

**GAME, SET, WATCHED:  
GOVERNANCE, SOCIAL CONTROL AND  
SURVEILLANCE IN PROFESSIONAL TENNIS**

By

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## **Abstract**

Contrary to many major sporting leagues such as the NHL, NFL, NBA, and MLB, or the Olympic Games as a whole, the professional tennis industry has not been individually scrutinized in terms of governance, social control, and surveillance practices. This thesis presents an in-depth account of the major governing bodies of the professional tennis circuit with the aim of examining how they govern, control, constrain, and practice surveillance on tennis athletes and their bodies. Foucault's major theoretical concepts of disciplinary power, governmentality, and bio-power are found relevant today and can be enhanced by Rose's ethico-politics model and Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage. However, it is also shown how Foucault, Rose, and Haggerty and Ericson's different accounts of "modes of governing" perpetuate sociological predicaments of professional tennis players within late capitalism. These modes of surveillance are founded on a meritocracy based on the ATP and WTA rankings systems. A player's ranking affects how he or she is governed, surveilled, controlled, and even punished. Despite ostensibly promoting tennis athletes' health protection and wellbeing, the systems of surveillance, governance, and control rely on a biased and capitalistically-driven meritocracy that actually jeopardizes athletes' health and contributes to social class divisions, socio-economic inequalities, gender discrimination, and media pressure. Through the use of top-players' accounts, it is also shown how some players resist certain governing, controlling, and surveillance practices designed for their benefit, while others understand and accept the resultant constraints as part of their choice to be a professional tennis player.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ABP – Athlete Biological Passport

ADAMS – Anti-Doping Administration & Management System

ATP – Association of Tennis Professionals

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association

ITF – International Tennis Federation

TADP – Tennis Anti-Doping Program

TIU – Tennis Integration Unit

UTACP – Uniform Tennis Anti-Corruption Programme

WADA – World Anti-Doping Agency

WTA – Women’s Tennis Association

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

*“Only shooting stars break the mould.”* (Cash 2002: 333)

Where retired and former top-five professional tennis player Pat Cash ended his autobiography by quoting the band Smash Mouth in their song called “All Star”, I chose to begin with it. Whether it would be professional tennis players, other high-profile athletes, or even academics, in today’s society we seek to witness or find those shooting stars that break those Grand Slams records like Roger Federer did, or Michael Phelps becoming the most decorated Olympian of all times in 2012, or even Michel Foucault who forever changed the way we theorize the body today. Yet behind this stardom imagery often hides an unparalleled reality. This current reality strongly contrasts Pierre de Coubertin’s amateurism ideal that seems long forgotten in contemporary high-performance tennis.

As commonly known among scholars of sport, toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, French aristocrat de Coubertin renewed the ancient Olympics Games’ ideology into a chivalrous and friendly model consisting only of amateur athletes in order to eliminate competitiveness and commercialism in an attempt to bring back a passion and love for sports for sport’s sake (Beamish and Ritchie 2006; Hughson 2008). However, de Coubertin’s philosophy of world-class sport was not well received by all since some believed it to be a sham hidden behind matters of classism to maintain the lower-class from fusing with the upper class in order to uphold elite’ social superiority (Finley and Finley 2006; Smith 1990). Nonetheless, post-WWII indicated a new socio-historical shift regarding the structure of sports from de Coubertin’s amateur model, focusing on athletes’ recreational skills and strategies, toward more professional, politicized, and commercialized

competitive athleticism, which focuses on bodily capacities and enhancement, and on winning (Beamish and Ritchie 2006; Waddington 2000; De Rose 2008).

One may see this competitive model in the professional tennis industry with its ATP ranking system which was introduced in 1973 and remains to this day, the official ranking system in men's and now women's professional tennis leagues (ATP 2012b). Furthermore, former world number one player Jimmy Connors discussed the professional world of tennis by stating that “[s]ome people don’t seem to understand that it’s a damn war out there” (Wimbledon 2012b: Para.8). Connors brings to light the entrenched intensity in the struggles and competitiveness among the contemporary professional tennis sport that many fail to acknowledge or recognize. As a consequence, there is a tendency for sports sociologists to discuss the sociology of professional sporting governance homogeneously, which oversees the unique social circumstances of different sports’ governing structures and athletes, especially that of tennis (see Park 2005; Sluggett 2011). For instance, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) is often presented as the main doping governing body for all sports that must abide by it. Yet different sports are affected differently, and many sports, including tennis, make use of their own independent governing body such as the Tennis Anti-Doping Programme (TADP) (even though it is also a member of WADA). Hence the ultimate decision-making remains the TADP’s responsibility as opposed to WADA’s demonstrating the sport-specific nature of governance. Despite a variety of high-performance sports in the sports governance literature (Tingling, Masri and Martell 2011; Willis 1994; Markula and Pringle 2006; Volker 2011; Jones and Aitchison 2007; Dubal 2010), or also looking at the Olympic Games’ governance and surveillance systems in general (Samathas 2007; Bennett and Haggerty 2011; Sugden 2012; Vonn 2010), the professional tennis industry has not been individually scrutinized in terms of its

governance, social control, and surveillance practices. In addition, there are very few of those sports governance studies that study how this governance sociologically affects the main subjects: the athletes. Hence not only is there a dearth of specific analysis of professional tennis governance, there is also a lack of attention to how athletes are affected by governing, controlling, and surveillance strategies in the contemporary, heavily commercially-driven sporting/entertainment milieu.

To further show the uniqueness of the professional sport of tennis, many team sports franchises have payrolls to pay their players each year, such as in the National Hockey League (NHL), the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the National Football League (NFL), the National Basketball Association (NBA), and in Major League Baseball (MLB) where players sign annual contractual agreements with the franchise and then play for its duration. This payroll model places the burden of money insecurities on the franchise rather than on the player. For instance, Lewis (2004) illustrated the harsh reality of the MLB Oakland Athletics' low-budget in competition with those teams with a luxurious budget such as the renowned New York Yankees in his work called *Moneyball*. The wealthier clubs may afford more good players and therefore have more chances of winning the championships as opposed to teams with smaller payrolls. Tennis athletes are affected differently. Besides athletic sponsorships, which apply to all high-performance sports, tennis players must rely on their day-to-day matches in order to earn a salary. The cost of travel around the world in order to play as many tournaments as possible to gain as many ranking points as possible is on the individual athlete. Nonetheless, tennis as an individual sport also stands out from other individual sports that inspired the focus of this thesis. In his autobiography, former world number one professional tennis player,

Andre Agassi, wrote the following statement that reflects well tennis' distinction among all other sports.

Only boxers can understand the loneliness of tennis players and yet boxers have their corner men and managers. Even a boxer's opponent provides a kind of companionship, someone he can grapple with and grunt at. In tennis you stand face-to-face with the enemy, trade blows with him, but never touch him or talk to him, or anyone else. The rules forbid a tennis player from even talking to his coach while on the court. People sometimes mention the track-and-field runner as a comparably lonely figure, but I have to laugh. At least the runner can feel and smell his opponents. They're inches away. In tennis you're on an island. Of all the games men and women play, tennis is the closest to solitary confinement. (Agassi 2009: 8-9)

In other words, being a professional tennis player creates a form of physical and mental loneliness as well as a sense of captivity that is key in differentiating it from other sports. Agassi's word choice of "solitary confinement" also implies forms of governance, social control, and surveillance that I will scrutinize further on a sociological level.

Relying on the theoretical works of governance, social control, and surveillance by Michel Foucault, Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson, and Nikolas Rose, this thesis seeks to examine how professional tennis players are controlled, governed, and under intense surveillance practices as well as to identify the sociological consequences of such systems on athletes while keeping in mind the capitalistic ethos of the professional tennis industry. I am also looking to understand how current and former professional tennis players perceive such practices and how they resist them. I argue that Foucault, Rose, and Haggerty and Ericson's different accounts of "modes of governing" perpetuate sociological predicaments for professional tennis players within late capitalism as these modes of surveillance are founded on a meritocracy that is the ATP and WTA ranking systems. A player's ranking affects how he or she is governed, surveilled, controlled, and even punished. Despite being designed to promote tennis athletes' health protection and

wellbeing, I argue that such systems of surveillance, governance, and control are biased and rely on a capitalistically-driven meritocracy. The consequences of such actually jeopardize athletes' health and contribute to social class divisions, socio-economic inequalities, gender discrimination, and media pressure. Through the use of top-ranked players' accounts, I will also explore how some players resist certain governing, controlling, and surveillance practices supposedly designed for their benefits while others understand and accept the constraints in return to become a professional tennis player.

Chapter Two offers the major theoretical framework for this analysis. Specifically, the first section examines Foucault's main theoretical concepts, namely his technologies of dominance that include panopticism, governmentality, and bio-power. The next section discusses limitations with Foucault's theories and introduces the post-modern surveillant assemblage coined by Haggerty and Ericson (2001) and the introduction of governance scholar Rose and his ethico-politics framework. Lastly, Chapter Two will provide the methodology adopted in this thesis along with the main concepts to be used in the analysis later on.

Chapter Three reviews the multidisciplinary literature related to the focus of the thesis. This will include in the first section, the general sporting literature on governance, social control, and surveillance of professional athletes in relation to health discourses. In the second section, I offer insight into the media's role in controlling, surveiling, and governing professional athletes' every move to show the effect of media exposure on athletes. Thirdly, I examine the emerging surveillance literature in terms of promoting safe professional environments with high-end security apparatuses. Fourthly, I look at the

literature on doping and the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). Lastly, I look into the literature on the politics of sport and freedom.

Chapter Four identifies the current and main governing bodies of the professional tennis industry. I analyse these bodies in terms of their respective governing, controlling, and surveillance practices and how they impact tennis athletes. The first section describes and interprets the major professional tennis leagues and their main structural elements within a brief historical context, the presence of players' councils and member privileges. The next section offers an in-depth account of the major elements of the ITF, ATP, and WTA rules and codes of conduct for players through a Foucauldian lens of governmentality and bio-power and Rose's extensions of those concepts developed in Chapter Two. Finally, I look at the TADP, operating under WADA's rules and regulations, alongside sophisticated technological advancements such as the IBM Data Tracker (which offers performance expectations data) in terms of Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage.

Finally, Chapter Five gives a voice to current and former top professional tennis athletes in how they perceive these intensified governance, social control, and surveillance practices, and how some resist them. The major issues supported by players are divided into the following categories: health concerns, the media pressures and the commercialization of sport, and the TADP. I then challenge the theoretical grounds of Foucault, Haggerty and Ericson, and Rose with the recently emerging problem of tennis match fixings and betting corruptions. Lastly, I summarize the thesis' findings and provide indications for future research. "Enjoy the match!"

## Chapter 2

### Game On:

#### Exchanging with Foucault, Haggerty and Ericson, and Rose

*“I am quite aware that I have never written anything but fictions.”* (Foucault 1996a: 213)

*“All theory can do is defy the world to be more: more objective, more ironic, more seductive, more real or unreal.”* (Baudrillard 2001: 130)

Theory should partake in a process of freedom, a process in which one could and should resist a current circumstance, position, or event that restrains an individual or a group. Although theoretical frameworks hold limitations, this thesis will embrace theory as a non-constraining critical tool to explain, analyse, and help resist surveillance, governance, and social control elements within the current professional tennis industry for the benefit of its athletes. Prior to discussing Foucauldian governance frameworks, and their extensions by Haggerty and Ericson’s surveillant assemblage and Rose, I shall briefly refer to the origins of mind-body dualistic approaches, in order to clearly appreciate power and knowledge discourses apropos of today’s relationship between sporting bodies and minds in postmodern Western societies.

Derived from French epistemologist René Descartes, the widely discussed Cartesian model concerns the mind-body dualism principles initially set by Plato (Morgan & Meier 1995; Prado 1992; Butler and Dunne 2012). Descartes stated that “it is certain that this ‘I’—that is to say, my soul, by virtue of which I am what I am—is entirely and truly distinct from my body and that it can be or exist without it” (1995: 70). It was therefore clear for Descartes that both mind and body were two distinct and independent entities. He depicted the body as mechanistic physiology and contrasted the body to the mind (or soul) in which the former does not think whereas the latter does; the body is a material substance

whereas the mind is an immaterial one; the body is an unconscious machine, thus mechanical and conforms to the mechanical law of nature, whereas the mind is the “true” essence of a man, conscious, a free substance, and is not dominated or susceptible to the mechanical law of nature (Meier 1995: 90). In other words, the mind is the mental or soul while the body is the material. Furthermore, French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre (1995) put forth that, since people see their body through an exterior tool (e.g. through a CT-Scan), they refer to it as being theirs, thus being their property. Sartre’s idea therefore concurs with Descartes. However, Descartes was criticized, in part, by existential philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty who resolved the Cartesian dilemma by recognizing that “the most decisive trait of human consciousness, [...] is that it is an embodied consciousness” (Meier 1995: 91). On the other hand, Foucault also understood that human knowledge could not be founded on absolute grounds such as the Cartesian model (Prado 1992) and should not be received at face value, but should instead be analyzed through different techniques to help us understand ourselves (Foucault 1988a). Hence we move conceptually from the Cartesian control over the body toward Foucault’s techniques and consequences of controlling the body as internalized disciplinary power (Beamish 2012).

### **Foucauldian Perspectives**

Many Foucauldian scholars understand French philosopher and social theorist, Michel Foucault’s work in two chief separate modes of analysis: his early archaeological work and his later genealogical work. According to Smart (1985), an archaeological analysis is “a way of doing historical analysis of system of ideas” (cited by Andrews 1993: 153). Foucault’s archaeological work includes *Madness and Civilization* as well as *The Birth of the Clinic*, both published in 1960, as well as his 1966 work *The Order of Things*

and *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. In these archaeological works, Foucault is mostly interested in showing the history of society as discontinuous, with history as neither progressive nor uniform (Markula and Pringle 2006). Later on, Foucault published what is often discussed as an extension of his archaeological work, his genealogical work, which includes his 1975 *Discipline and Punish* (1977 in English) as well as the six-volume *History of Sexuality*, which Foucault started in 1976 and that continued to emerge after Foucault's death in 1984. For the purpose of this work, *Discipline and Punish* shall be examined in-depth.

Despite scholars' many attempts at defining the term 'genealogy' as a method, a genealogical analysis can be understood as "an attentiveness to the workings of power as well as describing a history of the present" (Nicholls 2007: 7). Foucault's concept of a 'history of the present' is neither simple, and is a form of genealogy that "is designed to tell us what we are today that we could not immediately tell ourselves within our historical present" (ibid: 8). Contrary to existentialists and Marxists who understand that existence precedes essence, Foucault aimed to study practices accountable for the transition between history's different periods (Smart 1983).

In order to have a better understanding of Foucauldian concepts, it is crucial to discuss his approach to power and knowledge and his understanding of 'technologies' before exploring his notion of disciplinary power. Power and knowledge, jointly, are key Foucauldian concepts used to understand modern society, and can be applied to the profession of sport. In contrast with Descartes' Cartesian understanding of knowledge as objective truth, Foucault described knowledge as the product of power (Prado 1992; McNay 1994). Primarily through the concept of power-knowledge, Foucault aimed to

“create a history of the different modes by which [...] human beings are made subjects” (1983: 777). Foucault studied the production of power relations through certain practices, institutions, subjects, and knowledge. According to Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983), Foucault understood human sciences, including the social sciences such as psychology, penology, and economics, to be

first situated within particular institutions of power (hospitals, prisons, administrations) where their role became one specialization. These institutions needed new, more refined and operationalized discourses and practices. These discourses, these pseudo-sciences, these social disciplines developed their own rules of evidence, their own modes of recruitment and exclusion, their own disciplinary compartmentalizations, but they did so within the large context of disciplinary technologies. (160)

Hence, rather than being objective, human sciences act within institutions that weaken their impartiality. Foucault also wrote that “[p]erhaps we should abandon the belief that power makes mad and that, by the same token, the renunciation of power is one of the conditions of knowledge” (Foucault 1995: 27). Hence, rather than being subservient to the power of the norm, we need to know that the norm is subjective. By knowing this we would remove all of knowledge’s power at once. Yet, throughout this thesis, I will show that the main governing bodies of professional tennis make it difficult for tennis players to differentiate power from knowledge. It is evident that Foucault viewed human sciences (or knowledge) as a form of power. One may therefore understand that the concept of power is consequently relational or otherwise null if it is on its own since power exercised without knowledge is fictional. Hence, Foucault coined the concept of power-knowledge as both inter-dependent and productive. However, it is crucial to clarify that Foucault understood power mainly through the positive lens of production rather than repression which would link power to knowledge in a negative way (Foucault 1995:194). Foucault examined multiple forms of power that he named ‘technologies’ or techniques.

From the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, and into the Enlightenment Period, Foucault described how societies have turned to a “new organization of space dedicated to the techniques of social control, surveillance, and repression of the self and the world of desire” (Williams 2000:56). He describes four main types of ‘technologies’ (Foucault 1988a:

[(1)] technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault 1988a: 18).

For instance, according to Foucault (1996a), prisons translate into power in terms of technology rather than in terms of law. Although Foucault’s types of technologies are often entwined, this thesis will mainly focus on the technologies of power (or dominance) and on the technologies of the self in the professional world of tennis. Disciplinary power, governmentality, and bio-power shall be examined in depth.

### *Disciplinary Power*

Although Foucault’s disciplinary power has already been highly revisited by many and different scholars over the past three decades, it is important to reiterate and discuss its main purpose and structure in order to allow for a clearer understanding of how disciplinary power applies to the professional tennis industry. In order for disciplinary power to be successful, Foucault (1995) understood the necessity for “docile bodies” (135) and “correct training” (170) along with the elements of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination.

We all have experienced discipline since an early age since we were being told to follow orders, be respectful of others, and be organized in order to be successful, to ‘fit in’ and eventually to possibly break the moulds. Here, however, breaking the moulds like Pat Cash’s quote in my introduction is not what Foucault had in mind as disciplinary power. In fact, according to Foucault, despite disciplinary methods being nothing new in the seventeenth century from monasteries to armies, modes of disciplines changed in the eighteenth century and became internalized methods of domination that he called “docility-utility” (1995: 137). Foucault stated “[a] body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (1995: 136). Hence, docile bodies are produced by discipline that subjects bodies. Beamish (2012) added that the “docility-utility of the disciplined body avoids the violence and force of slavery” (99). Foucault established six significant elements about his concept of docile bodies in connection to disciplinary power. First, as disciplinary systems, the table system and the division of labour allow for employers, much like the major governing bodies of pro tennis to be later discussed, to use this system to classify, control, and increase productivity at work (ibid). Second, the creation of docile bodies within a disciplinary society allows for the incorporations of both micro and macro frameworks since individual mechanics of power can be taken outside of the workplace and into macro institutions (ibid). Third, Foucault (1995) argued that docile bodies allow for an increase in performance or productivity in relation to an increase of domination over the performing body. Fourth, the analysis of docile bodies in relation to disciplinary power illustrates the principles of production and control as entrenched in society in general based on the workshop and factory disciplinary productions where “performance and self-discipline become central features of modern society” (Beamish 2012: 101). Fifth, Foucault showed docile bodies to be recursive through self-discipline and as a consequence become

automatic which reflects “Giddens’ recursive nature of human action theory” (ibid: 101). Finally, Foucault’s notion of docile bodies mirrors Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ that Bourdieu embraced as a system of “structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structure” (Cited in Beamish 2012: 101). Briefly, Cregan described ‘habitus’ as “the social, cultural and physical environment that we as social beings inhabit, through which we know ourselves and others identify us.” (Cregan 2006: 66). Hence, the automatization of such systems of ‘habitus’ and docile bodies within a disciplinary society dissociates the body and turns it into a relation of strict subjection.

Furthermore, for Foucault, the concept of “correct training” or “discipline” implied a well-trained process to create the desired societal conventions (ibid: 170). First, hierarchical surveillance was a key factor to a ‘civilized behaviour’ and, as an example, Howson (2004) discussed that the bodily training of children during early pedagogic rules was mostly undertaken by mothers and daycare givers from which “[t]he bodily rhythms of the child are thus subject to adult control” (Howson 2004: 72). Her latter statement can be linked to Foucault’s example of elementary school surveillance as part of contemporary teaching methods (Foucault 1995: 175-176). Second, disciplinary power must be exercised through micro practices and punishments (ibid). Foucault illustrated a gratification-punishment system through ranks and grades that render a reward or punishment on a more universal scale (Foucault 1995:181). Finally, Foucault (1995) looked at the notion of the examination as the result of those disciplinary techniques that bring a normative judgement that he described as a homogenizing process, yet also differentiating those outside of the norm. I call it the ‘marginalization of self’ or what Foucault (1995) understood as individualization. This process of individualization creates outsiders, a term conceived by

Howard Becker as a way to describe “rule-breakers who are labelled and who internalize and accept the label and come to view themselves as different, or outside mainstream society” (Eisler 2008: 49). For instance, Howson discussed the symbol of the germ as a form of invasion linked to anxiety and fear; “they are the bad guys” (2004: 81). Hence, power within social conventions and normative judgement attempt to isolate the ‘germs’ in their respective hospitals and like deviants are sent away to prison, fearing that they (the outsiders) could jeopardize the authoritative ‘pyramid’ system; the power of the norm. The examination process will be recalled in Chapter Four in the analysis of the codes of conduct conceived by the ATP, WTA, and ITF professional tennis leagues designed for their respective players.

Coined by Jeremy Bentham in 1791, the panopticon is the most popular representation of Foucault’s theory of disciplinary power based on techniques of correct training and docile bodies (Foucault 1995). Although never built and put into practice, Bentham’s panopticon was the idea of a ring-shaped architectural prison design that included a middle tower (Foucault 1995): “This tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other” (ibid: 200). One of the principles of the panopticon (and of Foucault’s element of ‘hierarchical observation’ from his concept of ‘correct training’), was to exert a form of control that allowed for the ‘inmate’ (or any other subject such as student, patient, madman, etc.), while confined in prison (or any other similar constraining setting), to be watched without seeing his or her observer from this middle tower (ibid). According to Foucault (1995), this

“invisibility is a guarantee of order” and he further clarified that “he [the inmate] is the object of the information, never a subject in communication” to assure automatic power (200). In addition, Bentham understood that power came at a cost that inspired him to conceive of the panopticon as a revolutionary cost-efficient form of surveillance that allowed for a minimum number of staff to observe a maximum amount of people (Foucault 1995; Foucault 1996a). It is easy, therefore, to link Foucault’s power-knowledge relation to the panopticon since it is evident that discipline equals a reality fabricated by such a technology of power (Foucault 1995:194). Below, we can further interpret power-knowledge through disciplinary techniques that Foucault discussed in *Discipline and Punish*.

Forms of disciplinary techniques were explored by Foucault (1995) through the example of the plague that he believed gave rise to practices of exclusion and disciplinary methods. When the plague appeared, techniques of power were evident in the closing down of the town, the division of the town into different areas, the prohibition of citizens from leaving their homes and being locked in by ‘intendants’ and, who were always under the governance of vigilantes who would punish anyone going against the quarantine orders (ibid). In addition, each town would constitute an observation post that would register everything about the ‘lock-up’ (ibid). “Every day, the intendant visits the quarter in his charge, inquires whether the syndics have carried out their tasks, whether the inhabitants have anything to complain of; ‘they observe their action’” (ibid: 196). Foucault described the spread of the plague as the rise of this authoritarian system through “multiple separations, individualizing distributions, an organization in depth of surveillance and control, an intensification and a ramification of power” (Foucault 1995: 198). Caught up in practices of social rejection, Foucault stated that lepers illustrated the great confinement on

one hand, and on the other, “the correct training of others” (ibid: 198). Foucault’s (1995: 200) panoptic model is an example of a physical surveillance over bodies that has greatly evolved since the eighteenth century in order to maintain the strength and effectiveness from its distribution of power, or has it? Lazar houses, once used to separate and detain lepers and popularly called ‘ships of fools’, eventually became today’s hospitals, psychiatric wards, reformatory schools, and prisons (Foucault 1988b). And now sporting environments come onto the scene of disciplinary technology which shall be discussed more comprehensively in the following chapters of this thesis.

Hence, through the “gaze” of the panopticon, Foucault’s (1995) notion of disciplinary power creates docile bodies linked to the apparatus of production. However, Foucault stated that “Bentham’s thought is ‘archaic’ insofar as he attaches so much importance to observation; he is completely modern when he stresses the importance of the techniques of power in our societies” (Foucault 1996b: 236). However, this modern understanding of Foucault’s panopticon remains highly criticized.

Scholar Thomas Mathiesen (1997) stated that Foucault failed to consider the media within panopticism. He understood contemporary panopticism as being more of a synopticon, which suggests that it allows for “the many to see and contemplate the few, [rather than] the few to see and supervise the many” (Mathiesen 1997: 219). In professional tennis, synopticism could be illustrated through athletes playing within stadium architectures and being placed at the very center with everyone surrounding them including all sorts of controlling agents such as tournament officials, referees, fans, a variety of media, sponsors, and medical trainers to watch the players’ every move, as opposed to Foucault’s panopticism model where the few watch the many. Similarly, Latour (2005) criticized Foucault’s panopticon since he believed that today’s surveillance includes

multiple sites that monitor individuals rather than one panoptic gaze. This Latour called ‘the oligopticon’. We now move to the consideration of distinct forms of governance techniques, including governmentality and bio-power, as well as to the surveillant assemblage and Nikolas Rose’s governance work.

### *Governmentality & Bio-Power*

Modern Western societies are synonymous with the diffusion of capitalist economic relations that signify a historical change from a sovereign power taking a life to governmental technologies of power through the management of life. Thus, shifting away from a technology of dominance based on the mechanization of the body, Foucault coined two concepts relating to the new power as exercised over life: ‘governmentality’ and ‘bio-power’. Although both terms intertwine, I will explain them first separately, and then as a whole in relation to sports studies.

The term ‘governmentality’ was first coined during Foucault’s 1978-79 lectures at the Collège de France that were later published in English as *Security, Territory and Population* (2007). Nonetheless, the concept of governmentality resulted from Foucault’s genealogical work on sexuality and sexual practices in terms of the large-scale management of the self and that of the population (Nicholls 2007; Markula and Pringle 2006; Smart 1985). According to Smart (1985), the field of sexuality is “a key element in the emergence and development of those apparatuses of supervision, administration, and intervention which have constituted the foundation of forms of public provision and welfare” (102). Hence, domains of science, civil society, and personal life were no longer domains “of freedom and enlightenment, but areas where power relations have diffused themselves and are proliferated” (Halperin 1995 cited in Nicholls 2007: 53). Foucault questioned “the

nature of contemporary social orders, the conceptualization of power, human freedom and its limits, possibilities and sources of human actions” (Dupont and Pierce 2001: 125) in articles and lectures such as *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), *The Subject of Power* (1982), and his most elaborate work on those questions could be found in his lecture called *Governmentality* (1991).

According to Foucault (1991), government as a general problem began in the sixteenth century when French Middle-Ages treatises presented as ‘advice to the prince’ became the ‘art of government’ (87). Foucault identified and aimed to understand the following predicament of government:

[T]he question of the government of oneself, that ritualization of the problem of personal conduct [...]. There is the problem too of the government of souls and lives, the entire theme of Catholic and Protestant pastoral doctrine. There is government of children and the great problematic of pedagogy [...]. And, [...] there is the government of the state by the prince. How to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor – all these problems, in their multiplicity and intensity, seem to me to be characteristic of the sixteenth century [...]. (Foucault 1991: 87)

Based on these problematizations of government, Foucault established the conceptual shift in governmentality from the annihilation of feudalism toward the formation of “the great territorial, administrative and colonial states” (1991: 88) along with the questioning of the right spiritual conduct for spiritual deliverance to show a problematic of government. Thus, states became centralized and created divisions through differing religions.

Also, Foucault’s genealogical work on governmentality was in part influenced by a key text from Italian Renaissance political scientist Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1532), that predicted or laid the foundation concerning forms of governmentality through

administrative practices (Nicholls 2007). According to Foucault (1991), the aim of Machiavelli's prince was to protect his territory by reinforcing his relation with his subjects through identifying the dangers surrounding him and by developing an art of governing by way of manipulating relations of force. In other words, Machiavelli attempted to describe "the prince's ability to keep his principality" (Foucault 1991: 90) by offering a methodology on how to reach and sustain power which pinpoints the importance of the prince's political stability. In order for a ruler to maintain his political stability, Machiavelli wrote that the prince must appear to his subjects as good, generous, and trustworthy without acting as such as it is not practical in sustaining power (Foucault 1991). Thus "the people judge by appearances alone, as appearances are all they will ever have on which to base their judgments. So, [...] [i]f he appears trustworthy and virtuous then the majority will accept him as such. He must keep up these appearances to maintain stability, for if the people knew what the ruler was really like, they would surely revolt" (Nicholls 2007: 100-101). So how should a ruler maintain power through appearances?

Foucault (1991) continued his genealogy of governmentality by clarifying the concepts of 'governor' and 'governing' through French writer Guillaume de La Perrière's anti-Machiavellian oeuvre called *Le miroir politique* (1567). La Perrière stated that both terminologies were plural in that a ruler or governor may also be a "monarch, emperor, king, prince, lord, magistrate, prelate, judge and the like" (Foucault 1991: 90). In a similar fashion, 'governing' was now more than political and should be thought of in terms of governing "a household, souls, children, a province, a convent, a religious order, a family" (ibid: 90). This multiplicity aspect of new forms of government brought about work by another French writer, François de la Mothe Le Vayer, who identified three types of

government: 1) self-government through morality, 2) governing the family which he linked to economics, and 3) state political government (Foucault 1991). Foucault (1991) specified that within these three types of government, the foremost element is an essential link between those types of government in order to allow for kinds of continuities that La Mothe Le Vayer identified as upward and downward. Both of these continuities would allow for the prince (or any other ‘governor’) to maintain his power. Upward continuity concerns someone who would want to move upward in the governing scale that means he must “learn how to govern himself, his goods and his patrimony, after which he will be successful in governing the state” (Foucault 1991: 91). Downwards continuity is understood as “when a state is well run, the head of the family will know how to look after his family, his goods and his patrimony, which means that individuals will, in turn behave as they should” (ibid: 92) which is understood in modern society as police. Hence, according to Foucault (1991), the centrality of both forms of continuity which allow for a successful art of governing lies in the government of the family which La Mothe Le Vayer coined as ‘economy’, understood as the management of “individuals, goods and wealth within the family” (92) for its prosperity. In modern terms, a good economy implies a successful art of governing, or governmentality throughout all levels of social life.

Since Foucault distinguished La Perrière’s conception of governing as plural as opposed to Machiavelli’s conception as sovereign power (territory and principality), he understood governing as a conduct. Foucault therefore presented governmentality as a critical process in the “conduire des conduites” (Foucault 2001: 1056), later translated in Burchell, Gordon, and Miller’s (1991: 48) work, *Foucault Effect*, as the “conduct of conducts” and which focuses on the mentality in the governing of populations (Cole et al.

2004). Foucault understood governmentality as strongly linked to the technologies of domination of others and those of the self as discussed earlier (Foucault 1988a).

According to Foucault (1991), this form of government can achieve the finality that its 'governor' wishes through the control of the population without force or violence. He stated that,

[i]n contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.: and the means that the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc. (100).

Hence, government could be interpreted as a technology of power and, governmentality as connecting traditional political power and economy with the creation of a self-governing individual capable of regulated self-control through governing technologies of the self.

This genealogy of governmentality applies to the pro tennis world with its official governing bodies (such as the ATP, WTA, ITF, WADA, TADP, TIU, and the media) and the governed ones (tennis players) in all their forms: athletes governing themselves, athletes being governed, governing bodies governing other bodies, athletes and other governed actors accepting being governed, and governing bodies as the "best" governors.

Professional athletes are known for their self-control and discipline and are therefore fitting subjects to study in terms of governmentality.

Conceptually closely related to governmentality is bio-power, which Rose (2007) defines as a perspective rather than a concrete concept. First discussed in his first volume of

*The History of Sexuality*, Foucault explained bio-power as twofold. The first type of bio-power is known as “a biopolitics of the population” (Foucault 1990: 139). Based on the concept of governmentality, Foucault believed that the body is treated as a machine and is used for productivity and economic gain to promote life through “propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause them to vary” (Foucault 1990: 139). As we now know, this regulatory power targets populations, species, and race in order to gain knowledge, power, and the regulation of populations through the state (Foucault 1990). On the other hand, Foucault also understood bio-power to be an “anatomy-politics of the human body” (Foucault 1990: 139). This form of power targets individuals and bodies more specifically; aiming again at knowledge and power, but also at the subjugation of bodies through different types of institutions such as “universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops” (Foucault 1990: 140). In other words, the body has now become an individualized materially-discursive one, subjugated and performance based. Additionally, according to Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983), bio-power presents the body as an object to be manipulated. Essentially, bio-power can be understood as “the governance and regulation of individuals and populations through practices associated with the body” (Wright 2009:1 cited in Holmes 2011: 55). Hence, for Foucault (1990: 140-141), bio-power would be impossible without today’s late capitalistic elements of our society as he explained the explosive growth of many political and economic fields during the classical period. This form of power is a continuous expansion of power relations of *bodies over bodies*. Foucault was nonetheless criticized by scholars, such as Giorgio Agamben, for never fully explaining *how* bio-political bodies result from sovereign power (cited in Lyon 2009). Although a justifiable criticism, I do not believe it to

be entirely necessary; it is up to theorists themselves to draw from their sociological imagination in applying this concept with one's respective situation.

The important difference between both governmentality and bio-power can be understood as the following. Bio-power remains concerned with the administration of biological life in order to promote and multiply such life. Governmentality, on the other hand, includes governing technologies that help shape individual and collective actions for the purpose of the proper management of the population. Hence, a governmentality approach necessitates the development of bio-power but does not explain long-term governmentality or biopolitical creations like globalization and neo-liberalism. Those technologies may thus only get you so far. Roughly after 9/11, Foucault's governmentality and bio-power axis of problematization extended into security and sovereignty areas as new problematization sites according to theories of assemblage (Ong & Collier 2005). Diffuse and elusive, today's flows of networked information have transformed patterns of surveillance which lead us to Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage (Bennett and Haggerty 2011). Today, airports may be viewed as the best example of this surveillance system: our bodies are constantly under a surveillance mode that controls every movement of our bodies through this particular space. Most of the streets in Amsterdam and London, UK, and in some North American streets, technology is used to enforce a surveillance system by way of recording and watching our behaviours at all times through cell phone monitoring, computer tracking, close-circuit televisions (CCTVs), and so on. According to Haggerty and Ericson, Foucault failed to acknowledge or anticipate such "intensification of technologized forms of observations" (2000: 610) and these must be included in this thesis.

## **The Surveillant Assemblage**

Since surveillance practices in tennis now often extend beyond the tennis court's premises, they are no longer institutionally isolated and must be publically acknowledged. Hence, in order to provide a thorough theoretical basis for this thesis, I must include Haggerty and Ericsson's post-modern surveillant assemblage since today's advanced technologies are important tools that certain governing bodies in the professional tennis industry exploit to improve their 'art of governing'. Such governing bodies pertaining to this study shall include that of WADA, the TADP as a signatory to WADA, as well as the premature Tennis Integration Unit (TIU), which is moving toward a sophisticated technological system that we can call a surveillant assemblage and that shall be discussed in the following chapters.

According to Haggerty and Ericson (2000), Foucault's technologies of dominance do not take account of today's postmodernist conditions: the panoptic model "fails to directly engage contemporary developments in surveillance technology" (ibid: 607). While Mathiesen criticized the panopticon's main feature of the few watching the many in favour of a more contemporary approach where the many now watch the few that he named synopticon, Haggerty & Ericson's surveillant assemblage – though postmodern – reflects in part the panoptic *unseen* eye. Lyon (2003) described this feature of the surveillant assemblage through the proliferation of new surveillance technologies since the terrorist attacks of 9/11. This less discernible 'eye' can form through electronic databases and the racialized profiling of Arabs and Middle-Eastern students (Lyon 2003). Haggerty and Ericson further assert that the self-limiting governmentality approach denies the "systems of rules and relations among political actors" (Lyon 2007: 63). Thus, Kevin Haggerty and

Richard V. Ericson (2000) wrote a key theoretical analysis about surveillance discourse and its evolution from George Orwell's 'Big Brother' model onto Foucault's panopticon, to Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's 'control society' approach, in order to contextualize their surveillant assemblage model. Haggerty and Ericson's assemblage theory was mainly drawn from Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage theory based on their 'control society' approach.

Thus we need to understand a shift from Foucault's disciplinary societies to Deleuze's control societies' framework in order to better understand contemporary surveillance as controlling agents today. Building on Latour's 'oligopticon', Deleuze (1992) understands that we have entered a new post-disciplinary period due to the gaze's multiplicity, yet he advances that an additional interconnectedness between surveillance systems is necessary. Deleuze (1992) recognizes a particular distinctiveness between disciplinary societies and those of control with the illustration of money. He states that "[i]ndividuals have become '*dividuals*,' masses, samples, data, market, or '*banks*.' [...]" [D]iscipline always referred back to minted money that locks gold as a numerical standard, while control relates to floating rates of exchange, modulated according to a rate established by a set of standard currencies" (Deleuze 1992: 5). According to Lyon (2007), Deleuze's concept of dividuals within surveillance practices in control societies replaces "the poles of the *individual* signature and the mass number" into a "code – as password" (87). Hence, societies of control appear more abstract, more complex, more fluid or liquid, and thus more difficult to decipher. Haggerty and Ericson (2000) continue with this multiplicity notion of Deleuze and Guattari's that they understand in other words, as

“discretely bounded, structured and stable” (608) in term of assemblages. But what is an assemblage?

According to Ong (2005), Deleuze and Guatarri’s definition of the term ‘assemblage’ denotes “a contingent ensemble of diverse practices and things that is divided along the axes of territoriality and deterritorialization” (338). On the other hand, Haggerty and Ericson (2000) describe the concept of assemblage through Patton’s definition and write that assemblages include “a multiplicity of heterogeneous objects, whose unity comes solely from the fact that these items function together, that they ‘work’ together as a functional entity” (608). Indeed, Haggerty and Ericson (2000) believed that despite Deleuze and Guatarri’s notion of assemblages as territorial or state forms, they must not be confused with traditional Machiavellian state forms as discussed earlier but rather as “bounded physical and cognitive spaces” (608). Assemblages can therefore be processed through temporarily fixed flows that Deleuze and Guatarri distinguish as forces (Haggerty and Ericson 2000). Once those forces (or flows) are created and connected among one another, they hold the potential for producing myriads of assemblages that the authors understand as power. Hence we can relate the concepts of flows (forces) and assemblages (power) to Foucault’s power-knowledge theory since knowledge on its own is powerless without the social forces that determine that knowledge as truth. Hence, according to Deleuze and Guatarri, flows that generate assemblages create a system of surveillance power: the surveillant assemblage (Haggerty and Ericson 2000). I will show in the next chapters how WADA creates such flows of data that become assemblages through its database system named ADAMS.

Before we do that however, we must discuss surveillance with the notion of the subject, which is commonly understood in terms of the body. Now extending beyond Deleuze and Guatarri's assemblage theory, Haggerty and Ericson (2000) look at the 'observed body' as abstracted from its territorial setting in order to be reassembled in different settings through different data flows. As a result of such a process, the authors argued that the human body becomes decorporealized, which they understood as a virtual "data double" (ibid: 611). Hence, surveillance practices involve a human's physicality but also an interface of technology which can tag "the human body so that its movements through space can be recorded, to the more refined reconstruction of a person's habits, preferences, and lifestyle from the trails of information which become the detritus of contemporary life" (ibid: 611). Essentially, Haggerty and Ericson's (2000) 'data double' conceives of a "multiplication of the individual, the constitution of an additional self" (Poster 1990 cited in Lyon 2007: 88). The particular issue of such a system that abstracts or categorizes accumulated 'human' data is that it creates inequalities (Lowry 2004). In the following chapters, I will show through the cases of WADA and the TADP that the virtual 'data double' self is a way to marginalize those who test positive for doping substances or who present an uncommon sampling result.

The surveillant assemblage model consists of "abstracting human bodies from their territorial settings, and separating them into a series of discrete flows. These flows are then reassembled in different locations as discrete and virtual 'data doubles'" (Haggerty and Ericson 2000: 605). According to Lyon, this assemblage is disconnected from the individual, and thus disembodies the self (Lyon cited in Bennett and Haggerty 2011). As an

example, Rose (2007), in *The Politics of Life Itself*, also connected the surveillant assemblage to that of molecular biopolitics and its clinical gaze. He stated that:

[m]olecularization strip tissues, proteins, molecules, and drugs of their specific affinities—to a disease, to an organ, to an individual, to a species—and enables them to be regarded, in many respects, as manipulable and transferable elements or units, which can be delocalized—moved from one place to place, from organism to organism, from disease to disease, from person to person. (Rose 2007:15)

This assemblage therefore represents a new set of tools for the mobilization, control, and combination of ‘data-doubles’, or in Rose’s example (2007:15), of “life itself” based on this molecular level now accessible to politics, ethics, and ethico-politics to be discussed in the next section. In order to show a thorough analysis of professional athletes’ objectified controlled bodies, I use this postmodern theoretical framework synthesized with the surveillant assemblage model to illustrate the scope of the intensified gaze and the disembodied consumption of tennis stars that surround them on and off the tennis court. Chapter Four will provide an in-depth analysis based on the surveillant assemblage and the professional tennis circuit, including WADA, the TADP, and other new surveillance technologies currently in place such as the IBM Data Tracker. Despite this postmodern and techno scientific foci, I will address what seems to escape scholars when theorizing with such a framework and will include a critical examination of today’s capitalistic context. A surveillant assemblage requires major financial assets in order to gather myriads of data, create unlimited and discrete flows for this knowledge to become forms of power through one or many assemblages. Chapter Five will offer an in-depth criticism of the surveillant assemblage through the TADP, WADA, and the unattainable surveillant assemblage for tennis’s Tennis Integration Unit (TIU) in governing illegal betting among its players. For that matter, one must look beyond a financially-dependent system such as that of the

surveillant assemblage and a Foucauldian ‘one-gaze’ disciplinary power which is why I turned to Nikolas Rose’s ethico-politics approach.

### **Playing the Game Differently with Nikolas Rose**

Although Foucault never published on freedom, nor did he suggest a definition of the concept, his work is an attempt to understand how people are historically constrained (May 2011) within a “site of freedom, albeit a bounded freedom” (Lyon 2007: 62). He also situated governance as freedom, not as control (ibid: 62). According to Foucault, “to live freely is to experiment with one self” (May 2011: 80). However, Foucault’s notions of disciplinary power, governmentality, and biopolitics in terms of freedom were revisited by British sociologist Nikolas Rose in *Powers of Freedom* (1999a) with an increased interest in subjective well-being and the productivity of individuals. It is crucial today for sports theorists to acknowledge Rose in order to increase athletes’ awareness of the social construction of freedom and its meaning through changing strategies of governance. Rose offers tools of resistance among a highly surveilled and controlled environment, in this case, within the professional tennis circuit. In order to identify with Rose’s understanding of changes in governance capabilities through his theory of neo-liberal ethico-politics, one must understand the political ideologies behind them.

For Foucault, liberalism was a key component of governing mentalities in the early nineteenth century because it led to the emergence of society as the result of a transformation in the demands of governmental rationalities (Barry, Osborne and Rose 1996). Rose (1996a:44-47) drew four central characteristics of liberalism in terms of government:

- (1) A new relation between government and knowledge ...;
- (2) a novel specification of the subjects of rule as active in their own government ...;
- (3) an intrinsic relation

to the authority of expertise ...; [and] (4) a continual questioning of the activity of rule.

These features of liberalism are associated with Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power and bio-power (ibid). However, in contrast, Rose moves beyond Foucault by integrating neo-liberalism as a key component. Dubal (2010) clearly described neo-liberalism as "[o]riginating as a theory of political thought emphasizing 'freedom', neo-liberalism has developed into a mode of governance that shifts social responsibility from the state to individual, corporate, and NGO actors. It has ... expanded globally to reshape everyday values and to govern conduct in diverse fields, including popular culture and sport" (123-4). Rose (1996a) clarified that neo-liberal states still wish to govern, but that they use different governing strategies, "advanced liberal" ones, to accomplish successful governance (53). Three main features of this government are (1) the creation of a novel rapport between expertise and politics, (2) a pluralisation of 'social' technologies, and (3) a new arrangement of the subject of government (Rose 1996a: 54-57). The latter is central for Rose. This new subject specification of government consists of Rose's (1996a) self-governing theoretical discourse which is conceptualized by three self-governing capabilities described as freedom, enterprise and autonomy (Rose 1996a) which shall be discussed more in depth below.

Moreover, Rose (1999a) critiques scholars who believe society is heading toward a maximum security society because of an overemphasis and dystopian understanding of the panopticon and Foucault's analysis of discipline. He explains his outlook by stating that:

[I]t is dystopic in that it understands nineteenth-century disciplinary institutions as installing regimes of perpetual and total surveillance carried out by a central power in the service of dominating individuals and constraining their freedom, and then suggests that across the twentieth century these capacities of vision have been

augmented and disseminated across the whole of society. But Panopticism did not model a dominating totalitarian society: it was a diagram of a mode of power that sought to induce a certain relation of human beings to themselves. Discipline, [...] was not a means of producing terrorized slaves without privacy, but self-managing citizens capable of conducting themselves in freedom, shaping their newly acquired private lives; according to norms of civility, and judging their conduct accordingly. Secondly, the metaphor of the Panopticon did not imply that the nineteenth century saw the construction of totally disciplined society. This is not, I think, an electronic Panopticon. [...] But the idea of a maximum security society is misleading (Rose 1999a: 242-243).

Thus, many surveillance scholars question whether the panopticon is still relevant today, perhaps because of this ambiguous ideology of maximum security society. Nonetheless, Rose set aside the panopticon and bio-power to suggest looking at political power as a new 'game of power' that he refers to as a "community-civility game" (Rose 1999a: 188). According to Rose (1999a), freedom is paradoxically linked with government, and today's neoliberal regimes of government exploit this relationship in their surveillance strategies.

Rose (1996b) argues that the social has been replaced by the rise of "community" which leads to a new way of governing, mostly in North America and Western Europe. First of all, Rose (1996b) refers to the 'social' as a key component of government action since the mid-nineteenth century. He relies on French theorist Jean Baudrillard's analysis of the social ('reality') as unreal; a simulation invented by history through a political craze (ibid). This simulation of reality is based on new technologies of "images and identities, of lifestyles and choices, of consumption, marketing and the mass media. These technologies have produced a new collectivization of 'habitus' outside the control of coherent discourses of civility or the technologies of political government" (Rose 1999b: 477). According to Rose (1999b), this new consumerization and commercialization of strategies of lifestyle formation brings about new forms of individual and legitimate subjectivities. Hence, Rose (1999b) believes that political governance must acknowledge a new set of problems as to

“how to govern the conduct of subjects who have accepted the obligation of self-actualization through the crafting of a life course and the stylization of a life” (477). As a consequence, argues Rose, new strategies and techniques must be conceptualized as “a political problem space called ‘etho-politics’” (ibid: 477) which he later renames “ethico-politics” (Rose 1999a: 188). In order to prevent any confusion, I will discuss Rose’s approach as ‘ethico-politics’. He argues that this approach is characterized by ways in which “these features of human individual and collective existence - sentiments, values, beliefs - have come to provide the ‘medium’ within which the self-government of the autonomous individual can be connected up with the imperatives of good government” (Rose 1999b: 477). Hence, it is in connecting the ‘individual’ and ‘collective’ together that Rose concludes that the concept of ‘community’ supersedes that of the social through the earlier stated ‘community-civility’ game.

It is important however to understand the meaning of ‘communities’ used by Rose. In order to collectivise conduct, contrary to the ‘social’ or society, community is not a geographical space nor a social one. Rose agrees with Etzioni's definition of community that includes two major elements; “first, a web of affect-laden relationships among a group of individuals, relationships that often crisscross and reinforce one another (rather than one-on-one or chainlike individual relationships), and second, a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, norms and meaning, and a shared history and identity - in short, to a particular culture” (Etzioni 1997: 127 cited in Rose 1999b: 476). In other words, community entails human relationships based on affective and ethical grounds. Thus, these relationships build individual identities through “their bonds to micro-cultures of meaning and value” (Rose 1999b: 476). I will show in Chapter Five how professional tennis players

as a collective form a community through those shared emotional and deep ethical values in terms of high-performance competitiveness and cultural doping practices. According to Rose (1999b), community, while remaining outside politics yet influential, is identified as a territory “between the authority of the State, the free and amoral exchange of the market and the liberty of the autonomous, 'rights-bearing' individual subject” (475). So how can community be feasible through novel strategies and techniques of ‘freedom’?

Linked to nineteenth century Puritanism, the welfare to workfare shift became a matter of work ethics (Rose 1999b). Through his model of ‘ethico-politics’, Rose describes this new game of power as it

reworks the government of souls in the context of the increasing role that culture and consumption mechanisms play in the regulation of forms of life and identity and self- techniques. If discipline individualizes and normalizes , and bio-power collectivizes and socializes , ethico-politics concerns itself with the self-techniques necessary for responsible self-government and the relations between one’s obligation to oneself and one’s obligations to others. Ethico- politics has a particular salience at the close of the twentieth century. For it appears that somehow ‘we’ - the subjects of advanced liberal democracies - in the absence of any objective guarantees for politics or our values, have become obliged to think ethically (Rose 1999a: 188).

This internal neo-liberal approach therefore creates different rules of play, different ways of assessing one’s relations in being (self-)governed with an individual’s growth through ethics. Hence, Rose (1999a) believes it is necessary to distinctively assess “the new technologies and the new authorities that seek to find a way of governing us, as free individuals, through ethics” (188). This ethico-politics model allows for citizens to agree to their responsibilities (thus being productive) in return for autonomy and self-realization. It inculcates into individuals notions of duty, obligation, but also honour (Rose 1999b). Political techniques and strategies may therefore be carried out indirectly upon them,

through community, since these individuals are acknowledged as “citizens of communities, of associations, of networks, of belongingness, of cultures, of identity” (ibid: 475).

Hence, citizenship has become “conditional upon conduct” (ibid: 488) which means that someone’s willingness to abide by the moral values of a particular community, such as professional tennis players, is upon him or herself. Rose (1999b) believes that humans are rooted in terms of ethical behaviour. “The problems of human associations are increasingly made intelligible as ethical problems. And new ways are emerging for governing the behaviour of individuals through acting upon this ethical force-field” (ibid: 474). As we will see with the tennis ‘community’ with the illustration of Monica Seles’ 1993 tragic incident and the governing decisions following that incident, and as Rose argues, everyone within a community “seeks a way of acting upon the ethical formation and the ethical self-management of individuals so as to promote their engagement in their collective destiny in the interests of economic advancement, civic stability, even justice and happiness” (ibid:475). However, I will show in Chapter Five the limitations of such understanding of humanity in terms of political governance since the human is flawed and does not always seek ethical behaviour as a way to promote one’s collective interests through the example of illegal betting among players. Also, at times, the ethos of a community can be questionable which weakens its power dynamic.

### **Concluding Word**

Foucault stated that “[w]e need to see things not in terms of replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society but by a society of government; in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government” (Foucault 1991: 102). Again, it is

apparent that Foucault and his societies of sovereign government remain pertinent in some aspects of contemporary society. Although some scholars question the relevance of disciplinary power, I must side with those who still believe in its importance. I will also show its relevance throughout Chapter Three with the example of sporting scholarships. This analysis would not be complete and relevant, however, without including the surveillant assemblage and ethico-politics as well. I believe that each of these perspectives is like team players linked to one another to create relevance and form another triangle of governance: discipline-technology-freedom. These aspects of governance, I argue, are extensions of one another, and do not flow from the top down, but circulate. I do not believe that Rose argues that freedom is an illusion—as Jean Baudrillard would—but rather he demonstrates our relationship to this evolving concept of freedom within neo-liberal societies, and how governing discourses have changed overtime. For instance, as a sociologist, Rose may not wish to explain the non-existence of Santa Claus, but he would rather study the social construction of this conceptual icon within contemporary societies, and how the concept can be perceived otherwise. Nonetheless, I believe it to be critical that sport and surveillance scholars and pro athletes be aware of the social construction of freedom and its distinct interpretations within this surveilled and governed culture. In the end, it is hoped that such work will not only raise awareness of social control, surveillance, and governance strategies in the pro tennis world, but will uncover strategies of freedom, and carry it outside of this sport onto our everyday lives. Governance strategies, as we will see, apply to all populations, including tennis athletes.

## **Methods & Concepts**

Although no interviews shall take place in this research (chiefly due to the difficulty in accessing high-performance athletes), I intend to give voice to professional tennis athletes through former and current players' autobiographies and media commentaries. The autobiographies provide personal insight into the tennis world with some limitations: Players' autobiographies are typically written for a general public audience and only former and current top-ranked athletes published autobiographies; no lower-ranked players' voices could be heard. I chose to include the most recent autobiographies from current players (Andy Murray, Rafael Nadal, Serena Williams, and James Blake) alongside former players (Pete Sampras, Andre Agassi, Billie Jean King, Monica Seles, Pat Cash, and Alice Marble). The mix of both former and current players' autobiographies offered a mix of experiences and criticisms regarding the tennis industry. The media commentaries were selected in terms of how they support or contradict information from the autobiographical works. Alongside these autobiographies and commentaries I examined the most recent ITF, ATP and WTA official rulebooks, the WADA Code, the ITF Anti-Bribery and Corruption Code of Conduct, and that of the Tennis Integration Unit (TIU). Moreover, a comprehensive literature review will be provided and analysed according to the Foucauldian technologies of dominance and of the self, the surveillant assemblage, and ethico-politics to point to gaps that interact with the professional tennis world in order to inform the reader of the current literature or lack thereof regarding this research's focus.

These sources will be drawn upon in order to illustrate and analyse Foucault's technologies of dominance and of the self described earlier in this chapter. I will present how panopticism, bio-power, governmentality, and the surveillant assemblage are deeply

entrenched in the pro tennis circuit through neo-liberal and ethical discourses on health, doping, security, the media, capital and performance expectation. Nikolas Rose will be a key player in helping reassess these current governing discourses in order to acknowledge and help resist this deep exploitative system through his ethico-politics model. Potential resistance cases, tied to Rose's self-governance techniques, will be elaborated upon throughout Chapter Five amid the pro tennis players' voices. I will conclude by demonstrating the limitations of all theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter<sup>1</sup>. Lastly, it is important to differentiate the often ambiguous and overarching concepts of social control, surveillance, and governance. Although some may be easily interchangeable, they should not be necessarily understood as synonymous. Social control is an overarching term often tied to deviancy since conformity must be reached in order to achieve social order. For instance, social control in sport can be evaluated in terms of sport and nationalism (i.e. international sport competition representing one's own country in the Olympics), sport as an instrument of national policy to unify (i.e. Adolf Hitler attempted to unify Germany with the use of the 1936 Olympic Games), sport as an opiate for masses (I.e. In 1994, Haitian president authorized broadcasting of the World Cup during an important political crisis to divert the population's attention) (Eitzen 2000).

The term 'surveillance' will make use of David Lyon's characterization of it as, "the focused, systematic, and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction" (Lyon 2007:14). It is important to acknowledge that

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<sup>1</sup> One example to be discussed will be illegal gambling among athletes. Many tennis players have publicly admitted to being approached and offered significant amounts of money in order to lose a match with favourable odds to win such as Russian Dmitry Tursunov (ESPN 2007), Belgians Gilles Elsener and Dick Norman (The New York Times 2007), Andy Murray (2009)

Lyon (2007) does not consider technology as separate from surveillance, but instead considers it as an essential integrated element within surveillance and surveillance techniques. For instance, according to Walby (2005), the first Canadian open-street CCTV system was implemented in 1991 in the city of Sherbrooke, QC, and proliferated greatly during the mid-1990s throughout Canada. This CCTV system represents a “remote and partially automated surveillance” (Lyon 2007:36). Today, this type of surveillance system can be found at almost any public venue, especially now during sporting events such as the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games which was estimated to use 900 CCTV cameras on site in addition to 50 to 70 others throughout the city (Vonn 2010).

Finally, following Rose (1999:15), governance refers to “any strategy, tactic, process, procedure or programme for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organization, or locality.” It may also be simplified as “power acting through populations” (Walby 2005:657). For example, the ATP, WTA, IOC, and ITF leagues are all governing bodies acting through pro tennis athletes’ population to emit procedures in regulating and controlling this population; they execute governance over others.

## Chapter 3

### **Studying the Opponent's Game: A Literature Review on Governance, Social Control, and Surveillance in Sports**

*"The world is a game."* (Baudrillard1993:46)

This chapter covers what has been written thus far in the sports literature on surveillance, governance and social control since its emergence in the past two decades. In particular I will focus on the literature on how Foucault, Haggerty & Ericson and Rose are being understood in relation to health, the media, security surveillance, doping, and capital in relation to the sporting and physical exercise industry in general. Rather than separating the literature review according to the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two, I will divide the review according to the above-mentioned concepts in order to show how they have been theorized differently. Finally, due to the dearth of literature pertaining to the professional tennis circuit in relation to these theoretical perspectives, I will also briefly acknowledge the major works done on tennis from broader and different theoretical and conceptual spectrums to show what multidisciplinary sports theorists currently focus on vis-à-vis the sport of tennis.

#### **Governing the Health of Athletes**

In the contemporary sporting industry, athletes constantly challenge the boundaries of the ontological concept of a healthy body through specific diets, intense exercise schedules, and mobile lifestyles, especially for tennis players. I will show below that some sports theorists have acknowledged how certain governance, surveillance, and social control strategies affect athletes through notions such as health consumerism, the normalization of the "healthy" sporting body, and the culture of risk in pain and injuries

(Markula and Pringle 2006; King 2003; Howe 2003; Rinehart 1998; Loland 2006; Nixon 1993).

Among Foucauldian concepts, panopticism is the most commonly used although through different lenses by sports theorists (Markula and Pringle 2006). Markula and Pringle (2006) analyse the fitness centre or health club through a panoptical lens. What is important to remember is that fitness clubs do not literally hold an observation tower for supervisors yet they do become sites where anyone can be observed by several others without taking the role of 'supervisor' (ibid). Markula and Pringle (2006) note that most fitness centres or health clubs include mirrors and even large glass windows which can be closed off by vertical blinds, thus allowing any outsider to gaze upon anyone inside. They then argue that "[b]eing subjected to the field of such visibility while engaged in physical activity, the exercisers have cast the ever-seeing, controlling eye upon themselves: they take on both the role of the invisible supervisor and the visible inmate" (Markula and Pringle 2006: 80). Hence, this self-discipline and controlling technique upon one's body is not simply hierarchical power alone, but is also a form of normalizing judgment (or normalization) which is what Foucault termed power/knowledge which was discussed earlier in Chapter Two.

Samantha King (2003) examined the National Race for the Cure fund-raising run with the concepts of citizenship, consumption, and political action through the discursive use of promoting healthy bodies. More specifically, she defined the race as:

[A] fund-raising venture, a marketing enterprise, a practice and a site of consumption, a physical activity, a collective experience, a mass movement, and a pedagogical tool [which] provides an opportunity to illustrate 'the ways in which government, or the conduct of conduct, has in the past two decades become

centrally concerned with the production of civically active, self-responsible citizens' (King cited in Cole, Giardina, and Andrews 2004:220-221).

The analysis of physical activity as one of the governance sites of the race illustrates how this neo-liberal ideology conveys the image that a sporting body is associated with a fit and healthy self and is a matter of personal responsibility. This governmental practice can be further analyzed according to Rose (2007) who states that "[i]n the field of health, the active and responsible citizen must engage in a constant monitoring of health, a constant work of modulation, adjustment, improvement in response to the changing requirements of the practices of his or her mode of everyday life" (223). In addition, connecting health to sport, Cole and others (2004) suggest that "because sport carries an authoritative promise of self-improvement, [...] power operates without coercive forces: individuals who recognize the necessity of their own discipline freely submit to governing techniques" (214). Athletes understand the ethos of a disciplinary society where improved self (i.e. better performance) is the central issue, which leads to an increased self-discipline, self-scrutiny, the willingness to push one's self further, which can result, in this case, to potential injuries (Cole et al. 2004). It is therefore a self-coercion where people freely discipline themselves to improve performance.

In another study, Kane Race (2012) illustrated the concept of hydration in relation to a 'new' healthy body through the growing practice of 'frequent sipping' from bottled water. The 1972 Olympic marathon showed runners 'frequently sipping' due to a scientific discovery by David Costill, which encouraged this new practice to be widely consumed by the general public (Race 2012). Race argues that health and fitness as identification and symbolism are key vehicles for values to be expressed through "personal responsibility, self-discipline, self-determination, and willpower" (2012: 85). Like Markula and Pringle's

(2006) example of fitness and health clubs, running is seen as a work on the self in competing against oneself to earn a “personal best” each time one runs (Race 2012:86). The normalcy of the body, in this case, is transformed into ‘frequently sipping’ water for, not only marathon runners, but for everyone within one’s daily life in order to help achieve the healthy normal body. This argument is also parallel to the work of Howe (2003) in relation to sports.

In using Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, Howe (2003) stated that, “the methods of gymnastics and by extension, those of sports or other codified physical activities, are cultural products shaped by those who practice them” (62). In other words, this set of generative principles is acquired through thought, behaviour and taste which continue to feed these social practices and myths into locking individuals within a panoptical gaze of what a ‘healthy’ body requires. We all become supervisors and self-disciplinarians in watching who frequently sips to ‘take care’ of themselves (their bodies) and to tell ourselves that we should drink more water to be healthier.

Rinehart (1998) has linked panopticism with swimmers and swimmers’ coaches, based on his own experiences as a swimmer and as a coach in the private sector. He notes:

This form of panopticism is built into the coach- (or teacher) centered team (class) concept; it is reinforced in the hierarchical structure of lane- (lesson) assignments; and it is recollected in the lane-timing squad, whose decision supercedes the experience of the individual swimmer (43).

Hence, in this case, the pool and the class setting together become a disciplinary site to convert athletes into docile bodies in exchange for a better opportunity at performing at a higher level – a practice that is often applauded and driven by the athlete’s parents and or close relatives (Rinehart 1998). The author further argues that the promotion of sports “as a

tool for a modern-day panopticon, becomes, finally, a series of questions of ethical behaviors” (Rinehart 1998: 43). Regrettably, these ethical behaviours may sometimes contribute to health hazards for athletes.

Although scientific research suggests that physical activity reduces the risks of developing several chronic illnesses (Markula and Pringle 2006), since the beginning of the 1980s, scholars have indicated an exponential growth of injuries and pain in high-performance sports (Beamish and Ritchie 2006; Coakley and Dunning 2000, Waddington, Loland and Skirstad 2006; Young 2004). This increase in high-performance sports’ injuries and pain has also become a normal part of the sport experience for disabled athletes (Howe 2006). Nicholl, Coleman, and Brazier (1994) further identified that the health benefits of physical exercise between the ages of 15 to 44 may be overshadowed by the medical costs resulting from partaking in sport and physical exercise (cited in Waddington, Loland and Skirstad 2006). According to Hill and Andrews (2011), one striking reason for overuse injuries is due to the emergence of the “one-sport athlete” that does not allow certain parts of an athlete’s body to recover while partaking in other sports, thus overusing those same body parts non-stop. Hill and Andrews (2011) introduced the organization *STOP Sports Injuries* which focuses on preventing overuse injuries in the most prevalent sports, including tennis where such injuries commonly occur.

For any worker, injuries can be costly. However, for professional athletes, sporting injuries are costly in a number of different ways. When we think of sports sponsorship and the risks associated with their losses, we think of big names such as Tiger Woods and Lance Armstrong, although the loss of their sponsors were not caused by injuries. When injured in their respective sport, sometimes athletes can no longer perform for an

underdetermined amount of time, some lose their sponsorships contracts, and many do not have a contractual salary to rely upon while recovering (especially so for tennis athletes), and many are at risk for poorer health conditions after retirement. According to Gratton and Taylor (2000), sports sponsorship scarcely existed before 1970 yet has expanded so much in the past few decades that by 1999, sports sponsorships were globally worth approximately \$20 billion, a 300 percent increase over ten years (cited in Waddington, Loland and Skirstad 2006:6). My point here is that to elite athletes, injuries can be very expensive.

However, reverting back to Foucault's governmentality and bio-power discourses, Loland further stated that "[a]thletes with 'mental' or 'imagined' pain are often considered to lack the required attitudes and mental toughness to succeed in sport" (2006: 51-52). This attitude is another way to further govern and control athletes into performing even while hurt. This socio-cultural tendency is also supported by Nixon (1993) as he examined the reasons why athletes play with pain and injuries which he termed "sportsnets" as "structural social network influences" (190). Nixon (1993) described these *sportsnets* as interaction models and relations of power that normalize and rationalize the discourse on the culture of risking permanent health consequences in order to play while hurt. This culture of risk therefore implies the subjection of athletes' bodies and control of that population. However, Nixon (1993) argued that athletes 'choose' to play hurt in a rational way by weighing the pros and cons of sitting out a season, retiring, or playing hurt. Playing hurt may appear as the best option. He further stated that "they [the athletes] learn to expect, accept, and minimize or ignore the pain and nondisabling injuries as a normal part of the game, and even take pride in their pain threshold as proof of their character as athletes, their

dedication to the team, and, for at least some males, their masculinity” (Nixon, II 1993: 191). Choosing to play hurt is a reflection of Rose’s self-governing capabilities mentioned in Chapter Two where the athlete is allowed to think ‘freely’ based on a neoliberal and governmental way of life in sports. Nonetheless, some athlete, including pro tennis players, can simply no longer endure the pain and must retire during play.

Breznik and Batagelj (2012) provided a content analysis of an economics study about professional tennis players from 1968 until the end of 2010 and discovered a recent increase in players’ retirement rates, for those playing on outdoor hard and clay courts surfaces due to injuries. The authors however limit their research method in expressing that these results may slightly be flawed due to the association of illegal betting during early retirement tennis matches (Breznik and Batagelj 2012). This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Five with top players’ criticisms of court surfaces. However, especially in sports and exercise, the media play an important role in the disciplinary and control aspects of an athlete, which is sometimes closely tied with health practices.

### **The Yin-Yang Social Control Nature of the Media**

Several sports theorists have looked into the correlations between and influences of the media on sporting bodies, but with very little focus on professional tennis (Atkinson and Herro 2010; Halbert and Latimer 1994; Schultz 2005; Spencer 2003). Different types of media contribute to a public governance of professional tennis athletes, such as newspapers – in print and online - and their reporters, television hosts and commentators, online blogs and bloggers, as well as radio broadcasters and their radio hosts. The main issue at hand with the media being a governing body is about matters of truths and its

normalization. In a professional sport setting, the media often divulge information on the athletes that may be private or biased and that may affect athletes' performances and relationships with the press and consequently influence fans' relationships with athletes' throughout their careers.

Markula and Pringle (2006) reverted back to the normalcy of the body in relation with the media by taking the example of the UK magazine *Health and Fitness* that, as argued before, blurs concepts of health, fitness, and beauty by portraying "a tanned, young and thin model in a bikini smiling at the camera on a summer beach" (81). The authors argued that fitness media are able to take those women outside the norms presented and 'guide' them into the disciplinary panopticon of a 'normal' body.

In a similar manner, media analyses that do include professional tennis are evident in the work of Markula and Pringle (2006) who connect stereotypes in the media with the panoptical gaze. Also Atkinson and Herro (2010) confirm that the media reinforce aging stereotypes for tennis athletes in early adulthood and older adulthood through framing theory as evident in a content analysis of media coverage of the tennis star, Andre Agassi, between 1990 and 2005. Between the ages of 19 and 20, Agassi was represented as a simple-minded individual, a kid, the 'chartreuse kid', whereas from the age of 29 on he was characterized as being magical, miraculous, and defying age rather than being skilful (Atkinson and Herro 2010). This framing effect of the media participates in the shaping of sport's audience and athletes' perceptions of normalizing, marginalizing, collectivizing, and socializing sporting performance based on age.

Halbert and Latimer (1994) contributed to another media content analysis, this time regarding gender discrimination during the televised 1992 *Battle of the Champions* tennis match between Martina Navratilova and Jimmy Connors in which they argued that sports commentators trivialized Navratilova's athletic performance through biased comments such as her lack of mental toughness and feminine emotional issues. In addition to age and gender biases reinforced by the media, former pro tennis player and now sport scholar Nancy Spencer (2003) analysed how the media, more specifically ESPN, reconstructed one of the greatest rivalries in the sport of tennis, Martina Navratilova and Chris Evert between 1973 and 1989. Spencer (2003) argued that ESPN portrayed the American Evert as 'America's sweetheart' whereas ESPN exposed Czech-born Navratilova's image as a threat by discussing her 1975 defection to the U.S. and her lesbian orientation. Also, Birrell and Cole (1990) looked into transgendered and former American pro tennis player Renee Richards who fought to play on the women's tour during the mid-1970s. Despite being banned by the United States Tennis Association after her 1975 successful sex reassignment due to the media commentaries and cultural perceptions that 'biological men' are stronger than 'biological women', Richards obtained a Supreme Court ruling allowing her to play on the women's professional tour (Birrell and Cole 1990). More recent transgendered tennis players Sarah Gronert and Andrea Paredes, albeit established among the WTA, still generate controversial media exposure (such as AOL News 2009; Hodgkinson 2009a; Hodgkinson 2009b). Despite being lower-ranked players (which is usually of no interest to the media), the topics of their sex and the 'unfairness' of women playing against 'former men' yet again imply biological (and gender) stereotypes of not only lacking to acknowledge more than two genders but to continue in perpetuating gender discrimination among the sporting industry. Thus, the media's process of shaping and transforming age,

sex, gender, and sexual orientation norms in tennis athletes could also be understood as an example of Foucauldian governmentality and certainly as an example of bio-power. The media, as an influential governing body within the sporting industry, infuse or reinforce dominant discourses of ageism and sexism as seen above in professional tennis examples. The institution of the media therefore subjects bodies and exerts power through targeting tennis athletes to control this population's ideal age, gender norms, and proper sexual orientation. I shall further elaborate upon this topic of the media in the following two chapters. Chapter Four will present the rules and regulations within the major governing bodies of tennis such as the ATP, WTA, and ITF and how they integrate with the media and athletes' codes of conduct. Chapter Five will show how athletes are being governed through media based in their own words.

### **Surveillance for Secured Games**

Emerging studies on surveillance, governance, and social control concerning the sporting industry now emphasize a discourse of security and safety. In order to study surveillance at a sporting event, the architecture itself and its features play a fundamental role in security discourse. Bale (1994) illustrates how the sporting industry had historically exercised social control over socio-spatial interactions and points to a parallel between seventeenth century spatial confinements (prison, clinics, etc.) and twentieth century urban sports stadiums. However, in this work, the 'confined' in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is seen as the spectator rather than the athlete, which makes the policing gaze a larger population. With a photograph from a Swedish professional soccer field from 1912, Bale (1994) demonstrated the concept of freedom through non-segregation in comparison to modern stadiums. He argued that today's sporting stadiums, including those for professional tennis, "have been

individualised by numbered seats, each being fully identifiable through their computerized ticket and from knowledge gained from the pervasive forms of surveillance which characterises the modern sport environment” (Bale 1994:84). He also briefly acknowledged without much elaboration that tennis was one of the first sports to use specially designed spaces (ibid). He argued that the compulsory silence by spectators between points being played in tennis further illustrates control over socio-spatial interaction (Bale 1994: 90).

One could assume that designated spaces within sports venues may have occurred in part due to socio-spatial control involving different social classes (initially royalty and commoners). In fact, we can see a similar occurrence today with the segregation of spectators in the stadium through ticket prices. The cheaper the ticket, the farther away the spectator is located from the sporting action, and the more expensive the ticket, the closer to the game another spectator may be, or also the further segregated when locked in a well-guarded and securely VIP suite. The well-known ‘Royal Box’ at the English Wimbledon tennis Championship, including 74 seats, has been used since 1922 and is where the stadium owners place “British and overseas Royal Families [...] as well as heads of government, people from the world of tennis, commercial partners, British armed forces, prominent media organisations, supporters of British tennis and other walks of life” (Wimbledon 2012a, The Royal Box Section, Second Para.). Hence, connecting this back to Bale (1994), he portrayed sports architectures and stadiums’ structural organizations under an intensified “gaze” of a panoptical shape today turned into a governmental way of life in promoting social order among a controlled population in the names of safety and security.

Several scholars are currently relating new surveillance technologies to the high security threats at mega sporting events, especially at the Olympics Games (Bennett and

Haggerty 2011; Samathas 2007; Sugden 2012). For example, Samathas (2007: 221) analyses the new surveillance technologies used in Athens for the 2004 Olympic Games and describes this once 'classic' event as a superpanopticon, similar to the surveillant assemblage. He derives the concept of superpanopticism from Norris and Armstrong's "superelectronic surveillance system providing the possibility of continuous online linking and processing, evaluation, classification, and identification of personal data, and the production, even simulation, of various personal information profiles for a variety of purposes" (Samathas 2007:221). Related to the superpanopticon, Bennett and Haggerty (2011) look into major sporting events' surveillance methods and purposes and argue that mega-events strengthen current insecurities and inequalities shown through a neo-liberal order. Spectators are willing to undergo "extraordinary measures that they may not tolerate in more 'normal' circumstances" (Bennett and Haggerty 2011: 12). Hence, the authors believe that citizens of host cities promoting a mega sporting event mostly agree with the heightened exercise of control and potential loss of privacy during the event (Bennett and Haggerty 2011).

Another sports scholar, Volker Eick, provides two political economic analyses of the 2006 FIFA World Cup held in Germany that he describes as a neo-liberal "cash machine" (2011a: 88) dependent on a security assemblage (2011b: 3334). He argues that this FIFA World Cup is the "largest display of domestic security strength since 1945" in using more than "220,000 police officers from the 16 Lander, an additional 30,000 from the Federal Police, an unknown number of secret service officers, 7,000 military guards, and about 18,000 rent-a-cops" (Eick 2011a: 93) and 20,000 volunteers known as "pop-up armies" (Eick 2011b: 3330). In addition to this 'police gaze,' the securitization of the 2006

FIFA World Cup employed sophisticated surveillance strategies such as 200 data banks holding more than 18 million data files, “airborne warning and control system planes (AWACS), security robots, closed circuit television surveillance (CCTV) and radio frequency identification chips (RFID) ticketing systems (Eick 2011b: 3330). The author continues that,

The modes of governance established before, during and after the World Cups by FIFA—i.e. the compliance with the rules and regulations made mandatory for the host cities—not only facilitated FIFA’s generation of profit but have been exploited by the other stakeholders as well; in particular by the sponsors, the media and the sports industry. (Eick 2011b: 3338)

Hence, FIFA’s security assemblages are efficient within a neo-liberal setting that Eick (2011b) understands as “neo-communitarian” and that normalizes the concept in all aspects of everyday life of highly technologically-advanced surveillance and governance methods once the main sporting event is over.

In comparison with the most prestigious tennis tournament, the Wimbledon Grand Slam Championships in London, England, Pollitt (2006) described Wimbledon’s security measures as the work of more than 700 security personnel, including a majority of students and temporary workers. Pollitt (2006) stated that good training is essential and that G4S Security Services (UK), the best security trainers thus far at Wimbledon, lead this security program. In addition to G4S, other security organizations help ensure the training is up to date such as the “Metropolitan Police anti-terrorist team, [...]the All England Lawn Tennis Club ticket manager and the championship manager” (ibid: 532). Although the scope of security seems drastically smaller than that of FIFA’s 2006 World Cup, several actors take part in creating new and up to date surveillance methods to securitize sporting events such

as that at Wimbledon. Another Grand Slam tournament's security gaze is also at play in Australia.

Taylor and Toohey (2011) examined safety procedures held at major Australian sporting events, including that of the annual Grand Slam Australian Open tennis tournament. They showed that security procedures were challenged when crowd violence took place at the 2007, 2008, and 2009 tournaments (ibid). More specifically, in 2007, rival fans from Serbia and Croatia began fighting one another in the stands, causing the tournament organizers and the police to get involved and throw over 100 spectators out of the stadium (ibid). Taylor and Toohey (2009) argue that alcohol use and racial and team rivalries by fans are the main concerns of event managers, thus allowing for sporting event organizers to normalize a contingency planning approach which "assumes that threats will always occur and [...] these potential threats should be planned for, no matter how unlikely some may seem" (3273). Taylor and Toohey (2009) conclude that roles of personnel and high-tech visible security measures are therefore now of great importance in sporting events, especially since 9/11.

Not only are host Olympic cities pressured to become suspicious and controlling through new surveillance technologies, but the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) can also be seen as a governing and panoptic body among the international sporting business, including that of professional tennis.

## **Doping and WADA**

Although doping in athletes is not new, sports scholars remain interested in its evolution in various aspects: political, social, economic, cultural, and moral. An infamous doping example, which spurred a long line of critical inquiry and a complete revision of sports anti-doping programs, occurred with Ben Johnson's positive test for stanozolol at the 1988 Seoul Olympics after winning the 100-meter dash (Beamish and Ritchie 2006; Pisk 2012). Ten years later, another critical event took place *prior* to the 1998 Tour de France. Rumours of doping had emerged from the cycling world and led to the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) creating stricter doping inspections *during* the Tour de France (Park 2005). To everyone's utmost surprise, almost half of the cyclists registered to perform at the Tour withdrew from the competition (ibid). In 2003, WADA (2009) was created afterwards to fight against wide-spread doping and as a result. Since then, many professional athletes around the globe have begun to experience changes toward their participation in professional sports and competitions should their national federation or sport become signatories of WADA's code, rules, and policies.

Although many scholars conclude that doping among professional athletes is scarce, especially among pro tennis players (Pluim 2008; Yonamine, Rodrigues-Garcia, Lucia de Moraes-Moreau 2004), WADA is also now a significant force in professional sports. Park (2005) wrote an important study that discussed the governing practices of WADA, which she argues reflect a type of governmentality. Although Park does not mention Foucault's panoptic gaze, connections to it are obvious. She examines three key programs of the WADA: 1) the conduct of unannounced, out-of-competition testing among elite athletes, 2) the development of new detection methods, and 3) the management of the Athlete's Passport Program (ibid). While athletes were previously only tested during competitions,

WADA policies are now integrated in order to perform out-of-competition testing to catch those athletes using banned substances during their training regimes prior to competitions (ibid). Park (2005) argues that this approach is an intrusion into athletes' private lives and makes athletes objects of institutional control. Furthermore, WADA invests millions of dollars every year to research new methods of detecting doping while legally preserving all blood and urine samples up to 20 years which will always remain testable once new detection methods come on the market (ibid). According to Park (2005), this culture for discipline and punishment also instils a culture of surveillance. Finally, Park (2005) argues that the Passport Program allows for a broader range for WADA governance of athletes while it naturalizes this practice through a voluntary sign-up for athletes who agree to fight the war on drugs for a drug-free sporting environment. She concludes that WADA programs are an art of governing and reflect a cultural technology that produces docile athletes as conformers to the WADA authority. We can also see how WADA is a sophisticated contemporary surveillant assemblage system ubiquitous in this milieu.

In response to Park (2005), Bryan Sluggett (2011) wrote an impressive piece disentangling WADA's system and its impacts on pro athletes worldwide based on Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage. Sluggett (2011) argues that WADA's surveillance practices extend beyond sports (such as with technological databases) that render Foucault's disciplinary objective insufficient to tackle WADA. As noted above, WADA requires targeted athletes to be part of a 'whereabouts' system that requires the subjects to provide out-of-competition location changes to facilitate accessibility for random drug testing known as part of the Athlete Biological Passport (ABP) program (Park 2005; Sluggett 2011; WADA 2009). However, this program becomes a surveillant

assemblage with the help of its online data management tool called ADAMS, based on the cumulative long-term data collected (Sluggett 2011). This biological passport system allows for WADA's database to decode and track data for suspicious results, which in turn not only translate into 'coded bodies', but keep athletes as perpetual 'suspect bodies' (ibid). As a result of this postmodern surveillant assemblage, ADAMS is connected to different cooperating agents such as policing agents (e.g. Interpol, custom agencies) and pharmaceutical companies, and so creates an athlete's data-double (ibid). Hence, pro (tennis) athletes are now transformed into codes within this surveillance system that turns into mobile and flexible data known as 'data double' through their location entries and blood and urine samplings.

Sluggett (2011) discusses the surveillant assemblage in use by WADA's monitoring practices to be "now routinely linked to computer databases, which make the digitization of information cheap and efficient" (391). However, looking deeper into WADA's organization, this surveillant assemblage comes at no small price. According to the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (2010), WADA's annual budget for 2011 was \$26,400,000 USD; a 2 percent increase from 2010 due to the integration of the ABP program. This increase translates into more than half a million dollars, more specifically \$528,000 USD. Furthermore, as we will see in Chapter Five, the TADP as a signatory of WADA is not as efficient as intended due to the high cost of collecting and digitizing the massive amount of data for the ADAMS database and to turn it into an effective surveillant assemblage. The sports literature however also looks at a deeper social issue between governance, surveillance, and social control regarding doping and WADA.

Sport theorists Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie (2006) researched the socio-historical context of the sporting industry as a highly professionalized competitive milieu during the 20<sup>th</sup> and current 21<sup>st</sup> centuries due to an entrenched capital economic accumulation model. Doping plays an important role in this development even though doping contradicts the ethos of the sporting industry. Beamish and Ritchie (2006) believed that undermining athletes' health is culturally and structurally embedded in high-performance sport, which contradicts sport as a healthy endeavour. They further argued that:

While performance-enhancing substances have been singled out for special scrutiny and prohibition under the "harm to the athlete" argument, it is the larger dangers and risks of high-performance sport itself that need to be re-examined if, indeed, one wants to try to legislate specific protections to ensure the health of high-performance athletes. (ibid: 125)

Part of these findings stemmed from the sporting industry's unjustified need to control the population of high-performance athletes through a deceptive bio-power discourse. Lastly, both authors mentioned the removal of paternalistic protection for athletes, leaving them with the personal responsibility of knowing what and how not to use prohibited substances from the banned list (ibid).

In addition, Waddington, Malcolm, Roderick, and Naik (2005) support Beamish and Ritchie's latter observation and suggest that, within an English professional football setting, footballers are not provided with sufficient and adequate advice regarding supplements use which can often result in positive testing. Furthermore, not only athletes are inadequately informed about WADA's prohibited substances list and how to avoid such substances. Laure, Binsinger, and Lecerf (2003) reveal in a French study that general medical practitioners also have limited knowledge about doping because they face so few cases. It is important to acknowledge however that top tennis players mostly see specialized

doctors funded by their federation rather than a general practitioner. Further supporting Beamish and Ritchie's argument of a socially constructed high-performance sport system which undermines health among athletes, Laure, Thouvenin, and Lecerf (2001) conclude that French professional coaches do not do enough to prevent doping, and they suggest coaches should be trained and educated about athlete doping.

Certainly the most recent high profile incident related to doping is cyclist Lance Armstrong which resulted in him being stripped of his seven Tour de France titles, the loss of approximately USD \$75 millions of dollars from sponsorship deals, and a life-time ban from competitive sports (Reuters 2013). Armstrong is an example of the paradox between the cultural mindset of high-performance sport to value 'winning' and WADA's culture of controlling and punishing those who wish too hard. Trapped within this cultural mindset, Armstrong leaves one to question whether winning doped is better than not winning while clean. Thus, the literature on sports doping regarding governance, surveillance and social control, as well as Lance Armstrong's example show that there is a significant need to reconsider and re-evaluate the policy and philosophy of doping control of performance-enhancing substances. However, as will be shown in Chapter Five, many professional tennis players perceive doping and WADA in a different light, and the need or non-necessity for political change in the WADA organization shall be shown through athletes' routes of resistance.

While Park (2005) leaves room for potential resistance by athletes in refusing "to passively accept WADA's rules, codes, and standards" (186), Burke and Hallinan (2008) provide three cases of athletes who have resisted doping control. Their first example involves 15-year-old American swimmer Jessica Foschi, who, following a positive test for

steroid use in 1995 claims that she had never taken them (ibid). Foschi demonstrated her innocence by retaking two different drug tests and passing a lie detector test, all of which supported her innocence (ibid). This resistance to the then IOC doping rules was only somewhat successful as the doping organization lowered Foschi's competition ban from 2 years to 6 months yet maintained that Foschi was guilty.

Burke and Hallinan (2008) examined the case of the 16-year-old Romanian gymnast, Andrea Raducan, who, after winning a gold medal, tested positive for pseudoephedrine (a banned substance found in cold medication) at the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Although this substance remains prohibited today (WADA 2013), according to the authors it does not enhance the performance of gymnasts due to the nature of that particular sport (ibid). The resistance came from fans and sports journalists who mostly disagreed with the decision of stripping Raducan's gold medal, denouncing a zealous WADA organization which does not wish to properly assess all banned substances for each sport (ibid).

The third case involved former 100m runner and record holder, Tim Montgomery, who was found guilty in 2005 by the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) based on his former teammate, Kelli White's testimony, that he allegedly admitted to her that he had taken the designer steroid THG (ibid). He was banned from competition for two years and his earnings from 2001 were annulled or confiscated (ibid). According to Burke and Hallinan (2008), although found guilty, Montgomery resisted the doping system by never admitting to taking drugs; his silence was a mode of resisting governance as the war on drugs discourse. Does the scant tennis literature also view doping control this way?

Sports analyses of tennis regarding doping control and WADA mostly derive from quantitative studies in sports medicine. For instance, Pluim (2008) gathered data from the International Tennis Federation (ITF) from 2003 to 2007 showing a rise in false-positive doping cases due to administrative errors because of an exponential growth of prohibited substances. Also, an epidemiological analysis from 2003 to 2009 by Maquirriain (2010) argued that there is no evidence of systemic doping in professional tennis despite the strict anti-doping control, although social drugs misuse (such as marijuana and cocaine) is an issue in pro tennis.

### **The Neo-liberal Politics of Sport and Freedom**

A Marxist lens focused on understanding the capitalistic aspects of the sporting industry would examine the power imbalance that subordinates the smaller players. Yet a neo-liberal analysis would come to very different conclusion since it would interpret differently the politics of sport and the concept of freedom when analysing the processes of governance, surveillance, and social control practices. The neo-liberal literatures associated with sports and related to the focus of this thesis are explored below.

In an ethnographic study, Dubal (2010) explored neo-liberalism and how Corinthian (Brazil) and Manchester United/FC United (England) professional soccer teams' fans view and experience neo-liberalism differently. He critiqued David Harvey's (2005) notion of neo-liberalism as being "hegemonic as a mode of discourse" (cited by Dubal 2010:124) and dismisses what difference and exceptions could produce. For instance, Dubal (2010) showed the 1970s neo-liberal shift toward the commercialization of their sport with new policies allowing sporting clubs to become profitable enterprises. The teams are sold off to

the highest bidder, usually from a foreign-owned company rather than a local one, such as with the privatization of the FC team following its sale to the American businessman Malcolm Glazer and Dualib's sale of Corinthians to a global enterprise called MSI (ibid). Those practices are fairly similar yet the difference remains in the reactions and experiences of those fans. For instance, due to the heavily debt-burdened Corinthians's team, its fans pay 'membership' monthly fees to help financially, which turn them into consumers and investors (Dubal 2010). On the other hand, long-standing FC United fans remain 'fans' despite being stripped of their shares and being 'gentrified' from the game due to rising ticket prices (Dubal 2010). Dubal supports Rose's position of advanced liberalism,

which offers governmentality rather than political economy as central to neoliberal forms. Instead of conceptualizing political economy as creating a neoliberal form that then extends to domains such as sport, as Harvey might, I posit a different framework in which neoliberal governmentality emerges from friction between different realms of cultural and political life. (ibid: 140-141)

He concludes by questioning the ontological nature of neo-liberalism asking if it is "a process? A doctrine? A form of economic globalization? A mode of governance? A way of life? A universal? A local?" (ibid:144). I also question whether freedom emerges from neo-liberalism.

Hemphill (1992) makes a significant contribution to the literature on the political-economy of sport and freedom. The author critiques the two major representative views of sport: sport as play and sport as alienated capitalist labour, in terms of embodying freedom (ibid). Sport as play essentially means that sport is an extension of play and thus requires two conditions of play, one of "submission to 'form' (to make the activity possible for its own sake) and its necessary detachment from material necessity or interests" (ibid: 20). He argues that such freedom is not feasible for a professional player since he or she must abide

by the rules of play because he or she is remunerated for playing (ibid). However, Hemphill (1992) understands citizens of liberal-capitalistic states with access to sport as being free in choosing to participate since the political ideology behind liberalism promises freedom without the state's intervention and control.

As with Rigauer (1982), Brohm (1978), and Beamish (1982), Hemphill (1992) understands the second representation of sport through a Marxist lens as “sport-as-alienated-labour” and driven by a political-economic perspective from which “rationally-scientifically organized production and consumption for profit is the dominant orientation for commercial sponsors, sport organizers, management and athletes” (24-25). However, Hemphill also critiques this perspective as “‘vulgar’ economic reductionism” which disregards the different features of cultural life through an overemphasis on economics (ibid: 28). Hemphill opposes Marxist arguments that history can simply be determined by its economic base in citing Marx's words that “freedom... can only consist in socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind forces of Nature” (Marx 1967:820 cited in Hemphill 1992: 28-29). Hemphill (1992) does acknowledge Beamish's argument that a significant political-economic change must take place in order to seek the elimination of sport as a commodity and as a site of alienated labour. Hemphill (1992) concludes that both ideologies of sport are faulty and should be discussed other than through play or alienated labour. Foucault may allow for a more complex understanding of freedom in professional sports.

Jones and Aitchison (2007) use Foucault's concepts of technologies of the self, seen to empower athletes to make their own choices (how to dress, what to eat, how to train,

etc.) and the technologies of power, which oppress athletes in how to dress, what to wear, and how to train, and so on. The authors argue that equipment, clothing and fashion in the triathlon for example, are primarily based in function, but are also related to ability, knowledge, and cultural capital (Jones and Aitchison 2007). They also examine women athletes and their sexualized bodies in the use of tight-fitting clothing that correlates to a similar sexualized image portrayed today by women tennis players with shorts skirts and dresses, and tight-fitting tank-tops. Hence, Jones and Aitchison (2007) argue that those practices in triathlon (their controlled diet, their clothing and equipment as well as their training routines) all embody both technologies of the self and of power as control and resistance.

Based on this literature review regarding sport governance, surveillance and social control as discipline, as a surveillant or security assemblage, and in terms of neo-liberalism and Marxism, we see the complexity of the contemporary sporting industry. The often intertwining elements of athletes' health, the influence of the media, security, doping, and the political economy of sport are deeply entrenched within a high-performance expectancy to feed capitalistic values. However, due to the scant literature on the tennis industry, the analysis of some aspects of tennis governing bodies may provide another way of analysing governance, surveillance and social control. In the next section of the thesis, the major governing bodies of the professional tennis circuit will be presented including a specific description and analysis of the main structural elements of major governing bodies, as well as an investigation of tennis players' codes of conduct which will be compared to athletes' autobiographies in Chapter Five. The most recent technological advancements in

surveillance will also be analyzed in terms of technologies of power as further governance, surveillance, and social control over athletes.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Break Point: Identifying the Contemporary Governing Bodies of the Professional World of Tennis**

This chapter presents an in-depth look inside the professional tennis industry through a sociological lens. A comprehensive investigation of the professional leagues of tennis, mainly the International Tennis Federation (ITF), the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) for men and the Women's Tennis Association (WTA), will be through a brief description of the development of their respective structures and the players' councils (which resemble traditional workers' unions), the membership privilege system based on merit through ranking, and a substantial look inside the players' rulebooks, including their Codes of Conduct along with major and recent technological advancements on tour, and the Tennis Anti-Doping Program (which acts under the authority of WADA). It will show how tennis players are governed, controlled, and surveilled by these various governing bodies and practices, as well as how they relate to the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Two and made up of: Foucauldian governmentality and bio-power, Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage, and Rose's neo-liberal and ethico-politics model. This chapter will offer critical insight into the rigorous, capitalist-driven governance, social control, and surveillance methods used on players, and the consequent sociological implications for gender and social inequalities, health hazards, and media-based pressure.

### **Major Professional Tennis Leagues and their Main Structural Elements**

The ITF, ATP and WTA are the three major professional tennis leagues acting as governing bodies for players. The ITF was founded in 1924 as the International Lawn

Tennis Federation (ITF) and is the first professional league that players encounter to reach the higher-level tournaments in both the ATP and the WTA (ITF 2013a). The ITF also oversees five fundamental elements of the sport: administration and regulation, organization of international competition, and structure, development and promotion of the game (ITF 2012c). The ITF holds annual team tournaments such as the men's Davis Cup event, the women's Fed Cup event, and the Hopman Cup and Beach Tennis World Cup events, which are open to both sexes (ITF 2012a). Finally, the ITF is part of the Grand Slam committee which provides "administrative, officiating and media support" (ITF 2013i: Para.1). Its main rulebook (updated annually) currently contains 44 pages of fundamental rules of tennis including the measurement of a tennis court, the types of balls which must be used during a match, racket specifications, the scoring system, foot faults, service faults, and the role of court officials which mostly supports the ATP and the WTA's rulebook as described below (ITF 2012a).

The 'Open Tennis' era of amateur tennis sportsmen died with the birth of the ATP in 1972 (ATP 2012a). Executive director Jack Kramer and President Cliff Drysdale aimed at "changing the game for the better" with the creation of a computer ranking system to determine a player's standing according to yearly performance and thereby controlled players' entries into tournaments (ATP 2012b: Para. 3). The Men's Tennis Council, which included delegates of the ITF, the ATP, and tournament directors worldwide, led the circuit between 1974 and 1989 (ATP 2012b). Players eventually decided to "have a greater voice" and "take more control over the game" (ATP 2012b: Para. 6) at the 1988 U.S. Open. Prize money for athletes continued to grow and is expected to exceed \$95 million in 2014 (ATP 2013a). Today, the most recent ATP rulebook for its performing athletes consists of 162

pages worth of the circuit regulations, branding rules, financial components, world championships' information, lists of personnel, facilities and on-site conditions, competitions guidelines, the code, its ranking system, and exhibits (ATP 2013b). Players must be acquainted with this document at all times and be up-to-date with annual rule modifications.

The WTA is the global leader in women's professional sport with more than 2,500 players representing 92 nations competing at the WTA's 52 regular events and four Grand Slam events in 32 countries (WTA 2012c). Billie Jean King first founded the WTA in 1973 and the WTA Tour was launched in 1995 by merging the WTA Players Association with the Women's Tennis Council (WTA 2013b). Furthermore, in 2010, the WTA celebrated its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in women's professional tennis with an exceptional growth in all aspects of the organization, but mostly, in terms of economic development in annual prize money from \$309,100 to \$85 million (WTA 2012c). The WTA also holds an impressive official rulebook, which, at 518 pages in length is over three times the size of the ATP's (WTA 2013a).

Finally, national tennis federations are also an important governing body for athletes. All national tennis federations must abide by the ITF rules and regulations in order for them to host tournaments in their respective countries, but it also helps growing tennis talents nationally. For instance, Tennis Canada describes its organization as a “non-profit, national sport association responsible for leading the growth, promotion and showcasing of tennis in Canada” (Tennis Canada n.d.: Para.5). Other national tennis federations with a similar mission are the United States Tennis Association (USTA), the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) in Great-Britain, and the Real Federación Española de Tenis (RFET) in

Spain. National tennis federations are typically the first governing body that athletes face during the development of their career. It is therefore a significant governing body as it serves as a strong influence to young players hoping to reach the professional tour.

### *Players Councils*

Both the ATP and WTA have a player council in order to support players' issues on the professional tour. The only way to make modifications to the rulebooks is to hold a council meeting and for all parties to agree to giving players a say in what should or not be modified in the already existing rulebooks (ATP or WTA). This year's ATP council is comprised of 12 members that include four top-50 players (including Roger Federer as the president for the third year in a row, Gilles Simon, Kevin Anderson, and Jarko Nieminen), two top-50-100 players (Robin Haase and Sergiv Stakhovsky), in addition to two top-1 to 100 doubles-players (Mahesh Bhupathi and Eric Butorac) (ATP 2012d). It also includes two over top-100 players (James Cerretani and Andre Sa) as well as an alumnus (Brian Gottfried) and a coach (Claudio Pistolesi) (ibid). Back in 2008, the ATP Player council members elected for the first time in its history the top three players, Rafael Nadal (vice-president), Roger Federer (president), and Novak Djokovic (ATP 2012a). Nadal resigned from the players' council in 2012 saying: "I don't have enough energy. I cannot still put in my 100 per cent there." (SportsNet.ca 2012: para. 2). It is well-known to the tennis world that Nadal had attempted to push forth a two-year ranking system instead of a one-year one in order to benefit players with longer careers by allowing top players to be better protected in case of injuries by playing less often (Tandon 2012: para.1).

The WTA's current player council includes 8 members, four of whom are top-20 players (Serena Williams, Francesca Schiavone, Samantha Stosur, and Caroline Wozniacki), two top 21-50 (Hlavackova and Amanmuradova), and one over top-100 (Bethanie Mattek-Sands) (WTA 2013b). Unlike the ATP, the WTA player council does not include alumnae, or a coach. In addition, seven out of the eight members of the players' council are ranked within the WTA's top-50 ranking system with only one voice from the top-100 ranked and above and no voice for doubles' players. Although the ATP membership is not as skewed in favour of the best players, there is still an underrepresentation in both the ATP and the WTA for lower ranked athletes. The official ATP and WTA websites do not present any information about former or current player council's decisions. In order to view any type of progress made through the player councils, one must revert to news media where professional tennis players discuss current issues during press conferences and media interviews.

Nonetheless, some players prefer to discuss issues with the professional tour in private as one can see in 2008-2012 player council member, Novak Djokovic's, response to questions about scheduling. He noted, "but just looking at the injuries that we have, especially from the top players, including myself, I felt that towards the end of last year, it's obvious that we need some change. But I prefer talking in detail about these things behind closed doors" (CNN 2012: para. 5). This stance makes it difficult to see if and how the player councils can effect substantial changes on the professional tour. In addition, while looking at the ATP World Tour's 2012, 2013 and 2014 calendars, it is obvious that there have been no significant modifications to alleviate the players' schedules (ATP 2013c and

ATP 2013d), which suggests that the players' councils have little impact on the organizational structure of professional tennis.

On the WTA side, one of the major elements of dispute, initiated by Billie Jean King over the past several decades remains equal pay for both men and women (King and Brennan 2008). The discussion over equal pay is still an issue even though the very first tournament to offer equal prize money was one of the Grand Slam tournaments: the U.S. Open in 1973 (WTA 2013b). In 2001, the Australian Open Slam decided that it was also time to promote equality in prize money for women, and nearly 35 years after the U.S. Open, the 2007 Roland-Garros and Wimbledon slams became egalitarian (ibid). Billie Jean King (2008) witnessed, from the royal box of Wimbledon, the first time when the women's champion, Venus Williams, and the men's, Roger Federer, each received approximately \$1.4 million each (ibid). She recalls this particular moment in her autobiography,

I waved to Venus, [...] She waved back. I could not help but smile on behalf of all my friends who signed that contract for \$1 a decade before Venus was born. All those years of fighting for equal prize money, and when it finally happened at the most famous tennis club in the world, the woman who earned it truly understood why (King and Brennan 2008: 184).

Even the current Chairman and CEO of the WTA, Ms. Stacey Allaster, supports prize money equality and wrote,

The 2013 season is unique, for we are celebrating '40 Love' – the 40th anniversary of the founding of the WTA by Billie Jean King and the women who shared her vision for the game. We will also celebrate milestones for equal prize money, including the commitment made by the BNP Paribas Open, and remember Billie Jean's momentous defeat of Bobby Riggs in the 'Battle of the Sexes' in Houston – an occasion that transcended tennis, sending a clear message about the potential of women not just in sport, but society as a whole (published by the BNP Paribas Open Online Tournament Program 2013: 10).

Nonetheless, what appears to be an over-and-done-with battle-of-the-sexes for equal pay is not the case across the board since many professional tournaments still offer more prize money for men than women as shown below.

Two main issues which remain with the WTA's player council in fighting for gender equality prize money are: 1) the remaining tournaments (non-Grand Slams and less televised tournaments) do not all offer women equal prize money as for the men, and 2) the ATP's player council and other men's professional tennis players are currently discussing the *unfairness* of Grand Slams' prize money equality to be further elaborated upon below. In other major tournaments throughout the 2013 season, such as our very own Canadian Open (known as the Rogers Cup), women are unequally paid as compared to their male counterparts (Rogers Cup 2013a and Rogers Cup 2013b). If we were to compare equal pay in the greater Canadian society, we would see an interesting comparison. According to Morissette, Picot, and Lu (2013), the current average of women's earnings in Canada compare at approximately 70 percent of those of men. However, if based on hourly wages instead of an annual salary, women earn 85 percent of men's income (due, in part, to maternity leaves for women (ibid)). In the case of women professional tennis players, if a player stops competing due to pregnancy, no money is earned which substantially decreases her overall income. Further, even while being an active athlete, women in general earn less than men. For instance, the 2013 Rogers Cup women shall earn 73.60% of what their male counterparts earn, with a total of \$2,369,000 dollars assigned to women versus \$3,218,700 for men (Rogers Cup 2013a and Rogers Cup 2013b) (See Table 1 for more details). Hence, whether women work as dental assistants or professional tennis players, this socio-economic gender gap remains. The women's player council has attempted to diminish this

prize money gap for several decades now, but while progress is gained little by little, some men work against this initiative through their players' council.

For the past year and a half, an ardent debate has been occurring in the media about current male professional tennis players working against gender equality for prize money. The most evident justification is that, different from regular tournaments, the four Grand Slam tournaments have men play a best of five sets while women play a best of three. The most vocal player, who has been part of the ATP players' council since January of 2012, is Gilles Simon. Simon maintains that the men's game is more entertaining than the women's, and therefore, higher prize money should go to men (New York Daily News 2012). During a press conference at Wimbledon 2013, he further stated that everyone in the locker room agrees with him but that no one is willing to come out for fear of potential financial consequences. "The 128 players (in the men's singles draw at Wimbledon) think just like me, that's for sure. Just ask them. Maybe they can't say it. [...] Maybe they will lose, I don't know, \$2 million on the contracts if they say that" (ESPN 2012: para.13). He further states that sport-as-entertainment should be paid in accordance with the popularity of the individual event (ibid). Hence, since he believes men's tennis is more interesting than women's, men should get paid more. Other players supported Simon after his comment, such as Andy Roddick, who believes this is not a personal attack on women but that it is a matter of business (ibid). It would be appropriate to remind Roddick of the women's movement oft-quoted saying: 'the personal is political.' And it is indeed. At a post match press conference at Wimbledon this year, Serena Williams was asked whether women could justify more equal prize money at Grand Slams if they were to play best-of-five matches instead of three, and Williams believes that this argument is unfounded because

“we have said we’re willing and ready. I think every female athlete is ready to play five sets. Actually, the tournaments have said, No, we like you playing three sets” (Wimbledon 2013: para.6). If we look at most other sports, we can see that both genders play under the same regulations, such as track and field athletes who run the same tracks, or hockey players who play the same three 20-minute periods, or basketball teams who play the same length of time. This issue therefore becomes biopolitical.

The ITF, ATP, and WTA rely on and perpetuate a long-held perception that women’s biology is weaker than men’s. This social construct of sex translates into a gendered understanding of sport that normalizes its structural decisions, such as women playing fewer sets than men in Grand Slam tournaments. By not entering women into the same game as men (for a best-of-five matches), the professional tennis industry, including the Grand Slam committee, undermine women’s physical abilities and construct a false and unequal sport regardless of equal prize money. In this case, the population of women athletes become political and economic subjects as the technology of power keep women inferior to men by playing fewer sets than the men during Grand Slams, and perpetuate gender discrimination. It also leads to an accepted systemic inequity against women through a governmental rationale of structuring the game. In addition, in the cases of transgendered and transsexuals, the WTA requires that in the event that the gender of a player is questioned, a medical delegate of the WTA must approve the player’s gender which must include female genitalia changes and hormonal therapy (WTA 2013a). “Eligibility should begin no sooner than two (2) years after gonadectomy [sex change surgery]” (ibid: 25). Hence the systemic control over professional tennis bodies are further scrutinized and governed on biological levels to ensure a clear distinction between men and

women's tennis players, and wish to make sure that 'biological women' should not be stronger than 'biological men', such as in cases of transsexuals where a two-year time-frame is necessary to assure the WTA tour that those players are not 'stronger' than the 'biological women'. However, as Foucault might say, this form of power is contestable, which is why we are seeing some forms of resistance from the WTA players' council and players like Serena Williams who wish to bring to light these unjustified biopolitics.

### *Membership Privileges*

The political governance of players continues in terms of the sociology of work through membership privileges as in how the major governing bodies offer medical insurance, pension plans, disability insurance, and voting in players' council. For both ATP and WTA players, there are two types of memberships: full and associate. In order to be part of either membership, players must abide by WADA, the Anti-Corruption Program, and be in good financial standing with the irrespective league (WTA 2013a, ATP 2013b). The WTA provides a more detailed description of those memberships. The annual cost of a full membership is US \$1,000; a player is eligible if she has "had a WTA ranking as of the end of the Tour Year of 150 or better in singles or 50 or better in doubles and played in a minimum of six (6) WTA tournaments (including Grand Slams but not WTA \$125Ks or ITF Women's Circuit events) in one (1) of the past two (2) Tour Years" (WTA 2013a: 403). On the other hand, at an annual cost of \$500 for an associate membership, a player must have "earned a WTA Singles Ranking of 750 or a WTA Doubles Ranking of 250 in one (1) of the past two (2) Tour Years and has participated in a minimum of one (1) WTA Tournament (excluding WTA \$125Ks)" (ibid: 403). Both full and associate members benefit from an optional worldwide medical, dental, and vision insurance (ibid: 404).

However, full members hold additional benefits such as optional disability insurance, are eligible for a player pension plan, and may vote for or serve as a Players' Council member (ibid). Participation in the Player Pension Plan is complex; to be eligible a player must have five years of "Vesting Service" in order to receive the pension at the age of 50 (ibid: 407). The Vesting Service years come after completing the initial eligibility of playing at least 12 singles or 10 doubles WTA tournaments in a year (ibid: 407-408). Once the initial eligibility is earned, the Vesting Service years are obtained by "competing in a minimum of six (6) singles or five (5) doubles at WTA tournaments" following (ibid: 408). Depending on whether the player competed in the main draw or qualifying rounds, points of Vesting Service years are accumulated in order to be allocated at the age of 50 on a monthly basis for a 20-year period (ibid).

Hence, this meritocratic system rewards more privileges to the more successful, less privileges to the less successful, and no privileges to the bottom of the draw or the "non-successful". This unequal structure affects athletes in different ways. First off, the more games an athlete wins during a tournament, the more prize money he or she will earn and the more visibility he or she will create for more monetary sponsorship deals. In addition to these outcomes of meritocracy, only singles players ranked 150 or better can represent the full players' body at the players' council or have a say in voting privileges. Only singles players ranked 150 or better are eligible for a pension plan. Once again, the lower ranked players (150 and below, even more drastically the 750 and below) are not only underrepresented on the players' councils, they are also not protected in terms of disability rights and pension plans, thus creating social inequality among the population of players. Their health, salary, and future with the sport are therefore more at risk than the top-150.

Hence, this growing income and benefit distribution gaps reflect today's capitalistic ethos through a neo-liberal means of so-called self-government. These issues of social inequalities created by this meritocratic system in tennis are scarcely discussed among those in the tennis industry or by academics.

### **Major Elements of the ITF, ATP and WTA Rules and Codes of Conduct for Players**

In this section, I will describe the rules and conduct regulations that are most significant for this project and that focus on governance, control, and the surveillance of players.

It is important to understand how to win a match in order to better comprehend the more complex rules of the game that are discussed later in the chapter. The basis for winning a tennis **match** is the following. I suggest paying close attention to the differences between keywords used such as a point, a game, a set, and a match as these concepts are not interchangeable; they all mean something different and specific. A player must win two out of three **sets** (generally for both men and women, except during Grand Slam tournaments where men must win three out of five sets) in order to win the **match**. A **set** is won when a player wins 6 **games**, with a minimum difference of two **games** (e.g. 6-2), except if the **set** is at 6-5, the player must win the next **game** to win the **set** 7-5; if the **game** is 6-6, then a tie-break takes place where the first player who wins 7 **points** (by two points) wins the tie-breaker, thus the **set**. Finally, in order to win a **game**, a player must win 4 **points** (15, 30, 40, game), unless the **game** is tied at 40-40 which leads to "deuce" where a player must win two **points in a row** (eg. deuce, advantage Nadal, game). Now, in order to win matches as described above, tennis players must abide by a myriad of rules.

*Time Constraints and Continuous Play*

During the initial warm-up, players are allowed no more than **5 minutes** before a match to exchange serves, volleys, smashes, and forehand and backhand strokes (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, & WTA 2013). If a match is suspended less than 15 minutes, no warm-up is allowed. A suspension between 15 minutes and 30 minutes results in a 3-minute warm-up, and if the match is suspended for over 30 minutes, the regular 5-minute warm-up is granted (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, & WTA 2013). There is very little time to warm-up for players, yet they must arrange for any practice time in the morning or afternoon of the match, or a couple of hours before the match. The main issue with this tightly controlled rule is that many players do not know exactly when their match will begin since they must be on stand-by in the locker rooms in case the ongoing match suddenly ends, except when they are in the first match of the day or the first match of the evening.

According to Greavu and Panait (2009), in order to decrease the risk of injury and to provide maximum muscle performance, warm-up before a match is crucial. Proper warm-up should include general activities such as running or jogging for 5 to 10 minutes, along with more specific activities such as “arm rotations, leg lunges and bends, and racket swings in all stroke patterns [...] followed by some light hitting” (Greavu and Panait 2009: 42). The players must end with a five-minute intensified stroking (ibid). Hence, a 5-minute warm-up session is not enough for a proper injury-reduction and maximized muscle performance, especially for those who wait in the locker room for hours at a time before heading out to the court, several hours after having practiced earlier in the morning or the afternoon. Professional players are however stuck in this regulatory system which serves the efficiency of a capitalistic ethos to allow for consecutive tennis matches over players’ short and long-term health.

In order to better understand the concept of ‘continuous play’, it is important to focus on the rules for changing ends. Players must change ends at the end of the first, third and every subsequent odd game of each set, and during a tie-break, they must change ends after every six points (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, & WTA 2013). Players are however constrained by time. The ATP (2013b) grants men 25 seconds between each point, 90 seconds between changeovers, and 120 seconds between set breaks. For the women, the only difference is that the WTA (2013) allows only 20 seconds between each point while the rest remains the same. Do women require less rest time because they do not spend as much energy as men do? In any case, 120 seconds between set breaks, when a set can sometimes be played for over an hour, is very little time to recuperate when the player has only had 20 to 25 seconds of rest between each point. The first time violation results in a Time or Code violation warning and subsequent violations result in a loss of a point (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013). However, the WTA (2013) states that a player may not receive continuous time violations and will be given a Delay of Game Code Violation after the initial time violation.

At the beginning of this year, the ATP informed players that the 25-second rule will be strictly enforced now (there had been some leniency before) in order to speed up the game (Casey 2013, TSN 2013). The ATP supervisor Thomas Karlberg informed The Associated Press that it is the same 25-second rule that is now going to be actively enforced by the chair umpire. He further stated that in that first week of enforcement, “we [the ATP officials] have been helping the guys during changeovers telling them you have to speed up to make it in time and before the match telling them what is going to happen. If they pass 25 seconds, they get hit” (Casey 2013: para. 3).

However, according to Rafael Nadal at a press conference last February in Sao Paulo, Brazil, enforcing this rule will not benefit the sport (TSN 2013). He stated that “[p]eople like to see great rallies, long matches, and for that to happen, the 25 seconds are not enough, [and if] the APT wants a sport which is faster but doesn’t take into consideration a lot of strategy or great rallies, then it’s right doing this. I think the players in the locker rooms are not very happy about that rule” (ibid: para. 10). Nadal seems to be right that players are not happy about this new rule enforcement since players like Tomas Berdych, Janko Tipsarevic, and Gael Monfils also complained as they feel there is too little time to recover from rallies (ibid). Hence, it appears that the ATP wishes to abide by the demands of and profit from the professional tennis entertainment industry while disregarding the need for recovery time for tennis players between each point.

#### *Bathroom Breaks*

In addition to time constraints during play, players must ask the chair umpire for permission to be let out to the bathroom such as in classroom settings that Foucault argued was a practice of creating trained and docile bodies discussed earlier in Chapter Two. For toilet breaks, the ITF (2013), ATP (2013b), and WTA (2013) hold the same rules: a player is entitled to one toilet break at a best of three sets match or two toilet breaks at a best of five sets match for a total of 10 minutes. Toilet breaks should be taken after the end of a set, although if necessary, “a toilet break is taken during a set, it must be taken before the player’s own service game” (WTA 2013: 111). The chair umpire is allowed to deny such requests should he or she interpret the request as “gamesmanship and/or flagrant abuse of the Rules” (ibid). This particular rule is contested and controversial because at times the rule appears too ‘lenient’ toward players who wish to abuse it to disturb the opponent’s momentum or to recover one’s composure and concentration to finish a set or a match in

one's favour. A recent outburst occurred during a Grand Slam women's semi-final in Australia last January between number-one ranked player from the Belarus, Victoria Azarenka, and a rising teenage American player, Sloane Stephens, when Azarenka requested a toilet break at the end of the third and decisive set after losing momentum when she was unable to turn the last five match points. The media had a field day criticizing Azarenka's 'untimely' break, leading to what critics called unsportsmanlike behaviour, a bending of the rules, and even cheating (see ESPN 2013). There were different versions of what really happened based on Azarenka's contradicting on-court interview, the post-match press conference, and testaments from tournament officials: Azarenka took the time-out as a toilet break for calming her nerves as a toilet break, or for medical reasons due to a back injury, or a rib injury. However, this example demonstrates how the official approved Azarenka's bathroom break but then the media and fans weighed in with their disapproval of the decision, thus illustrating how pro tennis athletes are not only governed and controlled by their respective leagues but are also strictly surveilled by the media and fans. Overall, in Foucauldian terms, the changeover time limits and toilet breaks could be understood as effective time-outs for players to recover physically and emotionally, and therefore present forms of resistance to those changeover rules. These resisting actions are however not unique to tennis players as they are often seen in professional football (soccer) players requesting medical time-outs that are known to irritate their fans.

#### *Medical Time-Outs (MTOs)*

Like a bathroom break, players must request permission from the chair umpire to receive medical treatment. During a changeover or a set break a player may request a medical evaluation unless the player is no longer capable of play until treated (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013). If the doctor or the physiotherapist deems the medical

condition treatable, a medical time-out (MTO) is approved on or off-court for a limit of three minutes (ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013). However, interestingly, the ATP (2013b) further clarifies that “at professional events with prize money of \$35,000 or less, the supervisor may extend the time allowed for treatment if necessary” (125). In total, a player is allowed one MTO per medical condition (ATP 2013b; WTA 2013). Muscle cramping is not included as part of a MTO but can be treated twice during a match at a changeover or a set break only (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013). The three leagues also concur that no medical treatment may be given in case of general fatigue, medical conditions requiring injections (except for diabetes) as well as “any medical condition (inclusive of symptoms) that will not be improved by available medical treatment within the time allowed, specifically chronic conditions such as overuse injuries and recurring injuries” (WTA 2013: 343).

Hence, as seen earlier, not only are overuse injuries mainly caused by Western cultural values of embracing the emergence of the ‘one sport-athlete’ at a young age, but, the sporting governing bodies are not supportive in helping athletes to prevent and recover from such injuries. In addition, according to Greavu and Panait (2009), the majority of tennis players’ injuries are overuse injuries and found that 75% of strokes are made up by serves and forehands that hold greater risks for developing such. Not only are tennis athletes at greater risk of injuries solely based on the repetitive movement characteristic of their sport, but they increase that risk by performing these same movements from a very young age. Athletes’ (dis)abled bodies are therefore governed and controlled through strict timing constraints, under the approval and supervision of the chair umpire and ITF, ATP, or WTA approved medical trainers. Coaching is also a controlled element during a match.

### *On-Court Coaching vs. Coaching during a match*

According to all three professional tennis leagues, “[c]oaching is considered to be communication, advice or instruction of any kind, audible or visible, to a player” (ITF 2013a:14; ATP 2013b: 237; WTA 2013: 456). Coaching is not allowed unless play is suspended or during a team event such as the Davis Cup or the Fed Cup (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, & WTA 2013). However, the WTA (and the WTA only) allows some forms of coaching during play. According to the WTA (2013), like toilet breaks and medical time-outs, a player may ask the chair umpire for on-court coaching once per set during a changeover or at the end of a set break for no longer than 90 seconds. The WTA (2013) however states that “[d]uring televised matches, microphones will be positioned to capture on-court coaching and player responses, which may be used for live television broadcasts” (368).

Why are women ‘granted’ on-court coaching once per set when men are not? Despite the advantage for women to mentally recover with coaching between sets, one may see that these governing bodies use a gendered surveillance further scrutinizing women at play, and further reinforcing the idea that women are weaker than men, not only physically, playing best of three rather than the best-of-five format for the men in Grand Slams earlier mentioned, but this coaching rule points to supposed mental weaknesses for women. This systemic rule reflects the earlier literature shown in Chapter Three from Halbert and Latimer (1994) about the media portraying Navratilova as physically weaker, who lacks mental toughness and has feminine emotional issues. In addition, this gendered surveillance for women players allows for further listening in and therefore control over what is being said and recommended to these players. These gendered notions of surveillance,

governance, and control are further entrenched within the code of conduct regarding the rules of *hindrance*.

### *Hindrance*

According to the ATP (2013b: 234), *hindrance* occurs “[i]f a player is hindered in playing the point by a deliberate act of the opponent(s), the player shall win the point” (also in ITF 2013a: 12 & WTA 2013: 452). However, if the hindrance takes place during play unintentionally or is out of a player’s control, the point must be replayed (ITF 2013a, ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013). Examples of a hindrance within the player’s control is a player stopping play because he or she thought the opponent hindered the play in any way which could make him or her lose the point depending on the referee’s ruling. Also, when the ball hits a bird in the air is considered hindrance, and requires the point to be replayed (ibid). The WTA (2013) adds a further example of hindrance that neither the ITF nor the ATP address. The WTA rule book indicates that where there is “[a]ny continual distraction of regular play, such as grunting, [it] shall be dealt with in accordance with the Hindrance Rule” (112). Monica Seles, well-known for her grunt, was found to be distracting to her opponents (WTA 2009) as with other current players who regularly grunt such as Maria Sharapova, Victoria Azarenka, and Michelle Larcher de Brito. This finding of grunting as hindrance creates controversy in the media, among some players and also among some crowds. Former tennis player Martina Navratilova expressed her feeling toward grunting as ‘cheating’ because the grunt hinders the opponent’s capability to hear the return of the ball (Sinnett and Kingstone 2010)<sup>2</sup>. It is interesting however that grunting is not part of the

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<sup>2</sup> A preliminary psychological study put to test whether this comment was indeed well-founded and the authors could confirm part of Navratilova’s theory (ibid). Sinnett and Kingstone (2010) stated that “[w]hen an additional sound occurs at the same time as when the ball is struck, participants are significantly slower (21-33 ms) and make significantly

hindrance rule in the ATP's rulebook since, although the media attribute grunting to women, men such as Rafael Nadal, Andy Murray, David Ferrer and Nicolas Almagro also grunt. Is this again a way to further subordinate women in an attempt to train women's bodies into more docile ones? The media however seems to have a major influence in how some aspects of the game should be legislated within the players' codes of conduct, such as grunting.

### *Media and Sponsor Obligations*

In the ATP and WTA's codes of conduct, as players enter the 'big leagues', they are legally tied to responsibilities with the media and sponsors. Regarding press conferences and media interviews, the ATP (2013b) demands that for televised matches players offer a pre-match TV interview the same day of the match and, for the player who wins, he must give an on court TV interview. In addition, the ATP (2013b) requires that

[u]nless injured and physically unable to appear, a player or team must attend the post-match media conference organized within thirty (30) minutes after the conclusion of each match whether the player or team was the winner or loser, unless such time is extended by the supervisor for good cause. Post-match media obligations include two (2) interviews, with the host and player's national broadcasters. This rule shall also apply to matches won or lost as a result of a withdrawal or retirement (164).

Furthermore, after the post-match press conference obligation, players are required to provide post-match radio and TV interviews (ATP 2013b). Should any of these media obligations be violated, the players are subject to a fine of \$20,000 for top-10 players down to \$1,000 for players ranked 101 and over which will be doubled if players are repeat offenders (ATP 2013b). In addition, players within the ATP STARS program are required to take part in any ATP sponsored activity for each of its tournaments. Winning also comes

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more decision errors (3-4%) regarding the direction of the ball both for easy and hard decisions alike" (3). Hence, according to these authors, grunts therefore hinder the opponent's performance.

with more media responsibilities. When a player wins a Grand Slam tournament or the Barclays ATP World Tour Finals, the player “is obligated to participate in a media tour as arranged by the ATP during the days immediately following the finals of any such tournament” (ATP 2013b: 165).

For the WTA, the rules are similar, although players are required to provide a pre-match interview within 30 minutes of the end of the match, post-match interviews to one television host broadcaster, one WTA TV Production interview on the WTA’s website, one interview with a broadcaster of the player’s country of origin, and, an optional radio interview (WTA 2013). In addition to those post-match interviews, in a Grand Slam tournament, players must conduct one interview up to 15 minutes in length with the host broadcaster during the tournament (WTA 2013). For players in the quarterfinals of a Grand Slam, Premier Mandatory tournament or Premier 5 tournament, there is a mandatory 10-minute sponsor visit on the day of match (WTA 2013).

Players who violate media and sponsor responsibilities are fined for a first offense between \$5,000 for top-four players down to \$1,000 for players ranked 21 and over (WTA 2013). The players must also participate in one activity per year “for major marketing or publicity purposes for the WTA and or a WTA sponsor” (WTA 2013: 98). A more significant fine is applied to players who do not fulfill these marketing responsibilities in amounts ranging from \$100,000 for top-three players down to \$15,000 for players ranked 21 on (WTA 2013b).

These successful media marketing campaigns by the ATP and WTA sport’s organizers are part of the earlier-mentioned extraordinary growth in professional tennis which helps promote tennis and provide the necessary financial capital for its existence.

Many marketing campaigns were launched over the years for both the WTA and ATP in order to attract more sponsors and more spectators for the sport. However, while men's ads are typically focused on the game and strength, the women's ads appeal to characteristics of feminine ideals such as fashion, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes. For instance, in 2003 the WTA launched the slogan "Get In Touch With Your Feminine Side" (WTA 2013b: 5). Also from 2011 until this past June, the WTA's advertising campaign slogan proclaimed "Strong is Beautiful" with women's players photographed mostly dressed up in gowns and make-up while holding their racket on a tennis court (WTA 2011).

TV commercials of top players perpetuate popularized engendered meanings of 'strength'. For instance, in a television commercial featuring Serena Williams, she appears saying "[b]efore every [Grand] Slam, I pick out seven outfits. Seven. One for every match I need to win. I wouldn't pick seven outfits if I didn't plan on wearing them all" (Goodby, Silverstein & Partners 2011a). Another TV commercial with now former star player Kim Clijsters has her claiming, "Before I had a baby, I devoted my time to tennis. Afterwards, I had to compromise. Now, I devote a 100% to the baby and 100% to tennis" (Goodby, Silverstein, & Partners 2011b). Finally, the current WTA's ad campaign is called "40 LOVE" (WTA 2013c: Para.1).

In contrast, the men's major marketing campaigns of the past decade continue traditional representations of masculinity such as in the campaign of 2006 with the "Hit it with your Best Shot" slogan and in the "Game On" campaign of 2011 that captures "the raw emotion, individuality, and physical presence of the world's greatest [male] tennis stars" (ATP 2011: Para.2). Hence, although women athletes play tennis professionally, they are still portrayed as obsessed with how they look, maternal, delicate, and meeting typical

feminine ideals whereas men “mean business” and are ready to compete as strong fighters as supported earlier through on-court coaching and hindrance rules.

In addition to sponsor activities and responsibilities based on the ATP and WTA codes of conduct, general sponsors hold significant power when it comes to professional tennis athletes as well. Sponsors contract with and pay athletes for showcasing the company’s brand and product(s) such as Nike, Adidas, etc. However, the power sponsors have is that players must abide by other sets of rules through these contractual agreements that control what athletes can do and cannot do in many aspects of their lives beyond the courts<sup>3</sup>. The dress code, however is controlled officially by the ATP and WTA rules regarding clothing and affects both the sponsors and the players.

#### *Dress Code*

Both the ATP (2013b) and the WTA (2013) require players to be dressed in a professional manner. In addition, the WTA specifies that a player is deemed unprofessionally dressed during matches if she wears “sweatshirts, sweat pants, t-shirts, jeans or cut-offs” (2013: 109). Special footwear is required for each court surface (grass, clay, hard court, etc.) and must be approved by the WTA or ATP at all times (WTA 2013; ATP 2013b). For both the ATP and the WTA, most of the clothing restrictions concern brand and sponsor names (e.g. the location of the logo, its size, the number of logos permitted, etc.) on a player’s outfit from the hat, headband, wristband, shirt, skirt, dress, socks, compression shorts, etc. (ATP 2013b; WTA 2013). Players are obliged to comply with all of those rules. In addition, the strict etiquette of the prestigious and classic Grand

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<sup>3</sup> Current player James Blake discusses the constraints of sponsorship deals in his autobiography that will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Slam Wimbledon Championships requires extra professionalism in demanding that all players wear white only at the tournament, from head to toe, as part of Wimbledon's historical tradition. However, players have resisted despite negative reaction in the media and tournament fines, including Serena Williams (2009) with her cat-suit (Williams 2009; Schultz 2005), Venus Williams with her see-through outfit (ESPN 2010), Andre Agassi and his short-jeans (Agassi 2009), and Bethanie Mattek-Sands' several extravagant outfits which caused her being fined at the 2005 Wimbledon Tournament (ESPN 2011).

#### *Electronic Reviews with the Hawk-Eye Technology*

The chair umpires and the linesmen are considered referees. Referees must abide by the rules and regulations of their respective league (the ATP, WTA, or the ITF) and athletes must abide by referees' decisions overall. Although referees hold a significant amount of power during a tennis match, for the past six years, when playing in most centre courts of major tournaments of the ATP, WTA, and ITF, professional athletes can count on a surveillance technological tool and ally called the Hawk-eye officiating system (Hawk-Eye Innovations 2012). This system uses 10 high-speed cameras around the main court to display "the outcome of any given bounce within 5 seconds of the ball landing, with the result displayed to the players, umpire, fans and via television simultaneously" (Hawk-Eye Innovations 2012: Para.5). Those electronic reviews are however not shown after each point since the player must either stop play during a rally or on a point-ending shot and immediately challenge the linesman or chair umpire's call to get a review (ATP 2012b, WTA 2013). In a singles matches, each player is allowed three unsubstantiated challenges per set in addition to one more in case of a tie-breaker (ATP 2012b, WTA 2013).

Although this technology is currently used at a limited number of events and courts, it is now accepted widely as an important aspect of the game. Since it was put in place, the Hawk-Eye overturned 30 percent of referees calls challenged by players (Hawk-Eye Innovations 2012). Although this technological device appears to provide a new advantage for players in overruling an empire's call, the responsibility remains with the player to challenge a certain point knowing he or she is permitted a limited number of erroneous challenges. Abramitzky, Einav, Kolkowitz, and Mill (2012) argue that during important points, tennis players tend to have a lower success rate when they challenge calls, and that success rates are lower when athletes challenge with two challenges remaining compared to one, typically leaving the last available challenge for when the challenging player is extremely sure that the initial call is faulty. Also, players tend to challenge more toward the later sets when the match is closing in, and the authors also found that "players who are winning the match tend to have greater success rates, presumably because their propensity to challenge is lower" (ibid: 953). However, when the hawk-eye is unavailable, the traditional practice of referees' decision making is to be respected by players at all times. This apparatus illustrates Rose's self-governing capacities from which players believe that they are choosing to challenge the referees' decisions within this highly controlled structure. However, because this technology is only available at major centre courts of major tournaments, lower ranked players who do not get to play on centre courts of major events do not get this advantage. The ranking system once again creates social inequality among the players since this "freedom" of choice is not offered to all.

### **The Tennis Anti-Doping Program (TADP) as a Signatory of WADA**

Before the foundation of the Tennis Anti-Doping Program (TADP), the Men's Tennis Council was responsible for sanctioning recreational drug use toward the end of the 1980s. That mandate was expanded to performance-enhancing drugs in the 1990s after the ATP Tour's establishment (ITF 2013b). From 2007 onwards, the ITF assumed responsibility for managing, administering and regulating doping in tennis all across ATP events and WTA events (ibid). The TADP began out-of-competition testing in 2005 and has been fully compliant with the WADA's code since 2009 (ITF 2013c). Although the literature review earlier provided some insight into WADA, it is worth examining its most recent code which is 135 pages in length including the purpose, scope, and organization of the program and the code, doping control tools, proof of doping, the prohibited substances list, testing methods, analysis of samples, results management, the right to a fair hearing, automatic disqualification of individual results, sanctions against athletes and sporting bodies, appeals, confidentiality and reporting, education and research, roles and responsibilities, involvement of governments, acceptance, compliance, modification and interpretation of the data (WADA 2009).

For the fairness of the game, WADA (2009) holds a 'strict liability principle,' which stipulates that an athlete is responsible for any prohibited substance detected in his or her system regardless of his or her intentions or the source of the substance. Relating to Article 10 of the *Code*, WADA places the burden of proof upon the athlete and states that the sanctions can be reduced or even avoided if the athlete can demonstrate that "he or she was not at fault or significant fault or in certain circumstances did not intend to enhance his or her sport performance" (WADA 2009: 19). However, if an athlete wishes to appeal a positive doping result and its sanction, he or she must send a registered letter to WADA's

medical director within 21 days of that decision, pay a non-refundable administrative fee of \$500, with a decision being made within 30 days of submission (WADA 2009). However, the original denial decision remains effective until the new decision, if any, is granted (WADA 2009). Thus, if a player was found guilty and suspended for a two-year sentence from tennis (which is usually the sentence for first offenders in this sport), he or she remains suspended until the appeal is over. Plum's (2008) article regarding the growth of "false-positives" and the significant consequences that an incorrect test holds for the athlete is particularly germane in this context (see also Yonamine et al., 2004). The same process applies for athletes who require the use of certain medications due to an illness or disease that contain prohibited substances (WADA 2009). Players must not take the medication until it is approved by WADA (WADA 2009). WADA is therefore not only controlling the tennis player, but also the individual and his or her health in a non-sporting situation.

In 2003, WADA introduced its "no-notice out-of-competition drug testing" which required athletes to provide their general contact information such as "their home address, contact telephone numbers and training, competition and travel plans" (Waddington 2010: 256). As a way to improve its system, in 2008, WADA developed the more thorough whereabouts system discussed in Chapters Two and Three (ibid). The TADP has applied this aspect of WADA's Code since 2009 as required to comply with the WADA code (ITF 2013c, ITF 2013f). It is important to differentiate between WADA's 2003 out-of-competition program that was established by the ITF in 2005, and the additional 2009 integration of the whereabouts system implemented by WADA in 2008.

According to the ITF (2013f), WADA's whereabouts system requires players to give their whereabouts information *everyday of the year* through an International

Registered Testing Pool (IRTP). In order to abide by WADA's regulations, the TADP decided to include in their IRTP "the ATP top 50, WTA top 50, top 10 doubles players and top 5 men, women and quad wheelchair players" (ITF 2013f: Para.4). In other words, every player may get tested at an out-of-competition setting but only those above-mentioned highly ranked-players must divulge their daily whereabouts. Players must inform the governing body three-months in advance of their whereabouts through the ADAMS database program (ITF 2013f). On ADAMS, players must provide their calendars and also indicate whenever they are not in-competition, a 60-minute time slot of availability per day (ITF 2013 g). In the player's guide on how to operate ADAMS, the ITF explains the significance of this 60-minute time slot:

The ITF acknowledges that it is not realistic to demand your whereabouts 24 hours a day in advance and not expect changes to occur. Consequently, the 60-minute time slot is the only time of the day that you are fully accountable for your whereabouts and strict consequences are established if you 'miss a test' during this period. The 60-minute time slot also ensures there is always one time and place each day that you can ultimately be found for testing. You are required to provide, for each day of the quarter, one specific 60-minute time slot between 06:00 and 23:00 where you will be available and accessible for testing at a specific location. [...] If your plans change and you will no longer be at that location at the time you indicated, you must update your information to identify a new time slot and/or a new location before the original slot comes into effect. Although you are not obliged to account for your whereabouts every hour of the day, if a Doping Control Officer fails to locate you at this designated 60-minute location, a Missed Test may be declared against you. (ITF 2013g: 6).

As a consequence of a missed test or failing to file whereabouts information three times in any eighteen-month period, the player will be declared a doping offender (ITF 2013e).

Finally, refusing to be tested, whether in-competition or out-of-competition, will also be declared a doping offense as recently seen with top 50 player Viktor Troicki, who has been suspended since July 25, 2013 for allegedly refusing to be blood tested last April 15 (ITF 2013h). The TADP banned Troicki for an eighteen-month period, making him eligible to

return to play on January 25, 2015 (ibid). At the end of the “ADAMS Whereabouts Program” document to its players, the ITF writes “Thank you for your cooperation and your support of doping-free sport” (ITF 2013g: 8). It is clear that this form of technique showcases Foucault’s concept of disciplinary power through correct training that homogenizes the above-mentioned practices in order to create docile bodies. As seen, players are punished and recorded for testing positive that highlights Foucault’s understanding of correct training.

Furthermore, according to the latest TADP major meeting last March, it will introduce, before the end of the year, WADA’s Athlete Biological Passport (ABP) in order to reinforce doping control in the sport (ITF 2013d). Since December 1, 2009, WADA’s ABP entails “[a] mathematical model that was designed to identify unusual longitudinal results from *Athletes*. The model calculates the probability of a longitudinal profile of *Marker* values assuming that the athlete has a normal physiological condition” (WADA 2012a: 14). In other words, the ABP uses ADAMS database that contains every blood and urine ‘data’ results in order to identify samples which differ from the athlete’s typical results. Hence, despite an athlete’s negative sample, ADAMS can perceive physiological inconsistencies based on those accumulated samples in order to target the athlete more closely for potential unidentified doping substances and methods of doping.

Although WADA still firmly believes in the effectiveness of its method on doping control through the use of sample testing, the organization recognizes its limitations when an athlete uses drugs sporadically or on a low-dose basis, or who also use drugs that are not yet detectable through conventional means, which is why the sophisticated and complementary ABP model was developed (WADA 2012a). This major surveillant

assemblage from WADA is a significant controlling agent for athletes with little room for error. In order to lower the risks of testing positive, both the ATP and WTA offer, within their rulebooks, recommendations for “Player Food” to include few spices and sauces, and mostly carbohydrates, and proteins (ATP 2013b, and WTA 2013a). Furthermore, more recent technologies also simulate further governing, surveillance and social control strategies within the professional tennis industry such as the Slam Tracker.

### **The IBM Data Tracker (also known as the Slam Tracker)**

In 2012, all four Grand Slam tournaments tennis federations’ hosts joined with IBM to enhance data management and tennis statistics simultaneously. IBM described its technology as “an innovative and immersive online experience for millions of fans worldwide” (IBM 2012: First Para.). However, in addition to providing online scores, statistics such as aces, serve speed, winners, unforced errors and so on, for the first time, IBM also provided “specific Keys to the Match based on IBM’s predictive analytics technology” (ibid: Second Para.). IBM (2012) indicated that for the past seven years, IBM accumulated up to 39 million data points’ worth of Grand Slam tennis data. With these data, prior to a match, the SPSS technologically-based system analyzes “both competitors’ historical head-to-head match ups as well as stats against comparable player styles, to determine what the data indicate each player must do to do well in the match” (Ibid: Para. 4). It is however not only to do well in a match, but to win it based on the players’ statistical strengths and weaknesses. This performance prediction technology is similarly integrated in the Major League of Baseball and its sabermetrics statistical analysis model coined by Bill James that allows for teams to maximize their teams’ performance into wins (see Puerzer 2002).

This new technologically-advanced data management system is important to this work as it further links expectations for athletes to do well in terms of controlled statistics that anticipate the outcome of the match at play. It can be linked to Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage since it transforms athletes into 'data doubles' through many flows (statistics). The end result, the assemblage of those flows, creates the power relation of the system by informing everyone (including the player) how players must play in order to win the match. This system is also linked to Foucault's concept of biopolitics as it uses data for the control and regulation of the individual athlete and reduces athletes' performances to a numerical language based upon the collected data by IBM. It also further governs athletes' performances in expecting a new normalcy for tennis-match outcomes. However, Foucault argues that power is not only repressive but also productive. The athlete's individuality, portrayed by the collected data, allows for everyone, including the athlete and his or her team, to recognize any player's strengths and weaknesses. By understanding numerical data about an athlete's performance, an improved productivity performance through further training is possible and expected by all.

### **Chapter's Conclusion: The Game's Highlights**

Analysing these hundreds of pages of codes of conduct from the three major governing bodies in addition to the WADA Code and further technological advances in the sport, provides an incredible awareness as to how constraining, controlled, surveilled, and governed the players' lives and bodies have become. It is evident that Foucault's theories of surveillance and control apply well to this sports entertainment industry. The macro structures of the ATP, WTA, ITF, and WADA all individualize athletes through disciplinary technologies of power by their respective codes. In addition, through a bio-

power discourse, those major actors, the apparatus of power, regulate athletes as both individual bodies as well as populations of athletes. Players require a proper dress code, acceptable time for play, when to go to the bathroom, if and when an MTO can be afforded, who and when a coach can see his or her player, who gets to vote on players' councils, who may be in players' councils, who can have the right to a pension plan, what they get paid, and who and when to give urine or blood. These codes therefore normalize the sport of tennis and athletes who submit to the rules through self-discipline techniques that transform athletes into objects or commodities. If a player does not abide by those rules, punishment follows through what Foucault explained as "the examination" (1995: 184).

It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of the force and the establishment of the truth. (ibid: 184)

Whether the gaze which enforces discipline over the athlete is that of the ATP, WTA, ITF, or WADA, athletes are aware of their surveillance and therefore discipline themselves to ensure that the required practices are correctly carried out. As a consequence of such technologies of dominance, several sociological issues such as gender discrimination, social inequality, health hazards, and media pressures are perpetuated by the structural governance of the ATP, WTA, and ITF as they fulfill the capitalistic ethos of the sport. Thus, for example, for both men and women athletes, the high-end professional status of a tennis player becomes more and more constrained by media obligations and doping control the higher up in the ranking system the athlete is situated. Also, women are treated as inferior to men through systemic salary gaps despite the Grand Slam tournaments that have finally committed to equal pay between genders but disregard the unequal pay for the rest of the tournaments during the year. They are also discriminated against in terms of public

presentations regarding their ability to play the game. Social discrimination against lower ranked players also increase health risks through the lack of disability insurance to those players in case of injuries, and the non-treatment of overuse injuries during MTOs. Nonetheless, the best way to situate and analyse these above-mentioned rules and regulations within professional tennis is by understanding how former and current athletes perceive and possibly resist them. In the next chapter, Nikolas Rose's ethico-politics model will be interpreted more in-depth through players' voices in an attempt to comprehend athletes and their understanding of freedom and resistance.

## Chapter 5

### **Match Point: Top-Players' Voices on Being Governed, Controlled, and Surveilled**

*“It’s no accident, I think, that tennis uses the language of life. Advantage, service, fault, break, love, the basic elements of tennis are those of everyday existence, because every match is a life in miniature. Even the structure of tennis, the way the pieces fit inside one another like Russian nesting dolls, mimics the structure of our days. Points become games become sets become tournaments, and it’s all so tightly connected that any point can become the turning point. It reminds me of the way seconds become minutes becomes hours, and any hour can be our finest. Or darkest. It’s our choice.” (Agassi 2009:8)*

One could see the similarities between tennis and the overarching concept of life itself as understood by Andre Agassi above as not so far from Rose’s concern with “our growing capacities to control, manage, engineer, reshape, and modulate the very vital capacities of human beings as living creatures” (2007: 3). This final chapter will (1) draw upon the theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter Two drawn from the work of Foucault, Haggerty and Ericson’s surveillant assemblage, along with Rose’s ethico-politics model to critically examine the pro tennis industry, (2) contribute to the limited literature review regarding the sport of tennis regarding its governing methods, and (3) give a voice to current and former top-tennis players regarding the resistance to and approval of some of Chapter Four’s tennis rules and regulations as well as other unofficial governing methods absent from the players’ codes of conduct. As noted earlier, the players voices heard in this chapter are only those of the top players due to the lack of autobiographies by non-high-ranking tennis players. This limitation directly reflects the social inequality in today’s tennis meritocracy. The views of the lower-ranked players are not requested by players’ councils, nor are they pursued by the media for or for best-selling publications. The major issues supported by players are divided into the following categories: health concerns, media pressure and the commercialization of sport, and the Tennis Anti-Doping Program

(TADP). In addition, I challenge the theoretical grounds of Foucault, Haggerty and Ericson, and Rose in terms of the recently emerging problems of tennis-match fixing and betting corruption.

### **Health Concerns: Athletes Challenge Biopolitics**

“Allaster’s tenure as Chairman and CEO of the WTA began in July 2009 and has been marked by her focus on maximizing the fan experience through a series of on-court and digital innovations; securing a record number of new sponsors, ensuring the financial success of the sport; and enhancing the health and well-being of the athletes” (WTA 2013b: 8). Neither the ITF nor the ATP’s official documents offer a statement offering any protection of athletes’ health and well-being except for the WTA as indicated above. Although this statement shows the WTA’s Chairman and CEO’s accomplishments thus far, the enhancement of athletes’ health and well-being typically fall in last, after the interests of the fans and sponsors are met. Are athletes’ health and well-being indeed the last priority for the tennis industry? In this segment, athletes will challenge the structure of play and different sets of rules that are discursively portrayed as beneficial for their health and well-being. As we know, bio-power discourses that subjugate athletes through many governance and regulatory practices are associated with the body. However, the well-being and health concerns that bio-power promises are sometimes deceptive. These concerns have been raised by former and current players who have experienced and spoken or written about them and who draw attention to points that are not necessarily explicit in the players’ rulebooks documented earlier. Some of these athletes also show how they resist these forms of governance, social control, and surveillance for the benefit of their health.

### *Court Surface and Modern-Day Tennis Rackets linked to Injuries*

Tennis is the only major sport that plays on different court surfaces (clay, hard or cement, grass, and carpet) with different ball types which greatly influences a match (Fernandez, Mendez-Villanueva, and Pluim 2006). According to Miller (2006), today's newest sporting technology is not always a synonym for safer and healthier practices for athletes. For instance, wood rackets were used up until the 1970s, when rackets became mainly composed of graphite with a larger head size and a decrease in weight from 400g to 250g (Miller 2006). However, Miller showed that these new, modern-day rackets and strings are stiffer "which means that they vibrate faster" and, as a result, create a greater shock impact leading to problems of tendon strain, commonly termed "tennis elbow" (ibid: 403). According to former champion Pete Sampras (2008), there is a significant pressure for players to use the latest models of rackets based on sponsorship deals regardless of potential injuries. Nonetheless, throughout his career, Sampras (2008) claimed he never changed his racket, thus never bought into this pressure.

In addition, as seen earlier in Chapter Three, court surfaces play an important role in the risk injuries for tennis players since it was confirmed that hard court and clay court surfaces are tougher on injuries in comparison to grass and other surfaces (Breznik and Batagelj 2012). Nadal has been highly vocal about this issue after coming back this year after a seven-month injury, and stated during a press conference in Brazil that,

[t]he ATP worries too little about the players. It should care more for them. For future generations it would be good to see a less aggressive tennis life. Not only because of what happens during your career, but also because of what happens after your career, about how is your body when your tennis career is over (TSN 2013: Para.2-4).

He then further criticizes the ATP about playing on cement as a health concern, and stated, "[t]he ATP has to start thinking about ways to lengthen the players' careers. I can't imagine

football players playing on cement, I can't imagine any other sport involving aggressive movements such as tennis being played on such aggressive surfaces such as ours" (ibid: Para.8). In addition to Nadal's criticism of hard courts, Roger Federer, Caroline Wozniacki, and Ernests Gulbis also supported Nadal's comments (Rothenberg 2013). This criticism seems justifiable since the use of hard-court surface tournaments has increased significantly since 1983. At that time, 30.59% of ATP and 26.4% of WTA tournaments were held on hard-court surfaces whereas this year, the ATP is holding 56.93% and the WTA 63.80% of their tournaments on hard-court surfaces (Rothenberg 2013; ATP 2013c; WTA 2013d). Hence, knowing that hard-court surfaces cause more injuries than any other surfaces, it is difficult to appreciate how the ATP and WTA may be concerned for the health of their athletes. Nadal and his colleagues may be right in stating that the ATP (and the WTA) should care more about their players' health as they challenge the discourse of bio-power. In this case, the ATP and WTA somatically govern and regulate their athletes' population under a false promise of wellbeing and healthy conditions of play. Adding the ATP's and WTA's regulations over MTOs which do not permit overuse injuries to be treated as documented in Chapter Four, the governing bodies further indicate the contradictions over athletes' health and well-being.

Not only is playing on hard courts a challenge, but to change court surfaces is also a challenge for competitors. Although no scholars have yet looked at the effects of changing court surfaces and tight scheduling over the year, it is evident that it is an extra challenge for the players. Further medical sports and physiological academics should take on this issue.

*Medical Health Treatment & the Pressure of Playing through Pain*

In May 2004, during a practice session in Rome, current professional American tennis player, James Blake, ran into a net post and fractured his neck (Blake 2007). He was rushed to the nearest emergency room and was unfortunately given a diagnosis by doctors who attended to him in that local public hospital that was different from the eventual diagnosis (ibid). According to Blake (2007), the hospital staff also did not offer him a shower for the first three days. The last doctor treating him at the hospital was also a doctor at the Rome tennis tournament and left him alone all weekend because he had duties to attend at the tournament, despite Blake being ready for discharge (ibid: 52-58). Since the tournament of Rome, called *The Internazionali BNL d'Italia* and an ATP World Tour Masters 1,000, according to the ATP's Code (2013:50), ATP World tournaments must have an on-site "English-speaking doctor who specializes in sports medicine" during the entire competition. In Blake's case, the first two doctors who came into contact with him did not know English; it was not until the next day when an English-speaking doctor was finally provided. Although it appears that the ATP is involved in its players' health and, as we have seen with the time given in treating medical injuries on-court, once the players are off-court, the surveillance, governance, and social control "bubble" which typically contains the players disappears. There were no follow-ups on Blake's treatable condition once he stepped out of the court (Blake 2007).

Another contradiction involves WADA and how it insists on informing the public that on-court drug testing is as important as off-court testing in the name of players' health. In other words, once players are off-court, if they remain physically "able" bodies, then they remain "suspicious", and thus require further governance, surveillance and social control in order to monitor their actions off-court in case they may influence on-court performance. However, if a tennis player is injured, and becomes a disabled body, he or she

is no longer suspicious since it is a non-productive body. Hence if the body is non-suspicious, no techniques of power are imposed. This can be explained in terms of biopolitics. As long as players are physically productive, they are political bodies worth being regulated. Yet once they no longer produce, their biopolitical power diminishes.

According to Wood (2006), it is up to the national federations to take care of their athletes medically off-court and that the more centralized those national federations are, such as France, Spain, and Argentina, the healthier its players. Unlike team sports where the physiotherapist follows the team on the road and at home games, and the athlete is then taken care of by his or her own doctor back home, tennis players are away on tour approximately ten months of the year. Hence, medical treatment and follow up must be done away from home most of the time. The national federations will sometimes send their physiotherapist or doctor for Grand Slam tournaments, but it is expensive for those federations to hire a physiotherapist and doctor per athlete, which means that the federation hires a certain number of medical personnel to oversee many players at a time. Thus, athletes are often left on their own if the one doctor or physiotherapist is somewhere else with other players or back home taking care of the rest of them. However, some high-ranked players can afford their own medical staff and pay for such, as with coaches. However this is not the case with the lower-ranked players and those players who are from national federations with few resources. This meritocratic system again shows its discriminatory features by creating deeper social inequalities, which this time, affect players' health. It also shows a neo-liberal distribution of power that favours smaller privatized institutions such as those of national federations, and which lifts the burden of responsibility from the WTA, ATP, and ITF for athletes' medical health.

Murray remembered the 2008 Davis Cup scandal with the Great Britain team when he decided not to play due to knee pains. When Murray told the team that he chose not to go to the Davis Cup, everyone told him that it would not be a good idea due to “repercussions” and that they would feel “let down” (ibid: 180). Murray informed his team of the positives and negatives of his decision, and writes that

[t]he positives were easy to identify: keep the team happy, keep the press happy, keep the Lawn tennis Association happy, keep whoever else happy. The negatives were easy too: miss Marseille [ATP Tournament, 250 Series], risk the knee flaring up again, lose all my ranking points from winning in San José in 2007, ranking inevitably dropping. There was a common denominator. All the negatives affected me. (Murray 2009: 181)

Hence, the long-term health and wellbeing of Murray did not appear to suit the Davis Cup team whose ethos of winning for their country was more important. Nonetheless Murray resisted the pressures of playing this time while hurt, but it was not always the case.

In another example, when younger, Murray discussed how physiotherapists and doctors pressured him into playing through pain, depending on who the medical staff were hired by (2009: 57-58). For instance, he noted that the physiotherapist from his tennis academy told him to take some time off and ice his knee after a particular incident. It resulted in being misdiagnosed by different physiotherapists and doctors, and was a long-lasting injury that they had not investigated closely: a bipartite patella (Murray 2009: 59). Players must have the right to say “I’m not playing because I’m injured” rather than being pressured by physiotherapists and doctors paid by the respective national tennis association, or the ATP or WTA since they are in conflicts of interest between the league or federation, and the professional player. Also, the age and experience of the tennis player seems very influential at this stage for the players who give in to the pressure (the media, ATP, WTA,

medical staff, coach, etc.) and those who will not play injured. The younger and less experienced the player is, the more he or she usually endures this power imbalance in terms of health treatment. Murray illustrated it well when he stated: “I was angry and feeling so sorry for myself, but when you are that age [sixteen years old] you can’t turn round to the doctor and say: ‘What the hell are you talking about?’ I’d do that now. I’d demand answers to questions and not go away until I had them” (Murray 2009: 58-59). This example was also discussed by both Williams sisters at the 2001 Indian Wells tournament. Despite informing the tournament trainer on the morning of the semi-final match against her sister, Serena, that she wanted to forfeit due to knee injury, Venus Williams’ request was put off by the trainer and tournament officials. But she retired from the tournament after the warm-up session leaving an infuriated crowd that shouted comments with racial overtones the next day during Serena’s final match (Williams 2009). Serena wrote about her sister’s age as influential in being pushed to play, “If she [Venus] was an older, more established player, she might have been a little more forceful about the situation. She might have bypassed the trainer and gone straight to the director” (Williams 2009: 65). By refusing to play however, was a way to resist this culture of playing hurt that, in this case, Indian Wells tournament officials, seemed to support by minimizing athletes’ medical injuries for uninterrupted play and financial gain. Serena also could not explain why everyone was blaming Venus and Serena for the injury, and she argued that the trainer should have been questioned in order to avoid such chaos during the final. She stated “[o]f course, nobody asked the trainer. Nobody looked at what actually happened. People were only too happy to cast us as scapegoats, when really we were just victims of a stupid system and an abuse of authority” (Williams 2009: 68). Once again, this situation shows the contradictory nature of bio-power in the management of professional tennis. Both Serena and Venus Williams have

never since set foot at the Indian Wells Tournament as a form of resistance to the tournament officials despite it being a mandatory WTA tournament and therefore risking fines and suspensions for not attending (Williams 2009).

When ATP and WTA tournament doctors and physiotherapists treat players independent of professional and commercial interests, the coaches sometimes get in the way of an accurate diagnosis. As seen in Chapter Three, the powerful culture of playing while hurt and embracing pain is accepted by some coaches. When the Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), Britain's national federation of tennis, hired the well-renowned coach Brad Gilbert, Andy Murray spent a lot of time with him. However, there were several instances when, according to Murray, Gilbert pushed for Murray to play while injured (2009). Before Wimbledon of 2007, Murray suffered from a wrist injury, and wrote "I can't understand Brad's attitude. Maybe he believed the injury wasn't that bad. He spoke to the doctors, but the doctors were wrong according to him" (Murray 2009: 167). Hence, there is an abuse of power by these governing bodies to keep the players in the system, regardless of their injury status, in favour of commercial gain, and which further jeopardizes players' health.

So there is intense surveillance on and off court as far as suspect bodies in terms of non-approved drugs, but when it comes to the protection of players' health, there is little regard. The league does not really care for health issues as much as they say they do, as indicated in the practices by WADA. Why not monitor the prevention and protection of athletes' health? There is biological monitoring for performance norms but little for promoting a truly healthy body. So, the governing bodies adhere to a competitive

capitalistic economic approach and appropriate athletes' bodies to transform them into subordinate consumer objects regardless of the health risks.

It is evident that players are caught up in Rose's neo-liberal, self-governing techniques as they are often overpowered by authority figures, whether it be by the ATP, ITF, WTA, or by coaches and medical staff who regulate and control players' bodies. Although players should be protected as a group, it always results in the player having to individually stand up for him or herself. The responsibility of playing while hurt or not is individualistic yet it is often controlled through a governmental framework that favours performance and capital gain. It was seen that some players, usually older and higher-ranked, do at times resist the governmental powers for the benefit of their health. Yet if we add unequal health insurance access to the structural issues within the system, such as the earlier-mentioned non-treatment of overuse injuries during MTOs, the lower ranked players are deeply disadvantaged healthwise. Players under the top 150 are not eligible for the governing body's health insurance and no disability insurance is available in case of long-term injuries. The ATP and WTA's meritocracies therefore fail to protect all athletes' health and well-being equally and in all cases due to an entrenched capital economic accumulation model.

### **The Media Pressures and the Commercialization of the Sport: Trapped in Capitalism?**

As we have seen in Chapter Three, the major governing bodies strictly command players to deal directly with the press, especially during post-match press conferences. Part of this media attention brings more visibility for the sport and helps in its commercial goals to keep the sport alive and commercially profitable. However dealing with the media, as we

will see below, exerts extra pressure on the players, especially on the top-20 players and Grand Slam champions. In addition, the media, sponsorships and other commercial components of the game create a heavier burden for the athletes. Despite all of this, resistance is present.

Being the youngest player to ever win the U.S. Open in 1990 at the age of 19, Pete Sampras' life and that of his family instantly came under the spotlight after this win. The mandatory post-match press conferences were adding more pressure on the player as he called them his "press chores" (Sampras 2008: 45) and understood that since his big win, "I now had a huge bull's eye permanently tattooed on my back" (ibid: 53). The media frenzy caused further pressure for Sampras as he was now expected to win tournaments and Grand Slams, especially the upcoming U.S. Open, which he wrote affected his game (ibid). He wrote, "I resented the expectations people had of me" (Sampras 2008: 56). Yet, at that time, the IBM Slam Tracker had yet to be conceived which means there is now even more pressure in expecting players to win. As a defending champion the following year, Sampras lost to Jim Courier during the quarterfinals, and set off a media controversy during the post-match press conference by stating, "I feel like a ton of bricks has been lifted off my shoulders" (ibid: 59). His opponent followed his press conference by stating "There are a lot of guys out there wishing they had that load of bricks on their shoulders" (ibid: 59). The media, (former) players, and sports commentators interpreted Sampras' comment as if he was happy he had lost his title, therefore no longer wishing to be competitive in the sport. In reality, Sampras confided to the press about how he felt at that moment, not that he was happy he lost, but that he was relieved that this pressure would now be off his shoulders. Yet the media discussed this misinterpretation for months to come, adding further pressure in having to defend his point again and again. Hence, like playing hurt, enduring the

pressure of winning from the media, sponsors, and major governing bodies, is another ethos of competitive tennis. Furthermore, during the course of his career, Sampras was criticized by the media for having a boring personality off-court (ibid). Former player and now sports commentator John McEnroe even advised him on how to be more like him, with more personality (ibid: 113-114). According to Rose (1999b), the ethical aspects of conducting one's life is often spread by advertising and television media. Hence, in this case, the media shapes, albeit autonomously, Sampras' identity based on technologies of power that normalize this tennis community's ethical and moral order. One must tolerate and even suffer through the pressure of winning which the media effectively asserted in public after Sampras' press-conference comment.

Former British tennis player Tim Henman also described how the British media found him so boring (Murray 2009). Yet in recommending to Andy Murray that confronting the media will not make a difference to end bad journalism and remove pressure, Henman's way of resisting the media was to be a boring and very private interviewee at press conferences and newspaper interviews (ibid). Henman explained it as having to deal with two different personalities. Henman concluded by gracefully writing his motto; "[k]eep your head down and enjoy it!" (cited in Murray 2009: 114). Thus, instead of keeping one's head up, one should then try to stay as low profile as possible to get through the pressures of the media and therefore not follow the normative conduct expected of players.

Another example of resistance lies with current professional tennis player James Blake. At the beginning of his celebrity tennis career, Blake often stood out of the group due to his physical appearance as a then rare African-American man with an afro. After

several years on the professional tour, Blake (2007) was known for his fashionable hairstyle and fans would recognize him right away on tour because of it. However, in 2003, he discussed cutting his “crazy hair”, despite being prohibited from doing so by both his sponsors and his agent (ibid: 28). In other words, Blake’s hair was his trademark for the world, especially for the tennis community. Despite his sponsors and his agent’s warnings, Blake shaved his head. As a consequence, upon the renegotiation of Blake’s contract with his sponsors, the non-renewal of his contracts lost him approximately one million dollars worth of sponsorship income (Blake 2007: 30-34). Hence, not only do the major governing bodies use technologies of power to regulate and control an athlete’s conduct and body, sponsors also attempt to govern athletes through clothing, ads and even the appearance of athletes’ bodies. Sampras’ example illustrated how the media subjugate athletes into behaving according to the desired norms of the tennis industry, and Blake’s case shows how sponsors also impose a control over athletes that will satisfy the profitability of the business.

At the age of 19, Sampras was not old enough to drink beer but he was old enough to be thrown to the media lions. As seen earlier, the ATP’s own rulebook mandates players to attend post-match press conferences or else a fine will ensue, and athletes must abide by sponsors’ requirements or else no sponsorship money will be paid. Governing athletes should not only be based on suspicions of doping, unsporting conduct on the court, dress codes, and MTOs, technologies of power should also protect young players coming into the spotlight from unnecessary additional pressures of the media and sponsors. Yet removing the mandatory post-match press conferences would mean less visibility for the sport and its organizers, thus consequently diminishing potential financial revenues. On the other hand, the more a player is visible to the media, the more opportunities there are for this player to

be offered sponsorship deals. Once again, the wellbeing of athletes is not fully taken into consideration and the capitalistic market system directs the commercialization of the sport. Nonetheless, we have seen that resistance arises from some athletes to challenge the commercial nature of the sport as presented by the Williams sisters, Henman and the bald Blake.

The capitalistic-driven sporting industry also instructs players on how the ranking system should be taken seriously and that no exception should be made since this is a sporting event and a financial competition regardless of another player's condition. In her autobiography, former number one ranked player, Monica Seles (2009), described her stabbing incident in April of 1993 during a match in Hamburg, Germany: a Steffi Graf fan decided that Seles should be punished since she was getting in the way of Graff taking back her number one ranking (Hoffmann et al. 2011). It is known that the ranking system is rigorous and does not offer breathing periods for athletes who get injured, ill, or must step off the professional tour for a few weeks. Thus, if a player does not play, a player loses ranking points and drops in the ranking system. However, after the incident, Seles described and criticized how her case should not have been handled as a simple injury or illness but rather as an exception to the rule since someone attempted to murder her on the premises of a WTA tournament (Seles 2009). She wrote,

Within a week of my stabbing, a meeting of seventeen of the top twenty-five players was in Rome. They were asked to vote on whether or not to freeze my ranking while I recuperated. Nobody knew how long it would be [...] and they all voted with their business hats on. Every player except for Gaby Sabatini, who abstained, voted against freezing it. I was hurt when I heard the news, but from a business standpoint I shouldn't have been surprised. Going up one spot in the ranking system could translate to big money and new sponsorships. People were going to make a lot of money while I was away. A sponsor deal I had been close to signing before the stabbing was yanked and given to Steffi [Graff], the new number one. (Seles 2009: 94)

Not only has her attacker gone free – which is a matter of the German justice and court system – but the WTA players acted from a commercial stance rather than accommodating a player based on a tragic event that also led to permanent improvements in this sport’s security system. No actions were ever taken to alleviate Seles’s trauma to herself or to her career, not even freezing her own ranking points was offered (ibid). There were neither follow-ups nor compensation in any way for this incident even though this horrific incident occurred on the grounds of the WTA (ibid).

It is worth highlighting how the WTA shifted its social responsibility onto the players by emphasizing players’ freedom in making such a decision while removing their ethical duties. The WTA can be seen to have used modes of governmentality and neo-liberalism that Rose enhances with his ethico-politics model. Although some of the players’ moral values may have been contradictory to their ultimate decision of not freezing Seles’ ranking, they chose to think “ethically,” as “free” individuals entrenched within a system of governance. While I do not wish to judge this decision as right or wrong, the decision does support the capitalistic ethos of the sporting industry that values the commercialization of the sport over a humanistic approach to sporting governance. It is worth asking whether this professional sport can really stand apart from a neo-liberal governing perspective while maintaining a competitive game. Similarly to Blake’s example of being improperly medically treated outside the premises of the ATP, this trend of a neo-liberal responsibility shift from major governing bodies onto small communities (in Blake’s case, a national federation, and in Seles’ case, WTA top-25 players) for macro organizations’ economic gains is increasing and further contradicts the tennis industry’s claims to protect players’ health and wellbeing.

### **The Tennis Anti-Doping Program: Athletes Demand the Surveillant Assemblage**

This section is not about whether performance-enhancing drugs (PEDs) are immoral or not, or should be banned or not, but rather about the discourse surrounding the Tennis Anti-Doping Program (TADP) and PEDs, and how their practices are perceived, abided by, and discussed by athletes. Despite many scholars' criticisms of WADA's overly controlling mechanisms and the need for political change, tennis athletes do not seem to currently have an issue with the TADP and WADA's methods. Many tennis professionals are actively requesting WADA's Athlete Biological Passport (ABP) program and thus strengthen the modes of control, surveillance, and governance among themselves as will be shown below. However, the TADP has not always been so highly supported by its players who require time to adapt to different modes of governance from the organization particularly after the introduction of WADA's whereabouts program.

Prior to the 2009 WADA's whereabouts program, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four, some players appreciated the TADP system. For instance, Murray stated that "we get tested so often throughout the season and in the off-season that I think it would be difficult to get away with much. When I was in Miami training during the 2007-8 winter break. I was tested 3 times- twice for urine, one blood – and that reassured me. I like the fact that they test us all year round" (2008: 153-154). However, later in 2009 after the TADP introduced WADA's whereabouts program for the top-50 players, many of those top-players' reactions agree with scholars who have shown that this system breaches athletes' privacy, autonomy, and right to self-determination, which initially contradicted Rose's neo-liberal governmentality approach (such as Park 2005; Hanstad and Loland

2009; Sluggett 2011). For instance, Janko Tipsarevic said during a press conference, “[t]he fact that we have to report every day of our lives to someone is just a disgrace and a joke” (Thomas 2009: Para.10). Furthermore, contrary to his earlier support for the program, Murray also criticized the new whereabouts system as being “draconian” and described,

I got a visit at 7am one morning at my home right after I had travelled home from Australia. I woke up not really knowing where I was and suffering badly from jet lag. It seemed ridiculous to me as I'd been tested just four days earlier, straight after the match I had lost in the Australian Open. The official who came to my home wanted me to produce identification to prove who I was. He insisted on watching me provide a sample, literally with my trousers round my ankles, and then insisted that I wrote down my own address, even though he was at my private home at 7am. (The Guardian 2009: Para.1)

There is no doubt here from Murray’s viewpoint that this biotechnological practice is experienced as intrusive and demeaning. Urinating in front of someone, let alone a complete stranger who orders the athlete to submit to his or her demands, clearly shows a power imbalance between the athlete and WADA. In addition, as pointed out by Waddington (2010), this practice is even more invasive than in a medical context where a patient who must provide a urine sample can do so without medical staff present during the process. The athlete is treated more like a prisoner than a patient. Nadal also condemned the whereabouts program by stating in his press conference,

It's not fair to have persecution like that. They make you feel like a criminal. Not even my mother knows where I am every day. I am the first one who wants fair competition, completely clean competition for everybody. But it is very difficult to know where you want to be tomorrow, especially in a sport like tennis. (BBC 2009: Para.3-6)

The sense of “unfairness” and “feeling like a criminal” is further underscored as athletes become objects of suspicion despite never having committed a crime. The objectification of doping as a crime therefore individualizes athletes like Nadal who became what Foucault (1995) would understand as a subject of discipline. In comparison with former criminals on

probation, the circumstances for tennis players are ironically similar with offenders having to report to their probation officers on a repetitive basis. Yet most top-50 tennis players are subject to discipline, punishment, control, and surveillance despite any prior ban.

Furthermore, Serena Williams also joined the conversation by stating, “[i]t’s too much. One time, I was out at dinner and someone turned up at my house to test me. [...] It’s bizarre. I can’t run home from dinner and get tested. It’s very invasive” (The Telegraph 2009: Para.4; 7-8). However, Rose (1999a) would argue that policing approaches such as these are currently justified as the price to pay for the preservation of freedom in advanced liberal nations. Hence, it is evident from these comments of top-ranked players that WADA’s whereabouts program invades players’ privacies and disrupts their lives and contradicts Rose’s neo-liberal governing approach through freedom. Earlier this year, many of those same top-ranked players seem to have settled down with the system, paradoxically requesting modifications to render the TADP even stricter.

Some top-players feel that the amount of out-of-competition testing being done today is insufficient, which may lead to criticisms of the whereabouts system as ineffective and time-consuming for so few tests. For example, contrary to the support the drug testing had in 2008 among players, Tomas Berdych, currently ranked number six in the world, heavily criticized the current whereabouts system which does not work for him, stating that “[y]ou have to say every single day...where you are. I’ve done this for three or four years already and I had only two tests out of the tournaments. So, why do I have to do this all the time and then they come twice in four years? It’s just complete nonsense. [...] There should be more testing.” (Sports Illustrated 2013: Para. 3-4; 13). Indeed, the out-of-competition testing numbers reflect most players’ reality since between 2008 and 2012, out-of-competition testing amounted to between 4.51% in 2008 and 8.6% in 2012 of all the testing

done in each year showing that the great majority of testing was done in-competition (ITF 2008b, ITF 2012d).

In addition to the call for more out-of-competition testing, tennis players also want more blood testing in order to better detect human growth hormone (HGH), blood doping and the use of erythropoietin (EPO) (Lönnberg et al. 2011). For instance, in a media interview with BBC, Roger Federer noted that the system could be even more rigorous with more testing, saying “there should be more blood tests and out of competition controls in tennis. [...] I didn’t get tested on blood after the Australian Open and I told the responsible people over there that it was a big surprise for me” (2013: Para. 3-7). What seems to be the issue for some players like Federer is that the TADP currently tests players mostly in-competition through urine samples rather than through blood samples and the same holds true for out-of-competition which weakens the purpose of the whereabouts system and the TADP in general.

To add to Federer’s concern, at the beginning of this year during the Australian Open, after Louis Armstrong’s doping scandal, current number one player Novak Djokovic was asked about tennis’ doping system, and although he perceived it as “really good”, he also stated, “I wasn’t tested with blood for the last six, seven months. It was more regular two, three years ago. I don’t know the reason why they stopped it” (CBS 2013: Para. 2; 8). Indeed, according to the latest ITF statistics (2012d), a total of 2,185 drug tests have been given during the year 2012, where the TADP administered 78.94% of tests of urine in-competition and 12.4% of tests of urine out-of-competition, in comparison to 56.75% tests of blood in-competition and 2.88% of tests of blood out-of-competition. However, when looking at the past five years, one of the major points to note is that during the years 2008

and 2009, the TADP did not administer any out-of-competition blood test (ITF 2008b, ITF 2009). Furthermore, in 2009 and 2010, the 135 and 140 in-competition blood test samples were only administered at Grand Slam tournaments (ITF 2009, ITF 2010).

These data show that there is little blood testing overall, and even less blood testing in out-of-competition settings which shows that players like Federer and Djokovic understand the inconsistencies in the current anti-doping system. Moreover, although the ITF does not officially publish its annual budget, it is known that the TADP has a small budget – less than \$2 million annually- which would explain the small amount of out-of-competition testing. Hence, a limited budget would mean that the ITF must closely select its out-of-competition testing. As a consequence, the TADP does not practice “objective” surveillance since it does not objectively test players in terms of quality and quantity for each tournament. As noted earlier in Chapter Four, the ITF has close ties with Grand Slam tournaments as its members sit on the Grand Slams’ committee, administer, officiate, and provide media support but it is not involved with the ATP and WTA tours. It could therefore be understood that based on a limited budget, the TADP, who is closely connected to the Grand Slam tournaments, unequally favours the latter in drug screening. Nonetheless, all four Grand Slam tournaments offer higher prize money than regular ATP and WTA tournaments, which would explain their choice as the Grand Slam holds greater financial risks for potential “cheaters”. From these statistics, it is evident that top-ranked players are more highly surveilled, controlled, and governed through drug testing at the more prestigious tennis events of the year but that the system is flawed since it claims to protect athletes’ health but in doing so mainly favours to protect top ranks, not athletes.

Furthermore, when comparing tennis to the other sports that abide by the WADA Code (2012b), the tests per year in tennis alone constituted 0.4% of all 2012 blood samples analyzed whereas cycling accounted 35.8% followed by athletics with 18.7%. Last year, WADA accounted an overall 69% increase of yearly blood samples analyzed for all Olympic sports compared to 2008, which includes tennis (ibid). Yet in tennis, since 2008, the increase of blood samples analyzed per year remained mostly stagnant in 2012 with an insignificant 0.19% increase (ITF 2008b, ITF 2012d). Thus these statistics do not follow the trend of all other major Olympic sports in increasing blood testing. The earlier literature shown from Marquirian (2010) which defends tennis as a clean sport with little to no systemic positive doping findings, did not account for these important elements of testing with a significantly small amount of yearly blood samples, testing amount overall, and the lack in taking part in the ABP program. In addition, if we look back at the scholarly literature from Park (2005) who criticized WADA for intruding into athletes' private lives, treating them as objects of control through a regime of governmentality, and Sluggett (2011), who showed that WADA's database, ADAMS, turned into the ABP and which transforms and further controls athletes into "data-doubles", it appears that from the athletes' perspectives, there is a need for such a controlling doping system. The push for the use of the ABP has been fruitful since the TADP has recently been integrated with the ABP (ITF 2013d), which contradicts the above studies' recommendations of resisting this pervasive system by refusing to accept such intrusive procedures. Athletes' perspectives therefore helped pin-point and re-evaluate the TADP's methods and procedures that initially appeared too strict from the players' viewpoints but that were later criticized as too lenient and led to players requesting more testing overall. This anticipated resistance may be further understood through Rose's ethico-politics framework.

It was argued in Chapter Four that WADA embodies Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power through maximizing the utility and docility of athletes with its intensive code of conduct and biotechnological testing procedures, as well as engaging bio-power supposedly to maximize the health and welfare of the athletes' population. Rose would add that there is also an inclusive continuum from political government (in this case, the TADP and WADA) to ethical self-regulating technologies. The newest integration of the ABP program, theorized as a surveillant assemblage, was not imposed on athletes as they themselves "freely" chose to be involved in a stricter doping system through their embrace of the ethics of winning in sports drug-free. In this case, the players' relationship to the TADP involves their internalization of the negative weight of doping in their sport by ethically choosing to oppose doping. Their acceptance of a stricter anti-doping program may have been shaped by the tennis 'community' values based on its major governing bodies including the TADP and WADA organizations, which identify drug use in sports as immoral and deceptive. However, as earlier reviewed in Chapter Three, the banning of PED use contradicts the capitalistic ethos of competition, commercialization, and high-performance sport, as shown in the track and field sub-culture. According to Pappa and Kennedy (2012), the track and field sub-culture (which Rose would call a 'community') normalizes PEDs that are prevalent in the sport. However, based on PED track and field users, the authors found that athletes recognized that the decisions and responsibilities for taking PEDs are individualistic therefore reflecting Foucauldian governmentality through this internalization of responsibility and "choice" (ibid). Pappa and Kennedy (2012) also added that track and field athletes understood that the disciplinary system of anti-doping policy was a failure much like Federer and Djokovic who earlier discussed the shortcomings of the TADP. Yet rather than attempting to request a stricter doping-control

system as seen above with some tennis players, track and field athletes continue to consider PEDs as part of their community's values and therefore necessary to high-performance competition (ibid).

Keeping the latter in mind, if we go back to Rose's definition of "community", he promotes a community as not defined by a geographical space but rather as an affective group which shares a similar level of commitment to certain values and norms (Rose 1999b). Hence the track and field community (its athletes and coaches) as well as the tennis community both share similar values of competitiveness in terms of a capitalistic ethos, yet they share different values on doping. Nonetheless, it could be interpreted that track and field athletes follow their community's norms and values (earlier described as the track and field sub-culture) which support the ethos of competitiveness in sport as well as the use of steroids, contrary to practices in the tennis' community. The tightly-knit tennis community (mostly the players and coaches) has absorbed the dominant stance against doping, even though, as we have seen, many players have resisted the current doping system by expressing their discontentment with its leniency. This resistance may be a sign of favouring a stricter somatic surveillance system due to the ethical norms of the sport which supports them to win matches and money without relying on PEDs. This ethico-politics framework clearly illustrates Rose's theory of the community-civility game, between ethical citizenship and responsible community (players and coaches altogether). Although governed by the major professional bodies, professional tennis community members can make their own ethical choices, such as pushing for a stricter doping-control system. This is Rose's theory of advanced liberalism through governmentality at its clearest.

Why does track and field's ethical community differ from that of tennis if the main goal of professional sports is the same: winning? It is difficult to argue that tennis culture is so different from track and field culture, since no PED user has ever come forward to discuss a potential PED culture in tennis. However, the current and former players' accounts show otherwise. Those high-profile tennis players who have been banned in the past for testing positive for doping have either tried to maintain their innocence stating that drugs were inadvertently ingested such as Martina Hingis or Richard Gasquet, or that, it was not a PED but a recreational drug (as when Andre Agassi admitted to taking crystal meth from someone else's glass at a social gathering upon testing positive) (Agassi 2009). Hence it appears that doping in the tennis industry remains something of a taboo mirroring the negative morality surrounding drug use in society overall. The governing of drug use from the broader societal level has now penetrated into the tennis industry and is contrary to professional track and field as well as many other sports, despite holding the same capitalistic, competitive, and commercial goals. Just like citizens are often willing to sacrifice their privacy for national security, these players wish to also further renounce theirs for the integrity and honour of their sport with a stricter surveillance control with the ABP program understood here as a surveillant assemblage.

### **Match Fixing and Betting Corruptions in Tennis: The Limitations of Foucault, the Surveillant Assemblage, and Rose's Ethico-Politics Framework**

Professional tennis' major governing bodies such as the ITF, ATP, WTA, and WADA govern, control, and surveil their athletes through many different technologies of power, and now match fixing is the newest challenge. In this case, match fixing is understood as a tennis player who is approached by someone or an organization and who is offered money in order to throw his or her tennis match when the odds were in favour of

their winning. At present, the sport of tennis is the third highest-rated sport associated with gambling, after horse racing and soccer (Ramos 2009). Here there is a potential for athletes to resist and demonstrate the limitations of Foucault's governmentality, the surveillant assemblage, and Rose's ethico-politics model.

Some high-ranked tennis players, such as Russian Dmitry Tursunov (ESPN 2007), Belgians Gilles Elseneer and Dick Norman (The New York Times 2007), have publicly admitted that they were approached and offered significant amounts of money in order to lose a match. The first case which awakened concerns with match fixing in tennis occurred when the heavily favoured Russian Nikolay Davydenko, then ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in the world, suddenly retired at his August 2, 2007 match at an ATP International Series tournament due to injury against 87<sup>th</sup>-ranked Martin Arguello (Ramos 2009). The suspicion did not arise from a top player retiring due to injury since it is not all that uncommon, but rather from the irregular gambling patterns identified by a British online gambling company, Betfair, right after the first set against Davydenko despite him winning the set fairly easily 6-2 (ibid). "Overall, nine Russian Betfair accounts stood to win \$1.5 million if Davydenko lost the match" (ibid: 205). According to Ramos (2009), Betfair had an agreement with the ATP's anti-corruption program in informing the ATP in cases of suspicious betting practices. As a result, they notified the ATP, and voided all \$7 million betting transactions for the match (ibid). During the ATP's investigation,

The ATP encountered some difficulty when it requested to review telephone records of Davydenko's wife and brother [who is also his coach], who refused and appealed the request to an independent hearing officer. By the time Davydenko's wife and brother lost the appeal, the telephone records were destroyed by the phone company in accordance with local German data protection laws. (ibid: 206)

Hence, although the ATP launched a one-year investigation, it remained inconclusive due to a lack of tangible evidence against Davydenko, and the case was consequently dropped (ibid). Since then, the governing bodies of tennis have attempted to make significant changes to help in investigating and punishing players who throw their own matches or help throw those of others.

The ITF now promotes the Anti-Bribery and Corruption Code of Conduct program that informs athletes that bribery or corruption is illegal and describes examples of acts of bribery and corruption as well as suspicious behaviours which suggest illegal betting from athletes (ITF 2012b). The ATP and the WTA also put together for the first time in 2008 a Uniform Tennis Anti-Corruption Programme (UTACP) which gives power to the Tennis Integrity Unit (TIU) to investigate and sentence match-fixing situations and send cases to the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) for appeals (TIU 2011a). Among the rules of the UTACP, Article F.2.c. now requires “any Covered Person to furnish to the TIU any information regarding the alleged Corruption Offense, including, without limitation, (i) records relating to the alleged Corruption Offense (including, without limitation, itemized telephone billing statements, banking statements, Internet service records, computers, hard drives and other electronic information storage devices)” (UTACP 2013: 6-7). Although now equipped with a structured organization to fight against match fixings, the TIU’s latest results do not reflect an effective system.

Since January of 2011, the TIU has banned only five players (TIU 2011a). They investigated and banned for life pro tennis player, Daniel Koellerer– highest ranked at 55 in 2009 – because he “had made invitations to other tennis players to fix matches on five occasions between 24 October 2009 and 3 July 2010” (TIU 2012a: Para.2). They also

investigated and banned for life player David Savic– highest ranked at 363 in 2009 – in October of 2011 for inviting “another tennis player to fix the outcome of tennis matches” (TIU 2012b: Para.1). In addition to their lifetime ban, the TIU fined both Koellerer and Savic \$100,000 USD each but that was later dropped during the CAS appeals (TIU 2012a and TIU 2012b). The TIU further investigated, banned for six months and fined \$5,000 USD 19 year-old Lucas Renard – highest ranked at 672 in 2013 – who pleaded guilty to infringing Article D.1.d. of the UTACP that “[n]o Covered Person shall, directly or indirectly, contrive or attempt to contrive the outcome or any other aspect of any Event” without further details (TIU 2011b: Para.4). Additionally, Sergei Krotiouk– highest ranked at 486 in 2009 – was found guilty and banned for life in addition to being fined \$60,000 USD under 41 charges under Articles D.1.d, D.1.e, and D.1.g, for taking part in his own match fixing, soliciting or facilitating someone else by not using his best efforts, and offering money or any benefit to another Covered Person “with the intension of negatively influencing a Covered Person’s best efforts in any Event” during the years 2012 and 2013 (TIU 2013a: Para.5). Finally, Yannick Ebbinghaus– highest ranked at 1,123 – pleaded guilty to the Article D.1.a which states that “No Covered Person shall, directly or indirectly, wager or attempt to wager on the outcome or any other aspect of any Event or any other tennis competition” on 67 occasions between May 2012 and February 2013 (TIU 2013b: Para.5). He was banned for 6 months and fined \$10,000 USD (ibid). Besides Koellerer, who was within the top 100 players at the time of his offenses, the other four players were significantly lower ranked players therefore not reflecting the 2007 Davydenko match as well as the earlier shown claims of other top players being approached to throw matches. Furthermore, no details of any of those cases have been published (who approached them, how much did they earn from throwing matches, which tournaments did

they attempt or threw matches, etc.), as opposed to the TADP which published many similar details about offenses.

However, contrary to drug offenses with a whereabouts system tied tightly to the top-50 players, the TIU seems to be going after the lower ranked players who may be more vulnerable to match fixings for the money. If we look at Sergei Krotiuk, who was banned for life and fined \$60,000, we can see that his career high ranking was only 486<sup>th</sup> in 2009. Krotiuk turned professional in 1997, and earned \$99,713 worth of prize money throughout his 15-year career and \$118 for 2013 alone (ATP 2013e). It appears extraordinary that the TIU would not only ban him for life, but would also fine him approximately 60 percent of his net salary earned throughout his 15-year career (besides potential illegal gambling capital he may have earned). If compared to the highest ranked Koellerer with a career high ranking of 55, banned for life but without a fine with a career earning worth \$757,918 during a 10-year period, there are inconsistencies in the sentencing of players which seem harsher on lower ranked players than higher ranked ones. Once again, the meritocratic system of the tennis industry supports social inequality through its governance strategies in match fixings and exaggerate the wage gaps between higher ranked players and lower ranked ones.

Also Foucauldian disciplinary power is present in the codes of conduct of the ATP, and WTA as the individualizing and normalizing of such practices and then punishing those who do not abide by those technologies of power. However, it appears that Haggerty and Ericson (2000) were right in criticising the limitations of Foucauldian analysis as he failed to account for new technological advances and stayed within the realm of total institutions. Particularly in betting corruption, it is evident that the myriads of individual flows

regarding online betting sites today challenge the Foucauldian Panopticon. It was opportune for the ATP to be informed by the online betting company Betfair in the 2007 case but Betfair is only one of many online betting sites which do not all associate with the ATP, WTA, and ITF. It is still too soon for the tennis industry to conceive of a surveillance system of match fixings and corrupt betting offenses as sophisticated as the surveillant assemblage introduced by the TADP this year with WADA's ABP program. Such a surveillant assemblage would have to link to many different police corps around the globe and to all betting agencies. It would also require an extraordinary amount of financial resources that are not fully accounted by Haggerty and Ericson's assemblage conception. Furthermore, Rose's ethico-politics theoretical model also seems to show its limitations with this particular sporting issue.

Based on Rose's "ethico-politics" model, neo-liberalism and governmentality join together for a non-centralised governing power through communities with similar affections, values, and ethical behaviours. According to Rose (1999a), practices of ethico-politics attempt to demonstrate that the consumer citizen is not always an ethical citizen, as with tennis players, and the whole tennis community who participate in match fixings Rose states that "consumers can and should consciously seek to manage themselves and their conduct in an ethical fashion" (1999a: 191). Through techniques of self-control led by ethical responsibilities toward one's self and others, the TIU attempts to control police betting corruption and match fixing within tennis. Self-control techniques include the player bearing the individual responsibility to automatically inform the TIU of any suspicions about an individual going against the sport's corruption-free ethics stance. However, the government's ethical values regarding match fixings and betting corruption

cannot be properly internalised and accounted for by all. Despite its rigorous codes of conduct imposed on players that are often ethically undertaken by players themselves, fixing one's own match or that of others indicate that a player will have to intentionally underperform and will consequently lose ranking points thus going against the ethos of this high-performance sport. In contrast, with self-doping techniques, the culture of high-performance sports is not affected since players in these cases wish to excel or hyperperform through the use of PEDs. From this perspective, one should therefore not think of doping athletes as resisting the system in comparison to players who throw their game for money. It is much easier to lose a match than it is to win it.

### **Conclusion: Good Game**

*“It can be said that any highly organized sport is too much of a sport to be a business and too much of a business to be a sport.” (Hemphill 1992:15)*

Before the beginning of this journey of writing about the professional world of tennis, I was secretly hoping deep down inside to find more of a sport than a business site. The dreamy career of becoming a professional tennis player, even at an age when many players retire, still haunts me. “What if?” I have asked myself many times. However, the more I read about sports, tennis, surveillance, governance, neo-liberalism, governmentality, bio-power, discipline, and control, the more I could see how hard life is for a professional tennis player. I now respect their commitment more than ever to make it all the way to the top despite so many obstacles and such discipline.

This thesis has attempted to offer an in-depth account of the major governing bodies of the professional tennis circuit and their relationships with their athletes through governance, surveillance, and social control lenses. The multiple gazes that govern tennis

players were identified as the ITF, ATP, WTA, the Grand Slam committee, TADP, WADA, and the TIU. Specifically, using top-players' voices, I have attempted to show through Foucault, Rose, and Haggerty and Ericson's different accounts of "modes of governing" the sociological impacts on professional tennis players within today's late capitalism. It was shown that these modes of surveillance were founded on a meritocracy based on the ATP and WTA rankings system. A player's ranking affects how he or she is governed, surveilled, controlled, and even punished. These systems of surveillance, governance, and control perpetuate a biased and capitalistically-driven meritocracy which leads to players being affected healthwise, through social class divisions, socio-economic inequalities, gender discrimination, and media pressures. It was however shown that some players resist certain governing, controlling, and surveillance methods for their own benefits while others understand the constraints as part of their choice to be a professional tennis player.

### *Health Hazards*

To summarize, many consequences of this intensified control affect players' health. Court surfaces such as the increasing use of hard-courts and clay courts are shown to be the most injury-related surfaces and require a second look by the governing bodies to reduce career-threatening injuries. Intensive scheduling that leaves little rest time for players between tournaments, and time-recovery between points, was also shown as being a significant issue raised by players regarding their health and long-term careers. The removal of the governing gaze during hospital care away from home and a lack of medical assistance and staff travelling with players have also shown to be significant in affecting players' health and recovery. Also, the culture of playing through pain which is often

governed through coaching, and by medical staff, and by the players themselves, must be reconsidered. Additionally, the medical treatment on court does not take adequate account of the trend of the “one-sport” culture that leads to overuse injuries. Leading to social inequalities but which affect players’ health is the partial medical protection plan for lower ranked players (top-150 and lower) who do not qualify for disability insurance nor pension plans compared to most team sports.

### *Social-Class Divisions & Socio-Economic Inequalities*

Social-class divisions are evident between high and lower-ranked players (150 and lower) who are not only excluded from voting on players’ councils (ATP and WTA), but are not even allowed to sit on one. They are therefore under represented by the players’ councils since the majority of the councils are formed by top-100 players. It was shown that there is a significant wage-gap between top-100 players and the rest of players struggling to survive on the tennis circuit. Tennis players do not have the financial securities that many team sports, such as the NHL, NBA, and NFL, have where those players remain in North America for the regular season and do not have to pay for travel expenses. Additionally, those pro team sports athletes who sign contracts that mean that regardless of their performances each match, they will get paid. This luxury is not possible for tennis players who depend on their performance outcomes for every match. Hence the financial burden remains on the individual player, which can be a potential factor in enticing lower ranked players to engage in match fixing. The more a player is able to attend tournaments in a year, the more chances the player has to earn ranking points and move up the “meritocratic” ladder which causes further socio-economic strains on players coming from an impoverished socio-economic background. Finally, it is evident that prize money

distribution should also be revised to allow for the lower ranked players a more reasonable meritocratic system.

### *Gender Discrimination*

Although the Grand Slam tournaments now all offer equal prize money according to gender, it was shown that a vast majority of tournaments still offer more prize money to men than women. In addition, compared to major Olympic sports, women continue to play a best of three sets in Grand Slams despite their advocating to play a best of five like the men. Professional women tennis players are also discriminated against by stereotyping them as weaker in relation to men in ads celebrating femininity, frailty and warm-loving women rather than strong women athletes. The WTA Code of Conduct also discriminates against women with its hindrance rules that are targeted mainly at women who grunt, and with on-court coaching that is designed for women. These systemic regulations undermine women's physical abilities and portray them to their fans and to the public in general as weaker than their male counterparts.

### *Media Pressures*

The strict codes of conduct regarding media obligations shown in Chapter Four offer players little support and control once they are in the press conference room, regardless of the players' age or experience. There is a heightened scrutiny by the media for top-20 players and Grand Slam champions. The media therefore becomes another gaze of surveillance over athletes and scrutinizes every word from players. It creates high expectations for players' performances, and generates controversies as we have seen with Pete Sampras.

## *Concluding Word*

As seen throughout this thesis, Foucauldian perspective helps understand the world of professional tennis as one of governance, social control and surveillance. We also see how not all governing and disciplinary systems in professional tennis are as sophisticated and affordable as Haggerty and Ericson's surveillant assemblage. Rose allowed us to understand the role of ethics in the governance of tennis communities. There are now multiple sites that govern athletes through a system of networks. There are non-centralised forms of governance that create various networks within the professional tennis system and which challenges Foucault's panopticism. We have seen that separate sites of surveillance, observing the players, exist ranging from macro to micro-levels including the ATP, the WTA, the ITF, WADA, the TADP, the IBM Data Tracker by the Grand Slam organisation, the coaches, the medical staff, the tournament officials, the officiating staff, and the media. It is this non-centralised form of governance that can be explained by Rose's neo-liberal approach which emphasizes freedom, enterprise and autonomy under this type of ethico-political governance.

Furthermore, this analysis confirms that an athlete can embody agency and freedom in terms of Rose's ethico-politics model of ethical values in responsible self-government and the relations between one's obligation to one's self and one's obligations to others. Rose's elaboration on Foucauldian governmentality helped to clarify why professional tennis players may not always resist controlling power as it is culturally and politically entrenched as part of the choices they make and which is perceived as freedom. This particular expression of ethico-politics reinforces the values of high-performance competitiveness in the professional tennis circuit. In addition, it was clearly shown that the

surveillant assemblage helps to explain the major governing body of WADA's ABP program recently undertaken by the TADP as a postmodern form of surveillance and as a governing system that moves beyond original Foucauldian models of social control. This surveillant assemblage also explains today's intensified objectification in which biotechnology creates 'data-doubles' of athletes with myriads of connecting networks of biological information. And finally, the surveillant assemblage clearly illustrates the increased intensity of scrutiny and transparency that pro tennis players must now face today, including the excessive nature of professional athleticism, which at times endangers athletes' bodies (healthwise) as well as their agency due to excessive social control through surveillance. This intensified growth in the objectification of professional athletes raises many questions. Former world number one player in 1939, Alice Marble, expressed her fears about contemporary tennis before her death in 1990,

The technological changes followed the biggest change of all. Tennis has become a money game, and I admit to mixed feelings about that, despite the fact that I turned professional at a time when public sentiment was against it. [...] There's so much at stake, I wonder if it's still fun. It concerns me to see purses and endorsements becoming the measure of success, and young players aging faster than they should under financial pressure. (Alice Marble & Leatherman 1991: 249)

Indeed, Marble's concerns remain legitimate and bring one to question further the future of professional tennis' modes of surveillance. With the evolution of governing methods used in the tennis industry, it is likely that surveillance sites will keep increasing and intensifying thus perpetuating the notion that athletes are suspicious individuals, all due to the capitalistic drive behind the sport. How could this be rectified? Should the professional tennis organization be turned into Samatas' (2007: 235) idealist utopia of the Olympics going back to "plain games, strictly for amateur individual athletes, for the joy of participation without artificial world records, nationalism, TV commercials, and loyalties to

sponsoring corporations”)? According to Samatas (2007), this alternative would eliminate corruption, doping in athletes, and surveillance altogether. Is this what Marble wanted?

This utopian model is far out of reach in today’s entrenched capitalistic economic market. Yet it does raise important questions about the current governing powers of the sport. With aesthetically beautiful award-winning architectural stadiums such as the Doha Tennis Stadium, the retractable Wimbledon Centre Court, the Olympic Tennis Center called *La Caja Magica* located in Madrid, Spain, or the Jimmy Connors Tennis Center & Stadium of Abu Dhabi, and extraordinary funds from sponsors for top players and Grand Slam winners, one must ask: has this gone too far? Has the art of tennis become a mass production? Is this aestheticization of the sport a way to conceal the darker side of the sport, its extensive somatic and liquid surveillance, governance and social control against its athletes who give this sport life? Is it an attempt to hide the reality of all lower ranked players dealing with a failed and biased meritocratic system that entrenches social inequity, gender discrimination, health hazards, and scarce incomes? Despite all of this, according to Rose (1999a), an ethico-politics model of governing within a neo-liberal and capitalistic era through freedom is possible.

Although Rose understands that there is the potential for individual freedom and agency in ethico-political systems such as professional tennis, there is no way out of being governed, surveilled, and or controlled. Former top player Tim Henman discusses retirement as freedom. He wrote;

I am sure I will be at Wimbledon in the future to see him [Murray]. I’ll sit in a comfortable seat on the Centre Court and just be grateful it isn’t me out there anymore. I had no idea how nice it would be to get away from it all... I felt a weight

had been lifted from it all. I was so relaxed. I'd never known life without it before. It was the absence of weight I was feeling (Henman in Murray 2009: 113).

In this case, retirement is a deep relief for Henman that he associates with freedom. Hence, pro athletes can resist and yet remain within the system or simply take themselves out of the system through retirement (in order to face yet another governmental and ethico-politics system of life at large!). In addition, the surveillance, governance, and social control intensity levels differ based on an athlete's ranking in that the higher the rank, the higher the scrutiny, much like in celebrity culture except for the current match fixings system which targets lower-ranked players over top players. We also saw, in the athletes' own words, how some elements of surveillance, governance, and social control hide behind governmentality attributes such as the so-called promotion of players' health, well-being, and the so-called eradication of social and gender inequalities. And behind all of these sophisticated and intensified governing, disciplining, controlling, and surveillance strategies, there is a competitive capitalism which appropriates athletes' bodies to transform them into subordinate consumer objects regardless of their health risks.

This research contributes to the relatively unexplored sociological field of the professional tennis industry with regard to its governing practices and the consequences for players. I hope this thesis can spark discussions on the topic and perhaps promote systemic changes among the current major governing bodies in tennis. Governance strategies, as we have seen, apply to all populations. In this case, the professional tennis industry mirrors Western society in its governing, controlling, and sophisticated surveillance technologies. However, I believe that it is easier for many people to identify with being blessed in being

free rather than feeling doomed to being governed. I would like to end with Billie Jean King's vision of this sport and life itself that reflects Rose's hopeful ethico-politics;

Living with your integrity and staying true to your values –especially when it's tough to do so –is probably the most important thing you can do to maintain peace of mind and be comfortable in your own skin. It is also a critical element in true success –if you are successful, then you are living according to your value system. Know what your values are –which principles and ethics are most important to you. Surround yourself with people with integrity and let your successes form a wide path for others to follow and share. (King and Brennan 2008: 156)

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## Appendix A

### 2013 Rogers' Cup Prize-Money (Rogers Cup 2013a and Rogers Cup 2013b)

<b>2013 Rogers Cup (Canadian Open) Master's tournament (10,000) Prize Money Differences between Men and Women</b>			
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>% Difference</i>
<i>Champion</i>	\$522,550,000	\$426,000,000	18.48% difference less than men
<i>Finalist</i>	\$256,220,000	\$213,000,000	16.87% difference less than men
<i>Semi-Finalist</i>	\$128,960,000	\$104,700,000	18.81% difference less than men
<i>Quarterfinalist</i>	\$65,575	\$49,040	25.22% difference less than men
<i>3rd Round</i>	\$34,050	\$23,700	30.40% difference less than men
<i>2nd Round</i>	\$17,950	\$12,200	32.03% difference less than men
<i>1st Round</i>	\$9,695	\$6,400	33.99% difference less than men
<i>Qualifying:</i>			
<i>2nd Round</i>	\$2,145	\$2,670	19.66% difference less than women
<i>1st Round</i>	\$1,095	\$1,620	32.41% difference less than women
<b><i>Total Prize Money</i></b>	\$3,218,700	\$2,369,000	26.40% difference less than men

For every \$1M allotted to men's prize money, women are allotted \$736,011.43.