcher to write verbatim and re-write in order to analyze the text (from the interviews) and indicate and

select sentences that are essential or reveal the experience being described; thus, circling, underlining, and/or highlighting the essential statements. The second approach forces the researcher to read and review every single sentence in the transcription and ask the question “what does this sentence or statement reveal about the experience being described?” As the researcher, I identified the themes that conveyed messages essential in answering the experiential notions granted by the research participants’ descriptions of their experiences (and answering the research questions).

Following each interview, in an effort to understand each participant as an individual in context, the researcher analyzed the interview notes and transcriptions. After the interview, the data was transcribed in the form of text: written transcripts. Data from all interviews was compared and contrasted to identify core themes from the sample (Miles, 1983). A two-phase process of coding took place. The first phase was that of open coding to gain a basic knowledge of recurring ideas, thoughts, and themes. The second phase was that of thematic analysis, comparing all twelve interview transcriptions for commonalities. This process enabled the researcher to explicate the themes, subthemes, and categories that emerged from the data in a way that addressed the research questions and illuminated pertinent information presented by the participants and their experiences of realities, meanings, and behaviors.

After interview transcription and data analysis took place, the researcher sent out a letter to the participants inquiring whether the use of their identity could be used for the study as the content contained personal and revealing information that would reveal their identity (Appendix E). Ten out of the twelve participants consented to disclosure of their identity (Appendix F).

A Discussion of Qualitative Rigor

The goal of qualitative naturalistic inquiry is “not for generalization but rather to unveil the nature, essences, characteristics, and meanings of phenomena as fully and completely as possible and within particular contexts” (Leininger, 2001, p. 360). The frequently raised issue of rigor in qualitative research calls for discussion. Qualitative researchers have committed themselves to develop, refine, and implement appropriate evaluative qualitative research criteria of credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability (Leininger, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 2001; Denzin, 1998). Each of these will be discussed. Following this discussion, brief discussions of voice and reflexivity are presented.

Credibility

Credibility is the ability to recognize and validate the relationship between the participant’s expressed meaning and the researcher’s interpretation of the intended meaning of the participant’s statement. Leininger (2001) identifies that it is the researcher’s job to uphold qualitative research standards by systematically with detail examining the pluralistic nature of a phenomena as it exists to particular individuals, groups, or institutions. A central issue is whether the researcher is adequately interpreting and communicating what the participant is relating to the researcher. Lincoln (2001) posits that the “inquirer and those whose lives are being questioned [are pulled] into the kinds of communal contact that are not possible in more traditional inquiry” (p. 111).

Dependability

Dependability is concerned with accuracy and consistency of data collection through the instrument over a period of time. As previously mentioned, the qualitative interview for this study has nine questions, but is not limited to a fixed nine answers as participants may be asked to expand on an experience with narratives or follow-up questions. The instrument designed for this study has a readable trail for any foreseen changes in the interview schedule, where the schedule is the foundational structure from which the interviewer can work throughout the interviews.

Confirmability

Confirmability is the qualitative variation of objectivity. The issue of maintaining objectivity in interpretive qualitative research is that the researcher may not be able to gain trustworthiness from her participants if there is no face-to-face interaction. Lincoln (2001) poses the issue that the quality of [qualitative] rigor overlaps standards for ethics in inquiry, but there are no boundaries between rigor and ethics. Rather, research grounded in recognizing and valuing the relationship between researcher and research participants is of great value to a rich study. The relationship between the researcher and participants is essential to build trust and rapport with participants.

Lincoln and Guba (2001) differentiate conventional and interpretive research styles, and claim that conventional follows an ontological and epistemological paradigm that may lead to false findings, false in the sense that the research misrepresents the “way things really are” or the “way things really work” (p. 97). The naturalist researcher must find a balance to be objective, build rapport and trust with her participants, and address reflexivity.

Transferability

Transferability, in qualitative research terms, refers to how the research is contextually embedded. According to Stake (2001), transferability (naturalistic generalization) is “recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in and out of context and [by] sensing the natural covariations of happenings” (p. 134). These *generalizations* (emphasis added) are the product of an individual’s experience. The concept of transferability is the idea that an individual’s knowledge and understanding of her own experience is the way it is and is likely to be transferrable to another context. The qualitative approach (e.g., grounded theory and phenomenology) is open and flexible, which allows an individual to share her behaviors and experiences, rather than a researcher to predetermine the individual’s behaviors or expected experiences. The general idea of transferability is its application to specific behavior by a group of individuals, but is not restricted to absolute assumptions and hypotheses for all populations (Charmaz, 2001).

Voice

An important criterion of qualitative research is that of voice, to who, for whom, and for what purposes do people speak? (Lincoln, 2001). Lincoln (2001) views voice to be used as a form of praxis that resists against silence, disengagement, and marginalization; maybe not all together, but one or in conjunction with one another. The criterion of voice is important for this study in that FCVAs will express their experiences of their clothing and perceptions of gender. FCVAs embody biological and social inscriptions of what sex and gender should mean to them in the in-sport context, yet their

perceived gender identities may be contextual and socially situated. Haraway (2001)

states:

For example, 'sex' as an object of biological knowledge appears regularly in the guise of biological determinism, threatening the fragile space for social constructionism and critical theory, with their attendant possibilities for active and transformative intervention, which were called into being by feminist concepts of gender as socially, historically, and semiotically positioned difference. And yet, to lose authoritative biological accounts of sex, which set up productive tensions with gender seems to be to lose too much; it seems to be to lose not just analytic power within a particular Western tradition but also the body itself as anything but a blank page for social inscriptions, [including those of biological discourse] (pp. 140-41).

Voice is characteristic of interpretive qualitative discourse and the various voices uncovered are criterion that further justify openness, engagement, and problematic nature of the text (Lincoln, 2001). The accounts of the individuals' everyday lives and their experiences with their clothing and gender invites a researcher to be involved with the research subjects and also with the conditions that seek to silence or marginalize the subjects' voices.

The choice to use an interpretive approach to understand FCVAs' experiences with gender identity, dress and appearance in the in-sport context paired with the criterion of voice may add credence to the purposive sample that will be used for the study. The sport of volleyball and gender of female were chosen for the study because there is disparity between the practice and game day apparel.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity enhances the research experience by heightening self-awareness of the researcher in the process to uncover dialectic relationships, discuss contradictions within stories being unfolded, and interactions with participants, all while creating personal and social transformation (Lincoln, 2001). As the researcher, I am "barely to moderately

involved” with the research subjects due to my local, regional, and personal history with volleyball and affiliations. My personal beliefs and experiences with volleyball and being a former collegiate volleyball athlete drives my research to some degree, while also being a young female who has experiences with identity crises during the emerging adulthood time period. During that point in my life, I felt like I hit identity crises related to clothing, gender, and volleyball in at least five areas: function, sexual objectification, femininity (masculine vs. feminine), across sport differentiation (volleyball uniforms/players vs. basketball uniforms/players), and identity as a student-athlete (the “jockey girl” stereotype vs. feminine). These were crises for me, but I have worked through them. I am critical and aware of my connection to my research and hold that in mind and only wish to portray the negotiable identities of the subjects of my research. In order to detract from getting off-track and being too subjective and too personal with my subject, the interview instrument and questions were standard and left open-ended for follow-up questions.

Limitations

A multiplicity of meanings and perspectives intended by the research participants may be unknown to the researcher. While having its positives, being an insider also has its negatives, as the various implicit meanings may be misconstrued due to personal bias and researcher interpretation of meanings and perspectives of participants. Because the researcher and participants, for the most part, are either fully acquainted or slightly acquainted, due to ‘snowball’ friendship within the researcher’s volleyball community, it was possible that the participants may not feel comfortable to openly discuss issues regarding dress, appearance, identity, gender, sexuality, etc. for fear of misrepresentation.

From the researcher's perspective, I feared that the research participants may be hesitant to share their perspectives in fear that I will expose and share their personal crises (i.e., that I will be mistrusted). It was possible that the data may emphasize only the creation and maintenance of an expected gender identity and social expectations of FCVAs, rather than negotiations and contradictions to social expectations.

The most apparent limitation of the study was that it did not include current emerging adult FCVAs from one university under NCAA legislation. Additional limitations included: (a) the absence of coaching staff's, whether male or female, perspectives on gender role identity, dress, and appearance, (b) potential effects of the researcher's affiliation with the sample, and (c) the reliance on a single interview, rather than a series of multiple interviews over an extended period of time. In spite of limitations, the research questions were asked with the selected methodological approach in order to produce an artifact that would contribute to the field of apparel design as it relates to socio-cultural and psychological perspectives of dress.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the significance of using interpretive qualitative methods to approach understanding how FCVAs experience aspects of their everyday lives, characteristics of the sample, research design and procedures (the qualitative interview and its importance for the study), qualitative data analysis, a discussion of qualitative rigor and interpretive qualitative research criterion, and finally, limitations.

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS

Introduction

Female collegiate volleyball identity of sport and gender as understood by their dress and appearance practices is limited in knowledge. To understand how FCVAs create, maintain, and negotiate their subject positions, identity, if you will, one must understand the concept of *being*. In order to obtain an understanding of how and why and individual is *being*, we must initially develop the concept of *being* (Heidegger, 1962). The meanings and relationships FCVAs associate with their clothing in two contexts, in-sport and everyday, and in two time periods, then and now, enabled me to illuminate a conceptual way to understand identity of sport and gender of female collegiate volleyball by using dress and appearance practices as a medium to understand. Furthermore, this chapter is outlined into three themes with attention to *female collegiate volleyball clothing culture*, *female collegiate volleyball athlete subject formation*, and *performing female collegiate volleyball athlete identities*.

The themes are interrelated by the medium of dress and appearance, and at times, overlap. However, these themes are carefully situated to conceptualize way to better understand what it means to be an FCVA through the embodied experiences twelve women provided for his study. These themes served as a heuristic interpretive device to enhance our understanding and provide answers to the following questions: (a) How do dress and appearance practices influence FCVAs' perceived sport identity and gender identity? (b) What are the ways FCVAs use dress and appearance practices to express their sport identity and in-sport gender identity? (c) How are FCVAs experiences with in-

sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, when they played and currently, influential to their perceived sport identity and gender identity?

Interviews with participants were transcribed, read, and coded. Numerous themes surfaced. The three themes were further synthesized into subthemes to allow for an understanding, which more specifically, embraces FCVAs' meanings, and relationships with their in-sport and everyday clothes. This will allow us to further understand how meanings of gender identity, sport identity, dress and appearance practices, and body style are produced. A conceptual model was developed to assist in understanding how time, context, and the three themes set the stage for identity development of the individual participants of the study, as noted in Figure 4-1, Conceptual Model of FCVA Identity.

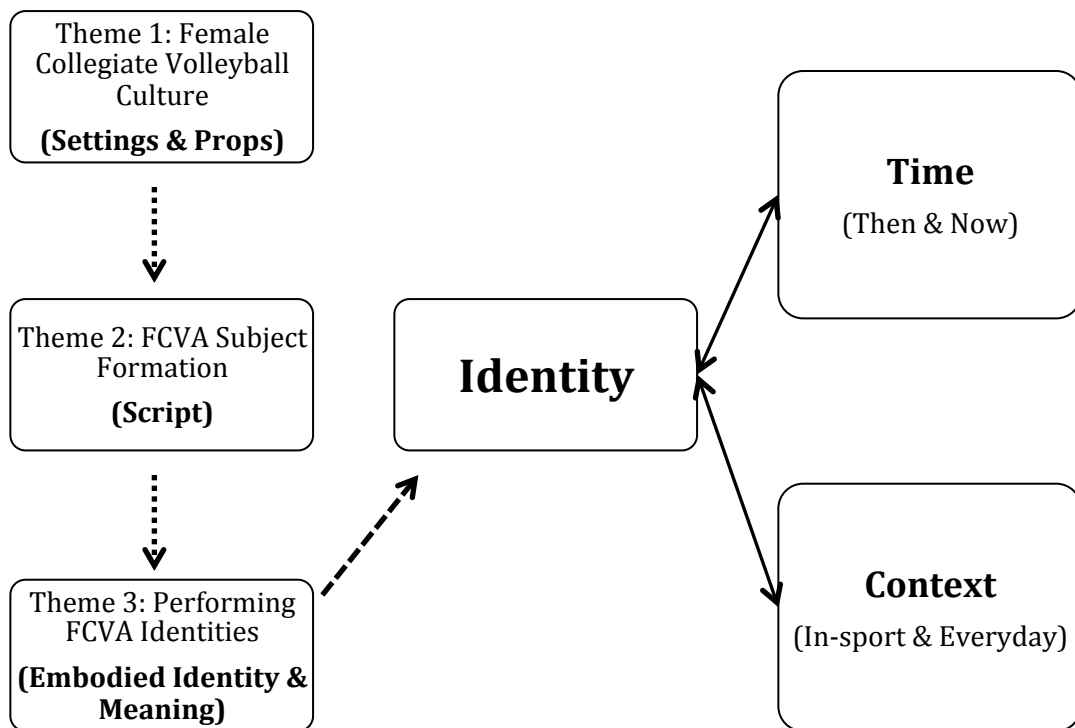


Figure 4-1: Conceptual Model of FCVA Identity.

Theme One: Female Collegiate Volleyball Culture

A part of athletics is any women's athletic sports. Women's collegiate volleyball is distinctive in dress, appearance, and style. Through dress and appearance, participants portray ways of displaying individual and collective understandings of their subject position as FCVAs. Subthemes and categories emerged from the participants' narratives and are listed as follows: female volleyball dress and style; body style; and importance of appearance and looking like a volleyball athlete. Due to the situational nature of athletics, whether the sporting space is a gymnasium, field, hard court, swimming pool, a cage, a ring, or a space laden with padding, athletic events are carefully situated and the settings, props, and actors are presenting viewers with an array of meanings. Situated in the in-sport context, the meanings attributed to clothing and appearance practices made unique for the individual who embodies this situation and disposition. The clothing in female volleyball is not central to this study, rather it serves as a medium to understand and interpret meanings encountered by the participants and the experiential embodiment with their clothing. Fashioning the body within a culture may be discussed and better understood within the context of Susan Kaiser's concept of fashion and culture:

Fashion is not a thing or essence. Rather, it is a social process of negotiation and navigation through...what is to come. Fashion involves becoming collectively with others...Fashion materializes as bodies move through time and space. Time and space are both abstract concepts and contexts: the process of deciphering and expressing a sense of who we are (becoming) happens in tandem with deciphering and expressing when and where we are (Kaiser, 2012, p. 1).

Contextually situated, the meaning attributed to female volleyball clothing is interesting and important for those seeking interpretation of meaning and understanding.

Kim W is a two-time member of the U.S. Olympic Women's National Volleyball Team in 2004 and 2008, where she received a Silver Medal in 2008 and a graduate from

the University of Hawaii-Manoa. Currently, a professional indoor volleyball and basketball player, she resides in Puerto Rico. Kim W, an African-American collegiate, national, and international volleyball athlete situates herself in the realm of volleyball to be of a unique fit as according to her, being “African-American...is kind of ironic in the sport of volleyball, because there are very, very few African-American volleyball players in the world, overall.” With Kim W’s experience and perceived uncommon racial identity within the sport of volleyball, she notes the importance of clothing within athletics:

Clothing is actually, ironically, it’s everything in playing in athletics and being an athlete, because one, it depends on where you are, depends on how people interpret every situation. And since I am a basketball player, as well as a volleyball player, (De ñada), and because I play volleyball and basketball, and also Americans like to wear whatever’s comfortable. So when they [Americans] wear sweatpants, it’s always like, four times too big, and that’s me, no matter where I’m at, but I’ve been questioned numerous times if I was lesbian, because I’m wearing these types of clothing.

A non-verbal symbol filled with significance to the individual and her culture, clothing is important to note and understand when identifying female volleyball dress, appearance, and body style.

Being a volleyball player is like being a student. You learn it. You practice it. You perform it and are graded on it with your physical and dress performance. From there on out, it becomes second nature to act or to be a certain way for the purpose of a sport. *Being* or *becoming* a female [collegiate] volleyball athlete means to learn about the setting and props in order to perform the sport; for example, knowing how to practice dressing and appearing as a volleyball athlete. Kim R played at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette at where she majored in fashion design and business. She is from British Columbia, Canada and has played volleyball since the age of 15. She currently

works as a sales manager for a high-end Canadian men's retail department store in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. When asked how the volleyball uniform is distinguishable from other female sports, Kim R evokes a response that embraces the concept of being and becoming a certain way for her sport:

Some of them [teammates] weren't feminine, but the way they would get ready for whatever, practice, you kind of fit in. You have to do certain, had to do certain things... Like, most people would, I feel like most people would care what they looked like if they were going to a volleyball game, like most of our players, whereas, like I would know from other sports, "What are you guys doing? Who cares?", don't look in the mirror so much. To be a part of the team. But volleyball, for some reason, I feel like everyone is worried about their hair and like what they look like, what the uniform looked like.

This idea "to be a part of the team" for Kim R demonstrates the unknown realities and experiences clothing and social science scholars should be aware of when attempting to understand the importance of practicing dress, appearance, and identity, while paying attention to the meanings of these practices for the female volleyball athlete.

The narratives shared in this study shed light on the physical and concrete aspects of volleyball clothing culture, inclusive of the dress, appearance, style, dress codes, unwritten rules, standards, ideals, and values, all of which are embodied by the individual participants. The physical and concrete aspects of female collegiate volleyball dress are not central to this study. However, understanding how dress, appearance, and body style are embodied and perceived by the individual participants is essential to this study and is what I hope to convey through the participant narratives. Deconstructing participants' dress narratives in the context of sport enables one who is uninformed of the physical aspects of female volleyball dress and appearance an overview that will be applied in later sections in order to understand the meanings and relationships with their dress as it represents their in-sport and everyday identities.

Female Volleyball Dress and Style

On the body, dress encompasses transformations and modifications to the body (Eicher, 2010). And the system of dress “avoids certain value judgments, especially by outsiders to a culture or group who do not understand the meaning and value attached to items of dress” (Eicher, 2010 p. 5). Kaiser (2012) notes that style refers to the construction of self by assembling garments, accessories, and a beauty regime, is a process that is evocative (Kaiser, 2012). Thus, the subtheme seeks to assemble a composite view which identifies female volleyball culture through the dress and appearance practices; body style; function and performance of clothing; and the meanings that reinforce female volleyball ideals, beliefs, behaviors, and experiences. Dress, appearance, and style are processes that signify meaning, as are the practices associated with them; the overlapping concept of dress, appearance, and style will be used to deconstruct a collective cultural identity of female volleyball. Both while, it will be used to explore how individuals create, maintain, and negotiate their identity, sport and gender, when they played and currently.

Fashioning the female volleyball bodies through time and space with dress, appearance, and body style may be understood as a social process that examines the everyday experiences and perceptions and it becomes embodied in everyday life (Kaiser, 2012). Female collegiate volleyball dress, appearance, and body style has endured a variety of processes that remain both fixed and unfixed. It is not limited to the standard in-sport uniform of spandex, jersey, socks and shoes, and protective gear (i.e., kneepads and ankle braces-optional, any additional braces) and practice uniform, which one of the perceived differences is only the changing of the top from a practice t-shirt to a gameday

jersey. Female collegiate volleyball dress is not limited to spandex shorts, a uniform top, and protective gear, as Jessica noted in our interview:

Yeah. So we got, I remember, standard every year, we got our pair of volleyball shoes; we got a pair of cross trainers just to hang out with; we got a pair of sweats, which were like the cotton sweats; we got the actually like swoosh sweats, I don't know what you call those...Like wind breakers...our like comfortable hoody sweat shirts with the sweat pants...Then we got socks and then the longer socks and the shorter socks and the sports bras; we got like three sports bras.

Jessica was a setter for Florida State University from 2003-2006. While at Florida State University, she was awarded an internship at Nike Headquarters in Beaverton, Oregon. Nike athletics was her university's athletic uniforms and gear sponsor. When she interned at Nike in the marketing department, she was asked to participate in the development of new volleyball court shoes. She played volleyball on the Nike Headquarters courts with other NCAA and professional volleyball athletes to analyze and develop a solid volleyball court shoe.

The dress also encompasses dressing for the out-of-sport context or liminal transitional spaces, within, to, and from in-sport contexts to other contexts. In-sport dress is not limited to the act of playing. The following narratives exemplify liminal spaces where volleyball dress and clothing is warranted and dress codes are applied from gymnasium court to locker room; from gymnasium court to weight room; from gymnasium court to a restaurant; from gymnasium court to school cafeteria; from gymnasium court to class; and, to a sports banquet. These liminal spaces in which in-sport dress is worn will be expanded upon in the dress codes category

At a glance, Bonnie indicates how she perceives the volleyball uniform to be “pretty sexual...Because you're not wearing much, even with biker shorts. In fact, it's more form fitting and sort of, spandex on Bourbon Street with your high heels but you

just have on tennis shoes instead...” Bonnie is a former collegiate volleyball athlete at one of the first universities in the United States to institute a women’s volleyball program after the inception of Title IX in 1972. She is a mother of two female teenagers who play volleyball at both high school and club volleyball levels. She has coached volleyball for over 30 years and is currently a volleyball coach and elementary physical education teacher at a private school in her city.

In a similar fashion, Kim R expresses dress and body style of her in-sport uniform to the point where:

People can see your crotch (giggles and laughs)...You’re not holding anything back by wearing those spandex (giggles.) Secrets are out (giggles)...[the uniform is] super fitted...[they are] Feminine uniforms, for sure. Like ours are to the max. Like a full body suit, pretty much...It’s like a gymnast.

Kim R giggled and laughed while describing her uniform in a nearly shameful way because she expressed how the uniform exposed her sexual parts. With her description in mind, one could infer that Kim R’s perception of her uniform was a very form-fitting one that exposed every aspect of the female body. Herein, one could also infer the idea that form-fitted uniforms on FCVAs are gendered as feminine.

Body style may be better understood within the context of female collegiate volleyball as a means to create identity through dress and appearance and it being fashionable at any time it is used. As a social process, internalized by the individual participants, body style and appearance is personal in everyday life and through experience (Kaiser, 2012). The way Kim R expressed her view indicates that the in-sport uniform conveys an array of messages, particularly messages informing the sport’s identity and gender identity through in-sport volleyball dress and body style.

Ashley grew up in Missouri and played volleyball at Missouri Southern State University in Joplin, Missouri. She is an elementary school teacher who plays on competitive indoor volleyball and beach volleyball leagues in Florida and Alabama. Addressing the concept of fashion and collegiate volleyball dress, Ashley shares her depiction of the in-sport dress and style:

It seems that the evolution of it [volleyball dress], the shirts weren't fitted and a lot of the times, they were long-sleeved. The kneepads were bigger. I saw girls wear elbow pads sometimes, too. It seems as though it's gotten to be, the tighter it is, the more fitted, I don't want to say tighter, just everything is more fitted. Spandex [uniform shorts], shirts, even the warm-up shirts, going from a sweatshirt to the Under Armor sort of long-sleeved shirts kind of thing. It seems as though everything has gotten closer to the body.

Volleyball dress and style is described by the participants in relation to the body.

Memories of when the participants played their collegiate years versus perceptions and experiences with the dress now, whether on the professional or recreational levels. A montage memory of volleyball dress, illuminated by Ashley, demonstrates the importance of understanding how the participants use their bodies for social comparative purposes of dress and style:

I remember when we got the fitted ones [jerseys]. I absolutely loved them... They weren't skintight, they fit, and they stayed there... We didn't have to tuck ours in, well, our coach asked us to, but I didn't really have to because there wasn't enough length to tuck into my spandex, there was just enough for the jersey to stay there and stay in place because I am tall.

Ashley and I first met when we played in a competitive adult indoor volleyball tournament together in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in February 2013, where our team captain provided indoor volleyball specific uniform jerseys with numbers printed on them. In our interview, I asked Ashley a question regarding whether she noticed the change of the uniforms to be more fitted from the time she began playing college in 2003

after she mentioned her aforementioned statement. With consideration to time and context of her position, no longer playing collegiate volleyball since 2006, rather today for recreational purposes, she responded:

I like the way the style is now. I think it looks more professional and comfortable, because you have better and more breathable material like the ones that we played in in February. I was surprised it was long enough so it wouldn't show my stomach or anything like that. It seems as though jerseys are moving to be on the longer side. I really like the way the style has gone.

A distinctive style to note throughout the participant interviews is the incorporation, or a reinstatement if you will, of long sleeves jerseys into the in-sport dress. Eliane noticed the dress "...seems that everybody, now, plays with long sleeves...I've never played and I don't remember playing with the long sleeve shirt at all. But now, it's like *all* the top teams and they all have...they adopted long sleeve." Eliane, a Rio de Janeiro, Brazil native, moved to the U.S. to learn English as a second language and further develop her indoor volleyball career at a junior college in Idaho. After completing two years of junior college volleyball, which is a typical time frame for junior college athletes to play before transferring to an NCAA regulated athletic team, she transferred to play her last two years at University of Oklahoma. She moved to Oklahoma with her daughter in 2005. At the age of 16, Eliane had her first child, who currently plays indoor and beach volleyball in Gulfport, Mississippi. Eliane aspires to make a full transition and commitment to play professional beach volleyball in the U.S. Eliane and I met in early 2013 when we played in an indoor volleyball tournament in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Through volleyball, we became good friends.

In turn, Kim W is a professional indoor volleyball player who sees the volleyball dress to be stagnant in style with design element changes that will be noted in the

following section. Kim W reflects upon her past and present knowledge of her alma mater:

I don't think the uniform at the University of Hawaii ever changes. I think only once, we had a long sleeve jersey. Outside of that, we had, we had sleeveless jerseys that went right around the arm. It was form fitting, but if you wanted a larger sized jersey, you got a larger jersey. But then, we also tried on our jerseys before we played, so if it was too tight, the most important thing was you being comfortable playing in it. It had nothing to do with, like uh, if your shirt was too short, because if your jersey was too small in size and you had your midriff showing, that was not allowed, either you got a new jersey, because that was not accepted at our university. So you had to get a size larger or he would actually come in to make it longer, things like that. Our shorts were always two-inch spandex, so it was longer spandex. Again, same thing, you tried on your uniform to make sure that you got the size you would actually wear and you didn't get a size too small. But, you could always get a size too big; that was always the option.

The practical belief that the uniform is what you make of it, as demonstrated through Kim W's portrayal of her dress perception, is a form of an individual's perception of style and how to dress the body according to cultural beliefs, values, and ideals. Important to Kim W is the aspect of comfort and that is reflective through her description of her in-sport dress, while playing at her university. How one would dress her body for sport is significant to note as a part of female collegiate volleyball dress. The following section investigates the evolution and changes perceived in the in-sport dress and appearance, as the participants mentioned in this section compare time and context in which they dressed their own bodies, then and now.

Evolution and change. A subject position, such as *being* a female collegiate athlete, happens in various contexts relative to time and space. These subject positions are embodied happenings that allow us to interpret who we are, and in conjunction with time and space, when and where we are becoming an individual. Kaiser (2012) indicates time and space to be abstract and crucial concepts that shape how we dress our bodies,

what and how we come to know ourselves in relation to others. Time and space enable us to conceptualize what we know and how we know it and maintain or negotiate dress and appearance. Similar in concept to unfixed subject positions, time and space are also unfixed because people grow and change as do their subject positions as understood through their bodies.

Although not wholly embodied throughout her time, Bonnie's age perception of in-sport dress and appearance changes demonstrates a change between generations of female volleyball athletes. Bonnie reflects upon how the in-sport dress and appearance of female volleyball athletes has changed:

The attire for golf, back then in the 70s [in the southern portion of the U.S.], was very well respected, just like Wimbledon and tennis and all white, only 10 percent color. I think it went along with the times of a lot of things being more disciplined than they are now. Some of the kids now, we will get to that, I'm sure, if you didn't have a practice uniform, there's no telling what you would get. They may come in thongs as practice; they may think that's OK...

Bonnie's previous statement reinforces her ideas of the in-sport dress and appearance from a standpoint that compares it from the time of inception in the 70s to today. It appears as though, in our interview and echoed in other interviews, as well as her positionality as a mother of two females who play volleyball, that society and culture have redirected appropriate and acceptable dress and appearance practices and behaviors to include wearing undergarments, such as thong underwear. Essentially, in our interview, I heard Bonnie speak about regulating in-sport dress and appearance with guidelines and rules, which are imposed, due to the social and cultural changes that are reflected in adolescents' dress and appearance behaviors.

Reinforcing Bonnie's tenure perception of in-sport dress and appearance practices and from her personal experience, she noted, several times throughout our interviews

how she personally documents the evolution, change, and even cyclical nature of female volleyball in-sport dress and appearance. Noted below, is a self-perceived chronology of the in-sport dress, which Bonnie has:

Seen [as] a progression of fashion, uniforms, what's accepted, what's not accepted...going from bun-huggers in the late 70s, which are like bathing suit bottoms, to big baggy shorts for the church league/Catholic school, to bike tights, which are now in fashion, long sleeve jerseys to sleeveless to razorbacks to, I mean I've seen an evolution of it all.

Fashion researcher Phyllis Tortora (2010) indicates that women's fashions in the 1970s received a gradual shift in style to become more fitted and in-tune with the body, yet short lengths were not staple lengths in a woman's wardrobe, which is ironic in the female volleyball athletic dress with the bun hugger short. As a seasoned volleyball athlete, Bonnie has been able to briefly explain her perspective of the evolutionary changes in the uniform bottoms, "I wore bun huggers my entire four years, which I was so self-conscious. I couldn't stand it...and you just kind of had to forget what you were wearing back then." She also chronicled changes in the uniform tops.

Joy played volleyball at a large Division I university in the southeastern region of the U.S. She is the current assistant volleyball coach at her alma mater and her coaching experience ranges from coaching at three Division I volleyball programs in the eastern coast of the U.S. before transitioning back to her alma mater. Joy remembers that when she played in college, the uniform bottoms to be "right above our knees, so they were really long, and now they're pretty much going back [to] bun huggers, they're pretty close. I mean they're spandex but they're pretty close to bun huggers."

Evidenced by Joy, changes in the fit and style of the uniform tend to be cyclical. Joy notes that:

Everybody wanted larges, and big comfortable, then it went to everybody wanted smalls now everybody wants big again, they want big comfortable. All my girls want larges; big, comfortable t-shirts. So it's kind of gone back and forth. Where five years ago, they all wanted smalls, everybody wanted smalls, and tight and now they've totally gone the other way... They all want comfy, big, extra-large, larges.

The participants who played their collegiate volleyball careers in the late 1990s and early 2000s have made similar observations of the fit and style changes in uniform tops and bottoms. The introduction of spandex in the volleyball community appears to have taken place in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s. Amy began her collegiate volleyball career at a community college in her home state of Oregon. After playing two seasons, from 1997-1998, Amy transferred to University of Louisiana at Lafayette, where she played the 1999 and 2000 seasons. While reflecting upon her past playing experiences and the time in which she played, Amy reflects upon the changes in uniform bottoms and references to the time from before she began playing college in 1997, here:

So my first year it was polyester. And my coach at the time was from Hawaii, and so she would stitch our spandex. She would get spandex material from the fabric store and she would make us spandex and she would do matching scrunchies. And they would be like flowers, very Hawaiian type themes. And that was my sophomore year. My junior year was my first year of spandex, and they were like spandex that went all the way to your kneecaps. So it went from being little bun-huggers to...bike-riding shorts. They just kind of got shorter and shorter.

Amy indicates stylistic changes influenced by fiber and technological changes in her reflection. In her historical analysis of fashion and change, Tortora (2010) suggests that advancement in textile technology affected fashions also: "As manufactured stretch fibers, such as spandex, improved, they were incorporated into more and more fabrics so that by the turn of the millennium, they contributed to a preference for stretch fabrics in garments as diverse as clothes for bicycling..." Parallel to Tortora, Abler (2010) notes the

developments in the plastics and synthetics industry have contributed to the evolution of sports uniforms.

Priscilla is from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil who moved to Louisiana in 1999 to play at University of Louisiana at Lafayette. She and Amy played two seasons of volleyball together. After Priscilla's collegiate volleyball career commenced, she pursued professional beach volleyball as a career in Brazil and in the Association of Volleyball Professional (AVP). In 2007, she began playing on the AVP tour in America and has been a top ranked player since then. In the same generation as Amy, Priscilla notes that the fibers used in spandex bottoms for her sport: "...Nowadays, [the spandex] are way better than what we had. I think it was cotton. The cotton stuff was awful." Priscilla also reflects upon her miniature chronology of wearing uniform bottoms from the time she began playing in Brazil. I asked her:

Me: Did you ever have to play indoor with bun huggers?

Priscilla: Yeah.

Me: Was that more like a bikini bottom for you?

Priscilla: No, it was really big for a Brazilian bikini, so, we played over here when I was 15-17, we played in those before 1995. I started playing in 1995...until 1999, we played in those and it was comfortable, I liked playing in them. I felt more mobile. But they're big, they're not small. They're really big; they cover almost all the whole booty. Because we [Brazilians] always show a little meat on the outside of the butt.

Priscilla also later noted the exact year she remembers noticing a great and positive change in the fabric change as experienced in wearing her uniform jersey,

We got the first set of good uniforms in 2002... Before, it was this huge jersey, If you look at the pictures, you will see that we all have the sleeves rolled up and it was really loose, because they were all larges and extra larges for everyone. It was huge. It was awful. And it stunk. Halfway through the season it would start

to stink. Then we got the ones you guys had, because you came in 2003, you had the one on that I had for my senior year.

Priscilla and I are both former collegiate volleyball athletes from the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. Our playing experiences did not overlap one another, but we share similar experiences with our in-sport clothing as she alluded to in her previous statement. The first ‘good set’ of uniforms Priscilla refers to is one slim fitting, sleeveless, mini-V-neck spandex uniform top that was Russell Brand. This uniform was Priscilla’s favorite collegiate in-sport uniform top that was her last and my first collegiate in-sport uniform top. Documenting the technological changes in fabric development, Priscilla reflects upon her first three years’ uniform of a loose, baggy, unisex fit, non-spandex fiber and fabric, Russell Brand uniform jersey that held in sweat and smell.

And according to Priscilla, she was satisfied beyond belief with, “... That one [uniform jersey] was like heaven. I was like, ‘Yeah, I can move my arms!’ It was part of my body...it was fit, it wasn’t tight, it was fit...” Joy also demonstrates how the technological advancements influenced the change and evolution of the uniform as she reflects upon her uniform in college, compared to the ones she sees on a regular basis in her coaching career:

Ours was back when everything was the cotton and you know the spandex material that we had, but it was still more like cotton than they are now...that material is totally different. I look at my uniform now and I’m like, “oh,”...My Senior year, it had the collar it was cotton and yeah, not super long, [and] were stiffer than they are now. Now, they’re just really moveable. Back then, they weren’t. They were much stiffer, and thicker...now they are much thinner and move, which is easier. We didn’t wear long sleeves, which our girls do now. They asked us a few years ago to switch to long sleeves, and they like it.

Another participant, Ashley, reinforces the idea that the evolution of performance fibers for sport and athletic wear has changed and that “...the material is better, too; you have the breathable stuff, the Under Armor, you have something that isn’t just a really tight

cotton shirt,” that is more functionally sound for today’s female volleyball athlete.

Throughout the interviews in this study, participants referenced to brand names of uniforms, one of which was Under Armor. Under Armor is an athletic apparel brand that launched in the early 2000s and aimed to satisfy athletic women’s shape and fit, unlike any other preexisting athletic apparel manufacturers’ designs. Although not the sole contributor to changing the face of athletic apparel for women in the 2000s, Under Armor incorporated fibers that resulted in a lighter weight of fabric for sport with breathable and cooling properties.

In support of the idea of fashion change in the in-sport uniform, Hope demonstrates the change in fit of her in-sport clothing in regards to the sweatpants and warm-ups she wore and how she wore them versus how she sees the style now to be at her former university. Hope and I played at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette together from 2003 until 2005. We were college roommates for one year and both majored in fashion design. She is a special education teacher with a specialty in autistic and Down Syndrome children in south Louisiana. Hope plays indoor and beach volleyball on the recreational level and is passionate about her wardrobe for sport. Evidenced in our interview, her observation of stylistic changes and how players’ mentalities on how to wear the in-sport clothing has changed, is shown here:

No, it wasn't so much as looking sexy back then because it was more for functional reasons...back in college...I probably had the biggest sweat pants anyone could imagine and it wasn't really necessary. But it covered me up. I don't know. Back then, I wanted things baggy, because it was the only thing around, but I saw the UL volleyball team recently at a volleyball meet, at a volleyball game and they all wear Lululemon pants now, instead of the big baggy sweat pants, so it's funny how it's changed from when we were there. We wore Russell sweatpants because that's the only thing they had available for athletes were the big sweat pants and the sweatshirts. And now, it's just the style that they wear Lululemon tight pants, and they wear the Lululemon shape jackets that are form

fitting, so the style has changed, too, over the years for everyone, for all women who are on the go... Okay, so when we were in college, I felt like they really didn't worry too much about the appearance, or maybe we couldn't afford the expensive gear, I'm not really sure what it was, the way it looked even in high school, athletes always were just, when we were playing, everything was always bigger, on them. I thought that everyone always wanted things a little bit bigger, or they made it bigger because we're technically bigger, because we had muscles and things like that. They made things bigger and tried to hide those parts of our bodies, now I feel like now, it's more embraced...I was like wow, we didn't get any of that.

Through her reflection, Hope indicates how over time, her style has changed, both while addressing the overall style changes as understood by fit with particular attention to Lululemon. Lululemon Athletica is a Canadian brand based out of Vancouver, British Columbia and started off as a women's athletic apparel company specializing in fit, shape, and special needs to fit and shape with emphasis to height, body shape, and sport. Hope and I were both introduced to Lululemon via our Canadian teammates who wore the clothes and swore by the psychological and practical function of the products. Since the mid 2000s, Lululemon has tapped into the American apparel market as well as introducing men's and children's athletic wear with attention to yoga, running, and active sports needs.

The stylistic changes appear to be a result of the technological advancement in materials used to create the in-sport uniform top and bottom reflect the context and time in which the uniforms were worn by the participants of this study. Some participants were wearing their in-sport uniforms in their native countries and some wear wearing them at the time the sport was initiated and popularized in universities between the late 1970s until now. Supporting these individuals' notions of what the in-sport dress was and is, and how it was and is worn is Tortora's (2010) concept of having one's cultural group dictate what is fashionable and in style. In the 1980s, coincidentally soon after the

inception of Title IX, Tortora (2010) explains that in the 1980s *fashionable dress* changed direction from looking to age, economic, and social influence on styles and dress to be determined by the groups to which an individual belongs and their dress choices are created, negotiated, or maintained within their peer groups (e.g., female collegiate volleyball culture).

Kaiser (2012) notes, “As individual bodies plow through time, in various places, issues of style-fashion-dress help to ground where and when they are” (p. 188). Thus, bodies constantly develop and change, as do fashions within a cultural group (female volleyball). Influential in how the individuals perceive the evolution and changes in the uniform, the embodied changes are explored in the next section and serve as a guide to understand what and how the changes influence function and performance for the athlete and the perceived purpose of wearing her uniform.

Psychological function and performance. This category, within the subtheme of female collegiate volleyball dress and style, was important to discuss, because participants noted the uniform’s psychological significance to their performance. In their work, *Fashion Foundations*, Johnson, Torntore, and Eicher (2003) connect the psychological function of clothing to personal satisfaction. They draw on the work of George Van Ness Dearborn (1869-1938) who wrote:

When a person is satisfied, contented, in good humor, when he is ‘happy,’ in short, he expends more energy, has more initiative, and is altogether more efficient than when he is unhappy, worrying about something, or when he ‘has a grouch,’ or any other of the conditions opposite to happiness. Freedom from discomfort underlies it. It importantly underlies the psychology of clothing in particular, without any doubt at all, because personal comfort is absolutely essential ‘in the long run’ to a high-grade of efficiency in the long life-run (1918).

In connection to this study and participants' perceptions of their in-sport clothing, Dearborn illuminates the natural tendency human beings have to be comfortable or not, satisfied or dissatisfied. The complex nature of dress, blended with emotions and meanings, apparently contradicts power relations between wearer and her culture and the perceivers of her sport, also known as cultural discourse (Kaiser, 2012). More specifically, the emotions of ambivalence and anxiety are articulated through self and culture, and 'figuring out' the ideas that are ambiguous and generating a sense of unease or mixed feelings is a way to understand the psychological (dys)function of the female collegiate volleyball uniform.

From her standpoint, Amy is able to demonstrate the need to fulfill the psychological needs of female athletes in their uniforms, because "... I definitely think if you look good and feel like you look good, you're going to play better. It's definitely an emotional thing that goes along with it [being satisfied with the uniform]." Supporting her philosophy of thinking you look good and feel you look good, you are going to play better is evident in the previous response to my question. Amy followed up with her statement, indicating cultural ambivalence presumably by perceivers of her sport, by adding, "That was more the issue, it was never about me feeling like, I always thought it was really interesting how they started turning volleyball into, let's see how much we can feminize the sport." In our interview, Amy shared compelling stories of dress and sport and how the two, together, serve as reference points to understand who she is, with regard to her gender and sexuality. In her previous comment, the message she conveys touches on her in-sport dress, the changes, noticeably, gendering the sport by sexualizing

it and ‘feminizing the sport’. Even so, he response evokes an array of feelings about herself and her uniform.

In consideration to emotions, feelings, and cultural ambivalence, Kim R discussed her collegiate years of playing volleyball, specifically, the warm-up jerseys that she wore for her last three seasons of playing. Here, Kim R identifies her feelings of uncertainty as to why we wore those warm-up jerseys or how it played a role in her performance, while she was playing.

Those shirts were so short and it was actually like, I don’t know whether it mentally played a part in warm-up, I’m assuming it did, because I would be like noticeably, to myself, annoyed with it. Going up to hit, and knowing that my shirt would pull up to my belly button, I’d be like “Ugh!!!” it was like, almost like you couldn’t quite get *comfortable*. You know? Like if I was in a longer top, I would hit away and I wouldn’t even be thinking of it, but part of me was always conscious of my top. Is this going to stay up? Is this going to stay? Like what am I showing, you know? And then pictures are taken, so that’s what you’re thinking about during the game. Is my skin showing? No, I don’t want the whole world to see that. So, it’s just kind of like uncomfortable with people seeing my body, but it’s a private thing. When I’m focused on a sport, I don’t necessarily want people to see that kind of thing.

Kim R describes her dress and appearance with a variety of feelings, such as self-consciousness, confusion, comfort, and discomfort with aspects of the in-sport dress and appearance. In our interview, she reflected upon her playing experience and began sorting out her cultural experiences by asking herself questions regarding her uniform and it’s function or dysfunction as she embodies the experience.

Ambivalence was echoed throughout many of the interviews. Kim R was one of the participants who demonstrated the most ambivalent nature toward the in-sport dress and appearance practices of female collegiate volleyball. Below, she reflects on performing the sport by wearing the uniform, where her confusion, discomfort, and self-consciousness about her uniform went away after time. The memory she elaborates on is

one that is reflective and understanding that despite her ambivalence, her role in wearing the uniform becomes a part of her identity. She describes a time when she remembers enculturation to her in-sport dress role expectations:

I would say there was a time when I started wearing spandex in volleyball and I thought I was going to shoot somebody because I was enjoying a little bit of looser shorts and just a t-shirt and I get to university and you have to wear these spandex and this tight tank top, so. At first, you do, personally I felt a little uncomfortable, because it's like, 'Wow, like I'm you know, bending over, diving all over the place and I'm in next to nothing and people can watch me doing that.' After, you know, two weeks, it becomes uniform, right? So you don't even think about what you're wearing anymore. You're like, focus on the game, but at first for me, I was like trying to adjust the top, make sure my spandex weren't creeping up too high, but you get to the point where you're just like I'm in this everyday. So, it becomes like a second skin, you know?

Aligned with cultural ambivalence (e.g., confusion of purpose of wearing components of the in-sport dress), Bonnie states her overall perceived difference between the practice uniform and the gameday uniform, and indicates the confusion, as she states the difference here:

Formal versus informal. And what you're more relaxed in practice than in a match as you tighten up, so I guess you have some sort of psychological study on if you should wear your formal in practice so you can compete in games and have that same feeling? Will it raise your level when you play in matches? Or, if you were more comfortable in a t-shirt, would you perform better in the match being comfortable? I mean, which is it? I wouldn't know and that's interesting.

Here, Bonnie poses questions that address the ambiguity in standard in-sport dress formalities for the contexts of practice, game warm-up, and match. Jessica noticed the difference between fit and size of practice and gameday uniform tops, but only now, would she contemplate the significance or meaning of the difference:

Yeah. So it never, I remember, shirts our shirts in college were way too big. So they were huge shirts that I had to tuck into my spandex, but our uniforms were, you couldn't even tuck them in because they were that much tighter. They were the scoop bottoms you know what I'm talking about? So completely different and you know, it didn't bother me; I didn't really notice it, but I bet going back it would of made more sense to practice in shirts that weren't tucked in and like

fitted. And even like the shirts were so huge that I had to roll them up on my shoulders, all the time. And then like getting into a game, I never had to like really think about it, right, yeah. So yeah, that is different.

The 'scoop bottom' uniform top Jessica refers to is a top that does not have a flush and flat hemline at the waist, rather the uniform top at center front and center back are dropped lower and ascend to a higher hemline at the side seams of the hemline.

The apparent difference in practice, warm-up, and game uniform tops played a role in psychological comfort some participants, or at least raises the questions of why is there a difference in contextual in-sport clothing? How does one receive psychological comfort in her uniform despite the perceived differences? Addressing the in-sport uniform tops, there are also perceived views of the uniform bottoms as well.

Ioana is from Baia Mare, Romania, and was recruited to play collegiate volleyball in the U.S. by Romanian and Hungarian coaches who already lived in the U.S. She played at Mississippi State University from 2006-2009 and majored in art. Currently, Ioana lives in a suburb outside of Atlanta, Georgia, and is a professional photographer for sporting events. In our interview, her first statement parallels the notion that female volleyball cultural norms prescribe her to wear a uniform that makes her feel anxious, uncomfortable, and uncertain. This was her opening statement to me upon the beginning of our conversation together:

This whole spandex situation and tight jerseys and all that, to me, was always a horror. Like since I started playing volleyball, that was like my biggest issue. Even as a child. I'm nervous about playing and nervous about showing up in short spandex. And back home with the national team, we used to play in bikinis.

Ioana's attitude toward her in-sport dress, as self-described, demonstrates her opinion and anxiety about wearing the uniform. The statement below also demonstrates her

dissatisfaction, anxiety, and ambivalence as to wearing the spandex uniform bottom and how she would change the dress if it were under her control:

I think of spandex [as] the horror that gives you wedgies. This club that I coach for now, has a team of coaches that asked me to play three weeks ago. And they asked us to have spandex. I asked if I could wear something else, because honestly, the whole time I was playing [in college] I was pulling on my pants or my spandex, trying to make them longer, trying to take them off. To me, they're so uncomfortable. You know how some people say you put them on and oh you don't even know they're there. They're so uncomfortable. If you [have] ever seen me play in college, most of my spandex, I used to wear them a little bit bigger and they were not very tight. They were flimsy on me. That was perfectly OK with me, *because the tighter they were, the more I could not pay attention in the game.* I can't remember what game it was, but it was on TV and in the time-out the guy had his camera behind us, the whole time, I was picking my spandex, trying to pull them down. It's not like you pull them and then the next minute, they're back up. That seriously was a constant thing. It's so annoying. I cannot stand them, I never could.

Evidenced through her experience, Ioana notes that the psychological function of wearing her uniform was integral for her performance and to perform with ease and without anxiety. She also closed this description with the following statement, "If I would be a coach or I had any kind of powers to change it, I would let everybody play in basketball shorts or whatever." Ioana's opinion on wearing spandex bottoms versus basketball shorts and there being no apparent difference on function was also echoed by some of the participants.

Considering the psychological discomfort some participants may have experienced, one would actually have to consider the critical function of the dress and components to the uniform. As a former Division I head volleyball coach, Amy offered her perspective on the logical implementation of the spandex uniform bottoms to be more about movement, "...We move around so much on the court that the uniform never gets in the way. You're in your fitted uniform..." Whereas, Eliane has noticed a change in the mentality of players with their uniforms, specifically, their spandex:

But I don't think, when it goes to the next level, you don't have time for all of that [accessories]. It's about performance and you don't give that much attention to, but of course you want to know what you're wearing and you want to be comfortable... You don't have to put a lot of energy into...coordinating all the extra stuff and how you look, but how you perform. It goes from look to performance...if you watch volleyball nowadays, especially the young, the junior players, their spandex are getting higher and higher...in the length...shorter and shorter...when I played... [uniform bottoms] went from the little bun hugger to spandex, like short size and now you went from short size to kind of mini, it covers just this much (indicating one inch with her pointer finger and thumb).

Here, Eliane implies the importance of wearing only what is necessary and that wearing the spandex short bottoms, which are not equivalent to the bun hugger style, of short length is not performance based. This belief is supported with her observation of her daughter playing the sport and with the following statement of how the uniform bottoms appear to be not of function, now:

But now you can see some butt cheeks hanging in there. And when they go to serve, you notice they're focused on pulling their uniform down rather than perform. Like in the middle of the game, you see players moving and pulling their shorts down. Like that's not cool.

While opinions of function and performance of the spandex uniform bottom may vary, Joy states her perception, "...actually spandex, when you're rolling around, was more covering than shorts... Yeah rolling around in shorts is not a good idea." Within limits, how one wears her spandex uniform bottoms, as a form of comfort, could possibly be considered a cultural norm of female collegiate volleyball culture.

Body Style

The female volleyball athlete's body style is a complex palate consisting of dress, appearance, and style that reveal a way to understand identity and power relations with regards to agency, subjection, and subjectivity. The significance of female collegiate volleyball bodies is that the body indicates a cultural identity of being a female athlete, more specifically, a female volleyball athlete. Participants indicated body style as a way

to identify themselves as athletes, female athletes, and their sport as a collective unit.

Within the subtheme of body style, the overall significance of bodies in the sport of female volleyball was repeated through descriptions of their bodies, individually and collectively, with particular attention to physique and bodily awareness.

During our interview, Ashley mentioned numerous times the importance of bodies in the sport of female volleyball, when addressing the change in uniforms to be more fitted. Here, Ashley describes her reasoning as to why female collegiate volleyball athletes pay attention to body style:

Volleyball players work really hard in the gym and on the court and we focus a lot on our bodies. We have athletic and lean bodies. I feel like the uniform shows off that hard work that we put into the sport and the game because the uniform is fitted. We want to look nice in our jerseys and not look sloppy in a big, baggy t-shirt, and that kind of stuff.

In order to look and appear like a volleyball athlete, Ashley offers meaning by suggesting body maintenance in the gym and on the court is important and will be revisited in the third theme, *Performing Female Collegiate Volleyball Athlete Identities*. By using body parts as reference and body image descriptions to describe the overall appearance and look of a female volleyball athlete, Hope portrays a vivid image of a female volleyball athlete with the following description:

[When] you see a girl who is six feet tall, and is lean and mean and looks athletic...she's put together and she has the hair, the long braid down her back, she just looks athletic...not so much makeup, but definitely the hair... A girl who has her hair pulled back, and has long hair for some reason, really tall, long hair, and a braid down the back, I don't know it's crazy, it's kind of what I think of when I see one [female volleyball athlete].

Another key feature of female collegiate volleyball athletes, as she remembers, Hope mentioned how body style of female collegiate volleyball athletes is important,

even in the out-of-sport/everyday context. Here, she supports the idea that bodies portray identity, specific to gender identity of sport, in the out-of-sport context:

So when we would dress up [out-of-sport], of course, our skirts were short, and our shorts are going to be short, and our shirts are going to show our belly because I mean we also had the bodies to do it, so if you have it, our motto back then was, 'if you have it, flaunt it' and we definitely did, all the time. So, also, I feel like with that, volleyball is a feminine sport.

In the out-of-sport/everyday context of dressing and appearing, Hope indicates there was no identity distinction from in-sport to out-of-sport/everyday contexts, as showing her body in-sport was her idea of gendering the sport to be feminine. In so many ways, Hope correlates showing skin on and off the court as a way to express identity, of sport and gender. Thus, she reinforces the idea that her perceived gender role identity was salient in the two contexts.

When Jessica began college in 2003, she felt a normalcy not experienced in her term prior to college. In the following statement, she appropriates height to the sport of female volleyball as a key body style feature:

In college, I thought I was normal, right? Because I'm around girls that are my size, my first year out of college, I'm like wait, I am really tall. Like you forget. Like that's right, I am much taller than the normal population.

Bonnie played softball and volleyball as a teenager and young emerging adult and felt that because of her perceived body style that she identified mostly to volleyball as noticed here:

Look is important...I guess the word that pops in my head is *unpolished* for softball versus *polished* for volleyball. To me, volleyball seemed more feminine oriented and more disciplined. Maybe, because it was a smaller setting? It just, to me, had a more elite feel and no offense to softball, because that was my life. I don't know. I think I liked volleyball a lot better because of my height and I saw in softball, you didn't know if you're six feet or five-five; I think softball is geared toward a smaller, faster, stockier person.

The previous statement from Bonnie encompassed a myriad of meanings of gender, sport, and bodies. By using the adjective unpolished to describe softball and polished to describe volleyball may be her way of lightly gendering the sport, in an attempt to be correct. Considering the setting of the sports, softball is most often times an outdoor sport with dirt mounds, whereas volleyball is situated inside a facility with a gymnasium and court, which Bonnie apparently may believe to be clean, polished, and in a confined space with more regulation than softball.

Priscilla made a cross-cultural comparison between Brazilian and American bodies:

That's one thing us Brazilians are, comparing to what I've experienced, we are way more comfortable in our bodies. Not just as volleyball players, because in America, they are way more fit than most of the Brazilian players. So they look great in bikinis. But as a general population, we are way more comfortable in our bikinis and our weight than you guys in America...we have more meat showing... Yeah, we show a lot of skin and we are OK with it... Brazilians, my mom walks around in her bikini all of the time and she[']s got a little belly and big ass, and she doesn't care.

Priscilla, she appears to be comfortable in her skin as she compares her nationality and cultural upbringing to the American mentality she was exposed to when she played collegiate volleyball in the U.S. She raises the idea that perceptions of bodies and how to dress and appear in them are different, when considering nationality.

Physique. A category that emerged from the transcriptions that was discussed by nearly each participant was body physique of female volleyball athletes in comparison to other sports. Bonnie mentioned in the previous section, how she associated volleyball in comparison to softball and how she utilized body style as a means to identify with her sport. Here, Kim R depicts her perception of volleyball:

And then softball a little more rugged, a little more muscle. And basketball is the same. I can almost, literally, spot out a body type, whether it's male or female

related and narrow it down to two, you either did this or this. And it's weird because we are all doing workouts and staying in shape but maybe it's just the fact that the target muscles, like I can, I find it creepy I can go like, 'oh, what year did you play basketball?'...if they were wearing a uniform, you would know right away what sport they were playing...Do you see really large girls playing volleyball? No. Everyone's alike. Softball, basketball, I can see a girl with a little more weight on her...you would probably need it in basketball because you're pushing people out of the way. So, it's more like a little bit more of like a lean muscle in volleyball I find.

I asked Priscilla the following question and she responded with reference to her body physique, while wearing her in-sport uniform, or what she felt was accomplished when the uniform fit:

Me: Do you feel that the volleyball uniform is very feminine? A feminized sport?

Priscilla: Nowadays, yes. When I played at UL and we had those huge shirts, it wasn't pretty. It was uncomfortable, it did not fit, and it did not make us look [good]. It was, yeah, not good. But when you got the fitted stuff you felt good. I felt good, like yeah, this is great. You see your curves and I felt more feminine wearing that. And more badass.

Priscilla comments that she feels "more badass" in a uniform that is fit closely to the body. Her statement may imply that a uniform that accentuates the natural figure creates a significant psychological function as well as validating her earlier statement of looking good as a collective group.

The uniform and in-sport female volleyball dress on the body can be identified by the fit and closeness to the body, thus creating a sport identity, specific to how the uniform looks on the body. For example, the body is the initial palate or canvas that is used as a point of reference for cultural members to associate identification and power. The influence of physique on body style for the female collegiate volleyball athlete is evident as is its role when dressing her body for sport.

Bodily awareness. Influences on body style, as mentioned previously, are not limited to the external stimuli; rather it is a compilation of both self-perceptions and others (e.g., role models, idols, peers, peer groups, siblings, parents, coaches). A category that surfaced through the transcriptions was that of being aware of the body and how the individual projects her perception of her body on her sport and in-sport identity: bodily awareness.

Bodily awareness is essential for psychological satisfaction in performing a sport. From her experience playing on the U.S. Olympic National Women's Volleyball Team, Kim W demonstrates her subject position as an African-American volleyball athlete who possesses bodily awareness and what in-sport uniform works and does not work for her. I asked Kim W if she had ever encountered a problem with her uniform and she responded:

I mean, I've always, one of the things, this year my team has two new jerseys: sleeveless and long sleeves. So for me, even body-wise, I always have problems with my uniforms, because I have broad shoulders and I have a very small waist...Playing with the National Team, I had huge issues with it, the shorts, because it is shorts, but they're only one-inch inseam shorts. So, obviously, my body build doesn't work with one-inch shorts; my butt was hanging out. I felt very uncomfortable in every tournament we played...

This rich narrative captures multiple ideas and themes. It is used here to demonstrate Kim W's bodily awareness and the problematic nature of female volleyball apparel design for women of her stature. Kim W stands tall at 5'11". However, we will revisit this in the second theme when discussing *subjection*.

Hollie played two years of college ball, sat out one year, and then picked up her last two years of eligibility at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette, from 2000-2004. She played as a defensive specialist, also known as a *libero*. The libero is a back row

player who usually is on the court for the majority of the time and plays defense for two front row hitters, when they rotate to the back-row. Even so, the libero uniform contrasts from the rest of the team for the game. The element change of the gameday uniform that contrasts to the team is the color. This uniform difference is significant for gameday staff, including referees, to visually recognize when the libero is present on the court as she is not required to ‘substitute’ herself in for the two players she substitutes in for defense. Essentially, the different gameday uniform top of the libero signifies her presence on the court at all times in the back row. The Libero uniform is usually the opposite uniform for her team, sometimes with long sleeves, and different design elements. Hollie currently lives in her hometown of Broussard, Louisiana and assists in managing her family owned restaurant. She is also a seamstress with an undergraduate education in graphic design.

When asked if any particular person or culture or how she was raised influenced her sense of style, Hollie referenced her body and the awareness she gained during her formative years:

Yeah, I know growing up...I wasn't wearing anything too body conscious or low cut tops, because I was raised like my mom and she was southern Baptist...I was brought up to almost be, not ashamed of your body, but like, ‘yeah, the Bible tells you to cover up, and the garden of Eden,’ like they were embarrassed of their own bodies...growing up and going to my liberal school like ESA I started to make decisions for myself. I’m not ashamed of my body in that way anymore...I wore way comfier clothes when I was younger...I mean it's just silly, just because it's the way I view my body now. I don't think it's anything to cover up or be ashamed of.

When I asked Hope the same question, she attributed her sense of athletic dress, style, and bodily awareness to her older sister and “other things” until she grew up and understood how to dress for her own body type. Hope’s sister played four seasons of

collegiate softball at the same university Hope played. She describes her sister's dress and style to her own style then, here:

My sister played college softball, so her natural dress was a bit baggier...so I probably ordered the larger size if possible when I played volleyball in college, and it really wasn't necessary, I'm not that large. But that probably stemmed from her, because she always wore things baggier, always got the baggy sweat pants, big sweatshirts, big t-shirts, and things like that. So that's something, and I know I remember when I played volleyball, I always wore really big t-shirts, because I liked to tuck in the front and have the back cover my bum, so I wasn't fully exposed.

Hope remembers her sister's influence on her athletic dress, style, and bodily awareness, as well as female volleyball icon, Logan Tom. Logan is the starting outside hitter for the U.S.A. National Women's Volleyball Team. When I began playing volleyball in 2001, Logan was playing at Stanford. I watched her play her senior season at the NCAA Final Four Women's Volleyball Championship in New Orleans, Louisiana, in the winter of 2002. The University of Hawaii-Manoa was also a team at the championship, where I first noticed Kim W, who was listed on the roster from Napoleonville, Louisiana. On one of the opposing teams to Kim W was Logan who is a lean, slender, lanky build, 6'1" woman. Hope is a Logan fan and remembers resourcing for her volleyball dress, style, and perceived bodily awareness from her, note here:

The only other person I remember really watching, that is well known, is *Logan Tom*...I remember watching her, she played for Stanford, and [I] watched her throughout her whole career [at Stanford]. And I would try to like mimic the way she played when I was in high school. I was like, 'if I could play like this girl and look like her, I'm going to be set to go.' So, she had a lot to do with it [dress, style, and bodily awareness] as well, and not that I didn't see her in her dress outside of the court, I only saw the way she looked when she played, but I guess her whole demeanor, and the way she carried herself, the way she did look obviously was a big part of it, was always a influence to me.

Evidenced in her response, Hope remembers possessing bodily awareness and dressing for [her] sport according to what worked well with her body type. Also, in her response,

the influence of volleyball player, Logan Tom, and sister who played collegiate softball, enabled her to understand her body and the importance of looking the part for her sport. The importance of look and appearance will be addressed in the following section.

“Pretty Sport”: Importance of Appearance and Look

The importance of *appearing* and *looking* like a female volleyball athlete was a commonly mentioned dimension to this theme. Aspects of the dress, values and behaviors, the people who comprise the female collegiate volleyball culture discuss aspects that assist in the identity formation of individuals and as a collective unit. A primary example was given from Kim R:

I guess it would feel a little more feminine than basketball. For what reason, I don't know. But maybe it's just all about look and appearance... Yes, I know feminine can be described in a lot of different ways, but overall appearance, I find that volleyball players looks more feminine than someone that would play basketball or softball... Whereas, I just don't find that happens in a lot of other sports. I've never seen a soccer player be like, 'OK, girls, do we look OK?' Definitely not in basketball, they're like, 'Let's do this.' It's weird.

A distinguishable look to female volleyball is evident in the importance of the sport's uniform, as remembered by Eliane, “Ah yeah, of course, I just remember back in the day when I was first start playing, I love. One of the reason[s] I start[ed] playing volleyball and why I love volleyball is because I love the outfit.”

The importance of appearance in regards to sport, body style, and dress was also a reason as to how Eliane strayed away from playing any other sports, as noted here:

The uniform. Other than basketball, you see basketball, I hate. When I was younger, I completely dislike[d] basketball because of the clothes they wear. So, I never played just because of the appearance of the girls' look and how big and loose the uniforms were.

Ashley mentioned she, “Wanted to look like a volleyball player, because they [female volleyball athletes] were athletic and stuff that made me feel [like made playing

volleyball and looking like a female volleyball athlete was], probably wearing the long socks.” When Bonnie sought interest in playing volleyball, she felt that the appearance of body style was intriguing to her and something that drew her into playing the sport, “Physique. So when I saw volleyball and started seeing who it was sort of, not built around, who was attracted to playing volleyball seemed more height, more lankier, *more model-type*, that’s what intrigued me about the sport.”

Bonnie’s describes the female volleyball athlete’s physique to be of ‘model-type’. This idea of physique was echoed in a few interviews and what may be physique is a long body, particularly the upper and lower extremities, lean body mass, a bone structure that is not meaty, rather it is bony, and an hour-glass silhouette that is not extreme.

Joy suggested a cultural norm has been established by the athletic culture, but stating her perception that “appearance(s) has become more important to athletes...” She also noted how important appearance is in her day-to-day repertoire:

The type of logo, that is the most important thing to me...I love wearing LSU stuff, kind of representing LSU so I like, when I’m recruiting, I like the logo to be bigger, I like it to stand out more, be brighter. That’s probably the most important thing to me, ideal wise is just that it shows what I’m representing, and I love to be comfortable for myself just for practice, or to be able to you know pepper hit balls and be really comfortable but still look appropriate.

Ioana, too, perceives appearance to be more important to athletes these days, as noted here:

I feel like volleyball now, at their age, becomes more of a show...who looks cuter, and hotter...it’s not cute, it’s ‘hot.’ They wear makeup over makeup while they play, you know. Every one of them has to have their hair done...I’m like, ‘oh man, I wouldn’t even think about attempting to do my hair,’ I’m so sweaty and makeup when I play, my sweaty face...*I just think I grew up differently. But this is how I see it now.* It’s seriously like a fashion show more than anything...they don’t even look like teenagers anymore. I can’t believe they’re 18. They have so much makeup on. They look like they’re in their 20s...They think it’s weird. The way I grew up... I’m not going to say it’s the best way, and I’m not going to say, ‘don’t put any nail polish on’ [like my coach did]; they’re

still young ladies, but you still have to keep it within limits... Yeah, it's still just spandex now. Things have changed so much since I left. Basically, they're [Romanians] even more, they're worse than Americans when it comes to makeup and nails. A lot of the girls I played with would go each week to get their hair and nails done. It's a waste of money. You're just playing volleyball. I understand if you have to go somewhere; that's fine.

Even though Ioana expresses disconcerting changes in the appearance practices of female volleyball athletes, now, she recognizes that there is importance for young emerging adult females to collectively act as a group and 'do things', like wear makeup, paint nails, and style one's hair a certain way to feel as though they are 'pretty'.

An amalgamation of dress, body style, and appearance communicate non-verbally, to onlookers what it is like to *be* a female collegiate volleyball athlete. As mentioned in the beginning of the initial theme, creating, maintaining, or negotiating ways of looking or being are important on *becoming* and building a platform for individual and collective identities. Incorporating components of dress, body style and appearance, Kim R summarized her perception on importance of appearing and looking like a female collegiate volleyball athlete:

I do find that volleyball is more of a *pretty sport*. Like, when people play, they're normally, like done; hair is done, they'll have like braids in their hair (giggles) and stuff like this. But when I watch other sports, basketball, like maybe the odd girl in braids, but mostly the simple pony thrown back and I don't know. You just associate volleyball or soccer with these you know, pretty preppy girls... It's just all about look and appearance... you get made fun of, if like in volleyball, up here [in Canada], if you don't have the nice brands and the nice clothes, people are like, "what are you wearing?" You know? It's almost like a cult. You have to buy a certain thing. You know, how often do you see girls playing volleyball with short hair? Not often. There's always like that stereotypical look, you know?... I don't know what it is about volleyball. Maybe it's the fact that there isn't a lot of physical contact with the other team, right? Like it's, you're not touching them, you're like your own little space and you do whatever... volleyball the mentality, 'Hey, look at me. Yup, I just slammed that ball down your throat, have a nice day.' It's like, 'hmmm, hmmm, hmmm, I'm going to annoy you so much from this side of the net, but I can't touch you.' Right? Like you try and annoy people with how perfect of a game you play, in my mind... I would feel

more annoyed with someone if they look really super polished and killed the ball like crazy. I don't know why, but I would be like, 'What else can you do?'

Kim R demonstrates the idea that to be 'done' in one's appearance is to be put together in appearance practices, and maybe even caring about what one looks like to play the sport.

Kim R uses the term 'polished' and previously by Bonnie, which indicates to others the importance of appearance and how the identity of sport may be different to other female sports, with emphasis on appearance practices and look.

With a tendency to provoke onlookers, Kim R may be suggesting, in addition to appearing and looking a certain way, may be a factor in playing a psychological game of intimidation, which is a category that was mentioned a number of times throughout the transcriptions and will be reviewed next.

Intimidation. In regards to the importance of appearance in female collegiate volleyball, the participants mentioned how looking and appearing a certain way, with regards to dress, body style, and appearance, may cause or may have played a role in the idea of intimidating opponents, other athletes, or other observers.

Priscilla shared a pivotal moment in her career, which involved the evolving style of uniforms to be incorporated into her senior season of playing:

We just wanted better jerseys. That's all we wanted, better jerseys...Everything was fine...for the first three years. I think when [coach] showed the new jerseys, I cried. I was so happy...They [uniform gameday jersey] looked so good and it was like a dream uniform. We played against all those other teams and they looked badass and we looked like-meh, meh-the whole time.

The importance of intimidation as it relates to the uniform bottoms, the spandex, Ioana shared one of her memories from when she played volleyball at an age where her talent was being recognized at the collegiate level (average age range: 14-17):

The way I see it, even my coach from back home, he wanted us to have the short spandex because it makes your legs look longer. And because of that, and it's

kind of true, if you wears something really short and you show leg, it automatically makes you look like you have long legs or whatever. He used to do that, in Romania, especially; a lot of recruiters from professional teams would come to see us play. He wanted to make sure all of us look like we have potential, we can still grow, we are kids now, but in a couple of years, we will be way taller. That was his mentality about spandex. I should show you a picture, my spandex, so-called spandex that were so long would come so close to my knee; they were very, very long. He made me cut them. I was so upset. He made me cut my spandex because they kept making fun of me and kept on saying it looks, I don't know how to translate to English, something like it looks like I have two twigs for legs. Spandex, you should show you're tall.

The female volleyball body style also serves as a platform for intimidation based on perceived appearance stereotypes, as Hope noted its relevancy, "...Volleyball figure [physique] has a lot to do with it, like that's intimidating, like the biggest thing for me is if you see a girl who is six feet tall, and is lean and mean and looks athletic, that is intimidating to me..." She also mentioned her perception of the importance of appearance now, and how appearance is reflective in monetary funds, which provides a psychological security of intimidation for opponents:

So I think also funds have a lot of to do with it over the years, collision sports are getting more money to spend on clothing because it is important that appearance has become a bigger factor, mainly I mean a lot of it has to do with intimidation as well. I feel like if you see a team walking in that looks really sharp. They just look more put together and intimidating to the other opponents.

I followed her response with this question, "Yeah, like psychological battle?" She responded:

Right, it [appearance] totally it is. I know that like I always thought that way when we walked into a big arena, and they had a team that was decked out with the best gear, I was like, 'Man, this is going to be a tough game, and I haven't seen them play yet.' So yeah, I felt like it [appearance] had a big thing to do with it [intimidation].

A view that encompassed how individuals' in-sport dress and appearance, physique and its psychological affect of intimidation becomes a collective behavior reinforcing appearance practices that embody both intimidation and the importance of

uniformity, which is an important category within this subtheme. Hollie's perspective is that:

Yeah we had the bun huggers first, then we had the unitards and I liked the long sleeved ones too. I think those are cute, not like the baggy long-sleeves that aren't fitted...I liked those [long-sleeved fit uniform jersey]...the longer and taller you look for your competitors the better...being short, the longer I looked the better. I mean I guess it could be, I mean you could use it as a tool like a visual. Manipulation...it's like an army, like a bunch of worker ants. Makes you more like one singular unit.

Through the participants' descriptions of how they viewed the dress and appearance of FCVAs, it is evident that individuals felt that the way one dresses and appears is influential on intimidation. Beginning with the individual and how she practices her appearance and perceives a uniform is important on building a collective way of *being* and *becoming* an FCVA. The individual perspectives on what is and how dress and appearance are intimidating are addressed in this category and the composite ideas are addressed on a collective level in the next category of *uniformity*.

Uniformity. The category of uniformity emerged from the transcriptions. Participants mentioned the need to *look* and *appear* the same, or to have uniformity as a team. Some individuals felt as though the uniform did not express individuality. However, the category of uniformity will be addressed here, while individuality will be discussed later in the third theme.

As a coach and with her respect for in-sport appearance (e.g., golf gloves), Bonnie illuminated the importance to her and the reason as to why teams must be uniform, because:

It's respect...you're out in the public, you are representing: a) yourself, b) your school, and then guess who's in charge? Me. That's a reflection on everything from when some kid decides to wear zebra socks and everyone else is in complete uniform, head to toe. My kids [female volleyball athletes] know you better not be throwing on some kind of sweatshirt that says, 'I'm more important than anyone

else on my team.’ They just knew...that’s why you call it ‘uniform’...Look is important. They [female volleyball athletes] even knew the Mizuno jackets that zipped all the way up. They even knew to put the jacket up before the warm-up and zip it half way. They knew what I wanted coming out for warm-ups. Everybody looked the same and they knew to zip it halfway and not to be having it all hanging out... I always kept in mind, whether I was playing or coaching, that it, the whole idea of respect of team and respect of team looking the same was important, not standing out as an individual because I respected the uniformity of the game. Instead of, this person with zebra socks because it was all about me, ‘Look at me, I’m the best person on the team.’ I don’t like that at all. Or one person is getting away with it, and the rest of the team wonders why she gets to do that. I steered away from that. Everything was uniform.

In a similar fashion, Kim R demonstrated the need to look the same as she referenced the importance of wearing the same style and length of sock or wearing additional accessories to the uniform that would modify the appearance in any way, by stating:

Oddly enough, I really did care what we looked like as a team. You know? So, I wanted there to be uniformity, we all have this kind of similar look. ...But I agree that I didn’t like if someone came up with short socks and five other players are wearing long socks. The uniform is a long sock; wear the fricking long sock, because everyone has to look the same, you know? Or if someone is doing a big scrunchie in their hair, like I feel like we should all wear scrunchies because that’s our uniform now, right?

Joy stated that her players “understand...it’s [uniformity] an appearance thing [that] we all have the same thing when going into a restaurant, and even though it is nice sweats, that they look OK so it’s good.” Where Priscilla summed up the purpose of the in-sport uniform, just because, “...It’s a uniform. So you gotta do it...” Because the sport is regulated, and a part of an institution, dressing and appearing uniform is something that is required of a team and of an individual.

Theme Two: Female Collegiate Volleyball Athlete Subject Formation

Styling, dressing, adorning, or fashioning the body is a fundamental part of subject formation (shaping, sustaining, and shifting): an ongoing sense of self and identity in a changing world.

(Kaiser, 2012, p. 30)

Individual participants in female collegiate volleyball interact with economic, social, aesthetic, and political entities and create cultural discourse. A theme addressing the practices and meanings of the cultural discourse that takes place when being a female collegiate volleyball athlete emerged from the data transcriptions. Informed by the (cultural) participants of this study, their subjectivities are explored as a means to communicate, through a window of their world, their experiences in their own words. Foucault's work emphasized how subjects consider themselves subjects invites explorations of cultural and subcultural diversity in subject formation (Knauff, 1996).

Through an exploration of subject formation we can begin to understand self-perceptions of gender role identity, how individual meanings of in-sport dress and appearance differs from another's, and how individuals' experiences with their dress and appearance aid in identity creation, maintenance, and/or negotiation. The continual exploration of dressing and appearing, and becoming (e.g., identity formation) is a process that is not completed individually, rather, it is a collective process where individuals interact with other individuals, rely on feedback, praise, influence, and perception of one another (Kaiser, 2012).

To understand how one identifies self and others, one has to deconstruct what it means *to be* and understand how *to become* a participant within her culture, which subject formation becomes a part of identity formation. Subject formation is an important concept within everyday life and cultural politics that informs to perceivers, one's gender, sexuality, race, etc. (Kaiser, 2012). Dwight Conquergood, a performance ethnographer, noted the significance of understanding how performance portrays individual and social interactions and how cultural politics organize and address the

distribution of power and modes of resistance (Madison, 2005). Concepts of cultural politics may be understood through symbols and images (e.g., in-sport female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance) that represent and drive public policy, because they demonstrate beliefs, attitudes, and are used in ways for individuals to make sense out of their experiences (Conquergood, 1998; Madison, 2005). This theme will be further broken down into the subthemes of subjection to understand how power is being imposed in some way; agency and intentionality (subjectivity) to understand exertions of how one freely expresses or resists power; and regulation is imposed through formal and informal limits.

Subjection

The subtheme of subjection was selected as the transcriptions of this study illuminated ambivalent subject positioning within the culture of female collegiate volleyball. Questions concerning how, why, what, and who as it relates to social structure and cultural discourse in female collegiate volleyball reinforces an idea that subjects voices are not being heard. As noted by Madison, an ethnographer's "aim is to present and represent subjects as made by and makers of meaning, symbol, and history in their full sensory and social dimensions" (2005, p. 173). Participants of this study paralleled Madison's purpose of understanding individuals' experiences as their worlds cannot be denied and they are in a space under particular conditions that are constructed-meanings to be interpreted.

In our interview, Kim R raised numerous questions regarding 'why' and 'how' the uniform is decided. Here, she raised the question of in-sport practice and gameday uniform differences and the purpose of difference:

It [the practice uniform t-shirt versus the gameday uniform jersey] doesn't make any sense, really...probably, it's [gameday uniform jersey] for aesthetics and pictures, when you're taking a look at this team uniform and it's not going to move in the picture it's going to be exactly how it is. Every angle and movement. I can see why they headed in that direction, but at the same time, a lot of me thinks, "Do they ever ask the players what they're most comfortable in?" because we are the ones wearing them...for me, practice gear is so much more comfortable. I love having a t-shirt on and that 'oh, I'm sweaty. Look, I can wipe my face with my t-shirt'...I would rather wear a t-shirt.

Her satisfaction with the in-sport practice t-shirt was made apparent, whereas her in-sport gameday uniform jersey did not serve a functional purpose like her practice shirt.

However, later on in our interview, she noted the psychological importance of having a 'special' gameday jersey, regardless of the lack of function, "So if it was just the one grey t-shirt you wear all the time, you'd get sick of it and you're like, 'What the heck is this?' And there would be no excitement when game time came. Like, you have the game[day] jersey, you want to be able to throw it on as something special, right?" Jessica recalled a difference in the in-sport practice shirts and the gameday uniform jersey:

In college [the practice uniforms] were way too big, so they were huge shirts that I had to tuck into my spandex, but our uniforms...you couldn't even tuck them in because they were that much tighter, they were scoop bottoms...so completely different...it didn't really bother me, I didn't really notice it, but I bet going back it would of made more sense to practice in t-shirts that weren't tucked in...fit[ted]...getting into a game, I never really had to think about it.

Yet, as a member of the women's volleyball apparel industry with a post-undergraduate degree, Jessica mentioned a time when she was designing uniforms and addressing uniform needs that she was satisfied with in college:

It was very hard for us to find the right prototype of a volleyball player. We knew two things we needed, we need to make them long, because that's like a pet peeve of volleyball players. We don't want to have to be like pulling down our shirt, so we made them super long and we kept the shoulders pretty broad, because for the most part, volleyball players have pretty broad shoulders and we like our uniforms longer, but besides that, like anything goes. It was amazing you could put that uniform on like five different people and it would fit completely.

Subjection was also illuminated with the uncertainty of why the in-sport dress requires participants to wear bun huggers, biker shorts, or spandex. Ioana remembered a pivotal time in her emerging adulthood when she, along with other female teammates, who were embracing puberty in their uniform bottoms:

You know, the first time I had to play in those, I felt very uncomfortable, because first of all, I was 14 and this whole, especially the whole period thing, you get your period, you're young and you're like, 'What if something goes wrong and we play longer than we thought we would? I'm not going to be able to use the restroom. I'm in a freaking bikini!' Which, you know, if something happens, it's out there. There's no hiding. That was my biggest fear, because we have heard stories of that happening. It was, I felt, not going to say violated, but I felt obviously, I couldn't even play. My concentration was, 'Oh, my God, is anybody looking at me now because I'm naked?' It was like you're technically in a bathing suit in a gym in the middle of the winter, which you know, it made no sense, but *they* actually changed that rule two years after.

Amy encountered a similar experience to Ioana's. She remembered a similar point in her life when she was experiencing puberty, while wearing her in-sport uniform bun huggers, as noted below:

Girls were having issues with it [bun huggers] because of their period and stuff. That was right around the time girls were wearing pads versus tampons. And I remember the bunch of little girls were freaking out about that, like, 'oh my gosh, I'm on my period, can you see my pad?' I remember one time I dove for a ball and I was pretty flexible when I was younger and my spandex went behind me, or underneath me, and my heel went up my butt and it made my spandex go up my butt. So you could see my entire right ass cheek in the middle of the game. I got a lot of claps and cheers for that one. It was embarrassing.

With rules and limitations on her dress that seemingly were prescribed for the National Team, Kim W discussed her bodily awareness and previewed subjection in an earlier narrative. Kim W exemplifies how she perceives her subjection in her in-sport clothes, specifically, the uniform shorts:

I was very disappointed when we went from having the Mizuno navy blue tights to going to the Mizuno shorts...it went from us wearing tights to shorts. That became a huge issue for me. You can't bend over, you can't move without feeling like something's showing. Then, on top of that, you can't wear tights

underneath; because it's not allowed...I would say that's been my biggest issue I've ever had with a uniform. I think most teams have come to understand that when it's comfortable for the players, it helps out the most, but you know, you still have those teams that they're going to get fans because you're going to wear this uniform and the guys are going to come in and see your body versus your skill sets, so. It's a fight, like a losing battle...

Bonnie incorporated her perception as a coach and a mother to a volleyball player as she raised a few questions regarding subjection in the in-sport dress:

How many coaches, college, high school, whatever, are plugged into what I'm thinking right now? How many people in the whole country know that if [my daughter] feels more comfortable in a seamless biker, because when she knows the football team is coming to watch her game and knows that a seamed biker will cause attention to her private part and the others don't? And now, she feels more comfortable because she doesn't feel that it's calling attention 'down there.' She's 16 and very aware of what the males are thinking. How many people in the country know or are talking to somebody about this?

Similar to Bonnie, Ioana, too, raised the question in regards to the uniform and wearing it at a young age:

But don't you feel that it's weird when you're 13, 12, and you're very young and you have to wear that? I feel honestly, that whole outfit was kind of sexual. Like, for our age, you're seriously going to make me wear underwear and a very tight jersey to play in? So I feel like it was inappropriate for our age.

Cultural discourses change as individuals endure change, as evidenced by the participants who experienced puberty as remembered in their in-sport clothing. The transcriptions in this study also revealed power relations by known structures, such as coaches or administration as Amy remembered. Ioana's experiences in Romania and what she coined a term as 'begin raised by her coach' exemplified a power beyond her control. She remembered her coach as someone who imposed power on she and her teammates as a means to protect them and their innocence, which also influenced her gender identity, as noted below:

Because of my coach and the way he raised us, he was very strict with a lot of things. I became an extreme tomboy. We were not allowed to paint our nails. We

were not allowed to wear makeup. Not allowed to have big loopy earrings. And you can definitely tell the difference between us and other teams. Like when we were 18 and still playing club, we looked so innocent, compared to other 18 year olds that would come and look like grown ups because of makeup or the way they would present themselves. We were raised, he would seriously force us to be innocent for as long as he could. Back when I was playing, I always hated that. We were very scared of him. We loved him, but he would get physical if we broke the rules or anything...because of that, I, even when I came to college, I don't know if I showed you pictured from when I got here, I mean, my hair was this long (shows it being super pixie short). I never wore makeup. All the clothes that I was wearing, I had baggy jeans, shirts with funny messages, there was nothing about me that would say 'woman'.

This excerpt serves an excellent example that power was being imposed by a known source, Ioana's coach, and another social and cultural force(s) were imposed on Ioana's gender identity when she arrived in the U.S., due to the way she was raised in volleyball in Romania. When she arrived in the U.S., as a woman, she was expected to fulfill a gender role by altering her appearance in a way that was unfamiliar to her. Thus, Ioana responded with her own agency and intent to change her appearance that was in her control.

Acknowledgement of subjects within their experiences, relative to the social and cultural worlds in which they live, is to begin to understand meanings, symbols, and histories (Madison, 2005). To further understand meanings, symbols, and histories, is to gain a deeper understanding from those who embrace the culture as agents, which will be discussed next in the subtheme of *Agency*.

Agency

The subtheme of agency was evident when female collegiate volleyball athlete participants discussed ways that they exerted their voice or freedom through their dress and appearance practices to resist or respond to an epistemic structure. Participants evidenced their agency as it related to how their gender identity was perceived in-sport

through dress and appearance, as well as how their gender identity was perceived everyday. They indicated what aspects of their in-sport volleyball identities were not congruent with their perceptions of self. They shared their experiences with how the clothing made them feel uncomfortable, how they made themselves comfortable through dress and appearance practices; they also shared their experiences with how their expected in-sport gender role identity did not align with their personal gender identities. Also, the participants indicated ways that they bring agency to their everyday lives for sport, through dress and appearance practices. For instance, Kim R mentioned earlier how she currently dresses to play recreational volleyball.

Bonnie was the eldest participant in the study. She began playing volleyball prior to the inception of Title IX in 1972 and recalled "...we didn't have money in high school for women's sports, so we did [wore] JV football jerseys...junior year...it [gameday jersey] zipped up the front...We were so proud of them. We finally got paid attention to; we had some new volleyball uniforms..." When she began college, "they [her university] didn't have money...after Title IX...." and recalled the head women's basketball coach giving her team "some old uniforms...my freshman year..." In her sophomore year, Bonnie, along with her teammates, used their agency and went to their university's bookstore to buy long sleeved jerseys, because they "...wanted to look the same as University of Houston or the California teams or Texas, the University of Texas. They were wearing long-sleeved tops and of course, the bun huggers. I will never forget it...[we] made our own uniforms so we would look like everybody else." Bonnie demonstrated her agency as a coach, to assist create an in sport identity and sport gender

identity, when she “redid all the big blousy shirts to sort of a feminine, more feminine look...because I [she] wanted them to look very feminine...”

A natural desire, at least, to modify appearance, that may be regulated by cultural, religious, or legal discourses, can be linked to agency as a form of resistance to epistemic structure or a way to grant oneself, voice (Kaiser, 2012). Participants also evidenced their agency in the in-sport context by altering their dress and appearance. The participants also indicated ways in which they used agency in their in-sport dress and appearance practices to provide psychological comfort. Ioana shared how she used agency in the in-sport context, from this memory when she played in Romania:

My spandex, so-called spandex that were so long, would come so close to my knee; they were very, very long. He [her coach] made me cut them. I was so upset. He made me cut my spandex because they kept making fun of me and kept on saying...I don't know how to translate to English? Something like, 'it looks like I have two twigs for legs. Spandex, you should show you're tall...'

Participants mentioned how they adjusted their in-sport dress and appearance and used agency as well. Amy “tuck[ed] her t-shirt in as much as possible. Jessica remembered having “...the long spandex and [I] would always roll mine up, but then I wore a towel in mine and I tucked a towel in my back...I'm a setter and my hands, and I remember I almost liked the towel because it was like almost hiding more of my butt...” Kim W used agency to address the change in the National Team's uniform shorts from tights to looser shorts and “started buying boy shorts to feel like I'm at least hiding some of my women-parts, because I'm like, I don't like, I don't like feeling like I'm selling sex versus my athleticism or my skills...that happens very often...in this sport, unfortunately.”

Participants also indicated how they used dress and appearance management practices as a means for self-expression. An individual fashions the body to express and

represent momentary senses of who they are becoming; through style, individuals create, maintain, or negotiate their subject positions with a sense of self-awareness or self-expression that explores who they are and who they are becoming (Kaiser, 2012; Tulloch, 2010). Participants indicated dress and appearance practices as a means for self-expression, while being uniform. Hollie suggested that “the way you did your hair or how you, like any other little extra things like your braces, or how you wear [wore] your kneepads...some makeup...a lot of people had hair rituals because that was like the only thing that you could have to yourself. You know, everyone is in the same exact thing.”

Bourdieu’s theoretical implication of habitus is a way that one can conceptualize female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress and appearance, as habitus informs us of ritual and everyday conditioning, routine cultural processes in everyday life (Kaiser, 2012). Examples of habitus as it relates to dress and appearance, could be ways in which people do their hair, apply makeup, layer articles of in-sport clothing, how one accessorizes. Kaiser (2012) informs us that “The concept of habitus...is not just what one wears that matters, but also how one styles, fashions, or dresses the body that tells us about everyday processes of subject formation as the interplay between subjectivity [agency] and the subject positions people inhabit” (p. 31). Other participants shared ways that they were able to self-express with their dress and appearance practices in order to be uniform. Eliane “always like[d] to [wear] lipstick.” She remembered that her “teammates would make fun of [her] because [she] would practice with the lipstick on.” Kim R indicated that she “didn’t want to put full makeup face on, but [she] wanted to look presentable...put my makeup face on, it’s pretty much the same every time...When I

looked in the mirror, I looked, ‘Yeah! Let’s go do this!’ I wanted to feel good about myself.” Jessica remembered, “wearing makeup when [she] played.”

Hope mentioned that she,

Always wore my own spandex, like they were never the practice spandex, because, like I said, when I find something I like wearing, and I think it looks good on me, I buy a ton of them and wear them. Well, it wasn’t any different in college. I remember, I had certain spandex that had a lower, smaller rise, and a smaller inseam, because I liked my spandex really short. I would wear those often times in practice, because no one could tell the difference, but I could feel better in them.

Agency was indicated in participants’ everyday dress and appearance practices to express their gender identity. In her everyday dress and appearance when she moved to the U.S. for collegiate volleyball, Ioana recalled the following dress and appearance changes in her everyday life to break away from how others perceived her gender identity to be masculine, here:

I didn’t even own dresses or skirts until I came to the States and the only reason why I started doing that, because this mentality in the South, you know the way I presented myself to them, they were like, ‘Oh my God, you’re so weird,’ and everyone was so convinced that I was gay because of my clothes and my hair. So I said, ‘OK, fine. I guess it’s time for me to grow my hair.’ ...I am wearing different clothes now. I’ve definitely changed but I’m still kind of, if I’m not comfortable, I’m not going to do it. I’d rather be comfortable rather than looking good. I’ll put it that way.

Amy, too, recalled dress and appearance when she first began her last two years playing volleyball in college, below:

I remember my first year...we had to wear dresses. And I’m wearing these Doc Marten sandals with this little awkward dress; I was so uncomfortable. It was also my first week in Louisiana, too. So there was a whole lot about me, it was right around the time where I was, you know, coming to terms with being a lesbian. So I had a lot going on in my little head. But if you look back, I looked like a total retard.

Her agency to express her gender identity was illuminated in her comments on her current style, as indicated here:

I don't have anything against dresses. I love to wear high heels, which is funny. I'll wear high heels all the time. I wore them when I coached...I'm very uni-style when it comes to my wardrobe...It's just what I'm comfortable in, but at work, I'll put on some heels with a suit...And add like a scarf to give it a little bit of pizazz...a lot of what I wear is pretty androgynous...I do wear makeup. I wear eyeliner and mascara. And that's it. I didn't start wearing makeup until I became the head coach...It [wearing makeup at first] was uncomfortable because I didn't know how to do it...I got the makeup and I just made it happen when I had quit coaching volleyball...I bartended...I dyed my hair black and wore lots of makeup, like foundation and blush and eye shadow and dangly earrings...I think, the older I've gotten, the more in touch with my femininity I've gotten to where the whole, 'I wanna wear pants and that's all I'll do,' I kind of, I mean I started wearing makeup later on, I started wearing heels later on. Does it mean me transitioning into wearing a dress? No, but yeah, I'll wear skinnies and heels. Like I'll wear a black beater and skinny jeans and my red converse and then the very next night, I'll wear the same beater, skinny jeans, heels, a necklace and scarf on. So you have like the same look, I mean the same clothes, but it can be masculine one day and feminine the next day.

The transition in Amy's experiences with dress and appearance serves as a reference point for her to better understand how her ways of *being* have evolved. She explains the transition through periods in her life where she created, maintained, and even improved her dress and appearance practices.

Priscilla also indicated how she used dress in the out-of-sport/everyday context as a means to demonstrate her agency, as noted here:

I wear what I wear, everywhere. I've always done that. There was time, or a phase, a phase...I went through when [I] would go out and hang with [my] gay friends... at one time, [I was] wearing cargo short, but not the regular ones, but the colorful ones or comfy ones...I could never let go of my feminine part...I'm always comfortable, and of course, I feel a little fat and suck it up and wear what I wear and forget about it. But never because of my sexual choice.

Where in the in-sport context, Priscilla felt her femininity was validated in tight uniforms, when she played at her university, she recalled having "those huge shirts. It wasn't pretty. It was uncomfortable, it did not fit, and it did not make us look [feminine]...But when you got the fitted stuff you felt good. I felt good, like, "yeah, this great." You see your curves and I felt more feminine wearing that. And more badass."

Hope mentioned how she altered her appearance in order to demonstrate that she wanted to be seen as a feminine athlete, rather than masculine, as noted here:

Athletes always get the stereotype that we're lesbians or whatever, so honestly, I wanted to look as feminine as possible, and if that meant I had to wear a bow in my hair...I remember that was a big thing for me...to still look feminine. I didn't want to look, I don't know how to put it...Tomboyish? Dyke-ish?...I wanted to make sure I didn't look that way.

Hope uses powerful words to describe what being feminine means to her. She also demonstrates how she has agency to resist looking less feminine and not like a volleyball athlete. Reinforcing her gender identity in sport and everyday, Hope adds dress components, such as a bow in her hair, that are socially and culturally signified as feminine dress. Agency is a way participants interpret social and cultural norms and standards of being for a particular role. The social and cultural norms interpreted by the participants will be addressed in the following section of *regulation*.

Regulation

Regulation is an essential component to the female collegiate volleyball athletes' dress and appearance practices. The female collegiate volleyball athlete embodies a uniform that informs principles, standards, and norms. The subtheme of regulation helps to understand restrictions, proscribed or prescribed, formal or informal, ambiguous norms, and dress codes. Kaiser (2012) states, "Regulation of subject formation may be formal (e.g., labor laws, dress codes, uniforms) or informal (e.g., social pressures, cultural discourses, self-regulating tendencies, and the integration of all of these), but in either case, they can be personally devastating, socially contested, or culturally revealing" (p. 23). Several of the FCVA participants in this study commented on their in-sport dress and appearance practices as something that was by choice or by rules, self-imposed or regulated.

Kim W exemplified how she incorporated a self-imposed dress regulation to play her sport, beginning in her high school years of playing volleyball until now, as noted below:

My teammates make fun of me...for instance, this year, our 'away' jersey is navy blue and our 'home' jersey is pink. So, for like today, we have an away game, I have my, it's like a neon green and navy blue shoes that I wear with my long white socks and kneepads...I normally wear a blue shirt and my navy blue sweat pants to warm-up. And when we play at 'home', I have pink and yellow shoes and I have pink and white, breast cancer socks that Nike makes, but it only shows the pink ribbon, with my white kneepads. Then I wear a pink shirt for warm-ups with my navy blue sweatpants and that's basically my game thing...When we play at 'home', I wear a pink sports bra and, unfortunately, pink and white panties and I wear...the same sports bra, the same underwear, the exact same thing. And when we wear our navy blue uniform, I wear a blue sports bra with blue and white panties, and everything is the same...I have to have the exact same thing on, every time. I don't know why? And it's always been [this way], but everything has to match and I have to wear everything that matches.

Kim W also demonstrates agency with her self-regulation and habits of dressing herself for sport.

The use of habitus as a conceptual model is a way to better understand how individuals navigate issues of agency and regulation (structure, power) in everyday life through bodily practices of dress and appearance that are driven by cultural discourse and self-perception (Kaiser, 2012). Participants evidenced their subject formation within their culture and indicated a sense of Otherness, by referring to structures, known and unknown, as *they*. Amy addressed the idea that her subject position in her in-sport uniform as a product from perceivers of sports or another entity, *they*. One way she mentioned *them/they*, as she positioned herself as an Other, was in reference to her athletic administration and choosing in-sport dress, such as sweatpants:

I don't think the university put emphasis into the women's programs. And so there was no money put into it. I mean, *they* would try. All of our practice shirts were left over football shirts that they ordered and put 'Volleyball' on them. The shorts we wore to the weight room, they weren't girls' shorts, they were the men's

shorts. The mesh shorts...*They* tried to, the sweats, those are all the same sweats that football got, but if they ordered them in bulk, they got them cheaper. *They* didn't do anything in regards to make the volleyball team look like women or to make them have a certain style. It was about how *they* could save a buck...

Jessica reinforced the androgynous nature of their in-sport practice uniform t-shirts that really served less function in identity development, as she stated, "...we got like six practice t-shirts...they looked like men's practice tees. They looked like men's medium, standard practice, t-shirts instead of Florida State Volleyball..." I asked Bonnie if her collegiate team was regulated by administration and she responded:

We were like the stepchildren...basketball got a little bit more [money] because there was a men's equal team...I think my junior year, *they* actually got us long-sleeve, ugly, gross, yellow, pee green-yellow, long-sleeve jerseys with the bun huggers. I wore bun huggers my entire four years, which I was so self-conscious. I couldn't stand it, you know, and you just kind of had to forget what you were wearing back then.

Another way Amy addressed the use of *they* was some anonymous power structure, as noted here:

I always thought it was really interesting how *they* started turning volleyball into, let's see how much we can feminize the sport. I mean, fans would say that, 'Oh, we'll come because you wear spandex.' I always knew it was more comfortable to play in spandex, so I would choose to play in spandex. But there was definitely an exterior view from the community and the crowd and the student body that they were very aware that we were wearing spandex and thought we were doing it to come to our games.

In response to me sharing a story about my experience with my in-sport uniform warm-up shirt for games, she expressed an opinion that validates for evidence that there is a source of Othering within female collegiate volleyball athletic dress and apparel, as noted here:

Instead of being, seeing what's right and what's comfortable for the players; it was more of an ego thing that this company came to your administration and said I want your kids to wear this. It was more of a 'them' deal than what was right for the players on the team. I think I would flip that and think of what's right for the players, instead of what's going to make me look good. "Oh, we're doing

Under Armor for our team.” What? Excuse my words, shit. OK, but you know, we’re partners, so in the background, my team is wearing Under Armor and it’s the newest, hottest thing. Well, Russell Athletics could have served your purpose better because it fit better for women, versus some man doing Under Armor, coming out with some new competitive thing...Instead of what’s right for your players. It’s what promotion did your administration get?

These subject positions underpin the idea that dress, when on an individual, represents social and cultural discourses and is at times, comprehended by its’ participants, whereas, other times, the meaning of dress is not understood by its participants and raises the questions of how, why, and who, or this cultural ambivalence as noted by the previous participants.

Joy indicated a form of regulation on unnecessary dress behavior that may warrant negative attention from onlookers and within the culture. Here, she states her regulation, “If we have players pulling them up too much, we make them take a bigger size, or make them pull it down a little bit, I mean we don't want...[the players] to be obscene.” Despite personal preference and interpretation of how the uniform should be worn, dress codes and regulations are in place. Within close quarters to *how* and *why* the in-sport dress and style is the way it is, is the category of the unwritten dress codes and regulations, as discussed next.

Dress codes. A category that emerged from the interviews was that of dress codes. Dress codes and regulation may be used here, to represent the acceptable and unacceptable, appropriate and inappropriate ways in which individuals interpret their expected in-sport volleyball dress and style standards. Cultural groups possess unwritten, even written, rules that regulate their dress. However, those rules do not apply to every individual and maybe subjective to the one internalizing the meaning of such. Therefore, “a person can achieve the desired ‘acceptable’ or ‘unacceptable’ body according to

specific subcultural standards and ideals” (Winge, 2012, p. 48). In a practical sense of acceptable versus unacceptable behavior wearing spandex uniform bottoms outside of the in-sport game context, Joy states how she and her administration place dress codes for their transport to the weight room from the gym:

They have weights clothes...because we don't want them to wear spandex in the weight room. We gave them shorts and they have t-shirts that they all have to wear the same things, same shoes...because all the athletes are in there together, they would prefer them to have shorts on, and not spandex. Which I think is a good rule. We don't want them walking around in sports bras and that kind of stuff...They have to have shorts on, it's a rule. The weight room rule.

In her previous statement, Joy notes that even in the weight room, there are rules and regulations for all athletes to wear similar weight room uniforms. For example, a t-shirt with the appropriate sport team label on the shirt (e.g., volleyball, women’s basketball, men’s basketball, gymnastics, etc.) and standard loose shorts. Evidenced in her previous statement, weight coaches, in conjunction with volleyball coaches, require FCVAs to wear looser fitting shorts over or in lieu of the spandex shorts. Even so, the sport is distinguishably different than other female collegiate sports, and one could infer that with FCVAs adorned in spandex and in company with other sports, that the practice uniform may garner perceived negative attention.

Joy also mentioned a time and space relevant to dress code regulation when FCVAs are in transition from the gym to a restaurant, here:

When we [the team] were together, like this past Saturday, we had a tournament...they had to put their pants on, when they left the building before we got to the restaurant. They can't even wear shorts, they have to wear pants... They understand why we want them to, that it's *not appropriate*, and we're trying to teach them for life that they don't, you know, when they're twenty five, they *look appropriate* when they go to a restaurant, but our team is pretty good. They understand. I think they would want to do it anyways. They don't want to go into a restaurant wearing spandex.

In the above statement, Joy offers a perception of FCVAs' in-sport uniform bottoms, the spandex, and refers to the act of wearing the tight, short, spandex shorts in public spaces, off the court, as inappropriate. She demonstrates an idea that warrants some form of regulation on wearing less revealing clothing for the out-of-sport, non-game context, in order to be perceived as dressed appropriately in public spaces.

Similarly, Kim W reflects upon her experience with her university and vividly remembers an opposing team and their uniform:

But as for wearing makeup and wearing shorts that are too short, like literally, we had dress code rules. We had to follow all of those things like you didn't have butt cheeks hanging out. Whereas, I'm going to be honest, you have people that at Long Beach State, their uniforms were fitted to where that's what they were doing [revealing], whether you wanted to or not, your spandex were half an inch long, so your butt was going to hang out where it would look like you were wearing swimsuit bottoms. Even though, you didn't want to be wearing swimsuit bottoms.

In her reflection, Kim W perceives the importance of dress codes in order for FCVAs to dress appropriately and not garner unwarranted or negative attention, because body parts, such as "butt cheeks", are hanging out of the spandex shorts.

Ioana discusses place and appropriate dress when she reflects upon her teammates' behaviors, from practice to the cafeteria:

I would have discussions with the freshman and they would wear the spandex in the cafeteria after practice. Which to me was a big no-no...you're just asking for the wrong kind of attention. Let's be honest, why did guys ever come to see volleyball games? It was all about the spandex. It was like, 'Ooooh, long legs, short spandex.' Girls know that and the ones that are extremely confident kind of use that as well, 'Let me look good and let me show them how good I look.' To me, that's not just something you should wear on campus, that's not something that you wear in public. If you're on the court, that's our uniform. But outside it, to me it was inappropriate. *Extremely inappropriate*. A lot of them did it. They did it as a sexy kind of thing, which to me I never got it...I don't want to see the freshman going to class in spandex, hoodie and spandex is not covered. Just because you have a hoodie on doesn't mean you're covered, your ass is still out. That's not OK. So they started having rules about that. It's not like they [coaches] could follow us 24-7. They [freshman] would use practice as an excuse

and say, ‘We just got out of practice,’ or ‘I just got out of the gym.’ Well, how about you put sweats on...I’m pretty sure, even now, they [volleyball teams] have the same issues...they are always going to be girls, especially the young ones who want attention and think it’s the right way to get it: by showing some kind of skin. But they’ll learn eventually.

Ioana’s memory and understanding of why FCVAs wear their spandex in public spaces and out-of-sport contexts implies that FCVAs are not required to wear the spandex bottom everyday, and when they do, it warrants negative attention. The act of FCVAs wearing spandex bottoms in the out-of-sport context may be interpreted for two reasons. One reason may be that they want to be identified as a volleyball athlete. The second reason may be that FCVAs seek attention and praise for being object of desire. These two reasons are evident in Ioana’s statement above, and also parroted throughout other participant interviews.

With regard to players’ well being, both Joy and Ioana exemplify the powerful ways in which unwritten, but spoken words create dress codes that are placed and enforced within the culture. The participants who discussed dress codes in relation to their in-sport dress and appearance practices evidenced some form of regulation set on the players to serve as a source of paternalistic protection to prevent misconception of sport and purpose of female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance. A notion that unwritten and written dress codes are set forth for FCVAs and their in-sport dress and appearance and the meanings unknown to some participants is discussed next, in further detail in the category of *ambiguity*.

Ambiguity. The participants expressed a sense of ambiguity when discussing their perceptions of their collegiate volleyball dress and appearance experiences. Kaiser (2012) offers a description of ambiguity as it relates to dress and appearance (style-fashion-dress), as noted here:

The concept of ambiguity has multiple meanings: (a) mixed metaphors or numerous layers of messages; (b) vague or fuzzy messages, such as those that cannot be put easily into words or that constitute a novel stimulus (e.g., a new style); and (c) inconsistent or contradictory messages that are unclear because they are somewhere in between different possibilities...Ambiguity often occurs in the use of words, but the potential for ambiguity in visual communication such as fashion is rampant, whether it is intended by the wearer or imputed by the perceiver (or both)...Ambiguity can foster a sense of ironic play and can be deeply thought provoking as it brings contradictions to the surface; it can also create confusion... (p. 42)

Ambiguity is a categorical way to better understand the participants' meanings of their in-sport dress and appearance practices.

Phrases participants used, such as, *I don't know*, *I think*, *maybe*, and questions of *Why?* *How?* *What?* and *Who?* were implicit in this study as ambiguity of cultural norms within the sport of female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance practices.

Participants also offered their experiences to support this sense of ambiguity, while addressing regulation as a means for economic and social capital-commodification of the sport.

Through time, Kim R identified her perception on what the focus of in-sport dress practices came to be over time:

The focus became more on *what do we want to wear?* Whereas, that may not have ever been an interest; like people say, "Hey, this is a really unique idea for a uniform. This would be cool," but are the players ever saying, "This is what I want to wear"? "This is what I feel most comfortable in"? And maybe now, I don't know whether it's just women, but people are stronger and speak their minds, and saying, "Hey, this is what I think we should be wearing," and offering more of an opinion.

And following her previous statement, Kim R suggested that a collective sense of being is more powerful to resist regulation. Yet, she still voiced her ambiguity on the situation with uncertain statements and questions, as noted below:

I don't know if I ever questioned, "Why are we wearing these?" It was, "This is stupid,"...I never thought, "Why don't we just ask for something different?"

Why don't we just say, "We don't want to wear this."...I feel like there's more empowerment within a team, whether it's them all coming together or whether the captains not being so scared and timid, "Oh, I can't say that to Coach. No, I'm just going to say this is what our team wants."

Participants also compared and evaluated their in-sport dress to other female sports, which suggests that there is ambiguity in identity dress, where some participants feel the function of the uniform is similar, if not same. For instance, Eliane validated Kaiser's idea that a perceiver may impute ambiguity. Here, Eliane believed that:

There's a lot more conservative thoughts about wearing what you wear. For example, spandex. People talk a lot for one reason or another. Maybe because they're afraid of it or afraid of wearing a specific piece of clothes, or just they're simply ignorant or just because they're closed minded. Period... "How scandalous!" or "[How] dare you," that piece of clothing is so revealing. If you think about other sports, like swimmers, they wear bikinis all the time.

My response to this statement was, "*But they're in the water.*" Her response indicated that there are perceptions of ambiguity in female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress and how people associate with other female sports and their in-sport dress practices, hence, communicating visually, cultural *meaning* of the female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress to be purposive and distinctive,

But still, people are watching and they have an audience around. Like why do you complain about me wearing a tiny piece of clothes? But you go to the beach; you wear a bikini, so what's the problem? So why is it acceptable there?...you're on the beach and hanging out in that specific controlled environment, I mean sports [are] is a controlled environment. We are all there performing an activity and practicing a specific sport, so why is it taboo to wear [spandex]? Like why are you talking trash about my uniform?

Contrary to Eliane's support for the in-sport uniform, Kim R provided evidence of ambiguity that female in-sport dress is not purposively different for a reason. In addition, Kim R demonstrates her aversion to wearing spandex for female collegiate volleyball as she compared it to two other sports, basketball and soccer, as shown below:

You look at other sports. Why don't basketball, like women's basketball teams wear spandex? Why do they wear loose shorts and loose tops for jerseys? What's the difference between basketball and volleyball? We're both moving. We're both exercising in the same kind of way. They wear these long shorts and they're really baggy, like on most people I've seen, a male short, but as a volleyball team, we wear full spandex. Is that to have more of a fan base? I don't know. Because I'm not sure it was every a volleyball player that says, "I want a full spandex uniform, I don't want to play in this t-shirt." You just, like most, even soccer players, why don't they wear spandex? I mean, they're running around, diving, just like us, [but] in the grass, but they wear, you know, loose shorts. That's the way I look at it... There's not a physical or a recordable reason why volleyball players would be put in spandex versus anything else. It would not, in my opinion, affect performance if you did a loose short versus a spandex. So I think it's all for the look.

Ambiguous in nature, a sense of identity ambivalence between sports was a mentioned throughout the participant interviews. Here, Bonnie indicated her stance on her volleyball identity to be specific to indoor volleyball instead of beach volleyball, how others may perceive *volleyball*.

I can't tell you how many people, during the [2012 London] Olympics called and left messages on my cell phone, at my house, and texted me: "*I was just thinking bout you Bonnie,*" men and women, "*when I was watching Misty May and Kerri Walsh in the beach volleyball.*" Why would they associate me with those two women in a bikini? I never wore that... What was the lure? Was it just volleyball as a sport? Was it they're, I hope they're not like these men who wanted to date me back then... That's what I start to think. My husband asks me, "Why is Corey Conrad calling you 30 years later?" Maybe he [Corey Conrad] sees me with dark hair that I used to have; dark hair like Misty May, but in Kerri Walsh's body? "You have never seen me in that skimpy of a bikini, Rodger." Rodger is my husband. You see where all the associations are coming from?

Bonnie recently experienced identity confusion from perceivers, which perpetuates the ambivalent nature of *volleyball* and the in-sport dress and appearance practices. Beach volleyball and indoor volleyball are two separate sports. However, effective in 2013, the NCAA instituted beach volleyball as a women's sport and its popularity has risen, hence, calling attention to identity ambivalence between the focus of this study, female collegiate volleyball and female beach volleyball. Beach volleyball is not central to this

study. However, it will be a part of the discussion for research implications, addressed in Chapter 5.

In a similar fashion, Jessica commented on beach volleyball Olympians', Misty May-Treanor and Kerri Walsh-Jennings, and their 2012 London Olympics in-sport dress and appearance in our discussion on female collegiate volleyball apparel brands. In our discussion, the aspect of exposure and Jessica, as an indoor female collegiate volleyball athlete and currently, semi-professional beach volleyball player, her subject position shifted in our conversation to be the perceiver of beach volleyball and she offered her perception of the 'glitch' in the beach volleyball in-sport uniform, noted here:

So I know there's a big stink when Kerri and Misty won. They had white. They were white Nike bathing suits and it rained and you could see right through them. So they were giving their post interview and you could almost see their nipples like through there. I remember that was a big stink people were talking about that. And you would think that Nike would have it together enough to know that a white bathing suit, maybe we should make sure you can't see through it in the rain.

The ambiguity of why and how the direction and regulation of the female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress and appearance is evidenced throughout the interview transcriptions. Through Elizabeth Wilson's theory, Kaiser (2012) exemplifies how ambiguity correlates to cultural ambivalence in that when worn, dress communicates art, personal psychology, and social order. Reflected in Eliane's perception of how society is shifting, the cultural meanings of wearing the female volleyball athlete's in-sport dress is significant and inclusive of the cultural discourse which drives the regulation. Here, Eliane reflected on the meaning of why there are changes in the in-sport dress and appearance of female collegiate volleyball, "I think it's just society is going now. The girls trying to explore sexuality and express themselves in different ways. Using sports as a channel. Trying to be cute... Trying, because most of the time, they're not cute."

Hope also noted her perception as she recalled the changes from when she played in the early to mid 2000s, coached in the 2010s, and is a consumer of the sport and athletic apparel. Paying attention to time and social context, Hope stated:

So when we were in college, I felt like they really didn't worry too much about the appearance, or maybe we couldn't afford the expensive gear, I'm not really sure what it was, the way it looked even in high school, athletes always were just, when we were playing, everything was always bigger, on them. I thought that everyone always wanted things a little bit bigger, or they made it bigger because were technically bigger, because we had muscles and things like that, they made things bigger, and tried to hide those parts of our bodies, now I feel like now, it's [the female collegiate volleyball body] more embraced.

Most of the participants were able to discuss their collegiate years of playing volleyball and how they are currently connected to the sport. In that regard, time was essential to note for them as a reference point to understand their embodied experiences, which essentially, enables the participants to better understand the never ending search of self-discovery and identity development, as best remembered through their embodied experiences with dress and sport.

Theme Three: Performing Female Collegiate Volleyball Athlete Identities

Performing female collegiate volleyball athlete identities is a theme of female collegiate volleyball athletes' experiences with their in-sport dress and appearance practices. Through dress, one communicates information about oneself. For instance, the information communicated may be indicating group membership, an array of subject positions, and identity as they relate to gender, occupation, age, sexuality, race, and ethnicity. Evenson (2010) notes that dress can signify an individual's occupation or profession. For example, athletes use uniforms as a means to communicate what sport they play. FCVAs use dress and appearance practices to communicate their sport membership, profession, gender, and sexuality. Kaiser (2012) indicates that when one

incorporates cultural studies into style-fashion-dress studies, “gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, class, and age/generation and other subject positions organize identities, social relations, and the objects and images that culture produces” (p. 11). In fact, the FCVAs indicated the importance of dress and appearance in a variety of contexts, to communicate their various subject positions that compose their identities. For example, Ashley mentioned how dress and appearance is used to communicate the various roles and subject positions in her daily life:

I love clothes. I love dressing up like a girl, girly things, wearing dresses, and trying different styles. At the same time, I’m not dependent on having to wear certain stuff because I can’t really afford it right now. It’s been hard starting over like I need to go out and buy a bunch of new business and work clothes, because I’ve been a teacher for so long and we had a uniform that was jeans and a t-shirt. A lot of my work clothes are a little older and I have dress clothes, but I have to go out and buy more. It’s influential, because I love it when I go and wear a cute dress. When I’m home, I wear sweatpants and shorts. But when I go places, I try to look cute and of course, I feel like it lifts my spirits if I’m wearing a something cute or I’m in a cute outfit or if I’m wearing something new, because I like fashion and stuff like that.

Ashley, who explained her rationale as to why FCVAs pay attention to body style in their sport earlier, went on to add the importance of the meanings behind dressing and appearing like an FCVA:

Volleyball players work really hard in the gym and on the court and we focus a lot on our bodies. We have athletic and lean bodies. I feel like the uniform shows off that hard work that we put into the sport and the game because the uniform is fitted. We want to look nice in our jerseys and not look sloppy in a big, baggy t-shirt, and that kind of stuff. We move around so much on the court that the uniform never gets in the way. You’re in your fitted uniform. Yeah, I like the way the style is now. I think it looks more professional and comfortable, because you have better and more breathable material.

FCVAs also use their in-sport dress and appearance as a means to communicate how they maintain, negotiate, or create new identities, given their subject positions. This would include finding the need to conceal the body to feel less exposed in her in-sport

uniform, accentuating the body in the fitted in-sport uniform, being satisfied with whatever in-sport uniform is provided, no matter what time and context, adjusting appearance practices to conform with the rest of the team, or finding ways to create self-expression through in-sport dress and appearance in an in-sport uniform. For example, Kim W expressed her subject position(s), her meanings of in-sport dress and appearance practices, here:

In volleyball...I go to the game wearing my sweatpants and they [Puerto Rican teammates] look at me like, "What are you doing?" Like, they don't, they don't do that. They wear their tights all the time. Half [of] their butt is hanging out the bottom of them [spandex]. I don't believe in that; I don't think that that's the way...to impress someone. You want to impress them based on what your mentality is versus what your body looks like, because eventually, you're going to lose that...they'll [teammates] spend fifteen minutes before a game, putting on makeup, so when they're playing, they're actually wearing makeup in a game.

There are certain ways in which FCVAs embody their in-sport dress and appearance practices, subject positions, which comprise their identities throughout time and contexts. The intersectionality of the FCVAs' subject positions encompass a sense of who they are and who they are becoming as understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices. The theme of Dress and Embodied Identity will be discussed further in the subthemes of Performativity, Expression of Identity, Gender Identity (In-sport and Out-of-sport/everyday).

Performativity

Performativity is a subtheme of Dress and Embodied Identity. FCVAs occupy a variety of roles in their daily routines and are not limited to wearing only the in-sport dress and appearing as an FCVA. However, while wearing the in-sport dress and appearing as an FCVA, some individuals feel a sense of becoming or enacting for a particular role, thus performing as an FCVA. Judith Butler (2004) refers to

performativity as an embodied practice in which norms are governed as real and unreal. Butler also notes, “Through the practice of gender performativity, we not only see how the norms that govern reality are cited but grasp one of the mechanisms by which reality is reproduced and altered in the course of that reproduction” (p. 218). In relation to this study, gender (of sport) can be understood by in-sport dress and appearance norms that are contextually situated over various periods of time. Kaiser (2012) notes that gender can be described through style-fashion-dress and the ways in which individuals style the body, which is regulated by cultural discourse or social norms, becomes an ongoing experience on both the individual and collective levels. For example, Eliane chose to play the sport of volleyball as a means for her to play a sport and to not compromise her femininity as the in-sport dress was the most feminine sport, in her opinion, and a sport that would not compromise her femininity.

Amy played two years of community college volleyball at Clackamas Community College in Clackamas, Oregon. She was recruited to play her last two years of NCAA Division I volleyball at University of Louisiana at Lafayette. The transition was a pivotal time in her life when she was accepting and coming out as a lesbian. Practically, the uniform served a purpose, “I remember playing in the shorts and me being uncomfortable and them being baggy and I wasn’t able to move as well. It was definitely a performance thing.” While at the same time, she expressed how her in-sport dress and appearance did not affect her sexual choice, “I never have identity issues in regards to feeling like a boy in a woman’s body or wanted to tape down my breasts or anything like that. I’ve always been OK in my skin.”

Whereas, Kim R felt that she negotiated her gender identity in her in-sport dress as compared to how she sees herself today, as noted below:

I wouldn't consider myself super feminine. I'm sort of tomboy-ish. I don't wear the frilly stuff, like most of my wardrobe is clean lines...it's not ultra feminine. So, I wouldn't consider myself to be that...But I feel that in our uniforms, you had to be, because if you had this super sleek, fitted outfit, you had to have the rest [gender identity] matching it, you know? Whereas, if I played basketball, which I have, would I care as much about my hair and all of that stuff? Probably not. I felt more masculine, to be honest, in the uniforms...These long shorts and big jerseys, like I felt gangster, you know, you feel like "don't mess with me"...

Jessica provided a memory, which depicted her perceived gender identity of sport, when she reflected upon one of her teammates who played both volleyball and basketball. Her teammate, as she remembered, did not partake in the in-sport dress and appearance practices, as noted here:

There was a girl who played on my team that played both basketball and volleyball, which was very different and she was a big girl. And I remember she always felt more comfortable around the basketball girls than she felt around the volleyball girls. She always thought that we were the prissy girls. She felt more comfortable being feminine around the basketball girls, as opposed to the volleyball girls.

To follow up with Jessica's previous response, I asked, " Did she [teammate] feel more masculine around you ladies?" And her response was as follows:

I think she did, yeah...she would not wear a lot of makeup during the games. So all of us would be in there like trying to do makeup and she would be like making fun of us and saying, 'You guys are silly girls.' And when she was around the basketball team, I guess, she was like the pretty, prissy one on the basketball team, which was kind of different. Yeah, she was interesting. She was a fun person.

The importance of dress, appearance, and performing a gender identity for the sport of female collegiate volleyball is evidenced with the aforementioned narratives.

Ashley demonstrated the importance of dressing and appearing like a female volleyball athlete through characteristics of FCVA dress, appearance, and body style, noted here:

I did like it when people would ask me, “You played basketball, didn’t you?” I would respond with, ‘No, I play volleyball and played volleyball in college’...stuff that made me feel, probably wearing the long socks and I always had to anyway because of my ankle braces. But now, when I go to play indoor, I wear long socks and tennis shoes. When you put on the longer socks, spandex, and do your hair, putting headbands in your hair, were definitely things that make me feel like a volleyball player.

Hope clearly summarized the performativity component to dressing and appearing for sport in a way that incorporated dress, style, body, agency, subjection, time, and context. Here, she portrayed a picture:

With volleyball I mean we wore the tiniest shorts possible. We lived in those spandex...that pretty much was our wardrobe for the longest time, so we had no problem showing skin, and no problem dressing in front of the other girls in the locker room. That just became natural to us; it was our way of life, it just happened...going out in public like that wasn't an issue. We would go eat in spandex out in restaurants if we wouldn't think twice about walking outside like that. So when we would dress up, of course our skirts were short, and our shorts are going to be short, and our shirts are going to show our belly...we also had the bodies to do it...I feel...volleyball is a feminine sport...to me, it's a feminine sport. I find that a lot of girly girls play volleyball...we're always wearing ribbons in our hair, and you know compared to softball, like they wear ribbons and stuff, it's just more of a tomboyish sport, like volleyball is more feminine. But I also think with us showing a lot of skin in college, it had to do with our maturity level at the time. Like you see things on TV and you see women who show a lot of skin and you think that's what the guys like; that's whom you're trying to impress, ultimately. So you do it for the guys to see what kind of rise you get out of them to get their attention, so that has a lot to do with it, but then you find out when you get older, that that's not really what it's about all the time, it's more about looking appropriate and nice, in my opinion.

An interesting narrative provided by Hope summarizes how her understanding of identity and dressing for sport is negotiated at two points in time from when she played versus how she perceives dress and appearance of sport, today. Thus we see how the

individual identity influences and shapes perceptions of sport as a whole, which will be discussed next, in the subtheme of *Expression of Identity*.

Expression of Identity

Expression of Identity is a subtheme of *Performing Female Collegiate Volleyball Athlete Identities*. This subtheme is essential to understanding how individuals establish common meanings of the components of the female volleyball dress and appearance practices. In-sport dress and appearance were mentioned by the FCVAs as important in their identity development, while the importance of maintaining, negotiating, and/or creating new ways of dressing and appearing for female collegiate volleyball was mentioned as well. The FCVAs create appropriate meaning of in-sport dress as a part of their culture, particularly, with the uniform short bottoms (e.g., spandex) and ways of appearing. Through the in-sport dress and appearance practices, meanings are created and symbolic visual meanings are produced to inform individuals who are a part of the female collegiate volleyball culture, as well as to onlookers.

In this study, FCVAs indicated their use of in-sport dress and appearance as a means to communicate to others their group affiliation and cultural belonging. Female collegiate volleyball in-sport dress and appearance practices visually connect individuals to one another and are also used to signify the difference between their sport and other sports, as understood by their dress and appearance, many participants in this study indicated their in-sport gameday uniform to be distinguishably different than other sports.

Eliane demonstrated how she used female volleyball as a means to express her gender identity as the in-sport uniform accurately matched her perceived gender identity,

when I asked her, “*Do you think volleyball is a cute sport?*” Compared to another sport, she answered:

Absolutely. Otherwise, I wouldn’t play. That’s why I picked volleyball instead of basketball to begin with. I think that, um, it’s a very feminine sport. You don’t need to, I mean, here in the States you don’t see that many guys playing volleyball, it’s pretty much a girls’ sport. And it’s awesome...

Often times, participants expressed their perceived gender identity, in-sport, when comparing their sport uniform to other sports’ uniforms. To follow up with her previous response, I asked Eliane, “*Do you think you could wear a basketball uniform for volleyball?*” She adamantly replied:

Hell no. No, I don’t want to look like a boy, a man. If I wanted to look like a boy or a man, than I would be one. I wouldn’t. That is the main reason I never wanted to play basketball to begin with. I really thought the uniform was a turn off. No basketball, like the long shirts, the loose, like how they walk, not discriminating them; it’s just the culture of the sport.

Joy indicated her perception of the volleyball uniform compared to other sports, while also noting the similar in-sport dress (e.g., sweatpants):

Yeah, I think volleyball was pretty different from a lot of sports. Just there are not a lot of sports that wear spandex, or kneepads, some basketball players do. So yeah, I think our uniforms are pretty different from a lot of people. But as far as like, just you know sweats and stuff like that are pretty similar you get a lot of the same stuff as other athletes.

In an earlier statement, Priscilla indicated her perception of female collegiate volleyball to be feminine. To follow up with her statement regarding the perceived gender of volleyball, I proceeded to ask her, “*Would you have felt that way if you were wearing a basketball uniform?*” Priscilla responded to my question:

I would feel comfortable if it was something I could wear around the house or somebody’s BBQ. Just whatever, if I don’t want to dress up and want to feel comfortable, I can feel comfortable in those clothes. But I don’t feel badass or sexy, or pretty. I don’t feel ugly, but it’s just not the same...if you wear certain types of clothing; it’s like we [lesbians] have our gay-dars, if a girl is dressed like a basketball player, you know, we kind of go, people go, ah, she might be gay.

But I don't think it defines someone. There are a lot of feminine volleyball players, I mean basketball players that I know, softball players that I know, so I think it's just how you carry yourself...

Unique to this subtheme and study, Ioana demonstrated her subject position of nationality when reflecting upon wearing sweatpants as a component to the in-sport dress and appearance, and how she negotiated who she was, here:

At home, we never wore anything athletic. In Europe, wearing sweats, I didn't even have the concept of that. Let me put it this way, if you go out to take out the trash; you put the nice jeans on and the nice shirt because that was how it was...Now, I think it's weird, because I've been to the States and I've seen that here, people go to Wal-Mart in their freaking pajamas. To me, that's still, very, very weird. If you get out of the house, you're supposed to look a certain way. Well, back home, there was no go out in your sweats to go shopping, there was nothing like that. I didn't even own sweats; I didn't know what those were. We only had our athletic wear only when we were traveling and when we were playing.

It is apparent that FCVAs use their in-sport dress and appearance practices to distinguish their sport identity from other sports. However, the perceived gender identity of female collegiate volleyball, as understood by the in-sport uniform, may not accurately represent the individual participant who negotiates a gender identity not mirrored in her everyday life. Many participants used components of their in-sport dress to portray their group membership of female collegiate volleyball, because the purpose of the in-sport uniform is to be matching and to indicate a professional group affiliation. Kim R noted that the uniform was a way to conceal or reveal an individual's gender identity, while considering her sport identity.

Hollie indicated ways her teammates used agency to express their identity, in-sport, "But yeah, I remember some people like you would tape your fingers and little things like that, I don't remember many. Some people always braided their hair, and a lot

of people had hair rituals because that was like the only thing that you could have to yourself. You know everyone is in the same exact thing.”

Priscilla, a professional beach volleyball player, shared how spandex function in her life, today, even though, the sport of beach volleyball does not require one to wear spandex as a part of the uniform. This is what she said in regards to the indoor volleyball in-sport uniform bottom as a part of her everyday life:

The uniform we used to wear for indoor became my workout uniform [for beach volleyball]. I wear short little spandexes, tights, and shirts or tight tops to go work out, so it never really left my life. They’re comfortable, but for me to play outdoors in that, it’s just a lot of layers, and it doesn’t let you move. And when I play for fun, outdoor, I mean, indoor, I still wear the same spandexes and shirts or tops. So they’re functional in each area that they belong to.

Jessica indicated how she used her in-sport spandex to her to communicate to others of her identity. As the spandex was a part of her identity in her everyday life, “So I used to be very comfortable like in my spandex. I used to like *live* in my spandex; like walking from class to class, like if I was late from practice or to practice, I’d be wearing my spandex. Grocery store, I’d wear my spandex, it was nothing...”

Despite her personal discomfort with the in-sport uniform bottoms, spandex, Ashley demonstrated how she used her in-sport spandex to communicate her identity to others, “...Sometimes, I felt good if I could just go out and flaunt my spandex here and there. But, I wasn’t really comfortable... I just wanted people to know that that was who I was. I would throw on my sweet tennis shoes and a sweatshirt over my shirt and maybe just wear my spandex anyway...”

Overall, the subtheme of Expression of Identity indicates that FCVAs use in-sport dress and appearance practices to demonstrate their subject positions, in the in-sport context. Even though, participants are aware that they are wearing a uniform for a

purpose, some use other components of the in-sport dress and appearance (e.g., spandex and sweatpants) to demonstrate their personal identities to others. Eliane demonstrated her perception of the importance of the uniform to express individual sport identity:

Yeah. I mean especially for a uniform, the mindset I, I was programmed for, this is how I grew up to be an athlete. It's like you need to wear the jersey. So it's like you need to proud to be wearing your team's uniform, so I don't know if that played a big impact or that's why I, that's why I got this impression about the uniforms. That's why I don't have any problems with it, that's the main role. You're supposed to wear this jersey and make that part of you and fight with it until the end.

Subject positions, or identity, specific to sport and gender play integral roles when participants are understanding who they are and who they becoming.

Gender Identity in Context

Gender Identity in Context is a subtheme within the theme of *Performing Female Collegiate Volleyball Athlete Identities*. As indicated in the previous subtheme, gender identity is an essential component to the sport of female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance, as is the concept of time and space, which in this subtheme is combined as a single term, context. Kaiser (2012) mentions that identities (e.g., subject positions) are performed for particular times and in particular spaces. Unfixed, subject positions are abstract and crucial concepts that shape how individuals dress, style, and fashion the body to know who we are and who are becoming. In this section, context is referred to a collaborative term of time and space and will be used to understand gender identity in a variety of contexts over time and space.

For example, participants referred to their experiences with understanding their subject positions (gender identity and sport identity) through dress and appearance practices, some of which are referred to when they played college volleyball. They even provide insightful narratives with their past and present experiential ways of

understanding themselves through their dress and appearance practices. Ways to understand meanings and associations of identity (e.g., gender, sport, sexuality, age, etc.) we must understand the concept of time and place (context) as it is crucial in identity formation, negotiation, and maintenance.

Ioana provided an overview of the various in-sport outfits she remembered wearing as an FCVA and how her expected in-sport gender identity was reinforced by her coaches, as the importance of appearing a certain way, or even becoming a certain way was crucial in her team's gender identity formation for sport. Incorporating aspects of performativity, expression of identity, and gender identity for sport, Ioana said the following in regards to her in-sport dress and appearance in college, which suggested that she negotiated her perceived gender identity for the sake of her coaches,

I found it extremely weird and unnecessary how many different kind of outfits we had to have for one game. Because you had the warm-ups for the game, then the jersey for the warm-up, then the actual jersey...I felt like it was a fashion show. Seriously, I can work with one jersey and I'm good...the fact that everybody had to look the same, even in practice. We had to have same color jersey; everybody had to wear the same color, otherwise you would get punishments. That was weird...I cannot stand how they [coaches] want you to look like a team, but act feminine. For that was taking away from our personalities, you are forcing me to be like everybody else. You are forcing 22 people to mold into this one group for everybody to just look like one person.

Ioana continued to reflect upon a time in college, in the out-of-sport/everyday context, where she felt her identity out-of-sport/everyday was questioned by a college peer,

When I came here, especially at the beginning, when I wasn't used to the whole sweat thing, right at the beginning, I was wearing my jeans all of the time. And my freshman year, I will never forget, I had this 8 A.M. class and right after practice, I put my jeans and shirt on. One of the girls asked me why I dressed up all of the time? I said, 'What do you mean, dress up?' She said, 'You always wear jeans.' I said, 'that isn't dressing up, that is normal, day-by-day.' For them, in their eyes, the fact that I was an athlete, not wearing sweats to class was kind of, why are you dressing up, was something out of the ordinary for them. I was still uncomfortable with sweats, they were still like pajamas. That is not

something to wear outside of your house, which was weird. No worries, I got used to it. I do it all the time now.

As evidenced in many interviews for this study, some participants have expressed their sexuality, perceived gender identities, in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday, through their own narratives of their in-sport dress and appearance practices, FCVAs may feel the need to negotiate, maintain, or create gender identity, or at least establish their gender identity. Amy shared a memory of dress and how she reflectively understands her gender identity and sexuality to be what it is today. Particularly, she remembers sport as the activity in her life when she was confused and was uncertain as to why she did not have the desire to wear feminine clothes.

For Amy, being active and athletic growing up were perceived characteristics about herself that she felt informed her of her gender identity. She recalls dress, dressing up, and dresses as acts and objects that she did not associate with as a young, active, adolescent female, as noted here:

I think a lot of it was my activity. I was a little troublemaker and I got into everything. It's hard to get into things when you are wearing dresses. I remember my mom caught me once, I was probably three, four years old and I was wearing my brother's tuxedo. And at that point, and I brought this up to her not too long ago, and I was like, she could've decided to do two things: she could've been like, 'no, little girls wear dresses, little boys wear suits,' but she said, it's just the kind of the thing, you don't know how you're going to react until the situation comes to say something. Which way are you going to say it? Will it be real emotion that comes out? And she said, 'Oh, look at you! You're so cute, you look really good in that suit,' and then she said, she took it one step further and said, 'you actually look better in that suit than your brother.'

Remembering how she dressed when she was younger is important to Amy as it assists in her understanding of herself and who she has become, as she reflects upon her resistance to wear dresses as a child, below:

I was probably 12, I lied to my dad that all of my dresses were dirty and I wanted to wear jeans or pants...he was fighting me on it at first, but probably getting

caught up in the giddiness of the Sunday morning and he said, ‘fine, it just won’t happen again.’ And I never wore a dress again after that week. (laughs)...I was excited but I don’t know if it was so much, and you know a lot of this whole dress thing is a real confusing thing in my head based off of what I felt was important; based off of what I saw in society; or what my influences were or even sexuality. It’s really hard to look back and think, was that something just because I was a tomboy and I was more comfortable in pants? Or was that something just because I identified more with a masculine side I didn’t identify myself as that girl in dress? I didn’t really know at that age which one it was. All I knew is that I didn’t want to wear dresses. And the one OK he gave me to wear pants I took it, and then there was never a conversation about it afterwards.

Throughout our conversation, Amy offered personal memories, specific to dress, appearance, and sport, as a means to convey messages about herself that she did not think about, prior to our conversation. In her next statement, she opens up to her current realization about discussing her formative years playing sports and her ambivalence to her dress and appearance practices:

I never at any point, when I was young, really thought that by wearing pants that it meant that I was choosing a team, it was just more so, what I was into. And I was into a lot of sports and you didn’t wear skirts when you played sports. I liked to play outside with the neighbor kids on my bikes and do stuff like that. And so, that was 90% of my life was, to be able to be persistent, and now we are going to throw you into a dress and you’re going to have to act girl-like was really confusing when all you were doing was 90% everything else. So I think that’s kind of where it came from. It wasn’t so much my parents telling me I had to do this and I had to do that. Honestly, my parents didn’t tell me and I had to do a lot of things very often in my life. So it was just more so what my comfort level was or what naughty activity I was digging myself into.

More specifically, volleyball is not only an activity Amy participated in, it was a point in her life, when she transitioned from playing her first two years at community college to university, as a time for personal discovery and understanding who she is, today, as noted here:

I always knew I was [lesbian]. But I never, I mean, right now, there’s so much publicity, media, internet, TV, to where you can see people that are like that. So I think kids, now a ways, in a lot of ways, have it a lot easier but when I, I mean as far as my first memories are, I always knew that I was different. I think when you’re that age, for me, there wasn’t a sexual identity, at all...I mean I was

curious with my body and other peoples' bodies. But just because they were bodies and they were bodies that weren't mine or looked like mine...My mom never had that, 'let me show you how to put makeup on.' She never did that once. She kind of takes that as a knock on her and that maybe I wouldn't have been a lesbian if she made me do more feminine type things growing up. But I just always wanted to play sports and I always wanted to be like my brothers and be like my dad and all that. But I also know a lot of girls who are straight do the same thing. That's just where my attention went...I wanted to be a Division I [volleyball] athlete and I wanted to play sports. That's where my energy was and once I started attaining those things, it kind of freed up that brain power to focus on, you know, the emotional stuff that's important to me, that I may not have even uncovered. And then that was just it, when I went to Louisiana, I could be whomever I wanted and no one was going to say, 'You're gay. You're straight. You're this or you're that.' But I can be whatever.

Ioana expands upon an example that was used earlier in theme two to demonstrate agency. Ioana refers to sport as a time she remembers negotiating her identity. She remembers when she moved to the U.S. from Romania to play collegiate volleyball as a time to break out of her masculine identity, as noted below:

When I came to college...my hair was this long (she shows me a picture of her with a short, pixie haircut). I never wore makeup. All the clothes that I was wearing, I had baggy jeans, shirts with funny messages, there was nothing about me that would say "woman"...I didn't even own dresses or skirts until I came to the States and the only reason why I started doing that, because this mentality in the South, you know the way I presented myself to them, they were like, 'oh my God, you're so weird,' and everyone was so convinced that I was gay because of my clothes and my hair. So I said, 'OK fine, I guess it's time for me to grow my hair.' You know, but I mean even now, I am wearing different clothes now. I've definitely changed but I'm still kind of, if I'm not comfortable, I'm not going to do it. I'd rather be comfortable.

Here, Ioana reflects upon her transition from Romania to the U.S. to play collegiate volleyball as a time when she negotiated and created a new identity. As inferred by Ioana's previous statement, Ioana used volleyball as a time to shift her gender role identity, as understood by her dress and appearance practices, and as influenced by social and cultural changes from one country to another.

In our conversation, Eliane frequently described the difference between in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday contexts. It is my understanding that because Eliane had her first child at the age of 16, in Brazil, her mentality about playing volleyball in college was more about gaining an education and career for the future, where her position, echoes similarly to Bonnie's, as she too, is a mother. Even so, Eliane's experience as an FCVA was unique because no other participant mentioned having a toddler child upon entering college. The importance of understanding contexts and shifts in identity are demonstrated by Eliane, here:

Thinking all the way back, I had, it's like I had two lives. I had my volleyball team and once I was out of that, there would be me...I would still go out, dressing up, doing the make-up, all of that stuff. It was completely unrelated to the volleyball, so I have not two lives, but I separated my activities like that. Instead of trying to make that all be who I was, but that was the activity I was participating in...I didn't have that much of social activities. That was something I had to make a sacrifice [for] you know since I already had a family when I was in college with work and all this stuff. The social life, that's something that I sacrificed, but what I had seen from my teammates, they were rocking and rolling. You couldn't even tell who they were because they were just like, just like a normal people, just like any other girls on campus who were going out, so they would put on their make-up, put their dress, their heels, and just go have fun. Not really, there was nothing, they wouldn't go out with the uniform or anything that sports related stuff, just their regular, cute, nice clothes.

Some participants mentioned ways in which they felt they were stereotyped, due to their dress and appearance choices. Even though participants were FCVAs aware of their perceived sexuality and gender identity, they felt that they were stereotyped as athletes due to their dress and appearance choices when not playing in their gameday uniform.

Kim W plays professional volleyball and basketball and mentioned how she receives sexuality and gender stereotype when she is playing basketball. She said, “

...During basketball season...because most of the girls are lesbian, you get that stereotype, because of what you're wearing and how you're wearing it and what you're doing [playing basketball]..." And she also mentioned when she wears her in-sport volleyball dress (e.g., sweatpants) she feels that her sexuality and gender identity are questioned, previously noted in theme two.

Jessica recalled a memory, while she was playing volleyball in college, that regarded her dress and appearance and being stereotyped, below:

There were times, so, I think, I'm trying to think, there's a lot of different times, where I felt I got stereotyped. I think of one example off the top of my head. So I would always wear basketball shorts. Basketball shorts were just really comfortable. Like and my roommate was also a volleyball player and was probably my size and we stayed in a dorm. We were in a private dorm, we weren't in a dorm with the rest of the athletes, believe it or not, we were in this private dorm that was kind of off campus, freshmen year. So her and I would walk around in basketball shorts, like we go down in the cafeteria, we do laundry, and we would be hanging out in our basketball shorts. And remembered that there were like five people on our floor that thought we were lesbians because we wore basketball shorts. I had, like, a boyfriend the whole time and I could of sworn people saw me with the boyfriend, but for some reason, like we were just thought of as the lesbian volleyball girls. Yeah, it doesn't make sense. I remember that used to drive me crazy. And I still rock basketball shorts, because I find them very comfortable, but I don't think I'll ever wear basketball shorts out. Like, so I'll rock them around my house and stuff, but I don't think and I've never gone to the grocery store with my basketball shorts on, since college. I never thought if that was because of that or not? But I always wear my short shorts when I'm out and my basketball shorts when I'm at my house.

Many of the participants expressed identity conflict through perceived meanings of components of in-sport dress, especially clothes borrowed from other sports, such as basketball. It is apparent that there are appropriated meanings of dress understood by members of the group, in this case, female athletes, and based on the way an individual looks, others determine and stereotype on the perceived identity of the sport uniform. Evenson (2010) remarks that judgment is placed on individuals who wear dress and appear a certain way, and that dress and appearance manifest stereotypes and social

conflicts. Yet, members of a culture share a common understanding and meaning as to why clothing is worn, how it is worn, and how it should be perceived.

Many of the participants mentioned dress as a symbolic means to communicate to others of the gender identity of the sport and its participants, in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday. For example, Kim W demonstrated her perception of ways that female volleyball athletes dress, everyday, to portray the overall gender identity of its participants, "...Volleyball, volleyball players tend to be more heels and dresses, short, shorts, and skirts, and whatever..."

Jessica also mentioned how when she began college to play volleyball, she felt that her perceived gender identity coincided with the expected gender identity her sport fulfilled, as noted by some of the other participants. Here, Jessica demonstrated how body style and out-of-sport/everyday dress and appearance established perceived gender identity of female collegiate volleyball, while addressing her femininity,

So I think I, I think I struggled a lot, because I was always bigger than the other girls. I was always bigger until I actually went to college. College was the first time where I actually felt like a normal person. Because even when I was a setter for my high school team, like I was a six-foot setter; my middle was probably five-six/five-seven, like even I was always the bigger person and I never really felt, I wanted to be feminine. But I almost felt stupid trying to be feminine, because I would just be so much bigger. And then when I got to college, that was the first time I've ever wore heels was when I was in my freshmen year of college. It was the first time I really like dressed up to go out. Like I think it was because I was, because I felt normal, because I was around fourteen other girls that they were all my height, if not bigger than me, that we'd all wear heels out together. And it felt almost more normal to be feminine, because I was around girls that were all my size. Like I wasn't the big girl anymore. I was almost petite for my team.

Amy noted the importance of her subject position as an FCVA when she transitioned from playing community college volleyball to NCAA Division I volleyball, while also transitioning from the Northwestern portion of the U.S. to the Gulf Coast

southeastern region. The use of dress and appearance, for Amy, was essential at this pivotal time where she felt that she could use dress and appearance to express her identity, through negotiation, noted below:

I remember my first year at UL, we had to wear dresses. And I'm wearing these Doc Marten sandals with this little awkward dress. I was so uncomfortable. It was also my first week in Louisiana, too. So there was a whole lot about me, it was right around the time where I was, you know, coming to terms with being a lesbian. So I had a lot going on in my little head. But if you look back, I looked like a total retard.

FCVAs use their past and present understandings of dress and appearance to assist in their subject positions and identity formation as individuals and as a collective group, female collegiate volleyball athletes.

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSION

Analysis

A phenomenological approach was used to understand how twelve women create, maintain, and negotiate identities, specific to sport and gender, by using dress and appearance as a vehicle to inform meanings, relationships, and practices these women have with their in-sport and everyday dress and appearances. This chapter seeks to illuminate two things, 1) the impact of participants' personal narratives of their experiences with in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices had on me as the researcher, and 2) perspectives on the participants' narratives that support for a deeper knowledge and understanding of FCVAs' dress, appearance, and identities (sport and gender) and the ways in which they create, maintain, and negotiate their identities in the in-sport and everyday contexts.

In the previous chapter, the three themes of *female collegiate volleyball culture*, *subject formation*, and *performing female collegiate athlete identities* surfaced from twelve women's narratives and embodiment of past and current concerns and issues FCVAs faced and face on a daily basis in regards to the meanings, relationships, and dress and appearance practices, in-sport and everyday. The open, emergent, qualitative design used for this study assisted in the thematic development of the three emergent themes listed above and surpassed the level of inquiry in the research questions of: 1) how do dress and appearance practices influence FCVAs' perceived sport identity and gender identity? 2) what are the ways FCVAs use dress and appearance practices to express their sport identity and in-sport gender identity? and 3) how are FCVAs experiences with in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices, when they played

and currently, influential to their perceived sport identity and gender identity? Thus, leaving me with a myriad of considerations to address in this chapter.

The women are the actors of their stories and the voices of their experiences. They are in control of who they are, who they are becoming, who they want to become, when they wear what they wear, what they wear, and how they fashion, style, and dress themselves, to demonstrate their subject positions, past and presently. These women embraced an experience as collegiate volleyball athletes and have endured social, technological, cultural, and personal changes influencing the ways in which their bodies are fashioned, styled, and dressed; and it is my interpretation that is embedded in the participants' narratives of their perceptions of self, as best understood by their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices.

Even though the women's responses to my interview questions were their perspectives, they were interpreted by me and through a lens that has also experienced the FCVA culture, as I was, at one point in time, an FCVA. My study focused on the lived embodied experiences of the twelve women, while attempting to understand and document first-hand accounts of perceptions of in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices and their influence on identity. I then attempted to deconstruct the FCVA culture, as understood by the participants' accounts with dress and appearance across a time period of 1975 to present, while also addressing the social and cultural elements that influence the dress and appearance of female collegiate volleyball. The aforementioned may be beneficial to female volleyball product design teams when considering the personal psychological and sociocultural needs of the participants, as well as understanding how FCVA dress and appearance practices have evolved and changed

over time, and its significance to understanding individual's interpretations of meanings and relationships of dress, appearance, and identity, specific to sport and gender.

Before, during, and after the analysis of the participant interviews, I reflected upon my subject position within the female collegiate volleyball culture, and how I too, could be interviewed for my own study. Though my subject position could be of question for a bias analysis of the data, I found it to be a positive benefit to my study. Due in part, mostly, because many of the women, some of whom I played college volleyball with, others who knew of my subject position, felt more connected and open to discuss their deep and intimate memories and recollections of their own subject positions (e.g., gender identity, sport identity, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality) and how they became who they are today. Rather, my involvement in my volleyball community contributed to this study in seeking a semi-snowball sample and getting in contact with women whom I have never played volleyball with or known personally, until I began the data collection process. In turn, I became a sounding board for these women to reflect upon issues and concerns that were unthought-of and unheard of when they played their collegiate years and presently, both while being an agent in their self-discovery of who they are and how they became who they are today, due to their participation in the sport of female collegiate volleyball. Through my own experiences with playing collegiate volleyball and dressing myself for sport and everyday, I could relate to and empathize with their experiences. Even though I felt deeply connected to each individual participant on some level, I was able to separate myself from their lived experiences, as each individual shared struggles and tribulations of their subject positions that I never encountered or embraced, as understood by their dress and appearance practices. The second part of this

chapter offers a way to understand how in-sport female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance practices formulate sport identity and gender identity.

Various discoveries from my study informed me that female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance is a non-verbal communicator of sport and gender identities. One specific discovery was how FCVAs use dress and appearance as a means to distinguish the sport's identity from other female collegiate sports. Dress, appearance, and body style of FCVAs is specific and informs onlookers that individuals who participate in the sport also partake in certain ways of being and becoming an FCVA. I also found that the evolution and change in dress and appearance of FCVAs coincided with perceived social, cultural, and technological change, while personal change of participants' perceptions of self reshaped their perceptions of dress and appearance practices of FCVAs then and now.

Another unique discovery of this study was that FCVAs' in-sport dress and appearance served as a psychological function on their performance. For instance, uniform fit, uniform style, uniform fabric, body shape, and bodily awareness were apparent in their recollections of their in-sport dress and appearance; their subject positions were also shaped by the aforementioned design elements of the uniform, and so was the context in which the participants wore certain components of their in-sport dress (e.g., practice, game, or out-of-sport) that were important in their collective identity as FCVAs. I found that the importance of appearing and looking like an individual was a part of the female collegiate volleyball culture and participating in appearance practices was important in identity development and subject positioning the sport of female collegiate volleyball as a feminine sport; the dress and appearance practices were

important in distinguishing the sport from other female sports and appropriating appearance behaviors to be specific to the sport of female collegiate volleyball.

The women created individual ways of becoming an FCVA if their identities were not salient prior to entering collegiate volleyball life. In a similar fashion, FCVAs shape their sport identity and sport's gender identity through expected dress codes set in place over decades, since the inception of women's volleyball in 1974. The need for individuals' to negotiate or create individualism was less important to them. Rather, it was important to be intimidating to their opponents by incorporating uniformity in the in-sport dress and appearance practices.

In addition, I found that the in-sport gender identity of female collegiate volleyball, as best understood by the sport's dress and appearance practices, is a feminine identity. Some participants expressed their resilience to conform to the perceived feminine identity of female collegiate volleyball, despite their perceived everyday gender identity. It would be difficult to conclude that all FCVAs maintain a feminine identity, in the context of their everyday lives, outside of female collegiate volleyball. However, the most notable factors that shaped and influenced individuals' tastes, behaviors, preferences, uniform satisfaction, bodily awareness, as understood through their everyday and in-sport dress and appearance narratives, were nationality, race, ethnicity, coaches, and family.

Another interesting discovery of this research was that individuals' perceived gender identity and sexual preferences did not influence satisfaction with in-sport uniforms. Rather, they negotiated their out-of-sport/everyday gender identity to fulfill a perceived feminine identity, while playing their sport, as the individuals accepted the

expected gender role identity of FCVAs. Some participants played the sport to validate their out-of-sport/everyday gender identity, without feeling as though they have to negotiate their gender identity to play a female sport; they played female collegiate volleyball, because they perceived the sport to be feminine, due to its' dress and appearance. Also, most participants identified female collegiate volleyball as being feminine, when compared to other female sports.

Because the NCAA and an institution's athletic administration tend to regulate female collegiate volleyball administration and coaching staff, the dress and appearance of the sport is uniform, and allows very little leeway to stray away from uniform standards. I discovered, through the participants' narratives and their voices, that the dress and appearance practices in the sport of female collegiate volleyball is important. The ways in which individuals used agency-choice-in their in-sport appearance indicated dress rituals created by the individual and as a collective group. For instance, ritualistic behaviors, such as wearing the same sports bra every match, layering multiple socks, wearing one's own spandex, tucking in their practice t-shirts, wearing towels in the spandex bottom waistband, and selecting uniform styles and sizes, were ways in which individuals added individual agency to their uniformed appearance. More importantly, individuals used their agency to have a sense of self, while wearing their uniform, through dress and appearance practices, such as wearing makeup and styling their hair. This study provides a perspective on how FCVAs' in-sport dress and appearance practices shape and influence the sport's identity, specific to gender identity, which the topic has not been explored and has received little attention. A lack of attention to FCVA's dress, appearance, and perceptions of identity, specific to sport and gender, has

an array of causes. Many female collegiate athlete studies have regarded uniform satisfaction, fit, body shape analysis, race, body image, and purchasing behavior for the non-NCAA regulated athlete. Where also, most female collegiate athletic apparel studies did not use a heuristic interpretive approach to understand the narratives and voices these women provide for understanding their dress and appearance practices and identities in both in-sport and everyday contexts. Even so, the existing apparel research on female collegiate athletes is not zeitgeist and should be evaluated with the ever-so-changing social, cultural, and technological changes taking place. Many studies do not even consider FCVAs and how they create, maintain, and negotiate meanings, relationships, and practices of their in-sport dress and appearance, by understanding their personal, lived, embodied experiences. With the popularity of growth and development in both indoor and outdoor volleyball programs and the changing sociocultural environment and technological advancements forces the athletic apparel industry to keep up with the changing needs of its consumers.

Implications

This section addresses some implications that connect FCVAs, identity, and apparel. The implications will be discussed under the headings of (a) female collegiate volleyball and apparel design, (b) fashion and cultural studies, (c) interpretive heuristic approach to study FCVAs, and (d) gender studies.

Implications for Female Collegiate Volleyball and Apparel Design

Valuable information that may be taken from the lived embodied experiences of these women, both individually and as a collective group, can lead to a better synthesis of design of in-sport female collegiate volleyball uniforms by taking into consideration 1) a

particular body style and physique, while paying attention to individuals who feel as though their body style and physique is not congruent to the overall perceived cultural body style and physique, 2) more specifically, adjusting standards of size, fit, and length of gameday uniform tops and bottoms, 3) creating a practice uniform top that emulates the gameday uniform top to create a balanced psychological function that enhances performance that individuals practice to perform, 3) developing a 3-D scanning system to create prototype garments for individuals and personal sizing and paying attention to particular needs of individuals, 4) incorporating women's fit practice shirts, rather than men's uniforms, to be more sport specific, 5) incorporate fibers and fabrics that are conducive to the physical properties of the sport (e.g., wicking, cooling, drying, absorption) that will provide comfort, fit, and uniform satisfaction, 6) pay attention to sociocultural changes and how those changes may influence dress and appearance of in-sport uniform, while considering the cyclical nature of uniform styles, 7) incorporate gender specific fit and sizing into the in-sport dress, when FCVAs are expected to dress in the out-of-sport context (e.g., sweatpants, windbreakers, jackets, t-shirts), 8) document the history of female collegiate volleyball dress and appearance.

Fashion and Cultural Studies Research Implications

The women of this study evidence the disconnect between what they wear for their sport and why they wear their in-sport dress and appearance. Even so, the participants create, maintain, and negotiate their everyday selves to fulfill a perceived expected sport gender role, understood by their dress and appearance practices. In brief, the sport of female collegiate volleyball becomes a part of an individual's identity. With this in mind, a further exploration of the ways women dress for their everyday lives

serves as an excellent reference point for one to understand how their subject positions shift from one role to another (e.g., student athlete, to athlete, to working professional, to mother of volleyball athletes, to coaching FCVAs). These women have been products of the changing sociocultural environment and the technological developments in the realm of women's athletics; some of them are currently endure the changes as professional athletes, where some of the women are working professionals who play recreational, and others are coaches and witnesses to the sociocultural changes through their peers. All of them are still active in purchasing volleyball apparel for themselves, adorning themselves, as well as others for sport and provide insightful ways in which marketers of the sport and apparel designers can adhere to sociocultural and psychological needs. These women have embodied change and are products of their environment, which makes their perspective viable when considering designing apparel for the needs of those who have experienced and continue to experience sociocultural change.

Implications for Interpretive Heuristic Approaches to Study FCVAs

Future research involving FCVAs, apparel design, dress and appearance, and identity should continue to explore the influence of dress and appearance practices, in both in-sport and everyday contexts, on individual and collective group experience, with special attention being addressed to how subject positions influence identity. More specifically, how one positions herself within her cultural context over a period of time would be of interest to explore, while understanding how place, space, and time influence subject positions, as well as age and generation. Exploring the ways women experience a shift in their subject positions, throughout various stages in their lives, would also assist in better understanding how women dress and appear for and identify with female

volleyball. Also, understanding their current involvement with the sport and how their shifting subject positions and conceptual ways of understanding social, cultural, and technological changes influence their identity at various throughout their emerging adult and adult years. We need to know more about the constructs of female collegiate volleyball culture, dress and appearance, and how individual perceptions influence collective ways of knowing and becoming, while considering factors that are out of participants' control. Rather, to understand how individuals interpret their subject positions.

Implications for Gender Studies

As a result of this study, understanding memories and factions of participants' youth, adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood and how sport, dress and appearance, shaped their memories of identity and becoming who they are was implicit. Over time and space, it would be interesting to explore how gender subject positions evolve and change as understood by in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices. Additionally, exploring the ways that society, culture, and technology shape our understanding of gendered ways of dressing and appearing could assist in building knowledge of volleyball culture, for both men and women, children, adolescents, emerging adults, and adults. Expanding upon how in-sport dress and appearances inform a culture on ways of being and role expectations would be beneficial to understand how dress and appearance have the tendency to gender sport. While it would be beneficial to deconstruct the meanings behind dressing and appearing a certain way for sport and the underlying implications of gender studies in regards to fashioning, dressing, styling, and appearing as an act of 'femininity' in an athletic realm that is implicit of being

‘masculine’. A collaborative, interdisciplinary effort to explore gender, of sport and dress, by understanding the “complexities within and across cultural contexts,” inclusive of both/and/or ways of thinking would provide for a non-binary (masculine vs. feminine) way of understanding and thinking about FCVAs.

In summary, to connect meaning, relationships, dress and appearance practices, and identity we know a little amount from existing research. The participants’ narratives exemplified the correlation between the three themes of female collegiate volleyball culture, subject formation, and embodied identity as understood by their dress and appearances, in-sport and everyday, on both individual and collective levels. Thus, creating a multi-dimensional way of understanding their sport identity and gender identity, experienced over time and in two contexts. From individual perspectives, the three themes in this study have been deconstructed into subthemes and categories that inform essential ways to understand their identity, in regards to sport and gender. To provide depth in this area of research requires research to explore the questions that seek to answer the ‘hows’, ‘whys’, and ‘whats’ that create ways of understanding the meanings, relationships, processes, and practices behind FCVAs ways of dressing, appearing, and identifying as a culture. In a limited way, this study sought to bring forth the connection between dress, appearance, and identity from the perspective of the wearers, with a heuristic interpretive approach, also known as a phenomenological approach. Future research in this area may seek breadth for depth, by considering exploratory and phenomenological ways of gaining information from cultural participants in order to correlate dress, appearance, and identity in a manner that illuminates embodied ways of understanding the self. Therefore, for future research, I urge

researchers to consider incorporating the questions of ‘how’, ‘why’, and ‘what’, that warrant narratives from the cultural participants’ voices.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this exploratory and interpretive study explicates the gaps in current knowledge about FCVA’s dress and appearance practices and perceptions of sport identity and gender identity, who are, in someway, currently involved with the sport and the deeper meaning of dressing and appearing for sport and their everyday lives, and how dress and appearance influence sport and gender identity as well as shape their subject positions. The use of a phenomenological approach enabled me to extract the connection between dress and appearance practices and identity of twelve FCVAs in two contexts, in-sport and everyday, and over a lifetime period, with a specific concentration during their collegiate years of playing volleyball. The approach brought about more issues than I expected the participants to deliver. Discussing important topics of dress, appearance, sport, and identity allowed for issues of subjectivity, agency, and performativity to take the stage in understanding the crucial ways the individuals of this study conveyed their understandings of *who they are*, through the sport of volleyball and their in-sport and everyday dress and appearance practices.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Exemption from Institutional Review Board

IRB Application Project Description

The purpose of this investigation is to explore how female collegiate volleyball athletes create, maintain, and negotiate identity, specific to gender role, as portrayed by their dress and appearance in the context of their everyday in-sport lives. In addition, the purpose is to understand and identify self-perceptions and collective perceptions of gender role identity and dress and appearance.

Prior to initiating the investigation, participants will be provided with the participation to consent (Appendix A) and asked to sign. The researcher will conduct semi-structured interviews with each participant that will vary in length (expected to be within a one to two hour range) with an average time of about an hour and one half. Interviews will be conducted individually in academic advising sessions subscribed by participants' academic athletic advisor, whom they meet with on a weekly basis. The interview schedule will be based on the essential components to the study as expressed in the research questions: (a) creation, maintenance, and negotiation of identities, (b) self-perceptions of in-sport dress, appearance, and identity (gender role), (c) in-sport dress and appearance and the construction of gender role identities, (d) meanings of gender role identity and in-sport dress and appearance, and (e) influence of collective and individual meanings of gender role identity on in-sport dress and appearance and identity (please refer to Appendix B for a complete list of interview questions). Immediately following the interview questions, the participants will be free to leave. If a participant has further questions, the researcher will be available immediately following the interview and upon request.

Following each interview, the researcher will analyze the interview notes and transcriptions and transcribe the interviews verbatim. After the interview, the data will be transcribed in the form of text: written transcripts. Records of transcriptions and digital recordings will be kept in a locked file on the researcher's computer data base and a hard copy in a file cabinet to which only the investigator has access. The digital recordings will be destroyed upon the completion of the data analysis.

Application for Exemption from Institutional Oversight

Unless qualified as meeting the specific criteria for exemption from Institutional Review Board (IRB) oversight, ALL LSU research projects using living humans as subjects, or samples, or data obtained from humans, directly or indirectly, with or without their consent, must be approved or exempted in advance by the LSU IRB. This form helps the PI determine if a project may be exempted, and is used to request an exemption.

Applicant, Please fill out the application in its entirety and include the completed application as well as parts A-F, listed below, when submitting to the IRB. Once the application is completed, please submit two copies of the completed application to the IRB Office or to a member of the Human Subjects Screening Committee. Members of this committee can be found at <http://research.lsu.edu/Center%20Public%20Policy%20and%20Institutional%20Review%20Board%20Item29737.html>



Institutional Review Board
Dr. Robert Mathews, Chair
131 David Boyd Hall
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
P: 225.578.6692
F: 225.578.5983
irb@lsu.edu
lsu.edu/irb

A Complete Application Includes All of the Following:

- (A) Two copies of this completed form and two copies of parts B thru F.
- (B) A brief project description (adequate to evaluate risks to subjects and to explain your responses to Parts 1&2)
- (C) Copies of all instruments to be used.
*If this proposal is part of a grant proposal, include a copy of the proposal and all recruitment material.
- (D) The consent form that you will use in the study (see part 3 for more information.)
- (E) Certificate of Completion of Human Subjects Protection Training for all personnel involved in the project, including students who are involved with testing or handling data, unless already on file with the IRB. Training link: <http://php.cnhtraining.com/users/login.php>
- (F) IRB Security of Data Agreement: <http://research.lsu.edu/files/secure29774.pdf>

1) Principal Investigator: Lisa McRoberts

Rank: Assistant Professor

Dept: Human Ecology

Ph: 225-578-3957

E-mail: mcrob1@lsu.edu

2) Co-Investigator(s): please include department, rank, phone, and e-mail for each

*If student, please identify and name supervising professor in this space

Dr. Loren Marks, Human Ecology, Associate Professor, 225-578-1723, L.Marks@agcenter.lsu.edu
Jessica Pattison, Ph.D. Candidate, 337-591-6007, jpatt13@lsu.edu

IRB #	EAD91	LSU proposal #
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Complete Application	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Human Subjects Training	

3) Project Title:

A Phenomenological Study of Female Collegiate Volleyball Athletes' Perceptions of Their Gender Roles Identities, Dress and Appearance in the Sport Context

Study Exempted by:
Dr. Robert C. Mathews, Chair
Institutional Review Board
Louisiana State University
203 B-1 David Boyd Hall
225-578-6692 | www.lsu.edu/irb
Exemption Expires: _____

4) Proposal? (yes or no)

No

If Yes, LSU Proposal Number

Also, if YES, either

☐ This application completely matches the scope of work in the grant

OR

☐ More IRB Applications will be filed later

5) Subject pool (e.g. Psychology students)

FEMALE COLLEGIATE ATHLETES AT LSU

*Circle any "vulnerable populations" to be used: (children <18; the mentally impaired, pregnant women, the aged, or the ill). Projects with incarcerated persons cannot be exempted.

6) PI Signature

Lisa McRoberts

Date

8/5/12

(no per signatures)

I certify my responses are accurate and complete. If the project scope or design is later changed, I will resubmit for review. I will obtain written approval from the Authorized Representative of all non-LSU institutions in which the study is conducted. I also understand that it is my responsibility to maintain copies of all consent forms at LSU for three years after completion of the study. If I leave LSU before that time the consent forms should be preserved in the Departmental Office.

Screening Committee Action: Exempted <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Not Exempted <input type="checkbox"/>	Category/Paragraph: 2
Signed Consent Waived? Yes / No	
Reviewer: Mathews	Signature: <i>Robert Mathews</i> Date: 8/17/12

Appendix B

Invitation to Participate

Invitation to Participate

(Date)

Louisiana State University
Division of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising
Human Ecology Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70806

Dear (Participant),

I hope this message finds you well. My name is Jessica Pattison and I am a Ph.D. candidate at Louisiana State University in apparel design. I would like to explain the reason for which I am contacting you. Your name came to mind when I was thinking of my female volleyball network and community. I believe you are a valuable source for fashion and apparel behavior, specific to volleyball dress and apparel. I am working on my dissertation, which seeks to explore the facets of gender and identity of female collegiate volleyball athletes. Moreover, how dress and appearance practices are used to create, maintain, and negotiate gender identity, while also understanding the in-sport dress and appearance practices from the perspective of a former female collegiate volleyball athlete, such as yourself.

The goal is to attain a confidential and conversational interview via Skype, telephone, at your home, or a place that is convenient and comfortable for you to share personal insights, narratives (example: stories, memories), and perspectives on how dress and appearance practices and meanings about your in-sport collegiate volleyball clothing. The responses you provide may be helpful to my research project, future scholars, athletic apparel designers and manufacturers, athletic administration and viewers, women who may share or have difficulty expressing and understanding her identity.

If you would like to be a valuable participant in my study and interviewed via Skype, telephone, at your home, or in a place that is convenient and comfortable for you, I will need an hour, two hours maximum, of your time. Pending on your decision to participate, I will send you a letter explaining the interview procedure. If you feel as though you may not be comfortable to share with me in this process, please feel free to forward any contact who you feel would be a good match for my project.

It is with gratitude I thank you for your time and possible participation. I look forward to hearing from you. Feel free to contact me via Facebook, telephone at (337)-501-6002, or email jpatti3@lsu.edu

Best Regards, Jessica Pattison, Ph.D. candidate

Appendix C
Letter of Explanation of Interview Procedure

Letter of Explanation of Interview Procedure

(Date)

Louisiana State University
Division of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising
Human Ecology Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70806

Dear (Participant),

Thank you for agreeing to be a participant in my research project on former female collegiate volleyball athletes and their perceptions of gender identity, in-sport dress and appearance practices and meanings. As a female and former collegiate volleyball athlete, you have experienced the transition into college athletics, endured the experience, and now, more than likely, have had the opportunity to reflect upon your experience in college as a former collegiate volleyball athlete. With that in mind, I would like for you to reflect upon how you may remember the importance of your in-sport dress and appearance practices and meanings associated with them that could have helped you define yourself. These experiences are not limited to the college years.

For our conversational interview, whether via Skype, telephone, or in-person, I ask that you show me (or describe) what you remember of your in-sport wardrobe. Feel free to collect the material items, photographs, images that accurately represent your experiences and meanings. In addition, I ask that you show me (or describe) your favorite outfit and accessories that best represent you.

Prior to the beginning of our interview, I will provide a Statement of Informed Consent for your participation and ask for your signature. At this time, I will further explain the conditions of your participation and ask you some basic personal information questions. Thereafter, we will look over the outfits, photographs, images, or materials that accurately portray your in-sport collegiate athletic experience. With your permission, I will ask to have a copy of the photographs or images, or take a photograph of your outfits. The photographs provided to me will be used for the purpose of my research study only. We will then proceed to the informal, yet rich discussions regarding your experiences with gender identity, in-sport dress and appearance practices and meanings, and use your outfits, photographs, and images as prompts for conversation points.

Thank you for your time, consideration, and cooperation to make this study possible.

If you have any further questions about your participation and the preliminary steps for the interview, I will gladly address your concerns.

Feel free to call me at (337)-501-6002; email: jpatti3@lsu.edu; or Facebook me at [Jessica.pattison.779@facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com/Jessica.pattison.779). I appreciate your support and participation. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Jessica Pattison

Appendix D

Statement of Informed Consent

Statement of Informed Consent

FEMALE COLLEGIATE VOLLEYBALL ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS OF IDENTITY, SPECIFIC TO SPORT AND GENDER, AS UNDERSTOOD BY THEIR IN-SPORT AND EVERYDAY DRESS AND APPEARANCE PRACTICES

You are invited to participate in a doctoral dissertation research project that invites you to share your personal views, opinions, beliefs, and experiences related to gender role, identity, and dress and appearance behavior in regards to your in-sport clothing and out-of-sport/everyday clothing choices.

The project is being conducted by Jessica Ann Pattison, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising, School of Human Ecology, College of Agriculture, Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. My advisors are Dr. Lisa Barona McRoberts and Dr. Loren Marks.

It is with great gratitude that I ask you to read this form, express any concerns with questions you may have before agreeing to participate in my dissertation research project. The purpose of this study is to explore how female collegiate volleyball athletes maintain or negotiate gender role identities in the in-sport context and in the out-of-sport context as portrayed by their in-sport dress and appearance and out-of-sport/everyday clothing choices and the social and psychological factors that influence their creation, maintenance, and negotiation of sport identity and gender identity, as experienced by the athlete.

As a researcher and former collegiate volleyball athlete, my interest in this research project is not to expose your personal preferences, rather it is intended to illuminate my curiosity on how we as female athletes create, maintain, and negotiate gender role identities as understood and seen by our in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday clothing.

Procedure

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following:

1. Partake in the semi-structured in-depth interview; answer the questions to the best of your knowledge and ability; expand on your experiences; and share any of your opinions, experiences, and thoughts related to the interview questions.
2. Relax and wear whatever you are most comfortable wearing.
3. Be digitally recorded during the guided focus group interview.

For any personal reason, you may ask to stop or remit your participation in the interview or digital recording at any point in time during the interview. The information and perspectives you share during your interview are for the purpose of this study and may be used: a) as rich information to account for data in my doctoral dissertation research project, b) as information for academic and scholarly journals, articles, and/or

professional presentations. You will be asked to review the interview transcription of your in-depth interview, see and edit any information that may be misleading or inaccurate on your behalf, and provide feedback to me in regards to any edits/changes you wish to be made on your behalf of the in-depth interview transcription.

Risk and Benefits of Participating in the Study

There are no known physical, emotional, or psychological risks involved with your participation in this study. Your knowledge, beliefs, and experiences as they relate to gender, identity, dress and appearance in-sport and out-of-sport/everyday lives of female collegiate volleyball athletes will contribute to building a knowledge base to the scholarly field of dress and appearance.

Confidentiality

The records indicating your participation in this study will be kept private. In keeping with your privacy rights and confidentiality of your personal name and information, you will chose your desired 'interviewee' name when you review your transcription for accuracy and representation. Upon completion of the research, the records will be kept in a locked file on my computer data base and hard copy in a file cabinet. My doctoral dissertation research advisor, Minor doctoral dissertation research advisor, supervisor, and I will be the only ones to have access to the data.

Contact Inquiries

Again, my name is Jessica Ann Pattison. Please, feel free to contact me at any time with any of your questions and concerns in regards to your participation in my doctoral dissertation research project. My immediate contact information is 337-501-6002 (c); 225-578-5787 (o); home address: 9348 Kingcrest Parkway, Baton Rouge, LA 70810; e-mail: jpatti3@lsu.edu

Upon completion of this consent form, you will receive a copy for your records.

Statement of Consent

Having read the above information and obtained any answers to my questions and/or concerns, I hereby grant my consent to participate in this doctoral dissertation research study, directed by Jessica Ann Pattison, Ph.D. candidate.

Print Your Name: _____

Your Signature: _____

Date: _____

My Signature as the Principal Investigator: _____

Date: _____

Institutional Review Board

Dr. Robert Mathews, Chair

203 B-1 David Boyd Hall

Baton Rouge, LA 70803

P: 225-578-8692

F: 225-578-6792 irb@lsu.edu, lsu.edu/irb

Appendix E
Inquiry to Disclose Identity

Inquiry to Disclose Identity

(Date)

Louisiana State University
Division of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising
Human Ecology Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70806

Dear (Participant),

I was wondering if you wanted to keep your name anonymous for my dissertation or if you were not opposed to disclosing your name and other personal information for the purpose of the study? It is completely up to you, whether you would like to offer your real identity, or not.

We can discuss in further detail if you have any questions. Feel free to call me at (337)-501-6002; email: jpatti3@lsu.edu; or Facebook me at: [Jessica.pattison.779@facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com/Jessica.pattison.779).

I appreciate your support and participation. Thank you.

Best,
Jessica Pattison

Appendix F
Statement of Informed Consent to Disclose Identity

Statement of Informed Consent to Disclose Identity

(Date)

Louisiana State University
Division of Textiles, Apparel Design, and Merchandising
Human Ecology Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70806

Dear (Participant),

To follow up per our previous conversation, you have granted me permission to reveal your identity for the purpose of the study.

By signing this form, you are agreeing to grant me permission to reveal your identity in my research, which includes your name, your current location (excludes physical address and telephone contact information), any schools that you participated in academic and athletic experiences, your personal preferences, etc.

Statement of Consent

Having read the above information and obtained any answers to my questions and/or concerns, I hereby grant my consent to reveal my identity in this doctoral dissertation research study, directed by Jessica Ann Pattison, Ph.D. candidate.

Print Your Name: _____

Your Signature: _____

Date: _____

My Signature as the Principal Investigator: _____

Date: _____

Appendix G

Guided Interview Questions

Guided Interview Questions

Semi-structured guided questions will be used for the interview process with participants. Each participant will be asked the same guiding questions and are at liberty to add any information they feel is representative of them. Follow-up questions may be asked by researcher and recorded in field notes that will be amended to the interview transcription and rubric upon first and initial transcription. The guiding questions are as follows:

1. Could you tell me about yourself, like your name, where you live, where you attended school, years you played volleyball, and whether you still play volleyball?
 - a. Your age?
 - b. Your perceived ethnicity ?
2. Would you tell me about your wardrobe as you see it today and what are your favorite articles of clothing, inclusive of jewelry, makeup, shoes, outfits, and style?
 - a. Tell me about a few of your favorite things you like to wear.
 - b. Where and when you would wear them.
3. What is your clothing of choice any other day of the week as if you were going out with your friends or family?
4. What are your experiences with clothing and sport? Do you have a particular memory/story from when you were playing volleyball and dressing for your sport?
5. Do your clothes define who you are?

6. Does volleyball define who you are? In what ways does it define you?
7. When you wear your in-sport uniforms, how do you feel?
8. If you got to choose your uniform, what would it look like?
9. Have people other than your teammates made comments about your uniforms?

VITA

Jessica Ann Pattison was born on June 25, in Northampton, Massachusetts and moved to Menomonie, Wisconsin before her first birthday. She is the third child of the late Ransom Stiles Pattison, and Jacqueline Marie Robeck. Her oldest sister, Jacqueline Christina Pattison obtained her Ph.D. and was in the middle of her second year of medical school when she was killed in an automobile accident in February 2008, which was Pattison's first year of graduate school at Louisiana State University. Her middle sister, Allison Marie Pattison, received her Ph.D. in English and is an assistant professor at a university in Alabama.

Pattison's widowed mother remarried in 1997. Shortly thereafter, she and her family relocated to Lafayette, Louisiana, where Pattison graduated from Lafayette High School in 2003. She was recruited to play NCAA Division-I volleyball and chose to be a Ragin' Cajun at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette on a full athletic scholarship. Pattison graduated with a B.S. in fashion design and merchandising, magna cum laude, and was the Outstanding Graduate in College of the Arts, in December 2006. She completed four years playing volleyball and completed her education in three and a half years. Upon completing her undergraduate education, she moved to New York City, New York to pursue a career in technical design in Knitwear at Lafayette 148; she worked there for seven months before returning to Louisiana to attend graduate school.

In August 2007, Pattison began her graduate degree in textiles, apparel design, and merchandising at Louisiana State University, where in 2008, reapplied and was accepted into the doctoral degree program. Pattison began playing beach volleyball, recreationally in 2008, and progressed to play professionally in 2012. She aspires to

continue playing at the professional level, while excelling as an assistant professor in apparel design. Pattison expects to graduate in December 2013 with a Doctor of Philosophy degree.