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GENDER AND RACIAL PARTICIPATION IN RUGBY AND SOCCER IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, SOUTH OF JOHANNESBURG: A CRITICAL STUDY

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In fulfilment of the requirement for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

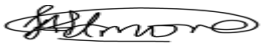
Date of Submission: January 2023

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Co-supervisor: Dr Reuben Dlamini

Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another university. Where use has been made of the work of others, this has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Signature:  Date: February 2023

Abstract

The current study explored and interrogated the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools in South Africa. This study used constructivism paradigm and exploratory case study design and qualitative semi-structured individual interviews with soccer and rugby coaches and soccer and rugby players in selected secondary schools. Critical social theory and the feminist post structuralist theory were used as lenses for the study. The Foucauldian Discourse Analysis was used to analyse the data.

One of the major findings of this study is a concern of hegemonic discourse that was perpetuated by male players and male coaches and was challenged by female players and female coaches who interrogated the state of rugby and soccer in schools.The findings further show the continuation of racial divide between rugby and soccer, because rugby is still perceived as the white middle class male sport and the selection maintains this history. Soccer is perceived as accommodative of females and all races even though is still dominated by black African and Coloured players.

The findings highlight family as influential in male and female choices of sports to play, and some female players were motivated by fathers to play contact rugby irrespective of male hegemonic discourse. The family that is active in sport has encouraged participation in either rugby (contact and touch) or soccer, because players grew up participating in some sport since they were young.

KEYWORDS: Gender, race equity, equality, participation rugby, soccer, perceptions, experiences, Gauteng, South of Johannesburg

Acknowledgements

Philippians (3 verse 14-16) is the verse that kept me going in difficult and challenging times while I was writing the thesis. “I press on to reach the end of the race and receive the prize…but we must hold on to the progress we have already made.”

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Special thanks to the soccer administrators and men, rugby coaches and players and women soccer players who participated in this research, because without them we would not have the knowledge about gender equity practices in soccer. I am hugely and forever grateful to both the schools and the lively participants of my research. I hope that I have reflected and recorded their ideas and thoughts in the way in which they intended.

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Dedication

I proudly dedicate this dissertation to my late mother and father, Sekai and Simbiso Ratisai Hapanyengwi watching from Heaven for their unconditional love and support over my never-ending student life and passion for education. I would not be where I am today had it not been for my special parents

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASA	Athletics South Africa
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CESRL	Co-educational School Rugby League
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CSA	Cricket South Africa
CSRU	City and Suburban Rugby Union
CST	Critical Social Theory
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
FPS	Feminist Post-structuralist
FPST	Feminist Post-Structural Theory
GDE	Gauteng Department of Education
IRB	International Rugby Board
KNRU	Kenya National Rugby Union
KNVB	Koninklijke/Nederlandse/Voetbalbond/Royal Dutch Football Association
MOBE	Ministry of Basic Education
NSA	Netball South Africa
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SABRB	South African Bantu Rugby Board
SACRFB	South African Coloured Rugby Football Board
SARU	South African Rugby Union
SESR	Super Eight School Rugby League
SRSA	Sport and Recreation South Africa
UB	University of Botswana
USA	United States of America
USSASA	United Schools Sports Association of South Africa
WPCRU	Western Province Coloured Rugby Union
ZIFA	Zimbabwe Football Association
ZRU	Zambia Rugby Union

CONTENTS

Declaration ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

Dedication v

Abbreviations and Acronyms vi

CHAPTER ONE 1

Relatedness of sports and race and gender: Secondary school context 1

1.1. Introduction and background of the study 1

1.2. Education and sport in South Africa 1

1.3. Rationale of the study 4

1.4. Problem statement 6

1.5. Purpose of the Study 8

1.6. Objectives 8

1.7. Main Research Question 9

1.8. The sub-questions were: 9

1.9. Structure of the thesis 9

CHAPTER TWO 12

Gender and Racial participation in rugby and soccer: A review of the literature 12

2.1. Introduction 12

2.2. Conceptualisation of gender and race: A contested area 13

2.3. The Conceptualisation of race 16

2.4. Reviewing Gender and race in sports 20

2.5. Understanding race and racial issues in sport 22

2.6. Racial and gender participation in school rugby and soccer: An International Perspective 24

2.7. Racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer: Africa 32

2.8. The nature of rugby and soccer participation in South Africa 43

2.9. The South African school sports system 48

2.10. Racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in South African Schools 53

2.11. Conclusion 60

CHAPTER THREE 62

Understanding gender and racial participation in the school rugby and soccer: Critical Social Theory and Feminist Post-structuralist Theory 62
3.1. Introduction 62
3.2. Critical social theory in sports 63
3.3. Feminist Post-structuralist theory and sports 67
3.4. The concept of discourse in feminist post-structuralist theory 69
3.5. Feminist post-structuralists' power relations and knowledge production 71
3.6. The role of Language in Feminist post-structuralist theory 72
3.7. The concept of Agency in Feminist post-structuralist theory 74
3.8. Hegemonic masculinity in Feminist post-structuralist theory 75
3.9. Concluding remarks 76
CHAPTER FOUR 78
Understanding race and gender in rugby and soccer: Methodological positioning 78
4.1. Introduction 78
4.2. Research Paradigm 78
4.2.1. The social constructivism paradigm 80
4.3. Research Design 81
4.3.1. Exploratory case study design 82
4.4. The qualitative approach 83
4.5. Contextual background of the Study 84
4.5.1. Nokwazi secondary school 87
4.5.2. Yekeni secondary school 89
4.6. Research Sampling and Participants 91
4.6.1. Purposive sampling 91
4.6.2. Snowball sampling 91
4.7.1. Individual Semi-structured Interviews 93
4.7.1.1. Players' interviews 95
4.7.1.2. Coaches' interviews 96
4.7.2. Transcription of individual interviews 97
4.7.3. Participatory Observation 98
4.8. Reflection on the data collection process 100
4.9. Data Analysis: Critical discourse analysis 101
4.10. Trustworthiness, Credibility and Confirmability 103
4.10.1. Credibility 104

4.10.2. Dependability 105
4.10.3. Confirmability 105
4.10.4. Transferability 106
4.11. Ethics 106
4.12. Conclusion 107
CHAPTER FIVE 108
The Status of race and gender in sports participation: Resisting exclusion in rugby and soccer 108
5.1. Introduction 108
5.2. Theme 1: The discourses of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer in secondary schools 109
5.2.1. Sub-theme 1: Re-enforcing hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: male perspective 110
5.2.2. Sub-Theme 2: Challenging hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: women's perspectives 114
5.3. Theme 2: Discourse of hierarchy in rugby and soccer: reconstruction of soccer and problematising touch rugby 117
5.3.1. Sub-Theme 1: 'Partial' masculinity in soccer: allowing girls' participation 117
5.3.2. Sub-Theme 2: "Touch Rugby Isn't Contact": A Discourse of gendering sports 120
5.4. Theme 3: Discourses of race and gender in schools' rugby and soccer 126
5.5. Theme 4: Experiences of participation in rugby and soccer 131
5.5.1. Sub-theme 1: the complexity of participation in schools' soccer and rugby: Exclusionary practices 131
5.5.2. Sub-theme 2: Racial and Gender experiences in rugby and soccer participation 133
5.6. Theme 5: disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically 141
5.7. Theme 6: Factors that influence the decision to participate in specific sports 146
5.7.1. Sub-theme 1: The inspiration from family members to play sport 147
5.7.2. Sub-theme 2: The personal attributes to participate in sport 148
5.8. Conclusion 150
CHAPTER SIX 151
Changing racial and gender attitudes in rugby and soccer participation. 151
6.1. Introduction 151

6.2. Summary of findings from the study 154
6.2.1. The discourses of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer 154
6.2.2. The discourse of hierarchy in sports: reconstruction of soccer and problematising touch rugby 156
6.2.3. The discourses of gender and race in rugby and soccer 158
6.2.4. The experiences of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer 159
6.2.5. Disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically 160
6.2.6. The role of families in sports' participation 161
6.3. Significance and contribution of the study 162
6.4. Implications of the study 163
6.4.1. Implications for gender and racial participation policy in rugby and soccer in former model C secondary schools 163
6.4.2. Implications for men's and women's attitude on racial and gender equity participation practices in rugby and soccer 164
6.4.3. Implications for stigmatisation of women soccer players 165
6.4.4. Implications for rugby and soccer development at grassroots level 166
6.5. Limitations of the study 166
6.6. Possibilities for further research 167
6.7. Conclusion of the study 168
References 170
Appendix 212

Table of figures

Figure 1: Photographs showing playing grounds in high density residential areas (called townships)..... 86
Figure 2: A former model C schools..... 87
Figure 3: A former model C schools..... 87
Figure 4: Nokwazi Secondary School and some of its sports grounds..... 88
Figure 5: Nokwazi netball/tennis/basketball fields..... 89
Figure 6: Yekeni Secondary School learners..... 90
Figure 7: Yekeni Secondary School and sport grounds..... 91

List of tables

Table 1:Showing grassroot pillars of South African rugby 47
Table 2: Participants sample for individual interviews 93
Table 3: Details of the interviews 95
Table 4: Showing data coding of the coaches and players 97
Table 5: showing a timetable for rugby and soccer in the secondary schools visited 99
Table 6: Themes and sub-themes..... 109

CHAPTER ONE

Relatedness of sports and race and gender: Secondary school context

Sport can create hope where once there was only despair ~ Nelson Mandela (1995)

1.1. Introduction and background of the study

The former president, Nelson Mandela, was aware that to dismantle the South African system of institutionalised racism, sports ranked high on the list because of the potential for nation-building. Nelson Mandela realised that sport has the transformative power to change the world by uniting people, regardless of class, race, gender, age or disability; changes that protests and diplomacy could possibly not be able to do (Busbee, 2013). Thus, sport is not only a language easily spoken and understood by everyone, but it consists of creativity, art and style that is loved by all human beings (Ghildiyal, 2015). The following section discusses in depth the relationship between education and sport in the South African context, taking into account the past and present socio-political influence.

1.2. Education and sport in South Africa

South African politics has affected the organisation and gender and racial participation in sport in the school context. In 1948, the then Minister of the Interior, T.E. Donges declared that “sport within the borders of South Africa had to be practiced in accordance with the principle of ‘separate development” (Darby, 2008, p. 178). This was the first substantial move from the then ruling National Party that made explicit the state’s commitment to separate the organisation of sports according to race (Alegi, 2004; Fletcher, 2012; Pelak, 2015), which was extended to the schools that were also racially segregated. It meant that the non-Whites and Whites had to organise education and sport separately, making the mixing of races illegal (Darby, 2015). In this way the government politicised sports and promoted

racial divisions and gender bias in the society, schools, and universities, by limiting participation and associating certain sports, for example, rugby, cricket, hockey, swimming, and soccer, with specific racial groups (Pelak, 2019). According to Rademeyer (2013), the policy on school sport was a constant contention during the 1980s because the government continued to emphasise that the decision about participation in multiracial sports and cultural activities should be made by each school. While this was perceived as an idea to bring South Africans together, the White communities remained reluctant to compete with Black schools and were not comfortable to participate in sport in Black communities (Phaswana, 2018).

The racial segregation affected participation opportunities and access to quality sports facilities for most South Africans, and the provision of skilled and experienced coaches to non-White schools for proper development and preparations. Laureano, Konukman, Erdogan, Yu and Cekin (2014) postulate that schools in lower socio-economic (townships[1]) and rural areas struggled to offer sports activities due to limited and poor sports facilities, which continue to be limited to soccer and netball in most schools. The 1994 democratic government tried to redress the apartheid government's policy that promoted racial and gender inequity in sports participation, by deracialising schools and encouraging girls, women and non-Whites to participate in sports of their choice. Maralack, Keim and de Coning (2013) state that "sports and recreation legislation aimed at correcting imbalances in sports and recreation and promote equity and democracy in sports and recreation" (p. 261). While the government deracialised sports and promoted gender equity in sports participation, unfortunately, the existing sports facilities in the township schools were not improved and new sports fields were not built. Instead, the sports facilities and infrastructures and quality coaches in former Model C schools were well developed to world class standards.

South Africa's socio-political history made participation in sports complex and in the schools challenging, because some sport codes such as rugby, cricket, hockey, and

[1] Townships are defined as areas that were designated under apartheid legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Previously called 'locations', townships were located on the outskirts of major cities meant for labourers. Suburbs were for Whites and schools were constructed differently (Laureano, Konukman, Erdogan, Yu and Cekin 2014).

swimming were associated with the middle class, and soccer with working class groups, spreading racialisation. Thus, the rapid development and popularity of rugby and soccer happens in specific societies and schools, for example, rugby continues to be predominantly played in the White and Coloured schools, especially in the Western and Eastern Cape, and soccer was and still is mainly played in township and rural communities and schools (Lombard, Durandt & Masimla, 2015). The discussion does not overlook Grundlingh, Odendaal, B. Spies and S. B. Spies' (1995) point that addresses the myth of rugby being historically a Whites-only sport in South Africa, but wants to argue the continuing association of rugby dominantly with the White racial group[2], including in the schools. The discussion further highlights the socialisation of children and association of specific sport(s) with particular societies and schools, resulting in the racialisation of soccer and rugby. Rugby has been introduced and played in some Black township communities as part of developmental programmes (Durandt Hendricks, Marshall, Roux & Hare, 2019) to encourage boys' participation and popularising the sport in various previously disadvantaged communities.

It is, however, unclear whether and how soccer is popularised in the White suburbs and traditionally rugby-dominated schools, considering the popularity of soccer in South Africa. Of concern for the current study is the lack of research in schools generally, and secondary schools specifically, that explored the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South African Model C schools, especially after the 1995 and 1996 Rugby World Cup and Africa Cup of Nation celebrations, respectively, by Nelson Mandela and the country, as the symbol of the 'rainbow nation'.

According to Grundlingh and Nauright (2013), South Africans seemed to have discovered a sense of common unity as the victories were toasted across the land. I recognise some research in former Model C schools that focuses on rugby developments and the nature of playing (Mweli, 2015; Steyn, 2016), which has mostly been done in the field of psychology. There is a dearth of research from the

[2] Historically, Coloured people played and continue to play rugby in South Africa, mainly from the Western and Eastern Cape provinces, because Coloureds were initially allowed to vote during apartheid and were allowed to play rugby. Black African people also played rugby informally in the two provinces before the Nationalist Party government illegalised it (Coetzee, 2016).

sociology and education perspective that explores the developments and nature of playing rugby and soccer in Model C schools, and it is worse in the township schools.

1.3. Rationale of the study

This research was encouraged by my informal observations of minimal racial and gender representation and participation in rugby and soccer in the former Model C schools. I have been teaching in Philile secondary school[3] for 13 years and interacted with other former Model C schools during sports days, during which time I noticed the continuing gender and racial inequity in sports participation. I specifically focused on rugby and soccer as the two popular sports in South Africa, after being popularised and used by former President Nelson Mandela in 1995 and 1996 to build social cohesion. I observed that in the former Model C schools' physical education is taken seriously because they still have big fields that are used for rugby and soccer, swimming pools, hockey fields, basketball and volleyball courts. In Philile secondary school there are no sports fields, apart from a quad that is sometimes converted into a netball ground for the girls. The boys sometimes use it to play soccer during break time. From my observations I noticed that contact rugby is still dominated by White male players and soccer is also dominated by Black male players, even though for some Black, Coloured and a small number of White girls have started playing soccer at secondary schools. This was interesting to observe in the year 2015, after 21 years of democracy, which means some socio-political influences are resistant to change.

The media news also motivated the conceptualisation of this research, especially in 2016 when the former Minister of Sport, Mr Mbalula, suspended Athletics South Africa (ASA), Cricket South Africa (CSA), Netball South Africa (NSA), and the South African Rugby Union (SARU) from bidding for major and mega international tournaments due to lack of transformation (ENCA News Channel, 2016-04-27, 6pm news). These sports federations did not meet the set transformation targets of 60% Black African inclusion (White Paper, 2015), addressing the racial under-representation and participation. While cricket is not the focus of this study, the

[3] Philile is a pseudonym to protect the identity of the school.

incident on the 26th of October 2021 about the Black players' support of Black Lives Matter movement resulted in heated racial exchanges and verbal attacks, when Quinton de Kock refused to 'take the knee' before a cricket match, despite Cricket South Africa requiring all players to do so. This revealed continuous racism in Cricket South Africa. The players' testimonies revealed that racial exclusion and racism in some South African sports continue to be a challenge (Swart, 2021). This incidence suggests that racism appears reluctant to 'die-down' 28 years of democracy, and I wondered whether such an incident would have happened if Black players supported Black Lives Matter in rugby and soccer. Even though this happened within the national teams, it does address the importance of exploring the status of rugby and soccer in the secondary schools' context, because some players aspire to play in the national teams. It is because of the informal observation and continuous media outcry about the continuing racial segregation in some sports that I became interested in exploring the state of rugby and soccer participation in some Johannesburg secondary schools, because of the popularity of these sports.

It is generally agreed that sports play a major role in promoting and ensuring that social cohesion and transformation is realisable in post-discriminatory countries such as South Africa (Burchi, 2016). As mentioned previously, in 1995 and 1996, rugby and soccer respectively proved that they have the "uniting and nation-building effect and the power to heal old wounds" (Jack, 2018, p. 123). When the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup, Nelson Mandela wore the number 6 shirt of the team's captain,-Francois Pienaar, a White Afrikaner, and the two embraced in a spontaneous gesture of racial reconciliation which melted hearts around the world (Cornelissen, 2011). The Bafana soccer team that won the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations resembled a rainbow nation, as players were racially mixed. Although it is not clear whether and how the symbolic gestures motivated mixed racial and women's participation in the two sport codes, especially in schools that traditionally offer rugby and soccer, the purpose was to showcase the ability of sport to create hope and togetherness where there was animosity and separateness. Notwithstanding this, Maseko (2017) cautions that schools' preference for boys and not girls in soccer reflects a form of sex-appropriate behaviour that has led to women being excluded from playing soccer since infancy. Similarly, Terblanche (2020) states that rugby in schools, particularly former Model C schools, has not only

continued to disguise their schools' bursary programmes as providing underprivileged players with better opportunities, but schools have remained masculine and a racial battleground, losing the connection - a flaw of unity in education.

Robinson (2018) states that gender and racial representation and participation in rugby has not been well addressed, because the number of Black, Coloured, and Indian players involved in rugby at schools and club level is still small if Black[4] and White populations are seriously considered. Similarly, irrespective of soccer being considered one of the most popular sports in South Africa, the participation of White players is also minimal, especially if the national teams are used as a measure. It appears that in South Africa the association of soccer with the working class, as compared to the high status and lucrative business in Europe, is unappealing to most White players. Cubizolles (2010) has mentioned that White players look down upon soccer by choosing to participate in rugby, because it has the territorial advantage over soccer at Stellenbosch University (SU). The rugby sport in SU has been symbolised as a white men dominated sport, yet soccer is a sport for all. As a result, this practice has exacerbated long-standing racial divides between the black and coloured populations and fostered uncertainty about the unity symbol that the sport was meant to represent. Heated debates of selection and representation in provincial and national teams, and the critique of schools channelling racial and ethnic groups and females into specific sporting codes, affect social cohesion and equitable sports participation (Burchi, 2016). It is against this background that the current study was conceptualised, to critically explore and interrogate the nature of racial and gender participation in soccer and rugby in Johannesburg secondary schools.

1.4. Problem statement

As a form of socialisation, the post-apartheid government recognised education and sport as the vehicle and hope to unite different racial communities, and eventually the South African nation (Burchi, 2016). This reiterates the important role that

[4] Black in this context refers to non-White South Africans (Black Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) who were denied basic human rights, such as the right to vote they were denied during apartheid.

schools could play in promoting change in sports participation generally, by specifically encouraging equal opportunities in rugby and soccer participation to all racial groups and genders. Of concern, however, is the dearth of research that has explored and interrogated racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in primary and secondary schools generally, especially in Johannesburg schools, to gain insight into the status of participation. In 1997, the former Model C schools experienced an influx of non-White learners, especially Black African learners, when the democratic government opened former Model C and private schools, which resulted in mixed racial schools with different socio-cultural backgrounds and sports experiences (Burnett, 2001). Given the unidirectional movement of non-White learners to dominantly White schools, the participation status in rugby and soccer is under-researched in these schools, given the discussed socio-political racial association in rugby and soccer. The current study wanted to address this research gap and contribute to the existing research on gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools generally, and specifically in South Africa.

Schools are expected to build the future sports players for the clubs in the communities, institutions of higher learning and national teams, making it important to research and understand players' and coaches' experiences of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer. Unfortunately, despite the government's efforts to desegregate sports and enhance social relations warped by colonialism and apartheid, it is startling to note that the provision of sport and sport facilities to the disadvantaged communities has been moving slowly and seems doubtful (Burchi, 2016; Maseko, 2017; Terblanche, 2020). The argument by Morris and Hindson (1992) that the "old elements, ideologies and strategies remain, and the social forces committed to the previous order still operate, consciously and unconsciously alongside and clashing with new elements" (p. 52) seems relevant in the democratic South Africa. It could be argued that the status of sports participation in township and rural schools is clear, if the dominantly and traditionally existing dilapidating soccer and netball fields are considered (Phaswana, 2018). Some former Model C and most private schools continue to offer cricket, rugby, hockey, swimming, as well as a well-maintained athletic track and field, while the gender and racial participation in these schools has not been well documented, considering the influx of non-White learners.

The 1996 South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996) extended most of the financing and government provisions of Model C schools to all public schools (Republic of South Africa (RSA), 1996). It has been argued that an extension of financing and government provisions only reinforced a system that permits disparate fees and maintains a high degree of inequality in the schools (Lemon, 1999). This was most notable in the sports fields as racial differences in sport participation occurred because township schools, for instance, differ from ex-model C schools in size and resources. Schools with more resources provided more sports and teams and sport participation rates were higher in the ex-Model C schools than in public schools (Goldsmith, 2003). The departments of Education and Sport released the integrated school sport framework in June 2011 to develop a quality school sport system enshrined with the principles of excellence, inclusion, respect, and fair play, to regulate access and delivery of school sport for all learners, and capacity development and social cohesion (Department of Basic Education, 2011a; Department of Sport and Recreation, 2011b). Unfortunately, the limited research into school sports has resulted in limited information about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in the former Model C schools that allowed non-White learners to attend the schools, due to school fees' affordability. Without overlooking gender and racial participation in private schools, the focus on former Model C schools in general is due to the higher attendance number of non-White learners that could result in higher participation in rugby and soccer.

1.5. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to critically explore the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools in the south of Johannesburg, and to interrogate and analyse players' and coaches' experiences of participation in rugby and soccer in some Johannesburg South secondary schools.

1.6. Objectives

Against the background, the rationale and the purpose of the study, the planned objectives were:

- To understand the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools.
- To critically analyse the players' and coaches' experiences of participating in rugby and soccer.
- To identify and discuss the factors that shape the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools.
- To examine the reasons rugby and soccer players participate in a particular sport code(s).

1.7. Main Research Question

The research was guided by the following main research question: What is the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in the south of Johannesburg secondary schools?

1.8. The sub-questions were:

1) How do players and coaches experience participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools?

2) What are the players' reasons for participating in a particular sport code(s)?

3) What are the factors that shape the state of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer within the secondary schools?

1.9. Structure of the thesis

The main aim of Chapter One has been to introduce and provide the contextual background by discussing the role that apartheid government policies played in imposing racial and gender bias in sports participation in South Africa. The post-apartheid government redressed the education and sports participation through the non-sexist and non-racist policies as a way to encourage sport participation in

previously racially segregated sports - in this study rugby and soccer - and gender bias to sports participation.

The post-apartheid government attempted to transform the state of racial and gender participation in sports in the society, particularly in schools where players are socialised. The chapter has included the rationale, statement of the problem, the purpose and objectives, and lastly the research questions that were answered in the study.

Chapter Two presents a discussion on the taken-for-granted gendered and racialised power relations found in discourses and practices that restrict women, Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians in rugby and soccer in secondary school. Race and gender and sport in general and specifically racial and gender equity sports participation practices, or lack thereof, in rugby and soccer internationally, on the African continent, as well as in South Africa are discussed. The purpose of this discussion is to understand and situate the state of racial and gender sports participation in rugby and soccer after apartheid and how participation in rugby and soccer (as historically male and White sports) and issues of racial and gender equity participation in these sports have been viewed as a global concern.

Chapter Three discusses the theoretical framework that is used to interrogate and critically analyse rugby and soccer stakeholders' meanings and experiences of racial and gender participation patterns and practices in selected secondary schools. In order to examine how some voices and experiences of race and gender involvement are recognised and counted as knowledge while others are disregarded and disregarded, the research draws on Social Critical Theory and Feminist Post-Structuralist Theory. Furthermore, Critical Social Theory and Feminist Post-Structural Theory are used to analyse and uncover the 'realities' of gender and racial participation experiences of rugby and soccer players and coaches in South Johannesburg secondary schools.

Chapter Four provides an overview of the research methodology selected for this study and the rationale for the choices made. The study is informed by the feminist qualitative approach and critical discourse analysis. In addition, the justification of the

chosen sampling strategy, and methods of data collection are also discussed. Furthermore, consideration is given to issues relating to the trustworthiness, credibility, and confirmability of the data, all crucial to the validation of research. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the challenges of conducting the research.

The focus of Chapter Five is the presentation of findings that emerge from the participants' responses, addressing the research questions. The chapter present participants' understandings of the status of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in selected secondary schools.

Chapter Six discusses the results on the extent to which participants report universities as having gender equity policies in place and whether they are perceived as promoting interventions in soccer. Following this discussion are findings about the narrated experiences of racial and gender equity practices in rugby and soccer in the two secondary schools studied. The way in which soccer administrators and soccer team managers in universities report on the policies and interventions is a particular focus in this chapter, since they are responsible for initiating and overseeing the implementation of such policies in soccer.

CHAPTER TWO

Gender and Racial participation in rugby and soccer: A review of the literature

2.1. Introduction

Sport is generally important in the society and beneficial for children because it promotes physical and mental development, which increases their self-esteem, mental alertness and team spirit (Aguilar, 2018). The sport is also seen as “a site for relations of domination and subordination and the reproduction of gendered and racialised power relations, which cannot be underestimated” (Hall, 2016, p. 16). This means that, if not problematised, sport reinforces community norms, values, economic and political agencies, resulting in gender and racial stereotyping. Schell and Rodriguez (2020) state that in the larger society sport is the “systems of inequality and exclusion that exist as effects of a dominant group ideology of an elite minority who control the factions of sport: economic, political, and cultural” (p. 19). The dominating group in sport has traditionally been men's common interests, ideals, and practices, which are deeply embedded in many sport traditions and grant them more renowned, financial reward, and a considerably bigger number of players. The character and nature of sport reflects the attitudes, beliefs, rituals, and values of the society that maintains and reproduces male dominance and racial association in sport (Sudgen & Tomlinson, 2017). As mentioned above, the systems have helped to maintain male dominance in sports and association of specific sports with a particular race. There is a dearth of research that understands the nature of the system and whether and how it facilitates and/or constrains gender and racial participation in schools. This is why I have acknowledged the importance of researching schools and interacting with players and coaches in order to explore and interrogate the nature of racial and gender participation in sports.

In this chapter, I firstly conceptualise gender and race, followed by a discussion on misconceptions society holds on race and gender that brings about domination and suppression. This discussion is followed by the conceptualisation of gender in sport as well as gender relations, as they continue to impact access and opportunities for males and females in sport, highlighting various issues that have militated against

women's access. Third, even though the research does not specifically focus on women, it is important to review the development of women's rugby and soccer internationally, in African countries and in South Africa (SA) specifically, to understand the social challenges they overcame to be accepted in the sports. Fourth, I engage with research on racial and gender roles in sport participation that have continued to exclude many South Africans who have fought to become full participants in their nation's most popular sporting flagships, namely, rugby and soccer. Finally, the review explores grassroots sport and the extent to which it institutionalises racial and gender exclusionary practices and masks discourses that continue to normalise rugby and soccer participation in South African secondary schools. I will discuss each concept (gender and race) to clearly present their roles in sport. However, they should be read interrelatedly and not independently.

2.2. Conceptualisation of gender and race: A contested area

In this section, I firstly present a discussion on gender and then the conception of race, to engage in depth with each concept due to their importance. Gender and race are systems of power relations (Weber, 2014), and heterosexuals and White males possess this power to set the rules and acceptable practices governing racial and gender participation in sport (Coakley, 2017; Otterson, 2018). The construction of gender and race defines "normative boundaries and influences how we think of ourselves and others, how we relate to others, and how social life is organised at all levels" (Roth & Basow, 2004, p. 263). This has been observed in sport organisations and the field of play, where normative gender roles and racial background somehow dictate who is suitable to play what sport, what behaviour is socially appropriate and acceptable for which gender, and who is entitled to hold management positions in rugby and soccer organisations in sporting institutions. The gendered and racialised knowledge inform assumptions and interpretations of sports participation and are influenced by discourses concerning "socially produced distinctions between male and female, masculine and feminine, dominant race and subordinate race" (Acker, 1990, p. 146). In other words, gender and race, or masculinities and femininities (Connell, 1995), dominant groups and subordinate groups (Van Dijk, 1983), are informed by taken for granted meanings of what it is to be a man or a woman or

superior White or inferior non-White in society (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Thus, in sport, discourses are gendered and racialised (Acker, 1992; Alvesson & Billing, 1992, 1997), a reason this study seeks to understand rugby and soccer players' and coaches' discourses about participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, and understand the factors that influence them.

Even though these concepts are socially constructed, they are frequently internalised by individuals, which make them difficult to challenge and change (Connell, 1995). Similarly, in sports, gender and race have been normalised, a reason society seems to have taken for granted the genderisation of specific sporting codes and racialisation of certain sporting codes. Male athletes have historically been portrayed and seen as competitive, tough, hard players who seldom show signs of pleasure, love, or friendship but rather hostility and fury, and who only grin in triumph, both in the global North and the West, including South Africa. (Cooky & Messner, 2018; McDowell 2011). On the other hand, women athletes play as curtain raisers to the men's games, exhibiting cheerful emotions, feminine, glamorous and soft touches when playing. Women's sport has not been taken seriously because it is usually compared with long-existing men's sport. It is rendered invisible, insignificant, slow and uninteresting, which is a form of silencing and dismissing women as people not good at traditionally male-dominated sports (Cherry, 2017) by the local community up to government level. According to King (2016), men forget that sport is where they have traditionally learned about teamwork, goal-setting, the pursuit of excellence in performance and other achievements such as the critical skills necessary for success, and those same benefits should be afforded to girls and women too. This statement does not overlook the current changes and increase in women's participation in sports that were previously preserved for men only, which should be continuously celebrated.

The social construction of gender makes groups of people genderised differently over time as interests in the dominant society evolve and are reinforced by society (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010). These normalised illusions and systems of representation maintain sport and economic imbalances along gender lines that are dominantly used by men who continue to perpetuate "a discourse of a just world" (Wale & Foster, 2007, p. 76). This discourse of "a just world" constructs the world as

a fair place, where individuals get what they deserve, and men are perceived to have traditionally acquired those privileges through hard work, rather than their privilege being a result of historic inequalities (Bester, 2015). Thus, gender norms have governed the behaviour of girls and boys, women and men in society, restricting their gender identity into what is considered as historically appropriate masculine sports for boys and feminine sports for girls by the society. These socially constructed 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' sports have led to inequalities that have kept girls and women oppressed and non-participants in most male-associated sporting codes, overlooking girls and women that have beaten the odds and participated in male-dominated sports. Women who are expected to display traditionally feminine behaviours often find it difficult to participate in masculine activities such as rugby and soccer, because society will critique and label them. As noted by Hendricks, Kramer and Ratele (2019), the gender norms affect individual decisions about whether to participate in rugby and soccer. This also means that if gender norms are not problematised, traditional gender roles and male hegemony are advanced, pushing aside and discouraging girls from jumpstarting their psychomotor skills and physical activity through rugby and soccer participation.

The society, not biology, confines males and females to particular masculine and feminine character profiles, which might influence sport participation in school rugby and soccer. The concept of gender is often thought to be exclusively distinguished features of the male or female species (Scraton, Fasting, Pfister & Bunuel Heras, 1999) that girls and boys might be caught in as social construction.
Earlier, Grewal and Caplan (2006, p. xix) explained gender as:

> The assignment of masculine and feminine characteristics to bodies in cultural contexts. It is a socially constructed category that involves roles, expectations, and responsibilities that are not biologically determined. Gender is constructed through power relations between the sexes as well as in relation to class, race, sexuality, nationality, religion, and a host of social divisions specific to particular cultures and regions

This assignment is noted in sports because men have been expected to play particular roles and meet certain expectations about the standards of particular sporting codes such as rugby and soccer. These expected roles and expectations

are extended to girls and women who participate in the same sporting code(s). This study acknowledges that the notions and meaning of gender differ between racial and socio-cultural groups, and are translated through cultural ideologies of femininity and masculinity. Thus, a social constructionist perspective of gender informs this study, as it seeks to understand how gender is shaped and given meaning by the social structures, including schools, and the rugby and soccer players and the social relations/interactions in a society that are then reflected in rugby and soccer (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2020, p. 9). The construction of gender is therefore seen as a process rather than a 'role', where culture and language are central to the processes (Barrett 1992). Of importance for this study was to examine how rugby and soccer players see themselves within the process and practices of sport participation, as they use language to describe the process.

2.3. The Conceptualisation of race

The conflict between race and South African sports is a tumultuous one (Nkambule, 2015). Racism existed in South Africa for some time and the goal was to keep South Africa's White minority privileged and apart from the non-White majority (Foreman & Turick, 2020). Various competing schools of thought regarding the concept of race debate the existence of races. Racial scepticism, racial constructivism and racial naturalism are within the philosophical terrain regarding the concept race along with the discarded biological conception. Determining the boundaries of the so-called discrete races has proven to be most vexing, leading to the widespread position that discrete or essentialist races are socially constructed (Lee, 2014).

I will discuss two dominant scholarly positions on the concept of race relating to racial and gender sports participation in the South African context: Racial naturalism and Racial scepticism. Racial naturalism signifies the old biological conception of race and was adopted by the apartheid government to divide the South African population. McCoskey (2012) identifies five criteria that divide humanity. First, races reflect some type of biological foundation, be it Aristotelian essences or modern genes. Second, this biological foundation generates discrete racial groupings, such that all members of one race share a set of biological characteristics that are not

shared by members of other races. Third, this biological foundation is inherited from generation to generation, allowing observers to identify an individual's race through her ancestry or genealogy. Fourth, genealogy investigation should identify each race's geographic origin, typically in Africa, Europe, Asia, North or South America. Fifth, this inherited racial biological foundation manifests itself primarily in physical phenotypes such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture, and bone structure, and perhaps also behavioural phenotypes, such as intelligence, or delinquency. In South Africa, people were divided into racial groups and the Group Areas Act of 1950 was enacted and the cities and towns of South Africa were divided into segregated residential and business areas (Maralack, 2015).

Racial scepticism holds that racial naturalism is false and races of any type do not exist. Appiah (1995) and Zack (2002) contend that race cannot refer to anything real in the world since the one thing in the world to which the term could uniquely refer - discrete, essentialist, biological races - have been proven not to exist, and therefore the concept must be discarded entirely. This idea of discarding the concept is problematic because there are human forms of social identity that do exist and which continue to categorise people along its lines using folk racial labels: ascriptions, identification and treatment. Thus, being ascribed to a certain racial category results in the individuals so labelled having common experiences (Mallon, 2007). For instance, if you are Coloured or Black African in South Africa there are certain sports that are associated to you, and some sporting codes in which they are most likely to be a small number. South African sport participation is greatly distorted by race, as mentioned in Chapter 1, because during apartheid certain sports were normalised to be dominated by a particular racial group, consequently denying other racial groups and limiting participation in sports such as rugby, cricket, swimming, hockey and other sporting codes. However, the racial power relations are being challenged in the sporting codes historically participated in by Whites only. South African athletes of colour still find themselves dealing with racial barriers decades after the dismantling of apartheid (Nkambule, 2015), which addresses the complexity of race.

Racial constructivism, which is the third scholarly position, argues that even if biological race is false, race has come into existence and continues to exist through human culture and human decisions (Mallon, 2007). Dismissing biological race,

Haslanger (2019) understands race as racialised groups whose membership satisfies three criteria. First, members are those who are 'observed or imagined' to have certain bodily features that are evidence of certain ancestry from certain geographical locations. Second, having or being imagined as having those features marks members as occupying either a subordinate or privileged social position, thereby justifying that position. And third, the satisfaction of the first two criteria play a role in members' systematic subordination or privilege. Normatively, race constructivists (James, 2004; Mallon, 2007; Mills,1998) argue that since society labels people according to racial categories, and since such labelling often leads to race-based differences in resources, opportunities and wellbeing, the concept of race must be conserved, to facilitate race-based social movements or policies such as affirmative action, that compensate for socially constructed racial differences. Race is made real or most important by hierarchical relations of power (Jeffers, 2019). Racial identity has influenced sport participation as socially constructed racial hierarchy includes and excludes other cultural groups, leaving them to fight for justice in sports participation (Adams, 2016). Apartheid created these hierarchical power relations that associated certain sports with specific racial groups and normalised participation in these sports with a particular race and gender. Sports are racialised and gendered activities as well as social contexts in which White boys and men are more active and enthusiastically encouraged to participate, compared with girls and women, Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians.

Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p.154) argue that the process known as racialisation, is the "process of creating a race" and is therefore key to understanding how race is socially constructed and given meaning. Woods and Butler (2020) argue that people use language carelessly to will a sense of natural difference in our formulations, hence racialised problems persist because race is seen as the problem rather than the broader structural, social, cultural, historical and economic concerns that reinforce subordination and inequalities. In this study, schools are very critical in de-learning racialised issues among children of all racial groups and, according to Mweli (2015), some former Model C schools remain powerful sports centres, making it important to conduct research with players and coaches to understand their experiences of participating in rugby and soccer.

Childs (2016) warns of a persistent problem in researching racial relationships in sport and the tendency to mend race and reproduce it as a natural, essential, and very real category of difference. According to Jeffers (2019, p. 48),

> Race is a human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue of perceived common physical characteristics that are held to be inherent and determining which characteristics constitute the race is a choice human beings make to their advantage though they face resistance.

Thus in sports, race has been used as a "mechanism for limiting and restricting access to privilege, power, and wealth" and making it a social reality (Smedley & Smedley, 2020, p. 22). In this study, race has played double roles, that is, to perpetuate White privilege in rugby and limit access of Black and Coloured players in national teams (specifically cricket and rugby) and continue to limit White participation in soccer because in South Africa it has been perceived as an inferior working-class sport.

Guillaumin (1999) cogently summarises that, "No, race does not exist. And yet it does. Not in the way that people think; but it remains the most tangible, real and brutal of realities" (p. 107). In South Africa, race has always been real because the apartheid government used it to restrict access of Black and Coloured people to attend specific schools and play specific sports after formalising racial segregation, because they were superior sports preserved for White players. The post-apartheid government also used sports, like rugby and soccer, to force racial unity. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the 1995 and 1996 finals were perceived as uniting South Africans. The 2021 cricket racial scandal mentioned earlier demonstrates continuous racism. The continuing racial incidences in sport suggest that racialised South Africa cannot reduce 'race' to an objective condition or an ideological construct that denies the people lived realities, because rugby and soccer racially separate Blacks and Whites as the sports continue to be associated with the two races (Jack, 2018). Race is a complex system of representation learned through socialisation from homes to schools and then acted upon in sports as if the distinctions were real. Race sports socialisation has deeply profound political consequences for how we generally understand racial difference and who has access to sport itself.

2.4. Reviewing Gender and race in sports

Mennesson and Clement (2003, p. 312) argue that “The gender definition of sports emphasises virile, heterosexual masculinity which requires ‘gender conformity’ for women in general, and for female athletes in particular”. This understanding of masculine characteristics, that once excluded and marginalised women, does not limit them anymore, since they have embraced the physical training and crossed the gender boundaries unapologetically in the reconstruction of the gender order (Reilly & Barry, 2020). Unfortunately, this has created conflict between gender and culture in the realms of femininity, because female athletes that deviate from the norms by playing men’s games such as rugby and soccer, have disrupted and changed patriarchal constructs of masculinity and culture (Broad, 2001). Given such shifts, consensual beliefs about the attributes of women and men, such as gender stereotypes, have also changed (Marfell, 2019; Mennesson, 2019). Indeed, while homophobic and homo-sociability is almost a norm in male team sports (Coakley, 2017; Rilley, 2019), the social atmosphere of numerous women’s teams involves accepting and even protecting homosexual relations among their female players for fear of victimisation. Considerable research has focussed on consensual perceptions of gender behaviour and appearance to determine the appropriateness of gender participation in sport (Cszima, Wittig & Schurr, 1988; Hall, Dallas & Trevor, 1991; Kane, 1987; Koivula, 1995, 2001; Matteo, 1986; Messner & Sabo, 1990; Metheny, 1965). Earlier, Metheny (1965) was among the first scholars to identify gender stereotypes that influence the social acceptability of various sports.

An attempt to physically subdue an opponent, use of force, overcoming resistance of a heavy object, and bodily contact in sport would be perceived as acceptable for men and therefore unacceptable for women (Metheny, 1965). This relegates women to the so-called ‘feminine sports’, to the extent that those in schools do not see the value of participating in them. When women do take up traditionally marked ‘male sport’, their participation is often trivialised and devalued (Theberge, 1997). The society has normalised men’s participation in physically demanding sports, and abnormalised body-building women who challenge exclusion to such sporting codes. Thus, women’s soccer and women’s rugby are not well accepted by society because their games are seen as alternative to historically perceived ‘real’ soccer or rugby

that men play. While gender issues needed to be explored and interrogated in this study, focussing only on gendered power relations and not gender stereotypes as central to unequal rugby and soccer participation for women, would fail to address the marginalisation and exclusion that has existed for some years. Goslin (2006) notes a desirable racial participation in soccer, netball, track and field, as all races and genders have equal access to these sports in South Africa.

There is a notable relationship between gender and racial bias in sport because discrimination of under-represented groups is evident against transformational inclusive policies put in place by the post-apartheid government. Some sporting codes like rugby and soccer still do not have desirable racial participation, revealing that people's identities based on race, gender, class and sexuality accompany them in every social interaction (Burton, 2015). This recognition that one category may have prominence over another for a given time and place does not minimise the theoretical importance of assuming that race, gender and class as categories of analysis structure all relationships (Singer, 2016). The impact of these multiple identities and forms of oppression and experiences of inequality produces linked forms of injustices that are not tolerant of equality, diversity, and inclusion.

Kocher (2014) argues that the society has prioritised race at the expense of gender. This is interesting, as gender is also an important category in sports that traditionally marginalised women. Oswick and Noon (2012, p. 87) conclude that "the combination of gender and racial categories have a much greater effect on general participation in some groups than others". To be a female and African or Indian or Coloured accentuates the difference in participation (Carroll, 1993), as it has been noted that Indian women do not participate much in sport. Black and Coloured women and girls appear to be participating in most sporting codes, addressing some improvements. However, despite the post-apartheid policy of gender and racial equality, sport participation chances have been improving in South Africa, as evidenced by differential opportunities to represent and participate in certain sporting codes such as rugby and soccer that are still prevalent (Burnett, 2016).

Anderson (2005, p. 21) explains that the key element to the gender order is that "complicity is achieved because subordinates believe their place in the system is

right and natural." Similarly, racial hierarchy in rugby and soccer participation could wrongfully remain in place if not interrogated and problematised in the school context, making the current research important to contribute to the existing information. Therefore, as long as White males and men generally believe that the system continues to support and favour them, change might happen slowly because their way of talking about sport might take time to change. According to Makhanya (2019), the South African national rugby team was accused of favouring White players and discriminating against Black players, and a lot of Black South Africans believed South African rugby officials deliberately did not recruit many Black players. It can be argued that turning a blind eye to secondary schools' racial and gender sports participation status in major sports such as rugby and soccer would be detrimental, because they have the potential to unite the nation of South Africa, as was demonstrated during the 1995 and 1996 rugby and soccer World Cup competitions that brought the whole nation together to be the 'rainbow nation' (Connellissen, 2011).

2.5. Understanding race and racial issues in sport

The oppression of non-White people was naturalised through everyday experiences based on treatment of race as biological categories in which blackness and whiteness are seen as two poles on a spectrum. Whiteness has been the pole of privilege, high income, good education and participation in elite sports such as rugby, cricket and swimming. Blackness, on the other hand, has been associated with stigma, marginalised disadvantaged, and less income, poor education and less participation in sport (Tee, 2021).

In this study, race has been considered not as a 'property' or 'essence' residing in individuals but rather as a naturalised social construct that operates in everyday culture, among others, in rugby and soccer participation (Hylton, 2015; Pitcher, 2014). The concept of race is contested globally because race continues to be reproduced, determining hierarchical relations of power, marking members as occupying either subordinate or privileged social positions, thereby justifying that position (Haslanger, 2019). This is noticed in South Africa when the association of

rugby with the Whites and soccer dominantly with the Black South Africans is noted as it continues. Interestingly, both sports continue to hold their traditional status because racially these sports are still dominated by White and Black players respectively. Along the same lines, Cross (2013) argues that the involvement of Black players in what was often described as an essentially White man's game was limited and Blacks were generally confined to the peripheral and arguably less-important positions of the rugby senior team. Similarly, Nkambule (2014) and Ephraim (2020) maintain that Whites keep a firm control over positions that are both symbolically and functionally central, a pattern known as positional segregation or stacking. Black and Coloured players have long complained of being overlooked for key positions in the senior national team and as coaching staff (Ephraim, 2020). There seems to be a strategic move when Black or Coloured players are added in the senior national team. According to Nkambule (2014), rugby and cricket are the problems because they still have a lot of competent and talented Black players who are just never selected.

Mweli (2015) notes that schools and universities of the less privileged continue to be seen as inadequate on the rugby field. Even in situations where these schools and universities improvise and produce Black rugby players of provincial or national calibre, their sporting abilities are questioned due to lack of proper infrastructure, coaches and facilities. As long as Black communities and their schools continue to be underdeveloped, White South African children are more likely to receive a lot of encouragement to participate in rugby, cricket and swimming from their families than other racial groups (Harrison, 2011). The government's plans for such communities could be questioned because the lack or snail-pace changes in the townships, rural communities and schools perpetuate inequities in sports participation. Even though the rugby clinics in townships are commendable, it is questionable whether it is a 'tick the box' process rather than a genuine attempt to promote racial transformation in rugby participation in schools. This remains the case because sport and race both still appear to be aspects of human life that are immediately knowable and products of a natural physicality that precedes socialisation (Steyn, 2015).

2.6. Racial and gender participation in school rugby and soccer: An International Perspective

This section discusses gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in different countries to understand the debates and discourses according to different researchers. The discussion on gender will present men's and women's representation in sports, due to the different developments in the sports. I will engage with women's challenges and success in rugby and soccer, given the differences in sports establishments, and the institutional preferences of certain genders and race. Although change has been slow, the opportunity for women and non-White individuals to engage in different genderised and racialised sports such as rugby and soccer has become available throughout Europe, Australia, and North America (Hargreaves, 1994). Rugby and soccer have been noted to be the most dominant, highly financed and influential sports in many nations of the world (Coakley, 2017; Sugden & Tomlinson, 1994). This is noted particularly in men's professional soccer where players are bought for high prices, but it is not clear how much females are sold for in soccer. This may be what is actually happening (buying/selling people), but usually the reference is to contracts and transfer fees. Notwithstanding their popularity, of concern is that rugby and soccer "have excluded almost completely the female half of the population to date" (Sawe, 2018, p. 26). However, there has been improvement in soccer as women's participation has increased internationally, which might be influenced by the increased interest in the schools. This statement does not overlook the continuing inequity in financial support and resources distribution, and media coverage that still prioritises men's rugby and soccer.

Rugby has been an elite sport played dominantly by White males in Wales, England, and Australia, and race and racism seemingly invisible and other racial groups weakly resisting the domination and racial bias (Saavedra, 2004). In these countries rugby has always been dominated by White males because it was established to maintain manhood as a compensatory reaction to changing gender roles and gender relations during the 19th century (Jeffers, 2019). Rugby for boys and men was organised in schools and cities to preserve maleness, as society feared the feminisation of boys and men. Historically, it was not a tradition to include girls and

women in rugby because of the roughness of the sport that contrasted with the softness associated with women. However, the participation of women in rugby has been slowly increasing in New Zealand, Australia and England. According to Ryan (2021), the English Women's Rugby Team became the first fully professional women's team, with 28 of their top talent receiving a one-season deal. However, according to Hood (2019) women's rugby has gained a lot of momentum through events like the Women's Rugby World Cup, the World Rugby Sevens tournaments, including the success of the Women's Six Nations, proving the women's game is just as exciting as the men's game. New Zealand offers semi-professional contracts and in Australia Josephine Sukkar of Buildcorp has sponsored the Australian Super League, helping to promote a professional tier for women (Josephine Sukkar in press interview 5 April 2021). Although Ryan, (2021) acknowledges that there is still a lag between the men's and women's game in terms of brands and sponsors, women's participation in rugby in Wales, England and Australia is growing rapidly, with sponsorship and media coverage improving.

The majority of women's soccer teams in England, according to Gerald (2019), are affiliated with men's clubs that already exist. This indicates that the financial system and lack of support for women's sport is much more comprehensible since women imitate and receive from the mercy of male desires. This means women emulate men's demands. Many European countries are following England's example and soccer is more advanced than rugby (Gerald, 2019). In New Zealand, soccer participation trends in secondary schools. Godwin (2015) asserts that while there has been 'raised eyebrows' from male organisations that disapproved of women and girls playing soccer, a new phenomenon of girls' soccer has been recorded as the biggest growth sport in secondary schools and clubs over the past five years. According to Cox and Thompson (2006), hundreds of girls between the ages of five and ten now play soccer with their male counterparts on Saturday mornings across the nation. A lot of soccer tournaments are organised between New Zealand and Australian schools, including national teams of under-15s, 17s, 19s and 20s boosting soccer participation. Soccer is a game that requires a high level of fitness, speed, skill and the duration of each game, the number of people in each team, the size of the field and goal are changed to suit the different ages and levels of ability, so that they can enjoy the game. Women's teams have played the game since the 1970s

and since then it has been gaining popularity among women and girls of all ages. Some primary and intermediate schools have regular competitions for their teams and national tournaments.

In the United States of America, researchers suggest that girls', women's and non-White students' participation in school sports is at the highest level in history (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Although this report does provide some schematic information about high school sport, it is about intercollegiate sport in the United States of America. It does not break down participation by race. While Flanagan and Greenberg (2019) acknowledge the progress that has been made, they are also concerned that 4,500 public high schools across the United States of America (USA) have large gender inequalities in sports, but they become silent on racial biases. A school in the United States is said to have a large gap if the difference between the percentage of spots on teams allocated to girls and those allocated to boys or different races is 10 points or higher. If girls or a certain race account for, say, 55 percent of the population at a school but only get 43 percent of all the spots on teams, that school has a 12 percent gap. Schools are expected to show the percentage of spots for girls and boys as well as the opportunity gaps faced by girls and boys of colour in sports participation in schools. Gender and race-based disparities in high school athletics is exacerbated by the ever-growing inequality in educational or career attainment that already plagues women and people of colour in the United States (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

The successes of women in sports in the USA, were possibly shaped by the introduction and enactment of Title IX which was passed as part of the Education Amendments of 1972 and has unlocked every girl's and women's opportunities to play sport globally. It prohibits sex-based discrimination in any school or any other educational programme that receives funding from the federal government (Hartman, 2009). Women's and men's teams are to be treated equally under the law and schools should look to expand the opportunities for women to play sports (Lapchick, 2019b). It resulted in an exponential rise of female athletes participating in sports (Lapchick, 2019b). This was important for this study because where there have been inequalities there is a need to set up policies that create new practices to level the playing field. However, in the US, since laws are different from policies, one has to

litigate to get action. In addition, it is interesting to note that after the Title IX four decades ago, women have begun playing full-contact American football. According to Hays (2019), women belong to the game, as demonstrated by great players like Sarah Fuller have emerged, alerting other girls out there that they can do anything they decide to do, given the opportunity. Hays (2019) further reports that most leagues play by the same rules as their male counterparts with one exception: women's leagues use a slightly smaller football and primarily play on a semi-professional or amateur level in the USA.

While Title IX focused on the inclusion of girls in different sport, the racial representation was overlooked because, according to Evans, Agergaard, Campbell, Hylton and Lenneis (2020), racialisation in America is seldom discussed, yet critical questions about the efficacy and options for promoting social change in and through sport are not being addressed by influential people. Race is by far the most debilitating limitation of Title IX, because justice has not been served to make sure that all students are protected from discrimination and bias (Hylton, & Lenneis, 2020). Title IX linked perfectly with my study given that in reality some racial groups and women are still wrestling with similar tensions between a declining tolerance for high and rising inequality in sports participation in schools and the focus of my study was to establish the status of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools south of Johannesburg. Since the gender equity law made a lasting impact by increasing the participation of girls and women in athletics in the USA (Pruitt, 2021), the same gender law could ameliorate racial and gender bias in South African education and sports.

Women's rugby and soccer have also been popular and successful in England, France, Italy, Scotland, Wales and Ireland with a widespread social acceptance that led to women's versions of major rugby union tournaments such as the Women's Six Nation Rugby Championship and the Women's Six Nation Soccer championship that produces teams to compete in the respective World Cups (Agergaard & Botelho, 2009). In these countries, schools did not play a significant role in encouraging girls and women to play rugby and soccer, instead opportunities were provided by "women players who were active in setting up girls' teams and putting in place the club system that exists presently" (Scraton, McAlister & Haydon, 2011, p. 103),

further developing the Women's Five Nations in 1999, which has now developed into the Six Nations (England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Italy and France) (Rendell, 2021). Although their men's rugby teams are well established, the countries also have strong men's soccer leagues and growing women's soccer leagues too. The increased publicity in women's rugby and soccer in England and France massively helped to project the females' version of the sport onto a higher platform and expand their popularity (English, 2012). This indicates that for girls' and women's rugby and soccer to be successful, it was important for women to play a central role in establishing, promoting, and monitoring the continuation of women's development in rugby and soccer within communities.

In the Asian context, Manzenreiter, (2008) argues that essentialised categories of 'male' and 'female' and gender behaviour initially hampered women's progress in countries such as Japan to participate in rugby and soccer. The Japan women's national rugby union team, formed in 1991 and nicknamed the Sakura Fifteen, represent them at rugby union (Japan Rugby Football Union, 2021). According to Morano, (2021), Japan Rugby Union with the desire for regular international competition against the top countries in the world is holding talks to join both the Six Nations and the Rugby Championship, though it would prefer to be part of the southern hemisphere tournament. After reaching the quarter finals of the 2019 World Cup on home soil, the Brave Blossoms won just one of their six matches in 2021 against Portugal, Japan men's rugby team know that they need more regular international competition against the top countries in the world if they are to continue to be competitive (Iwabuchi, 2021).

Edwards (2018, p. 18) adds, "Women's involvement in Japanese soccer has been constrained by an inherently comparative logic and a firm belief that the world of competitive sport is naturally and irreversibly first and foremost the domain of male and natural masculinity". Notwithstanding this, Japan has an interesting story because in junior and senior high schools, soccer became the most popular sport, but no girls' soccer team was initially registered with the High School Sport Federation until 2001 when soccer was officially acknowledged for young girls. Their progression is reflected in the 2006 FIFA rankings where they occupied position eight (Manzenreiter, 2008) five years after promoting girls' participation in soccer.

Their 2011 Women's World Cup victory over the United States of America improved their rankings to position three in international soccer, which shows their seriousness with regard to soccer. Manzenreiter (2008) notes that Japan is the continental leader in the field of women's soccer, followed by South Korea, China, Singapore, Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong.

Furthermore, Japan women's national rugby union team first played in 1991 and won the Asian Rugby Women's Championship in 2015, 2016 and 2017 (Japan Rugby Football Union [JRFU], 2019), playing against teams from China, India, Singapore, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Kazakhstan. Japan has the fourth largest population of female and male rugby union players in the world and is ranked 7th in the world. According to the Japan Rugby Football Union (JRFU, 2021), Japan has 5,082 female rugby players and 72 women's rugby teams registered with them as of March 2020, out of 96,713 players and 2,879 teams in all categories. However, the value placed on women's sport is often lower, resulting in inadequate resources and unequal wages and prizes (Aman, 2020). Nakamura (2021) believes that the number of female players can increase if they are able to access the same rewards, resources and benefits as their male counterparts; which would be well deserved. This would have a positive impact on their abilities and motivation, which would also help promote women's rugby in their country.

Soccer is said to have been introduced to Japan by an English military officer in the early Meiji period (1868-1912) (Manzenreiter, 2010). The game started in normal schools and spread across the country through teachers who graduated from these schools (Horne & Bleakley, 2009). The Japanese league 1 (JFL 1) is one of the most successful men's leagues in Asia club football. Kurashiki (2012) notes that soccer careers of professional players in the Japan league today reflect the variety of paths they followed: some played in junior sports clubs and on school teams in junior high and high schools; some played on club teams from junior high school; some started on high school teams and went professional after taking a club team test and there are those who played on school teams from junior high school through university. This shows a broadening range of opportunities in soccer, and has become an increasingly familiar sport in Japan (Kurashiki, 2012). The JFL 1 is the backbone of

their national team as they continue to groom stars that always take them to the World Cup (Miller, Pereira & Wolfson, 2010).

Recently, in 2021 the Japan national team booked their place at a seventh straight World Cup. Due to the success of soccer programmes at grassroots level, Japan has not only qualified for the FIFA World Cups in 1998, but have advanced to the second round in 2002, 2010, and 2018 and won the Asian Football Cup a record four times, in 1992, 2000, 2004, and 2011 (Hisashi, 2013). According to Naoyuki (2011), football is among the most popular sports in Japan, together with baseball, sumo and martial arts, and Japan's progression in soccer in a short period of time, establishing soccer in schools, club leagues, youth leagues and success with the national team has served as an inspiration and example of how to develop football. Konn Yasuyuki (in press interview, 22 February 2022), reflecting on Japan men's soccer, acknowledged that the national football team – nicknamed the Samurai Blue and in 2021 ranked second in group B of the Asian World Cup Qualifiers. Japan has adapted to a passing style that has transformed their play to some very interesting football for the viewers to watch. This was credited to an image of being technically sound and agile in their home league. Women's soccer is following their footsteps and are winning games too.

The Netherlands has a different case as compared to the above countries. Club culture in the Netherlands is unique, as it is aided by pitches that are all over the country and every weekend boys' and girls' teams participate in more than thirty thousand matches organised by the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB) (Dejong, 2019). According to Knoppers and Anthonissen (2017), women's soccer is the fastest growing sport in the Netherlands, as shown by exponential increases of more than two hundred thousand girls and women joining soccer (KNVB, 2019). This is encouraging because women's football can help society to become an equal-opportunity environment. This is a culture admired by many other countries in which infrastructure is maintained and improved all the time (Hamilton, 2021). In the Netherlands, football teams have won the hearts of Dutch football fans with their performance, fighting spirit, enthusiasm, openness and team spirit (KNVB, 2019). The entire country embraced the women's team and supported them in lifting their first international title - European Champions - in 2018 and they were runners-up in

2019's World Cup held in France. This means that positions, posts and participation in previously masculine sports that confer superior advantages upon men should be open to all genders and races. According to Hamilton (2021), on the 25th September 2021, Ellen Fokkema made Dutch football history when she became the first women to play for a senior men's team in a league match. Although she came on as a substitute for VV Foarut in their league match against Sleat, she played fantastically. This demonstrates the Netherlands' willingness to support women's soccer.

As of 2020, the Dutch national men's football team was positioned 14th on the FIFA World Rankings. According to Jesen (2014, p. 87), the Netherlands introduced a modern style of play with precision passing that was referred to as "total football." Richards (2010) asserts that the team is adored and venerated by their fans as the Oranje - in honour of the House of William 1 of the House of Orange who led the Netherlands' fight for independence against Spain in 1568 (Joshua, 2012). The Netherlands have overachieved on football's largest stages - the FIFA World Cup and the European Championships (Jasen, 2014). As at 2010, the Netherlands has been at the doorstep of winning soccer's grandest prize - the World Cup - more than any other nation in the history of the competition, but they have never won the title (Jackson, 2012). They lost to the West Germany in 1974, to Argentina in 1978, and to Spain in 2010; however, they won the European Championship in 1988, despite being a nation with a population of only 17 million (Jasen, 2014). The national team is controlled by the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB), the governing body for football in the Netherlands. Some of the greatest players that made Netherlands a great football nation includes Wesley Sneijder, Robin van Persie (top goal scorer), Vigil van Dijk and Arjen Robben, to mention a few.

It can then be argued that while participating in rugby and soccer, women and girls continue to experience what Saavedra (2005, p. 120) calls 'the presence of an absence" where previously shut doors of sports like rugby and soccer are now open but there are invisible nets that still discriminate against women and girls. Wetton, Radley, Jones and Pearce (2013) have explored the reasons that girls give for not taking part in team sports; information that is particularly valuable for enhancing future rates of participation. Four barriers were identified that prevent 15-16 year-old girls from participating in extracurricular team sports in England. These included

internal factors such as existing stereotypes, other hobbies, early pregnancies and teachers. While internal factors such as lack of ability, lack of enjoyment, embarrassment and pressure directly influenced girls' participation in sport (Smith & Seedat, 2016), many girls recognised stereotypes about girls playing sport that society, through the media, perceives to be manly (Pielichaty, 2015).

In their study of 75 high school students in Hungary, Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (2014) found that boys spent about six hours per week on sports and games, while girls spent about half this amount of time on these activities. These striking gender imbalances in sports are a result of a differential socialisation process for boys and girls (Carpenter, 2012; Collins, 2014; Rubin, Fein & Vandenberg, 1983). Furthermore, Borman and Frankel (1984) have argued earlier that boys spent more time in negotiating the roles and positions of complex, competitive team sports such as rugby and soccer than girls. Against this background, as mentioned earlier, this study sought to establish how girls and boys vary in participation of rugby and soccer and in particular gender and racial differences in the aspects of playing rugby and soccer.

2.7. Racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer: Africa

It is important to note that, unlike soccer, rugby is not popularly played professionally in every African state. For example, South Africa is very competitive in cricket and rugby; the sports that are more traditionally played by White males than other racial groups (Pelak, 2010). Other African countries tend to put fewer resources towards cricket and rugby as compared to other sports, depending on the status of the sports in the country (Akin, 2016). For example, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Namibia have rugby and cricket leagues but they are not progressing as much as soccer in schools, provincially, nationally and internationally (Novak, 2015). In rugby, for example, although Zimbabwean team has been to the World Cup twice, a number of significant players left for the United Kingdom, South Africa and Australia due to the lack of a professional league (English, 2015). In addition, issues of corruption, mismanagement, and a decline in funding have led to a series of poor performance in these sporting codes.

In South Africa, rugby was and still is very popular, because sporting authorities have strived to make rugby a less segregated sport in South African schools and society to engender a sense of unity and national identity. In other African countries like Kenya, Namibia and Zimbabwe, it is still at the developmental stage, due to the lack of funding and government support, which further influences participation at school level (Novak, 2015). According to Rugby Africa (2018), Ghana, Mali, Mauritania, Rwanda, Tanzania, Egypt, Congo, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Libya, Seychelles, Cameroon and Comoros are countries in Africa whose rugby is not popular probably because their colonial masters did not invest in the sport and neither do the post-colonial governments. If the governments could start funding the sport and mould better players as models, many children would be interested; thus motivating the media to carry more rugby news.

Men's soccer is the most popular sport in Africa and attracts financial support and resources from governments and the private sector (Daimon, 2010). Given that Africa was once colonised by various European colonisers, for example, Southern Africa and East Africa were colonised by the British, and West Africa by the French, it means participation in soccer and rugby favoured men and was encouraged from the society and schools to the national teams. The shared patriarchal assumptions of European and African cultures curtailed sporting opportunities for African women (Alegi, 2010), a reason women's sports continue to struggle for recognition and support in stadia and scholarship. Saavedra (2009) argues that most African girls and women still have limited leisure time in which to play rugby or soccer. Thus girls still have fewer opportunities to play high school sports than boys, minimising their opportunities to play sport after school as it may cost more money. This is because many secondary schools rely on government and parents' financial support for the boys' sports success, and adding girls' teams seems a further cost.

In this study, socio-economic status complicates and limits the participation of African boys and men, girls and women in rugby and soccer, both in rural and urban areas (Burnett, 2016). For instance, discrimination against women and other racial groups that are subordinate may occur in areas of economic and social life such as sports. For example, rugby and cricket require that certain people of higher economic status provide the equipment and transport, in order to participate in rugby

and soccer in stadiums which are far away from their residential areas (Tshube, 2016). Additionally, even though some African states are not worried about racial issues, traditional and religious rules, such as covering of women's and girls' legs and body which are regarded as holy, still require women and girls to remain feminine and to be preserved purely for marriage (Saavedra, 2009). Apart from the gender roles, the dress code that expects girls and women to cover from head to toe is strictly encouraged, discouraging women from participating in rugby and soccer that requires them to wear shorts to play (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2017).

In this regard, sports participation in general remains a preserve of the men in many African countries because sporting facilities and resources were and are still distributed according to a rigid gender and racial hierarchy (Smith, 2018). Sport is seen as "a product of culture and a reflection of the ideologies of dominant social values and ideals" (Schell & Rodriguez, 2000, p. 38), endorsing, maintaining, reproducing and rewarding male participation and female subordination. Thus, women's participation in sport is limited by the same African governments and sports organisations that are largely comprised of men (Durandt, 2016). According to Parpart (2008), the dominant patriarchal ideology locates women's roles in the domestic sphere, thus limiting their participation in any sport.

In Senegal, Saavedra (2009, p. 234) notes that, "Despite, and because of, the popularity of men's soccer, the women's game has had to struggle stubbornly against the odds to build and maintain a tenuous foothold". This means men policed their games to discourage women from playing, and so homophobia was a weapon to dismiss women and to denigrate women athletes with suspicion surrounding their gender and sexuality, from offensive remarks to sex verification and the fear that sport would masculinise women or that women might feminise sport (Compton, 2020). Individual women tried hard to create teams and leagues, but without the support of the sport's establishment or government, the organisation of the sport for women did not develop easily (Pelak, 2010). In practice, women are usually not welcomed by men, particularly those in power within the sporting organisations (Compton, 2020). With little support from the municipal government of Dakar and the football federation, the informally trained girls went around Senegal staging matches

with boys' teams, representing a threat to the gendered role of social structure (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003).

It is encouraging to note that in Senegal, according to Browning (2020), women-organised soccer activities inspired school girls and boys to continue playing soccer, by arranging games against the national teams of Senegal as part of their training. The provision of uniforms, payment of coaches and transport for teams increased the participation of girls as well as boys in Dakar (Browning, 2020). With equal access to resources and sponsorship like their male counterparts, women have the potential to boost participation level in women's rugby and soccer (Jones, 2021). It is also worth mentioning that the Senegalese women's rugby team succeeded in qualifying for the African Nations Championship in 2021 with victories over the Egyptian and Algerian women's rugby teams. Further, if neighbourhood leagues, schools and the established clubs offer the main venues for athletes to participate in organised sport, development takes place faster than where none of these entities are involved (Saavedra, 2009).

Despite increasing calls for racial and gender participation in sports like rugby and soccer, choices made by individuals and organisations at national and international levels still often result in the neglect of the women's game, and some racial[5] groups (Saavadra, 2010). Although Kenya does not have racial issues like South Africa, gender bias is rife in their sport (Ongong, 2010). As at 2020, Kenya has one of the most successful 15 core men's teams of the World's Rugby Sevens Series, Rugby World Cup Sevens and the Commonwealth Games. The men's team has a competitive style of play and speed which guarantees them a place in all 10 events each season. The Kenya National Rugby Union (KNRU) team - Simbas (meaning lion) as they are sometimes called - competes in the Africa Cup but have never qualified for the World Cup (Kamenju, Rintaugu & Mwangi, 2016). Likewise, Kenya's women's national rugby sevens team plays in several tournaments including the African Women's Sevens Championship, but women's teams are not supported as much as the male teams, hence the little success in which they finished sixth overall in the second leg of the Dubai 7s (Kenya Rugby Union, 2021). According to Nanyuki

[5] Black Africans, Indians, and Coloureds experience racism and discrimination in sports (Saavedra, 2010).

(2015), though rugby is still not a popular sport in Kenya and still is not in the school curriculum, the 30 girls he was coaching in 2015 were given scholarships to join Upper Hill school, one of the best high schools in Nairobi that until that time had been offering rugby for boys only. This is a positive sign that women's rugby has the potential to grow in Kenya, if girls are given an opportunity to participate at a higher level in schools.

Kenya is an interesting country because girls have experienced both support and marginalisation in soccer. Initially, girls' soccer experienced bias where boys' soccer was the main focus of development, and only after seeing Norwegian girls playing soccer was the girls' team established in 1996 (Willis, 2000). From then the approach in soccer has been different because the government explicitly developed programmes to promote soccer for girls and women to address and promote HIV/AIDS awareness. A league for girls and boys aged 9-18 years old was established in 1999 to instil and ensure development for both genders, irrespective of boys being always advantaged (Hardy, 2015). It is argued that in Mathare (one of Nairobi's slums, in Kenya), girls' participation in soccer is always hindered by parents who are, understandably, concerned with household chores and importantly their safety, while boys are supported to play (van Beek, 2007). Thus, irrespective of the sport policy, parents and cultural practice sometimes play a role in promoting or limiting females' participation in sport. This statement does not overlook the reality of the high safety risk girls face returning from practices.

The Zimbabwe national men's rugby union team, nicknamed the Sables, was inherited from a side that represented the colony of Rhodesia and have played as early as 1910. In sports for Rhodesia, South Africa was the role model during a formative stage that laid the foundation for Rhodesia's position in the modern era (Winch, 2008). Rhodesia contributed to the White community's perception of isolation and sport exclusionary tendencies (Novak, 2015). On gaining independence, Black and Coloured people challenged the system and gained entrance into rugby and cricket which the Whites left as they did not want to compete with the Blacks and the Coloureds (Winch, 2008). Rugby, in particular, was an arena that reinforced Rhodesian nationalism and racial and gender relations as the pre-eminent White man's game. The modern day Zimbabwe rugby team did not play its

first test until 1981, against Kenya. Zimbabwe has competed in two World Cups, in 1987 and 1991, in place of South Africa, which was sanctioned by the International Rugby Board at the time due to apartheid. The Zimbabwean male rugby team is categorised as Tier 3 Development one, which prioritises Zimbabwe over other nations due to historical success as well as popularity of rugby in the nation (Chiwaridzo, Ferguson & Smits-Engelsman, 2015). It is important to note that Zimbabwe's rugby has its foundation in the establishment of the 'elite' Super Eight School Rugby League (SESR) and the 'sub-elite' Co-educational School Rugby League (CESRL) (Archibold, Archibold, Rankin, Webb, Nicholas, Eames, Wilson, & Bleakley, 2017).

Chiwaridzo-Ferguson and Smits-Engelsman, (2019) explored the perceptions of rugby coaches on factors motivating schoolboys to engage in competitive rugby, and the criteria for selecting schoolboy rugby players for possible inclusion in school rugby teams. These reasons and strategies used for selection of school teams are not only useful in Zimbabwe but also in societies where race and gender classify people, as in South Africa, where schoolboy rugby coaches considered players' characteristics (performance during training, attitude, physical qualities and skills) and match-related factors when selecting schoolboys for possible inclusion in school rugby teams. Most coaches felt that rugby is a personal preference, although compulsory in Zimbabwean schools, and schoolchildren partake in rugby by choice regardless of whether they are selected or not for competitive matches. In such contexts, participation is driven more by passion and love for the game despite the physical challenges inherent in the sport. Additionally, to effectively promote competitive rugby participation among schoolboys and schoolgirls, there is a need to promote sustainable and effective talent identification programmes in schools where more recognition should be paid to factors motivating schoolboys and schoolgirls to participate in rugby.

According to Munyoro (2019), Sahumani secondary school in Zimbabwe has embarked on a drive to promote girls' rugby in a bid to enhance female participation in sporting activities. This school made its debut at the Dairiboard Schools Rugby Festival in 2017, putting in a commendable performance, resulting in the selection of Cathereen Muranganwa, Mavis Zunga, Marry Birwa, Privilege Mabhozhera and

Fortunate Nyamavanga to be part of the Zimbabwe girls under-18 team that took part in the Craven Week in South Africa the same year (Munyoro, 2019). The girl child has usually been overshadowed in a male-dominated society and sport and many schools are working to expose girls to sport and avert early school dropout and early marriages at an early age (Nyamukungwa, 2019). Using soccer pitches and oversized football shirts that were used by the boys, many girls that initially disliked rugby have now got involved in rugby and realised that getting married early is not the only option (Mukucha, 2017). Due to these successes, since 2010 rugby has been compulsory for all the girls in many secondary schools that had facilities (Matiashe, 2020). Many of the Zimbabwean schools promote boys' rugby at the expense of the girls. Girls' participation in rugby in Zimbabwe is a milestone for girls and women in a sport once believed to be for the elites and men, fulfilling their masculine ego and physical attributes (Archibold et al., 2017). Since their participation in the inaugural edition of the Annual South African Rugby National Girls U-18 tournament against teams like the Griquas, Zimbabwe's U18 girls' rugby side has finished third and fourth respectively out of 16 teams, which is a success story. Thus, many schools have started girls' rugby teams.

It is not accidental that sport is following the economic collapse, and the gains made in education and sports cannot be sustained to benefit future generations (Chiwaridzo et al., 2019). The rapid decline in the Zimbabwean economy has significant long-standing implications, leading to the weakening of sport provision in schools as well as the grassroots, community-based opportunities for young people more generally (Novak, 2015). Many of the Zimbabwean premier soccer league teams, with historical challenges of funding, are reported to have failed to start the league due to lack of disaster preparedness (Gwaze, 2021), showing how authorities, clubs, and administrators were short-sighted in as far as management of sport is concerned.

Given that Zimbabwean soccer was highly gendered, the popularity of girls' soccer at grassroots level continues to rise, while the standard of play has continued to improve (Nduzo, 2019). As has already been mentioned, soccer has been predominantly a boys' sport and not many schools were eager to introduce girls' soccer, but since 2010, there has been a growing acceptance of girls' soccer from

the primary school level. Most primary schools are playing the game competitively, spelling a bright future for women's football in Zimbabwe and this development is expected to improve the player base for the national teams. Unfortunately, structures remain poor as there are no junior national teams in place like the under 14s, 15s, 19s, and 23s, while tournaments that nurture talent at grassroots level are hard to come by (Daimon, 2017). Despite the avoidance and oppressive tactics soccer has against women and girls, Zimbabwean women have demonstrated agency, collective efficacy and resistance against their oppression and violation in soccer participation (Chipande, 2015). Having managed to establish the Women's Soccer League, the 2017 and 2019 seasons were characterised by financial woes that saw the league failing to fulfil some of its fixtures and programmes (Gwaze Herald.co.zw, News 06/07/2021). The women's league felt they were not getting enough aid from the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) (Daimon, 2017). The Mighty Warriors (the nickname given to the women's national team) class of late 90s and early 2000s - which had the likes of Sithethelelwe Sibanda, Rosemary Mugadza, Nomsa 'Boys' Moyo and Precious Mpala, among others - remains the best team from the country (Nduzo, 2019).

In Zambia, the rugby union for both men and women is a minor but growing sport with three formerly organised clubs (Zambia Rugby Union (ZRU) 2019). Rugby lacks sponsorship and support, which makes it difficult to introduce into schools (Chaloba, 2021). According to (ZRU) 2019), there is a lack of sensitisation and sponsorship from both government and private stakeholders, hindering the growth of rugby which is at a slow pace in the country. The Zambian women's and men's soccer national teams (popularly known as She-polopolo or The Copper Queens and Chipolopolo respectively) continue to be supported by the national federation who budget money for the youth, men's and women's games (Katongo, 2022). In general, however, Zambian soccer women are becoming a powerhouse (Chipande 2015), a reason their women's national soccer teams, under 17s, 20s and seniors have been successful in FIFA Women's World Cup and other African-based football tournaments. Just like in many other African states, Zambia is encouraging girls to take part in soccer, though traditional chores hinder their participation and performance in sport. Katongo (2022) notes that the Zambian women's soccer teams seem to have taken over from men who are also well known for their good football,

while many African countries attribute this to the use of black magic, popularly known as juju (Chisamba, 2020). Consequently, the progression of women's soccer in Zambia has gathered pace as shown by reaching the quarter finals of the 2022 African Cup of Nations tournament.

According to Tshube, Kasale and Manatsha (2020), Botswana has made great strides in sport development when compared to 1966-1997. It is reported that during 1966-1997, little infrastructure and resources were provided for sport, and there was no budget from the government and the private sectors, resulting in sport under-development. This affected the development of sports at national, provincial, and school level. However, the government changed this situation in 2015 when they started to inject some funds into sport programmes. The Botswana national rugby union team have not played in a Rugby World Cup, even though they have participated in qualifying tournaments. They are ranked 77th in the world, which suggests that the sport is still developing in the country and no research has been conducted in schools. The government has built state of the art sports facilities for tennis, boxing, rugby and soccer across the country and in the schools, with urban and rural, men and women, able-bodied and disabled in mind (Mlilo, 2018). Despite the government's efforts, this has not translated into effective talent development and athletic glory because, as argued by Ramatiti (2017), coaches at schools are not well trained and girls are not encouraged to participate in male-type sports.

The University of Botswana's (UB) indoor sport centre, for instance, offers top-notch facilities, such as fully serviced change rooms, a martial arts studio, and a four-lane indoor track. The government has constructed centres of sports excellence in selected schools, which are equipped with the latest sports facilities, such as tennis courts, synthetic tracks, and basketball courts (Tshube & Feltz, 2015). Talented young people from across the country are selected and admitted to these schools to facilitate their development in athletics, boxing, rugby, and soccer (Mlilo, 2018). Each selected school specialises in a particular sport. Furthermore, of concern is the fact that the school and sports calendars run parallel, forcing student-athletes to select either sports or academic paths (Katongo, 2020). The lack of emphasis on sport development over academic development defeats the primary reason these centres were created. Hence, Ramatiti (2015) asserts that Botswana has a youth

development policy that not only places very little emphasis on youth sports like soccer and rugby development, but also does not provide broad guidelines and frameworks for youth sports development.

School sport in Botswana is administered by the Ministry of Basic Education (MOBE) who oversees the implementation of sport in the country; and national sports associations/federations whose sports are played in schools (MOBE, 2010). On occasion, sport activities have been suspended due to disagreements between teacher/coaches and MOBE over teacher/coach remuneration (Kolantsho, 2020). Although significant investment was made by the government towards the development of sport, the poor performance of the women's soccer national team is related to the absence of a women's soccer league (Kasale, Morrow & Winand 2020). The Botswana men's national team's performance is on the rise, having competed successfully in regional tournaments like the COSAFA Cup where they came forth in 2019 and second in 2022 after losing to Bafana Bafana by two goals to one (Mothoagae, 2022). It is noted that the exclusive focus is on the men's national team who in 2006 received 6 million BWP (498000 EUR) from the government, while women's soccer is not considered, a reason the women's national team is not performing well nationally and internationally and nothing is being done about this (Mogalakwe & Nyamnjoh, 2017). This could mean that the women's team is not as important as the men's national team, if financial incentives and publicity associated with men's teams are taken into consideration. Thus, although the government has built infrastructure for a systematic approach towards sports development, it seems that the issue, and possibly the policies of gender equity practice in general, are overlooked.

In Nigeria, rugby is still a minor sport due to lack of sponsorship and support; however, it is a growing sport and currently ranked 70th in the world. Nigeria's effective sports development programmes has been positively rated, based on the international performances of their junior soccer teams (Amuchie, 2014). Sports like soccer and basketball have become an important aspect of Nigerian culture such that the interest in and popularity of these sports have affected the political, social, economic, and educational fabrics of the nation (Ajayi, Fayomi, Abasilim & Adepoju, 2015). The government has single-handedly shouldered the responsibility for sports

development in Nigeria, especially for the provision of sport facilities, programmes, personnel and participation in continental and global competitions (Amuchie, 2014), with minimal private sector participation. Nigeria, over the years from the 1980s, has made impressive successes in soccer from their youth teams to the senior national team competing well in the World Cups in which they have participated.

Notwithstanding this, Toriola and Amusa, (2010) maintain that activities of the departments of youth and sports in the ministry are poorly co-ordinated, and marginalise sports that take place out of school as they focus on competitive sports. The status of physical education and sports in secondary schools in Nigeria is not encouraging as students show a lack of interest in sports or physical education because they are not examinable subjects (West African Examination Council, 2012). As a result, many secondary schools have annual inter-house sports competitions organised haphazardly once every year, and this is not enough to prepare them for future youth games out of school (Amuchie, 2014). However, at least these competitions keep the students active and might influence participation in national teams.

In conclusion, although different African countries are at different levels of sport development, patriarchal ideology, racial bias and hegemonic gender structures and practices continue to contribute to barriers some men, women and girls face in order to participate in traditionally male sports (Burnett, 2018). For instance, girls may be taught about their rights of equal access to sport participation but face multiple challenges such as having obligations of domestic work, lack of parental support, and financial means to travel to competitions or afford specialised coaching (Langer, 2015). Schools are not necessarily being utilised to redress gender and racial representation and participation in sport, particularly rugby and soccer which remain under the arm-pits of males in the few African countries that have developmental programmes (Stevens, 2006). Although the government's intentions are clearly stated in policy documents, as argued by Nkambule (2014), the development of comprehensive equality and equity between races, men and women in sport participation and representation in rugby and soccer has been very slow and the allocation of resources remains uneven. Furthermore, the composition of rugby and soccer teams is not representative enough of the diversity of the population,

favouring certain races and genders over others (Nkambule, 2014). Nauright (2012) argues that in Africa it is now possible for women to take part in almost any sport because changes in today's society have given women more opportunity to control their own lives and choose to participate in the sport of their choice. In addition, apart from women being able to play any sport, in multicultural societies of Africa, people of all races and ethnic backgrounds are expected to take part in sports at all levels (Nauright, 2012).

2.8. The nature of rugby and soccer participation in South Africa

Saavedra (2003, p. 226) expresses concern regarding the "severe lack of research and archival materials on women's sports, including rugby and soccer, and that most of the written material is not widely distributed." The current study sought to explore gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in former Model C schools to gain insight into the status of gender and race participation in organised rugby and soccer. It intended to establish the intersectionality of these variables in sporting activities and how they interact to bring about differentiated racial and gender participation patterns in sport in general, and rugby and soccer in particular. As noted by Pattman (2010), unequal gender and racial participation and representation in rugby and soccer is due to the public schooling system in South Africa that plays a significant role in producing and reinforcing gender power relations and racial identities and inequalities through discrimination. It can then be argued that, though the formerly White schools have welcomed other racial groups, that is, Indian, Coloured and Black students as exemplars of post-apartheid integration, this research seeks to find out the nature of participation and representation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools south of Johannesburg.

Focusing on South African history, as mentioned in Chapter One, access to the deprived of opportunities of playing non-organised and/or organised rugby or soccer has long been determined by racial, gender, and class hierarchies in South African society (Pelak, 2010). As rugby spread throughout South Africa in the late 19th century, it was adopted not only by the White population of the country, but also by non-White communities (Goslin, 2009). The Western Province Coloured Rugby

Union (WPCRU) 7 was formed in 1886, and the City and Suburban Rugby Union (CSRU), was founded twelve years later in 1898, focussing on men only (Naidoo & Muholi, 2010; Grundlingh, Odendaal, Spies and Spies', 1995). The sport was encouraged in Coloured schools as the teachers believed that it taught valuable life skills to young men, including physical and mental toughness and social cohesion. The sport continued to grow rapidly among the Coloured community in Cape Town, and it could be argued that rugby brought an entire community together (Bolligelo, 2006). Coloured rugby expanded throughout the country, leading to the ultimate formation of the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB) in 1897 (Cupido, 2014).

The first Black men's teams came out of Grahamstown, where St Andrews College's headmaster, Reverend Mullins, introduced rugby to the Black community (Smiles, 2012). Rugby stalwart Stephan Katta formed the first Black club in Port Elizabeth in 1885 (Boshoff, 2004). Grundling et al. (1995) cite rugby historian Braber Ngozi who believes that the first Black club was a union rugby club formed in KwaMpundu in 1887. Orientals, the second Black club, was formed in 1894, followed by the Morning Star, Rovers, Frontier and Spring Rose respectively. The Eastern Cape became a stronghold for Black rugby as was evident in 1934, when 10 clubs were entered in the local competition, known as the Martin Cup. Black rugby did not just end in the Eastern Cape; the then-Transvaal followed and, with the formation of the Swallows and United clubs, Black rugby grew (Grundlingh, Odendaal, Spies & Spies, 1995). The South African Bantu Rugby Board (SABRB) was formed in 1935 (Grundling et al., 1995). While this history does not mention the development in schools, the overview of the development of rugby among the Black population was on the increase despite challenges that included financial support and infrastructure.

The origin of Black and Coloured rugby in South Africa is very important. It will help the reader to understand that rugby, being a White elitist sport, has been actively played racially segregated. Boshoff, (2004) has mentioned how the players and administrators were oppressed, but nothing could break their passion for the sport they loved. The rich history of Black and Coloured South Africans participating in rugby is well documented. In an article on News 24, titled "A legacy forgotten",

Boshoff, (2004) writes that often the history of Black and Coloured rugby is not mentioned when discussing the history of sport in South Africa.

While rugby was progressing in that manner, Darby (2008, p. 267) posits that in 1910 “soccer clubs and competitions brought many people of different language groups and backgrounds together to help form new urban Black popular culture of the cities”. Similarly, Alegi states that during the 1950s and 1960s “soccer provided a meeting place for common social and cultural experiences that sliced through class, race, ethnic and gender distinctions” (Alegi, 2004, p. 125). While this might be the case, this discussion shows that men have long dominated rugby and soccer, which at some point was used to instil masculinity through the promotion of toughness. This is interesting because the discourse possibly excluded men who never showed signs of toughness but feminine softness, even if they wanted to play rugby and soccer that preferred particular men. This discussion traced the complex developmental process and historical dominance of men’s rugby and soccer, and possibly addresses the continuing dominance in a democratic SA.

Without overlooking the history of rugby, the discussion focuses on the literature from the apartheid era until the democratic era. According to Muholi and Naidoo (2010), 60 percent of the Black population in South Africa is deprived the opportunities to participate in rugby, and less than 15 percent of the population largely represent South Africa in rugby at school, provincial and national levels. This, according to Maralack (2010), perpetuates White privilege in rugby, making it difficult for Black, Coloureds and Indians to access rugby on an equal basis with the Whites, a pattern that shapes rugby participation from the schools to national teams. Former Model C schools, especially Afrikaans schools, according to Mweli, (2015), are infested with secret deep-rooted racial practices as they continue to use Afrikaans as a medium of communication in the field of play as a cultural gesture. This still reveals that the structures of the apartheid era are still the bed-rock that refuses to shift in the direction of racial equality, suggesting not only the failed attempts to push back the frontiers of apartheid in school sports, but also the promotion of sexism (Messner, 2011).

When the Springboks (the name given to South Africa's national rugby team) regained their place alongside the best teams in the world, they went on to win the Rugby World Cup in 1995 and in 2007 and 2019 respectively. This success was not well received by all racial groups in South Africa because the Whites dominate participation in rugby union, a reason transformation is still far from realisation (Durandt, 2016). However, it could have been a different story had schools championed racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer. Currently, selection of 11 generic Black players of the 31 players as part of the International Rugby Board (IRB) World Cup team demonstrates our progression and SARU's abiding commitment to achieving the set targets as stipulated in the tri-lateral Memorandum of Agreement found in the National Sport and Recreation Plan containing the Transformational Charter as a formal guiding transformation of sport in South Africa. The status of race and gender participation in sports such as rugby and cricket still have races and genders divided in a hierarchy of prestige, where most Black South Africans participate and support soccer, while most White South Africans participate and support rugby and cricket but do not support local soccer (Fisher, 2013). This represents a continuation of the past as the racial status is maintained and the lifestyle continues.

Participation in rugby takes three different forms (rugby union, rugby league and rugby sevens) of different ages and gender even though it is still biased towards boys and men, while perceived as allowing women. South Africa has many teams that perform at many levels in world competition. According to van der Berg (2011), there are other representative teams that have also performed well on the international stage. The South African Sevens team, the Blitzboks, won an Olympic bronze medal at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, and the South African male junior teams won the International Rugby Board Junior World Cup in 2012 and have been runners-up on numerous occasions. Players such as Eben Etzebeth went on to represent the senior national team, having participated in junior national teams (van der Berg, 2011). The strength of South African rugby lies in the number of players playing the sport in South Africa. In 2020, South Africa had 651,146 rugby players compared with 156,893 in New Zealand and 186,952 in Australia (International Rugby Board, 2021), without considering the populations of New Zealand and Australia. The strength of the South African game is attributed to the strong

structures that were implemented during apartheid and the sense of pride the country has in the Springbok team. Van der Berg (2011) presents the pillars of South African rugby in Table 1 below, and focuses on the education sector as is relevant for the study.

Table 1:Showing grassroot pillars of South African rugby

UNIVERSITIES	VARSITY CUP Varsity Cup is an inter-university competition, in which eight leading universities play against each other every year	Varsity women 7s. Started in 2019
	GOLD CUP Amateur university competition	NONE
HIGH SCHOOL	SCHOOL CRAVEN WEEK TOURNAMENTS The primary/secondary school Craven Week tournaments are played annually province against province; mostly boys South African Junior Sides, Under-19. The Under-21 tournament forms the domestic competition for the age	NONE
PRIMARY SCHOOL	SCHOOL CRAVEN WEEK TOURNAMENTS Under-13 only competitions are played with two halves of 25 minutes running time during Craven Week and provincial games.	NONE

Adapted from Van der Berg (2011)

The table shows that girls and women are and were not represented in the primary and secondary sector, and only started appearing at the Varsity Cup in 2019.

The legacy left by apartheid threatens the future of rugby in contemporary South Africa and change is required to accommodate women and girls in all the mentioned competitions. As Cookley, (2011 p. 312) argue, “organised sports like rugby are gendered institutions”, that is, they are constructed by gender relations. As such, their structures and values reflect dominant conceptions of masculinity and femininity. However, Scraton and Flintoff (2013) argue that normative ideals about female bodies and ideal femininity have become severely disrupted as women have moved into traditionally male-only sports, because such sports are associated with strength, toughness, bravery, and tolerance for pain - attributes that advantage

masculinity over femininity (Nkambule, 2014). This change will have to be reflected in all of the structures mentioned above, as well as in the management of the sport to include women (Dunn, 2009).

Recently, (2010-2019) there has been spectacular growth in more Black African men and women taking up rugby, challenging the past ideologies. According to Saavedra:

> Under apartheid, South African society was not only segregated by race, but also by sex, in a system that exacerbated patriarchal 'traditions' across different cultural groups. Interestingly, enough this did not mean that women were excluded from sport in general. In fact, due to the influence of the British public school system and the Christian missionary school experience, sport was considered an important part of education and central to the development of a national identity. Hence, anyone attending a government school was required to practise a sport until she graduated (Saavedra, 2004, p. 242).

The above quote highlights the importance of schools as thriving places for sports participation. However, while little has been written on the history of the struggle for non-racial rugby and soccer participation in South Africa, little has been written on the parallel struggle for recognition and resourcing of women's rugby and soccer (Alegi, 2004; Couzens, 1983; Pelak, 2005; Raath, 2002). Addressing some of the epistemological and ethical problems that arise from 'race', 'class' or 'gender' is a very precarious course. Therefore, prioritising racial participation over gender participation means that the inequalities faced by Black women are subordinated to the inequalities facing Black men. This makes race and gender possible sources of identification and dimensions of power struggles.

2.9. The South African school sports system

Understanding participation in sports and school sports in South Africa requires an acknowledgement of the historical and contextual realities of race and socioeconomic groups in South Africa. I will now discuss the nature of schools and give an account of the nature of sports in schools.

School sports in South Africa have become even more complicated because different communities have developed sport differently, as shaped by the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 which forced physical separation and segregation between races by creating different residential areas for each race (Adams, 2016), hence a

hierarchy of different schools and sports systems. Apartheid's former racial classification distinguished between White, Coloured, Indian and Black children and required them to attend separate schools located in their exclusive residential areas or closer (Maralack, 2015). This encouraged the separate development of schools, resulting in White schools becoming of world class standard including their sports infrastructure and facilities, while township, rural and farm schools were left undeveloped. While some disadvantaged communities were calling for transformation of sports, the advantaged communities were calling for professionalisation of school sport in South Africa (Burnett, 2016). This remained the situation because when the former Model C schools opened their doors to learners from different racial backgrounds, there were hopes that the quality of education and sports would improve. However, the main effect of this reform was to introduce a semi-privatisation of the White public educational system, shifting financing and control of White schools to parents (Durandt, 2016). This permitted the preservation of a privileged White public schooling system in spite of the rising pressure for transformation and racial integration in sports. Currently in South Africa, only a relatively small proportion of schools and school-going age learners have access to well-resourced and structured sports programmes (Dorsch, Smith, Wilson & McDonough, 2016). Of importance for this study is the status of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in former Model C schools given this status quo.

In a sports survey, Makholwa, (2016) found that the current climate of sports in former Model C schools is typified by increased performance demands placed on young sportsmen and women, such as elite-like training programmes, and the use of sport as a vehicle for schools to demonstrate educational values. Evidence suggests that in former Model C school settings, different sports have become racially segregated for different reasons (Alfred, 2016). Adams (2016) discovered that White students avoid sports seen as more culturally appropriate for Black students, while Black students are excluded from participating in 'White' sports due to structural barriers. It is possible that the coaches and school administrators of former Model C schools' sports programmes prevented interested, but less skilled, Black youth from participating in sports that were perceived to be culturally appropriate for Whites, for example, rugby. However, soccer and netball imposed no limits on race and gender, or the number of students who could participate, resulting in increased opportunities

for interested, but less skilled, students to play. The removal of structural barriers in rugby may have encouraged participation by Black, Coloured, Indian and girl students in sports traditionally dominated by White students in schools.

The availability of resources and opportunities is largely limited to the historically privileged former Model C schools and independent schools where the main sports played by learners are rugby, netball, hockey, cricket, athletics, tennis and water polo (Alfred, 2016). Typically, these schools have a massive complex of available resources that include sports fields, courts, pools, equipment, coaching staff, internal and external transport systems, internal fundraising systems, corporate sponsorships and numerous other additions and inputs based on their needs and capacity (Makholwa, 2016). The availability of such resources permits a large number of learners across a broad age range to participate in training sessions in a highly organised and structured extra-curricular programme and to participate in weekly derby fixtures against other young sportswomen and men from other traditionally privileged former Model C or independent schools (Epstein, 2013).

There is consensus by heads of these schools, journalists and writers such as Theo Garrun and Luke Alfreds (2016) that school boys and girls in South Africa are being placed under ever greater levels of high quality performance expectation because they partake in elite-level-like training programmes and play their sport within a result-oriented context such that it mirrors an adult professional training and sports performance setting. Thus, the abundance of resources and opportunities breeds fierce competition that creates pressure on the young athletes, causing them to drop out

In contrast, many disadvantaged schools that include township, rural and farm schools, hoped after 1994 they could share the sport competitions and facilities with more privileged schools, but this did not happen. Instead, affluent Black, Coloured and Indian learners joined these former Model C schools to gain the holistic education plus sport they offer. In the disadvantaged schools, according to Fredricks (2015), formerly schools had played games against each other on a Wednesday afternoon, but this was no longer happening. Teachers in these schools were no longer organising sport, leaving children inactive after school hours, falling prey to

drug abuse and other social evils. Most of the township, rural and farm schools do not have playgrounds, resources and coaches, yet Resolution 94 announced that all schools must offer a range of extra mural activities. And Resolution 96 stated that sports programmes had to be prioritised, particularly for women and the disabled (Dorsch, Smith, Wilson, & McDonough, 2016). Sport continues to be short-changed with regard to the allocation of resources, derailing transformation as the dual sport development in South Africa persists. The pace of change and the impatience resulting from unmet expectations constitute a challenge for social cohesion. The imbalances between advantaged schools - predominantly in urban communities - and disadvantaged schools - largely in township and rural communities - reveals the absence of sport and recreation facilities, ranking as one of the cruellest legacies of apartheid and poses a great challenge for the post-apartheid regime because of the lack of a strategic vision to redress the situation and turn around the disadvantages (Saville, 2010).

According to Mouton, Louw and Strydom (2012), when 100 teacher co-coaches were interviewed in Gauteng's district, they painted a gloomy picture about sports in schools. In response to the question whether sports existed at their schools or not, pertinent answers were given, such as: we used to have, but none exists. The collapse of a national school sports organising structure called USSASA (United Schools Sports Association of South Africa) has contributed to the problems of school sports. The disintegration of sport bodies demotivated teachers and learners in disadvantaged schools due to the escalation of difficulties like facilities' shortages, lack of transport, and lack of support from the principals. However, seemingly, the absence of organised school athletics in many underprivileged regions has aided the growth of disobedient, drug-addicted students. While it has become clear that the sports system was flawed, with poorly performing teacher-coaches, and lack of community and parent support in some disadvantaged South African schools, these factors have spilled over into the morale of learners and can be seen in the lack of discipline, brutal violence in schools, low moral values, truancy, absenteeism from grade 1 to grade 12, late arrival, high dropout rates and very poor performance in essential subjects such as mathematics and science (Mouton et. al., 2012). At times bullies and learners who are denied sports opportunities would resist any discipline measures applied to them. Fearing lack of discipline and sport, parents would take

their children to better schools which are the former Model C or independent schools.

Physical education was taken out of the school curriculum in the mid-1990s (Sport and Recreation South Africa [SRSA], 2012). One civil society respondent emphasised, “this is where the country lost all the momentum to provide an excellent platform for sport development in all schools. The lack of physical education at schools resulted in fewer learners being active in sport” (Maralack, 2012, p. 178). Consensus among role players in sport has generally been reached that sports at schools need to be revitalised to reap the inherent social and health and educational benefits intrinsic to youth sport. Physical education currently is implemented formally in the life orientation curriculum and all schools are expected to implement this activity with at least one Physical Education session per week per learner. However, it was only in 2012 when physical education was formally reintroduced into the policy agenda.

On the other hand, school sports as an extracurricular activity has become an optional activity at most disadvantaged schools in South Africa due to the lack of resources and facilities. Therefore, the differences in activities and opportunities at different schools are a cause for concern for both government authorities as well as the sporting fraternity. A draft School Sport Policy has recently been developed, encouraging sporting activities including physical education as a formal subject at school (SRSA, 2012). The main objectives of the Draft School Sport Policy are to address the challenges that prevent the establishment of a well-coordinated school sports system in the country and to ensure that institutional structures are in place to implement and monitor the delivery of a school sports system (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 2016). The policy aims at regulating access and delivery of school sports for all learners, irrespective of ability, across all schools and to clarify roles and responsibilities of all role players for both delivery and funding. Some provinces such as the Western Cape Provincial Sports Department have developed a regional school sports policy, a formal Directorate of school sports to coordinate and promote sports at schools in conjunction with the Provincial Department of Education (Keim & Coning, 2013).

Vital to this study, is the knowledge that South African school sport is under pressure to embrace transformation policies and actions, talent identification strategies and pathways for talent development in former Model C schools and this needs very careful scrutiny. With regard to racial and gender participation, Mweli (2015) has identified actions and attitudes of teachers and administrators that focus and select narrowly from only those young players that demonstrate better skills earlier than their peers. This immediately constructs a very small pool of potential future sportsmen and women at age-group, provincial and, later, national level. Fitzgerald (2014) argues that contact exists when various groups coexist and as these groups come together they compete, which leads to conflict. This is not easy for the Black, Coloured and Indian learners that go to multiracial schools like the former Model C schools or independent schools where they connect with the White culture to merge as one in the form of being seen as athletes (Mweli, 2015).

2.10. Racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in South African Schools

This section focuses specifically on participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, while the previous section discussed the system of sports participation in South African schools. Despite a movement towards transformation in South African society, rugby remains associated with the Whites, a trend that can be traced back to apartheid (Merrett, Tatz & Adair, 2011). At a sports indaba in November 2011, the Minister of Sport, Mr Mbalula, encouraged the promotion of sport in schools and universities after the launch of school sports at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus (Sports and Recreation South Africa, (SRSA), 2011). This initiative raised hope in re-imagining and re-activating sport participation in schools, which could influence the participation of women and men from different racial backgrounds in rugby and soccer. However, the lack of information and a pragmatic plan on how sports facilities will be established or improved given the existing imbalances in townships and rural schools (Nkambule, 2014) is concerning. It was expected that the arrival of democracy in 1994 should have brought about non-racial and non-sexist school sport, but desegregation in school sports was introduced in theory, yet the reality was rather different. Rugby has developed very slowly, though

soccer has opened up to accommodate girls and other racial groups. Rugby appears to be tip-toeing around racial transformation in schools, considering that most Black schools still do not offer the sport, while former Model C schools and private schools seem to use sophisticated selection processes for participation in male and female rugby.

It has been noted that historically and traditionally, school sports in the South African context did not only evolve within the legacy of systematic oppression and violence, extreme inequitable resource distribution, and structural neglect of all aspects of life and livelihood for the non-Whites, but also served to institutionalise a gender specific and gender biased sport value system (Walter, 2011). It can be further argued that under apartheid, South African society and schools were not only segregated by race, but also by sex, in a system that exacerbated patriarchal 'traditions' across different cultural groups (Saavedra, 2005). Sports participation was and still is defined by the economic condition of not only the school but also of the community at large. As it stands in South Africa, participation experiences of young girls in sports like rugby and soccer did not take place in schools, but in streets and parks with the boys' teams (Pelak, 2010; Scraton et al., 2011). This suggests that schools did not provide opportunities for sport participation and competition, or gender-specific occasions and offer little or no access for girls to play rugby or soccer. It is noted that in South African schools most girls, and even African boys, have faced major barriers in their participation in rugby (Walter, 2011). Interestingly, when interviewed, many female rugby and soccer players said they did not start playing rugby or soccer at school, but were introduced to club systems by their boyfriends or encouraged by their brothers or peers (Pelak, 2010; Scraton et al., 2011). Surprisingly, many players indicated that their first real barriers to participation in sports occurred when they entered the schooling system (Chappell, 2010).

Cleophas (2018) argues that well-resourced schools must not wish to continue to hold closed inter-school derbies and athletic meetings catering for other similarly resourced schools on their well-maintained sport fields, but genuinely incorporate or fully embrace township schools in rugby and soccer participation. In South Africa, it is not surprising that former Model C schools (formerly White schools) are 'fortified' which means that they received and continue to receive financial, infrastructure,

facilities, and resources they need with regard to education and sports, guaranteeing the success of their children. Contrary to the above, non-White and Black schools, especially have been denied the same support by the past government's apartheid and separate development policies (Walter, 2011). The schools, universities and communities cite the unavailability of resources, infrastructure or coaching staff and thus, consciously or unconsciously, fail to take the initiative to start girls' and women's teams in sports such as rugby and soccer, yet boys' and men's teams are in full swing. What makes it difficult to be able to give a homogeneous explanation of the development of sport in schools is that some schools have well-developed facilities, while the majority have next to nothing.

In addition, given that former Model C schools have well-developed sports systems, administrators, coaches and functional programmes, racial and gender participation disparities in schools may persist (Keim, 1999). It is not surprising to find that township rural and farm schools have excluded sports and physical education from the school curriculum and sports are non-existent due to the factors discussed above. While a form of physical education and sport is alive at many of the former White, Indian, and Coloured schools because of the availability of resources, infrastructure and services, Black township primary and secondary schools have little or no sport and physical education taking place (Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2014). However, in the majority of schools for Black and Coloured pupils there is a distinct lack of facilities (Salvini, 2017). According to the Department of Education's latest strategic plan (2015-2020), current participation levels of women and girls at grassroots level is particularly poor, with few opportunities for females to participate in rugby and soccer at schools and clubs. Reasons cited as hurdles included funding and opportunities in order to be on an equal footing with males (Kessi & Connell, 2015). Any political action in this regard would seriously dilute the schools of their wealth, both financially and culturally (Jansen, 2009). Research by Tarz (2010) and Davids (2015) into the financial aspects of school sports in South Africa during the apartheid regime revealed that only a small fraction of the money spent on school sports went to Black schools. This is one of the reasons why the patterns of representation and participation are still skewed towards the White communities and it might take some years for non-White schools to catch up.

Furthermore, Tshikila (2020) postulates that many former Model C school headmasters and coaches in his research shifted the responsibility of increasing Black students' and girls' participation in rugby to the government. Most of the headmasters and coaches stated that in order for their schools to be able to do their part in the transformation process, the government must come in with funds to sponsor boys and girls engaging in sport, as individual schools do not have the financial resources to ensure their participation. A discourse which they disclosed was a sense of 'othering' as they suggested government must be involved because of the high financial cost rugby demands (Godwin, 2015). The heads and coaches further argued that their schools are the way they are because of fees and old boys' donations, not government funding. Therefore, the government must assist with funds for these boys and girls in primary and high schools (Tshikila, 2020). Such discourse is important for this study because when Black students go into these schools they have to be developed holistically - both academically and as sportsmen and sportswomen.

In practice, in the school context, Black boys are dominating soccer, while White boys dominate in rugby with a particular form of masculinity that has developed hegemonic status. On the other hand, very few opportunities exist at school level for young girls to participate in rugby and soccer teams and for Black South Africans to participate in rugby (Saavadra, 2004; Stroebel, Hay & Bloemhoff, 2016). In fact, research by Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2014) suggests that in most South African schools, the hegemonic masculinity and racial discrimination continue to marginalise and direct young girls and boys of colour into sports considered to be of a particular race or class or feminine such as soccer, netball, swimming and tennis. Pelak (2010) is of the opinion that many successful women who play rugby and soccer start out playing in male teams where they are ostracised by both young men and women as 'invaders' who threaten the masculinity of the sports. The male associated sports or 'true' sports such as rugby and soccer have become a 'domain' where masculinity is celebrated and promoted by society, media, and sport organisations, including schools, as a unifying force (Dunning, 2013). Rugby and soccer organisations, clubs and schools are not only contexts where men and masculinity are privileged and where the image of athletic masculinity is not only about being a man, they are also dominant powerful images seen in opposition to a subordinate femininity. The

masculine construction of rugby and soccer in South Africa means that, as women enter rugby and soccer in greater numbers and demand more resources, they face formidable challenges in dismantling the boundaries that mark them as outsiders and limit their participation.

Schools are temples of democracy and ideal places to learn about citizenship and fundamental values (Messner, 2011). This means that they should symbolise equality of opportunities for all. Yet, numerous studies (e.g. Jeanes, Spaaij, Farquharson, McGrath, Magee, Lusher & Gorman, 2020; Mbete, 2017) have shown that this equality of opportunity is in words and is not a reality. The above studies assert that the attitude of teachers, in particular, shapes girls' perceptions of their own abilities. Both male and female teachers are influenced by society's views of gender roles and perceptions that restrict girls' participation in sports such as rugby and soccer. For teachers to involve girls in the activities often reserved for boys, such as rugby and soccer, there is a need to change teachers' views based on their thinking that girls have physiological limitations and boys are sportier than girls (Kidd, 2014). The lack of enthusiasm and motivation from coaches and physical education teachers was noted by the majority of girls who agreed that their teachers focussed on the better players, and girls' teams were not treated equally by their teachers as compared to the boys' sports teams (Jeanes et al., 2020). It has been argued that such experiences affected self-confidence and self-belief and resulted in rejection of sports such as rugby and soccer (Lambert & Durandt, 2015). Consequently, Black players continue to be seen as inadequate on the rugby fields in former Model C schools, and such teacher attitudes have to be problematised, challenged and resisted to improve girls' participation (Mweli, 2015). Where gender balance is encouraged in sports activities, sport is a way of bringing boys and girls together socially, teaching them to base the lives they share on common rules centred on respect for one another and on fair play (Rudman, 2015).

Scaling gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer down to schools, Meier (2015) examined the relationship between female athletic participation and status attainment. She found that high school students attribute significantly greater social status to females in sex-appropriate sports (such as tennis, volleyball and golf) than those in sex-inappropriate sports (such as basketball, American football, rugby and

soccer) though these were not the only findings. In a study seeking to identify perceptions of female and male athletes, McCallister, Blinde and Phillips (2003) interviewed girls in elementary school and asked about perceived capabilities of boys and girls. Unsurprisingly, boys were commonly perceived as being tough, while girls were more often seen as fragile, denoting the reason girls may not be suitable for more aggressive sport (McCollister, 2010). Specific sport activities were also frequently identified with boys, such as American football, soccer, rugby, baseball, basketball and wrestling. On the other hand, girls were considered best at jumping rope, softball, cheerleading, dance, ballet, and gymnastics. These studies indicate that sport is a context that reflects and reproduces the attitudes, beliefs, rituals, and values of society in relation to gender (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Koivula, 2001; Messner, 1988, 2002). Pelak (2010) further reports that the barriers faced by female rugby and soccer players were in secondary schools where they were not allowed to play due to the continued division of the girls and boys into 'sex-appropriate' activities. This shows that gender ideologies still remain firmly embedded within the content and teaching of physical education and offering of sporting activities.

Families also have concerns about allowing their daughters to pursue sport should their safety and honour be endangered (Ogunniyi, 2015; Pelak, 2004; Saavedra, 2004). They may question the intent of a male coach, because the position of coach is one of power and influence and is subject to abuse. The current gymnastic scandal in the USA stands as an example of a much broader problem where 368 gymnasts had some form of sexual abuse at the hands of their coaches, gym owners and other adults working in the sport (Kwiatkowski, 2021). In South Africa some coaches (tennis, water-polo, rugby and cricket) have been charged for their lack of willingness to implement transformation, especially the enforcement of quotas that demanded an increase from the 50/50% to 40/60% Black representation (Smith & Seedat, 2016). Walter (2011) found that a lot of student athletes, particularly girls, withdrew from sports due to stress brought on by an over-competitive and aggressive sporting environment which is created by male coaches and parents. Similarly, Gracey (2010), suggests two models of sport: the power/performance model and the pleasure/participation model. Parents and male coaches, as noted by Gracey (2010), prefer the power/performance model (masculinising sport) which becomes dominant, resulting in children's sports no longer being primarily a site of

enjoyment and play. Therefore, the only way to convince parents and girls is to bring women into these powerful positions so as to attract many young girls into rugby and soccer in schools and universities, clubs and national teams. Similarly, in his study of racial inclusion in sports, Cross (2016) discovered that the involvement of particularly Black, Coloured, and Indian South African players in what was often described as an essentially White man's game, was limited in transformation due to them being absent in leadership positions at the top management level.

While many historically White schools appear to be transforming and opening up somewhat more opportunities for Black, Coloured and Indian players to gain access to funding opportunities and recognition, there is a culture that seems to be resistant to change to make them to forever enjoy some privilege while township and rural schools remain unproductive. Jansen (2009) has provided insight into the function of all-White Afrikaner schools and the culture in which these schools operate. Jansen (2009) argues that these schools are almost hermetically sealed environments where prejudices against non-Whites could be articulated without questions being asked. Implicitly, he states that the vast inequalities that exist between White and non-White communities and schools were and still are designed to provide an excellent 'nursery' for major sports such as rugby and cricket, and the structures of privilege still remain (Jackson, Steve, & Andrews, 2012, pp. 263-269), the exact replica of South African sport and society. Based on a case study of a private White school that had an increase in Black students after the end of apartheid, although it was early years of democracy, Dolby (2002) has identified how the school attempted to create a White identity through cultural and social practices to escape blackness of the school and the nation state. For example, Dolby (2002) argues that the school administration clung to White identity through maintaining its rugby team despite its lack of popularity and success, because without it the school would have been culturally separated from other White schools. This means the school wanted to maintain its position as a White first-world school despite its increasing population of Black students. Even though we should embrace cultural groups marked by ancestry and appearance "in the short term to fight for justice, any one of the factors could limit or arrest attempts to take part in sports, though there is the potential for such factors to reoccur and for individuals to experience many of these during their lives" (Flintoff, 2015, p 98).

2.11. Conclusion

The chapter reviewed the literature on racial, and gender access to and participation in rugby and soccer internationally, Africa and in South Africa. Thus, the importance of sports (particularly rugby and soccer) for all racial groups and gender in society and schools has been highlighted and the systems of power relations that are possessed by heterosexuals and White males as practices governing racial and gender participation in sport challenged. The literature on race, and gender access to and participation in sport - especially rugby and soccer internationally, and in Africa as well as locally - highlights success stories in the development of women's soccer and rugby despite males' gate-keeping tactics that continue to exclude women. The success and resistance by society of Title IX is reflected in the slow increased participation of young girls and women in sports, particularly codes that were previously associated with men such as rugby, cricket, soccer, and basketball. In addition, women's breakthrough into these codes is identified in countries that were religiously and culturally unsupportive of female participation in sports, and did not permit women to wear revealing clothes.

The history of rugby in South Africa, described by Terblanche (2020, p. 2) as "the sporting embodiment of white minority rule" still considers Whites as the rugby and cricket gurus in matters concerning rugby and cricket; possessing the right stamina, speed, and physicality to represent South Africa in rugby and cricket than the "inexpert Indian, Coloured and Black" South Africans. Whereas children need to be taught rugby or soccer, school teams have been turned into high performance teams where it is all about winning at all costs and not building the child up at an early age. According to Terblanche (2020), secondary schools had a gender bias in rugby and soccer participation as girls' rugby and soccer teams are few and are not being encouraged. There is a lack of sustainable approach to uplifting racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer as White and male privilege and power consciously or unconsciously re-enforce and maintain power imbalances that exclude the majority Black people. As long as there is no change to the quality of education and sports on offer in township and rural areas, Black, Coloured, Indian and female children will continue to be marginalised because policies are not being implemented to make sport inclusive. Though rugby and soccer are contested terrains in South

Africa, soccer continues to be associated with Black male players, even though historically White male players have played the sport, and Black females have been playing soccer without being officially recognised as participants. The quota system was also mentioned by the participants in this study, that rugby continues to be dominantly male White players and soccer mainly features Black male players as they receive more financial support than women's soccer.

Given this, it is evident that notwithstanding continued challenges related to expected gender roles and male dominance in sport, it appears that women's rugby and soccer is strengthening globally. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework that guides this study. Esmonde, Cooky and Andrews (2015, p. 35) assert that rugby and soccer remain "resistant to women entering the male-dominated cultures", and participants in my study have challenged such a statement because they have been aware of the dominant ideologies in the society. This would be part of critical thinking that is "motivated by the effort to transcend the tension and challenge the opposition between the individual's purposefulness, until this opposition is removed" (Klein & Huynh, 2003, p. 103).

CHAPTER THREE

Understanding gender and racial participation in the school rugby and soccer: Critical Social Theory and Feminist Post-structuralist Theory

3.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter reviewed literature on the relationship between education and sports in the schools, as well as gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in the school context. The reviewed literature presented ideologies and discourses that construct hegemonic masculinity in the two sporting codes (Connell, 1987), a form of power and dominance in which male athletes legitimatise their positions and secure the acceptance of other athletes, including females. This chapter discusses the theoretical framework, which was guided by the literature review, as a lens to make sense of the research data. The Critical Social and Feminist Post-structural theories were chosen as appropriate for the topic that focuses on gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in the secondary schools.

The Critical Social Theory and Feminist Post-Structural theory are important for this study because they provided a critical lens to analyse the structure of all disjointed discourses and the production and reproduction of power relations, while understanding resistances to specific discourses (Kivunja, 2018). The aim of Critical Social Theory (CST) is to provide an environment in which individuals could become empowered in their struggle for self-emancipation (Manias & Street, 2000). Thus, enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation are the tenets that create the practical intent of CST (Fay, 1987). This means that researchers that use CST should work collaboratively with individuals to develop alternate ways of understanding themselves and their social context. This was important for this study because I interacted with players and coaches to understand the discourses that emerged from their experiences and to raise awareness of alternative meanings. The intention for ‘critical’ is to interrogate, problematise and “interrupt particular historical and situated systems of oppression” (Lather, 1992, p. 121), which informed gender and racial participation in South African school rugby and soccer for this study. Furthermore, the critical aspect in CST recognises the importance of

interacting with players and coaches to develop and enhance self-consciousness and/or self-reflection with their practices (Carr, 1986). This self-consciousness, for Fealy (1997), relates to the “contextual factors which give rise to sustain and possibly distort their beliefs and understandings” (p. 1063).

According to Weedon (1997), feminist post-structuralism is “a mode of knowledge production which uses post-structuralist theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions, to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change” (pp. 40–41). Feminist post-structuralist (FPS) theory highlights institutions’ and cultures’ prevailing discourses, because “it is through discourses that meanings and people are made, and, importantly, through which power relations are maintained and changed” (Flintoff & Scraton, 2001, p. 8). In this study, FPS theory helped to interrogate and problematise the nature of discourses from the players’ and coaches’ experiences of racial and gender participation in secondary school rugby and soccer. Discourse is action and refers to the ways in which specific cultures, societies, and institutions construct and structure meaning (Hollway, 1983), which needs to be deconstructed and reconstructed for alternative meanings that have been marginalised by ‘traditional and powerful’ discourses.

3.2. Critical social theory in sports

Critical social theory is a multidisciplinary framework that focuses on how subjectivity was constituted and how the spheres of culture and everyday life represented a new terrain of domination (Giroux 1983, pp. 10-11). According to Lincoln and Denzin (2003, p. 67), the effort for critical social theorists has been resistance within communities of difference, to talk back “voices”, reclaiming narratives for oneself rather than adapting to the narratives of a dominant voice. Critical social theorists stress that individuals are self-reflective agents who can deepen their understanding of themselves and others, and who can, based on that understanding, act to change the conditions of their lives (Thompson, 1990). In the current study, it was important to examine the way participants talked about their experiences, to identify whether and how they reclaim narratives or adapt to the naturalised existing narratives

consciously or unconsciously. The aim of CST is to overturn oppression in the traditional male-dominated sports and achieve social justice through empowerment of the marginalised and the previously voiceless players that have unsettled the normative participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools. Thus, the process of critique provides the basis from which individuals can take action towards transforming existing social forms in order to improve their living conditions (Giroux & McLaren 1989; McLaren, 1992).

Critical social theory is linked to the Frankfurt school of sociology and has an emancipatory ideal that seeks to free people from 'false consciousness' (Carrington & Selva, 2010). The critical social theorist is sceptical of prevailing ideologies and the thoughts associated with them, because the ideologies and thoughts conceal social inequalities (Leonardo, 2004). According to Freire (1985), the critical awareness of the world should develop people who question, who doubt, who investigate, and who want to illuminate the very life they live, for the possibilities of changing it. While rugby and soccer coaches and players are social beings, it does not necessarily mean they all subscribe to the socially constructed discourses. A critical social theory encourages the process of reflection on practice (O'Loughlin, 1992), and in the current study the critical reflecting on 'real' practices is important. This study sought to understand whether and how players and coaches are conscious or unconscious of gender and racial practices in rugby and soccer in their secondary schools. It was further important to interrogate the players' decisions to participate in a specific sporting code and understand the factors that influenced the players' and coaches' experiences of gender and racial participation in school rugby and soccer. It is the socio-cultural shared beliefs about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer that I explored and interrogated with players and coaches, because these two sports codes have a history that normalised social relations.

CST is further concerned with issues of power and justice in dealing with race, economy, class and gender, and also analyses the way education, sports, religion and other institutions interact to construct a social system (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Thus, CST critiques the conditions that perpetuate any biased practices and domination - in this study, unknown racial and gender participation practices in rugby and soccer - to understand whether and how some players enabled or constrained

them. As mentioned earlier, this happens when researchers collaborate with the participants to promote different ways of thinking, talking about and understanding themselves and the social context. It thus means critical social theory is transformative because its main goal is to produce social change, enlightenment and emancipation (Brookfield, 2005) through acts of liberation, to create a better world (Horkheimer, 1972). The transformative nature of this study was the interaction with players and coaches in their natural school and sportsfield contexts to talk about the nature of gender and race practices in the schools' rugby and soccer. The interaction with players and coaches was to make them aware of the possibilities for change in the way they talked about their experiences and the practices in rugby and soccer in the respective schools.

Critical social theory has, as its object, human beings as producers of their own historical form of life (Horkheimer, 1972), which means human beings are the self-creating producers of their own history, accepting just and fair practices, denying domination and changing cultures, norms and values, transforming to real democracy. Thus, CST underscores the reflective assessment and critique of society and its socio-cultural shared beliefs that are socially made, unnatural and untrue (Haslanger, 2017), but are usually taken for granted and normalised. While different forms of CST may debate the nature of oppression, in this study, such as discourse in Foucauldian analysis, gender in feminism, and race in critical race theory, Leonardo (2004) states that they converge on the idea that social inequality is stubborn, the persistence of which subverts rugby and soccer players' full potential. Thus, critical social theorists are not in the habit of justifying that oppression exists but prefer to describe the form it takes from the players' and coaches' ideologies and discourses. Therefore, the practical intent of CST is emancipation, a process whereby humans, individually and collectively, remove obstacles standing in the way of achieving freedom, and disengage individuals enthralled by ideology and trapped by their own past behaviour (Siegel, 2011).

Critical social theory also engages in immanent and ideology critique (Evans, 2015). The former is when institutions and societies are analysed according to their ability to keep their word on issues such as racism and gender, and the latter defines cultural beliefs that justify particular social arrangements, including patterns of inequality.

Dominant groups use these sets of cultural beliefs, ideas and practices to justify the systems of inequality that maintain their group's social power over non-dominant groups (Leonardo, 2003). In South African rugby and soccer, the social beliefs, ideas and discourses have been used, consciously or unconsciously, to support male dominance and racialise the sports, at the same time discouraging girls' and women's participation in the ways their games are described and belittled. Immanent critique uses the society's or institution's own standards as the measure of success, rather than critiquing the institution or society from the outside. In this study, it was important to interact with players and coaches as insiders and listen to their experiences, which could represent the standards of participation in the schools' sports.

The concept of ideology critiques and confronts myths and historical inaccuracies that support the participation of a specific race and gender in particular sports and promotes gender and racial justice in schools' sports (Evans, 2010). According to Williams (2012, p. 62), "ideology addresses the rhetorical contradictions of a society or institution, which focuses on contradictions between official stories (ideologies) and realities". For example, the dominant discourse of nation-building and transformation in South Africa is thought to be realised through the change from racial segregation policy and gender bias to the ideology of a non-racial and non-sexist nation to redress structural inequality in sport (Pelak, 2005). Given the continuing complaints of racism in the former Model C secondary schools, for example, it means the reality on the ground contradicts government's intervention, making it important to gain insight into the schools as institutions that are expected to promote change. The government discourses of non-racist and non-sexist ideologies also guide the organisation of sports in schools, even though the findings of this study show challenges to promote this in the two sporting codes.

McCarthy (2006) states that CST reconstructs the contemporary social and political situation with a view to its past and its practically anticipated future. I used this framework to examine whether players' and coaches' discourses perpetuate or reconstruct the traditional social discourses that eventually influence the practices. It is also important to acknowledge that CST is not neutral or innocent, it is characterised by dominant and dominated groups, and contributes to social

struggles, contesting discourse practices and conventions that may have achieved naturalisation (Lapchick, 2019a, p. 17). This means that racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer is contested, where women, Indians, Coloureds and Black South Africans experience contesting discourse practices that possibly marginalise them from engaging in those codes. The importance of CST is the ability to critique the sociocultural normalisation and its priority is to expose the deeply interwoven social systems and institutional arrangements people create and use to perpetuate racial and gender superiority (Evans, 2010; Shor & Freire, 1987). For a long time, the system of sports organisations in the community, schools and nationally were structured to naturalise male participation in soccer and rugby. In the current study, I interrogated and problematised the current beliefs and practices that abnormalise the participation of women and Black Africans in rugby and White players in soccer through discourses and ideologies.

3.3. Feminist Post-structuralist theory and sports

Feminist theory aims to show complex ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities (Lazar, 2007). Post-structuralism examines differing discourses of knowledge by examining the relation between language and power relations (Weedon, 1996). According to Flax (1990, p. 41), the post-structural discourses are all “deconstructive because they seek to distance us from and make us sceptical about beliefs concerning truth, knowledge, power, the self, and language that are often taken for granted within and serve as legitimation” for traditional male and racially associated sports in the South African context. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Scott (1994) has identified four concepts used by post-structuralists, that feminists have found useful and were helpful concepts for this study: language, discourse, difference and deconstruction.

Feminist post-structuralist theory is concerned with exploring the relationships among discourses, taken-for-granted gendered identities, and power relations, involves rethinking how knowledge is constructed and reproduced and to whose

advantage (Calás & Smircich, 2014). Apart from revealing ways in which dominant discourses can trap us (Kumashiro, 2010), feminist post-structuralist theory is used to question that which is assumed to be normal or common sense as socially constructed. In this study, FPST helped to interrogate the normalisation of rugby and soccer participation with boys and men, while women are perceived as intruders to the 'boys club'. The interaction with players and coaches was to reflect critically on the current discourses and practices and reconstruct alternative truths about participating in rugby and soccer in the current secondary schools' contexts. The choice to play specific sport(s) might not be natural for players but might be influenced by the community and family discourses, whether consciously or unconsciously. The FPST argument is that individuals' articulated accounts are not privatised experiences, but are public understandings given voice through individuals (Allen, 2015). Thus, listening to players' and coaches' experiences informed how certain discourses were perpetuated through individuals, family, society, friends, and coaches in school sport.

Feminist post-structuralism exposes discourses that cause exclusion and marginalisation of others (Cheek & Porter, 1997), and further provides a lens that interrogates the 'normalised' ways of talking about soccer and rugby in secondary schools. For Foucault (1990), discourses do not simply reflect or describe reality, knowledge, experience, self, social relations, social institutions, and practices; rather, they play an integral role in constituting and being constituted by them. This means that the battle for truth is not for some absolute truth that can be discovered and accepted but is a battle about the rules according to which the true and false are separated with the possibilities for shifting discourses (Foucault, 1990). Thus, feminist post-structuralism helps to interrogate and problematise the discourses from the players' and coaches' perception of race and gender participation while explaining their participation experiences in specific sporting code. The purpose of this study was not to change players' and coaches' beliefs, experiences or what was in their heads, but to make them aware of the social and institutional regime of truth (Foucault, 1980) that possibly perpetuates injustice or promotes social change and social cohesion in society.

Foucault talks about “the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth” (Foucault, 1990, p. 135), and the particular view of truth depends on the history, cultural context and power relations that operate in the society (McLaren 1994). In other words, people choose among various discourses that are available to them or act to resist them, and this was noted in the participants’ responses as some restated hegemonic masculinity discourses and others challenged the traditional existing discourse in rugby and soccer. Interestingly, in the current study, the players and coaches appropriate and use regimes of truth in different ways, and some of these regimes have their basis in the traditional dominant rugby and soccer discourses while others fall into marginal forms of discourse mixed with critical reconstructed discourses. Thus, critical analysis of the different regimes of truth can help to describe and understand the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in some secondary schools and creates the possibility of expressing regimes of truth that promote equity in gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in primary and secondary schools.

3.4. The concept of discourse in feminist post-structuralist theory

In sports, especially traditionally male-centred sports, dominant discourses attempt to promote and create ideal ways of playing sports (Evans & Davies, 2004), thus creating particular expected hierarchical ways of playing (high status and low status) (Azzarito & Solmon, 2006). According to Weedon (1997), “Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the ‘nature’ of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects which they seek to govern” (p. 105). This addresses the power and the importance of interrogating gender and racial discourses that rugby and soccer players might not be aware of in the secondary school context, because they appear normal. Foucault (1990) posits that, “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it and also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (p. 101).

Another way of thinking about the power of discourses in sport is that the daily discourses between people about rugby and soccer produce social realities, and the effects of those discourses can be dominations such as gender bias and/or racism

(Markula, 2003). Discourse circulates those ideas we understand as “truth” (knowledge); thus, power and knowledge are constantly at work (Hardin & Whiteside, 2013), making it important to constantly problematise existing discourses in sports because they produce particular knowledge that could be taken for granted. Discourses, according to McLaren (1994), are made up of discursive practices that refer to the rules by which discourses are formed, which means discursive practices cannot happen outside of discourses. This is noticed regularly on the sports field when male and female coaches, possibly unintentionally, show players how to play one-on-one defence, but use the words ‘man-to-man’. Such a discourse has been normalised and might be overlooked on the sports field by females particularly, while contributing to the reproduction of gender order.

It is important to acknowledge that players are not just inundated with gendered discourses in school rugby and soccer, but in all aspects of their lives in the society and family spaces (Domangue & Solmon, 2009). The differentiation between men and women players creates binaries that are ingrained within discourses and trapped within ideological cultural determinations that are disguised as natural. Thus, male discourses are entrenched in the field of rugby and soccer, and further used to exclude women and other men who are perceived as ‘weak’ and feminine. Flintoff and Scraton (2001) have suggested that “central to post-structural analyses are the ways in which individuals negotiate an identity within different contexts, and by doing so, challenge or resist dominant discourses of gender” (p. 8). I noticed this in some women rugby players’ responses. They negotiated their identities and challenged dominant discourses, which are discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

The schools have the potential of shaping rugby and soccer players’ perceptions and experiences of racial and gender participation in the sports, which are possibly linked with the social discourses and practices because they are interrelated. In other words, as school sports are located within the field of sports that were traditionally conceptualised as male centred, they could perpetuate practices of the field which, in this instance, are rugby and soccer traditional social practices. The way that women’s rugby and soccer players are described and talked about in society result in systematic devaluing, a reason they come second hand in media publicity and sponsorships.

Feminist post-structuralism describes discourses as common assumptions about reality that complete, complement or overlap one another (Weedon. 1996). Similarly, “discourses established, asserted, challenged, and reinforced power and status differences” (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 14), creating barriers that could affect the ways coaches and players talk about their experiences of participation in rugby and soccer in this study. The dominant discourses that associate strength, aggression, power and speed were interrogated and problematised by some players during the interviews in this study. Secondary school rugby and soccer players in my study were subjected to historical power structures and practices, which both constrained and/or enabled participation and creation of the social relations (Allen, 2010), and this was noted during the interviews. Thus, the application of a feminist post-structuralist framework provided a lens to examine the hidden gendered and racial discourses and the influential role it has on players’ participation in rugby and soccer and how they have learnt, consciously and/or unconsciously, to perpetuate or challenge those discourses within the school context.

3.5. Feminist post-structuralists’ power relations and knowledge production

The concept of power relations and knowledge are interrelated and important for Foucault because they concentrate on how individuals are affected by power relations, thereby, power becomes non-egalitarian and mobile (Manias & Street, 2000). For Foucault (1977), power and knowledge are intimately connected and expressed as one: power–knowledge, and knowledge is an important technique of power. This means knowledge reinforces and supports the existing regimes of truth. The regimes of truth, according to Foucault (1980), cannot be understood in absolute terms that exist outside the knowledge and power relations of discourses but, rather, they must be understood in relational terms. Power relations determine what can, cannot, or must be said about self, what is taken to be true or false about dominant and subordinate relationships, and what some individuals can say about power relations (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2014). According to Foucault (2000), power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, that is, the types of discourse which society accepts and which functions as true but can be resisted. Similarly, for

feminist post-structuralism, power is not identical to knowledge, but both are dependent on one another, with power generating knowledge and knowledge initiating power (Arslanian-Engoren, 2002). The male-centred stories about playing rugby and soccer in a particular way and who to play has generated specific knowledge that did not only initiate power, but kept them in power, making the majority of sports a 'boys' club'.

Furthermore, Foucault (1979, p. 27) writes that "power and knowledge directly imply one another; because there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute power relations". In rugby and soccer, power relations have been used to establish discourses of knowledge as "truth rules" (Acker, 2000b, p. 9), such as rugby is rough for women, and women's soccer is slow and boring. Power relations are also used to define and shape "what can and cannot be said, what constitutes the mandatory, the permissible, the forbidden, and the boundaries of common sense" (knowledge) (Jacobson & Jacques, 1997, p. 48). For Hoeber (2007, p. 261), the strength of these "truth rules" is that they appear to be natural, obvious and free from scrutiny, and hence difficult to challenge or change. It was important for this study to identify the unknown power relations for players, inherent in an empowering process that positions them as either the empowerer or the marginalised. This information links with Aronowitz and Giroux (1991) who examined the notion of voice in oppressed individuals and the construction of a less-privileged group as 'other'. In rugby and soccer this concerns the process of communication between female and male players generally, male rugby and soccer players, coaches and players in particular.

3.6. The role of Language in Feminist post-structuralist theory

The focus of the feminist post-structural theory is on how language works, in whose interests, on what cultural sites and why (Weedon, 2004). For example, language is the mechanism by which the constructs of femininity and masculinity are defined, characterised and internalised in socially specific ways (Scott, 1994). Similarly, language can be used to construct particular beliefs about soccer and rugby participation, descriptions, and explanations which can result in specific power

relations on and off the field of play. Thus, language is how one makes sense and meaning of one's world and is also the place where our sense of self is socially constructed and known as an individual's subjectivity (Weedon, 1996). One's language forms the beliefs, values and practices that depend on what societal norms and discourses an individual is exposed to, their language use and sense of self that is constructed differently (Cheek & Porter, 1997; Weedon, 1996). This means, in reality, that language socially constructs young rugby and soccer players' beliefs, values and practices in secondary schools, a reason it cannot be taken for granted (Siebold, 2011). The socially specific meanings are constituted within language and not necessarily by the individual who utters the words (Weedon, 1997). Thus, the purpose of this study was not to criticise rugby and soccer players' and coaches' choice of words but to interrogate and analyse their language practices which might be taken for granted.

It was thus important to examine the language that participants used while talking about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, because words do not forget where they have been and have a way of being repeated and influencing practice (Bakhtin, 1977). Similarly, Hardin and Whiteside (2013) maintain that language carries forth its own history of meaning; thus, any account, local or otherwise, needs to be scrutinised for its multiple meanings. Given the history of sport that is dominated by men, including the so-called women's sports, the traditional language is patriarchal and, consciously or unconsciously, could be biased against women. Language then becomes less about personal expression and more of a means through which identity is constituted and meaning is made. Steinberg (2010) posits that the power of language must be understood and challenged to disrupt and deconstruct dominant discourses in rugby and soccer, to give silenced discourses the opportunity to present alternative discourses that promote equity in sports, especially in rugby and soccer in the school contexts. Authoritatively, language can reflect the dominant discourses that are further replicated by individuals in society, as some participants reiterated the continuous association of rugby with men and the traditional high status it commands. It is therefore important to pay attention to the role of language and discourse in creating and sustaining power relations in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, which could continue if not identified and problematised with players.

3.7. The concept of Agency in Feminist post-structuralist theory

According to Cole (2019), agency refers to the thoughts and actions taken by people that express their individual power, and shape their experiences and life trajectories (Wall, Stahl & Salam, 2015). Butler (2000) proposes an understanding of agency in terms of the process of resignification, which means the subject who is produced in and through discourse can act by articulating words in context that invest them with new meaning. Through such linguistic performances, the subject can resist the pre-established social order that not only circumscribes her/him, but which penetrates her/his very being. Agency has become one of the most important tools for feminists working within post-structural perspectives (Butler, 1997; Davies, 2000), because the focus is to question the possibilities for the agency to take responsibility to exercise the discipline to challenge discourses that exclude and discriminate. While it was important to interact and listen to how participants talked about their experiences in rugby and other sports, that is, the words they used as they talked about participating in the two sports, I was also looking for the opportunities to make them aware of the words they use.

Saunders (2016) argues that Foucault is not careful with the distinction between subjectivity and agency because he tends to use the two terms almost interchangeably. Saunders (2016, p. 140) further argues that “it seems clear that subjectivity is a precondition for agency because one cannot have the ability or capacity to act without having the ability or capacity to deliberate, that is, without being a critical thinking subject”. Thus, participants that interrogated the state of rugby and soccer in schools used their agency to reposition themselves within existing discourses. Agency does not presume freedom from discursive constitution and regulation of self (Davies, 1997, 2000), but rather recognises that discourses are historically specific and socially regulated through particular regimes of truth and can be questioned and changed. This information does not overlook that some subjects could be trapped in the socially constructed discourses and thus reproduce them, as already noted in some male rugby participants.

3.8. Hegemonic masculinity in Feminist post-structuralist theory

If language constructs reality, and reality is constructed through the experiences of men and hegemonic masculinity, then the exclusion of females in rugby and soccer does not necessarily exist as an objective reality. The exclusion is rather naturalised as a subjective societal process through its legitimisation, normalisation and even valorisation as a characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (Wooldridge, 2015). The concept of hegemony informs practical, on the ground work by feminist post-structuralists who critique, challenge and expose the cultural norms and societal structures that legitimate and normalise men's behaviour and experiences with the goal of building gender equity (Lang, 2014). Hegemony explains the ways male power functions in sports, as a process that reinforces certain norms and ideas to the benefit of society's most powerful groups (Hardin & Whiteside, 2013). The 'common-sense' assumptions normalise certain behaviour or groups, while making others seem unnatural or wrong (Altheide, 1984; Condit, 1994), as men's behaviour in rugby and soccer have been naturalised and expected for everyone to demonstrate.

It could be argued that sport is the hegemonic institution that builds a stratified society that most benefits men as the dominant group. This results in power being held in the hands of a relative few and used to coerce the wider populace, including women, into compliance (Artz & Murphy, 2000). Mediated depictions of sport have been indicted as "bearers of masculine hegemony, an ideology or set of beliefs about the world that privileges men and disadvantages women" (Duncan, 2006, p. 231). Hegemonic masculinity is described as a set of values, established by men in power, that functions to include and exclude, and to organise society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features such as "a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men) and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power and patriarchy" (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012, p. 40). It is a particular form of power and dominance which subconsciously effects itself through gendered and racialised socialisation, which in turn creates power inequality where the dominant legitimises their position and secures acceptance from subordinates without using any force.

Connell's (1987) concept of hegemonic masculinity helps to identify those attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, involving both men's domination over women and the power of some men over others. According to Giroux and Aron (1985, p. 88), hegemonic masculinity is "the configuration of gender practices which embodies the accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women". Hegemonic masculinity allows for resistance on the part of women and men who are subordinated or marginalised. Hegemonic masculinity thus includes certain attitudes and practices which inform not just how men and women think about themselves, but also how social groups relate, access resources, and prescribe and proscribe particular behaviours (Aronowitz & Giroux 1985, p. 88). The hegemonic concept was important in this study in order to analyse how female and male players and coaches think and talk about rugby and soccer in general, and participation in the sports in their school context.

3.9. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, CST and FPST were used as lenses to interrogate and analyse the nature of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools. It is the synergy of the conversation between the critical social theory and feminist post-structural theories, which involves the interplay of the informed practice of criticality and the emancipatory system of meanings, that was important for this study. Although both feminist's post-structuralist theory and critical social theory focus on social inequity and both have an agenda of promoting systems of change, these fields of inquiry have developed separately (Martin, 2002). While critical social theory focuses on identifying inequity due to class, race, and industrial relations, feminist post-structuralist theory acknowledges the different levels that influence women's experiences from gendered and power relations, highlighting the hegemonic effect patriarchy has on the experiences of women and girls (Billing, 2011). Analytical insights from the SCT inform the analysis of gender and racialised stereotypes and ideologies as integral social practices that influence participation in rugby and soccer. Feminist post-structuralism helped me explore and interrogate the nature of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg secondary schools, and offered a unique framework to deconstruct

differing discourses of knowledge with a focus on language use within social organisations.

FPST prioritised the deconstruction of the existing institutional structural power relations, language, racialised and gendered discourses that operate as norms in rugby and soccer, including all ideas that maintain the prioritisation of male and racial relationality in sport. Power relations that determine who can and cannot participate in rugby and soccer in secondary schools were exposed. Of importance is the question posed by post-structural feminists - that of agency and the possibilities to act, as well as promoting awareness of how we are being constituted within the discourses. Thus, the theoretical frameworks selected for this study were used to understand the multifaceted socially constructed race and gender, which established themselves as normative and traditionalised. Importantly, these theories were chosen because they offered critical insights regarding the existing social reality, and further provided the most comprehensive understanding of racial and gender practices in rugby in secondary schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

Understanding race and gender in rugby and soccer: Methodological positioning

4.1. Introduction

Research methodology refers to the overarching strategy and rationale of a study. It involves selecting the methods and explaining how I used them in the field to collect data, in relation to selected theoretical frameworks for the study. As I aimed at producing contextual real-world knowledge about the players' and coaches' experiences in rugby and soccer participation, a qualitative approach that encourages interpretation, rather than quantitative approach played a very important role. I discuss the research paradigm, design, and method used in the study to answer the research questions. I then present issues relating to the research context, sampling, data collection and analytical framework. In addition, the trustworthiness, credibility and ethical considerations in relation to the data collection process are discussed in this chapter.

The purpose of this study was to critically explore and interrogate gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools in South Africa. The research was guided by the main question: What is the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools? To gain insight into the participants' gender and racial participation experiences in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, I used critical social theory and the feminist post-structuralist theory. The theoretical frameworks influenced the choices of research paradigm, design, methods, and analytical framework.

4.2. Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is a set of beliefs used by researchers which have evolved over time (Creswell, 2007, 2014), and form our philosophical assumptions, epistemologies and ontologies (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011a; Merterns, 2009).

According to Basit (2010), paradigms as models, perspectives or conceptual frameworks assist researchers to outline their opinions, beliefs, understandings, and practices in a complete, coherent way and consequently inform the research design. Ontology refers to the nature of our beliefs about realities (Richards, 2003), how these beliefs are constructed (Crotty, 1998), and endorses multiple realities that are socially constructed and intersubjective, as well as shaped by the context (Klenke, 2016). I believe that reality and knowledge are socially constructed, and their normality needs to be problematised and interrogated to identify and understand how they emerge. Thus, gender and race are social constructions in this study, as is sport, and all should be deconstructed for alternative constructions and understanding. As noted from the discussion about the theoretical frameworks, I do not believe in a singular verifiable reality and truth, but in socially constructed multiple realities (Patton, 2002) from the research participants located in different societies. Mark (2010) suggests that participants may give different perspectives about a single incident, which means participants' ways of reconstructing what they know and have experienced and how they interpret the same situation is not the same.

Epistemology refers to the "nature and forms of knowledge, how it can be acquired and how it is communicated to other human beings" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 7). It means looking at where knowledge is obtained from and how participants know what they know, and the researcher needs to be close to the participants' location, that is, where they attend schools and possibly live, to understand their context of knowledge. Klenke (2016) suggests that epistemology deals with the researcher's belief system on the nature of knowledge and ways of getting knowledge, and Mark (2010) maintains that knowledge is gained by respecting differences among the individuals and personal experiences. I believe that interaction with individuals is important in order to gain insight into their first-hand unknown experiences of gender and race participation in their respective secondary schools. Mudadigwa (2020) posits that the concepts dwell on how individuals get to know the world around them and the role values play in understanding the world. Thus, researcher collaboration with participants is essential to build trust and encourage them to share the information freely, given the engagement with contested concepts of gender and race in rugby and soccer.

4.2.1. The social constructivism paradigm

In this study, the social constructivism paradigm, an alternative to constructionism, was important because it acknowledges that knowledge is constructed through social interaction (Adom, Yeboah & Ankrah, 2016). Reality is a subjective creation and knowledge is socially and culturally constructed and, in this study, race, gender, and sports are socio-culturally constructed. This paradigm argues that reality is socially constructed, and there are many wide-ranging meanings leading the researcher to look for the various views rather than constricting meanings into a few categories or ideas (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). It argues that various people may bring different conceptual frameworks to a situation grounded on their experiences, and this has implications on what individuals see in a situation. Similarly, in this study, players' and coaches' responses to the questions could be influenced by their experiences from socio-cultural beliefs and views about rugby and soccer. This perspective therefore argues that there is no one true reality, nor can one assume that the experiences that people have had will overlap to a large extent (Koboyatau, 2019). Rather, individuals construct reality according to the ideas most suitable to their personal experiences, and the views of the players and coaches in secondary schools are unknown in this study. Therefore, the researcher must try to comprehend the difficult and often various truths from the viewpoints of the participants (Creswell, 2014), to make meaning of them and see how they provide alternative discourses that have been overlooked.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interaction with the participants is important for social constructivism, because to conserve the integrity of the phenomena being examined, the researcher has to get inside the person and to understand from within (Cohen et al., 2011). It is further important that researchers utilise the approaches that get them closer to the participants using techniques such as in-depth observation, life histories, interviews, videos and pictures. The constructivist researchers regularly address the processes of communication between individuals (Cohen et al., 2011), especially when the discussion involves controversial and contested concepts like gender and race participation in rugby and soccer as popular sports. Researchers recognise that their own backgrounds shape their conceptualisation, and position themselves in the research to recognise how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural and historical experiences (Creswell,

2007, 2014). The researcher's intention is to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world (Creswell, 2007, 2014); thus rather than beginning with a theory (as in post-positivism), the researcher produces or inductively constructs a theory or pattern of meaning (Creswell, 2014).

The social constructivism paradigm does not necessarily need a big sample, it uses a smaller sample because it involves in-depth analysis of perceptions and experiences, accepting differences as well as similarities (Basit, 2010). Generalisation is not a priority for this paradigm; instead, it interprets social reality as viewed by research participants (Basit, 2010), which means findings are not generalised. The generated data is rich because researchers usually use a qualitative approach (Thani, 2011), and this enabled me to understand players' and coaches' experiences and meanings of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer. Brown (2015) argues that if the social world is subject to constructivist ontological and epistemological considerations, then acts of praxis must also work in ways corresponding to those considerations. The generated data, through the lens of a constructivist, helped me to understand why post-apartheid sport policies that were introduced to improve gender and racial participation in sports in the society, and extended in the schools, are not easily implemented because of social discourses that appear to overpower the policies. This paradigm resonates well with the case study and methodological approach adopted for my research.

4.3. Research Design

The case study design was most appropriate for this study because it allows a limited number of units of analysis - such as an individual, a group or an institution - to be studied intensively in a naturalistic setting (Welman & Kruger, 1999). A naturalistic setting means that a phenomenon is studied naturally, and not in a researcher-controlled environment and under researcher-controlled conditions (Guba, 1981). Researching in the naturalistic setting is important because it enables deeper understanding of experiences, phenomena and the important role of context in an individual's reflections. The study was conducted in the schools and sport fields which represent natural settings, where observation, participation, and interactions took place.

A research design addresses the planning of scientific inquiry and includes a strategy to find out something (Creswell, 2007). There are different research designs that are frequently used in qualitative research such as grounded theory, ethnography, narrative research, phenomenology, and a case study (Creswell, 2014). McMillan and Schumacher (2010) indicate that qualitative designs' variation are due to varying theoretical frameworks, philosophy and assumptions of the nature of the study. These assumptions therefore are shaped like a blueprint or a plan of how the research will be conducted using various strategies for flexibility. Research design areas include rationale, selection of participants, ethics, the researcher's role, data generation methods, management, analysis, trustworthiness and a timeline (Creswell, 2007). I used a case study design, which is an empirical inquiry that observes, explains, and explores a phenomenon within its real-life context, and allows one to gain a greater understanding of why something happened as it did and what else might be important for further investigation (Yin, 2003). According to Yazan (2015), a case study is a bounded system, which means the case is singled out for research with regard to time, place or some physical boundaries. I seriously considered the times when the study was done and the places where participants were observed and interviewed, because they were important in the construction of meaning. Hamilton (2011) maintains that a bounded system, when thoroughly evaluated, observed, and analysed, can be supportive in capturing crucial constituents of a case.

4.3.1. Exploratory case study design

This study used the exploratory case study research design because it is directed towards understanding the uniqueness and the idiosyncrasy and complexity of a particular case, which in this study is gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer within the former Model C schools (multi-racial) (Myers, 2008). The exploratory case study was appropriate for extensive and in-depth description of race and gender as complex social phenomena (Yin, 2014). It is important for research that uses exploratory case study design to answer the 'what' and 'how' questions, which were crucial in this study as I asked, 'What is the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer?' and 'How do players and coaches experience gender and racial participation in schools' rugby and soccer?' This case

study provided a way of systematically observing sports events in the schools, collecting data, analysing information, and presenting and discussing results. The design helped to understand rugby and soccer participation from the socio-racial and socio-gender viewpoints, and further supports the deconstruction and reconstruction of the phenomenon under study from the players' and coaches' perspectives (Cropley, 2019). This ensured that the multifaceted issue was not explored through one lens, but from a variety of critical social and feminist post-structural theories which allowed me to unpack the nuances of the phenomenon (Yin, 2003).

For this study, it was important to understand individuals' experiences as unique and complex, due to the influence of the socio-historical, cultural and political background that shaped the nature of practices and participation in soccer and rugby in South African schools. This links with the social constructivism that prioritises interaction with individuals to listen to the exceptional experiences that have not been given opportunities to be recounted, while they can contribute to the existing knowledge in the research into sports.

4.4. The qualitative approach

The purpose of qualitative research is "to examine the way people make sense of their own concrete real-life experiences, in their own minds and in their own words" (Cropley, 2019, p. 5). Understanding how players and coaches interpret gender and racial involvement in rugby and soccer within their individual secondary schools, as well as how they discuss the experiences and what inspires them, was the purpose of this study. There are three forms of methodologies that are generally utilised in research: quantitative, qualitative and the mixed methods (Basit, 2010; Creswell, 2007). My study used qualitative methodology for in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon, which was carried out in a natural setting. Qualitative research contrasts with quantitative research that views research as 'realist' and 'positivist', while the world view underlying qualitative research is that it is 'subjectivist' (Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 79). This was important for this study because every player and coach constructs an individual and personal view about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer based on their specific interactions with the specific sport code(s). In the qualitative approach, the knowledge is based on social

constructivist perspectives and consists of individuals' multiple meanings, which could be socially or historically constructed. Similarly, the participants' meanings of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer were shaped by the socio-historical backgrounds and discourses, which need unpacking for interrogation and meaning making.

For qualitative research, there is no single reality, truth, or knowledge, and the nature of knowledge is constructed or created by individuals or groups interacting in real-life situations (Baddie & Creswell, 2010). Likewise, coaches and players held different perspectives regarding racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in the selected secondary schools. To understand the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer, it was crucial to immerse myself in the natural everyday context and interact with players and coaches to make sense of their experiences. Furthermore, qualitative inquiry can be interactive or non-interactive (McMillian & Schumacher, 2001) and, due to the nature of this study, it was mainly interactive in order to gain insight into the participants' views. The non-interactive approach was used during informal observation of the games in the schools, and it was important to minimise the risk of researcher presence in the field of the research (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010). This addresses the researcher as an important tool and has an obligation for generating data herself/himself, through observing behaviour and interviewing participants (Creswell, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

4.5. Contextual background of the Study

I conducted the study in Gauteng[6], Johannesburg South, secondary schools, in the Ekurhuleni district. Before I talk about the context of the schools, I briefly discuss the context of Johannesburg where the schools are located. Johannesburg is considered a "world class African city" because it holds the most wealth on the African continent, which in 2006 amounted to $248 billion (Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs [COGTA], 2020, p. 7). Johannesburg has 195 public primary and 269 public

[6]Johannesburg was initially part of the Transvaal and there was a thriving gold industry following the 1886 discovery of gold in Johannesburg but because of it being rich in gold, it became one of the four provinces of South Africa attracting people from Southern Africa and the Sotho-speaking people named it Gauteng, meaning the Place of Gold. Gauta means gold (Maralack, 2010).

secondary schools, apart from the private schools. The categorisation of the schools was influenced by the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 which dictated that cities and towns of South Africa be divided into racially segregated residential and business areas (Maralack, 2010). It is because of this Act that there is imbalanced availability of sports fields, availability of infrastructures and resources in the Gauteng townships and suburb schools. For example, the former Model C and private schools[7] have two or three rugby fields and highly qualified coaches to compete in these sporting codes, while football and netball pitches are nothing more than dusty land with goal posts in townships and rural schools. According to Doctor Khumalo[8], the problems with soccer fields in the South African township environment makes it difficult for learners to play quality soccer competitively (ENCA News Channel, 2022/04/01, 6pm news). Mweli (2015) posits that in sports like rugby and soccer, there were and still are differences in the type of infrastructure, resources, opportunities, and participation from school to competitive level.

Even though township schools are not part of the study, to show the differences in the schools, below is an example of sports grounds, especially rugby and soccer fields, in the township and former Model C schools. The pictures show the continuing imbalance in the two sport codes in South Africa after 28 years of democracy, which possibly indicate that change is sometimes slow irrespective of the 'love' of the two sports. However, it is still disappointing that while some things appear to have changed, while others remained the same, like sports fields in Townships, including in the schools. Interestingly, though, some former Model C school sports ground have changed since the opening of the schools for all races, and have dilapidated because maintenance needs finances.

[7] Model C schools are former Whites-only schools while private schools are independent schools that are privately governed unlike public schools that are state controlled (Mweli, 2015).

[8] Theophilus "Doctor" Doctorson Khumalo (born 26 June 1967) also known as Doctor Khumalo, is a South African former soccer player best known for being a star midfielder for Kaizer Chiefs as well as the South African national team(eNCA News, 2022/04/01).



Picture: A



Picture: B

Figure 1: Photographs showing playing grounds in high density residential areas (called townships)



Figure 2: A former model C schools



Figure 3: A former model C schools

4.5.1. Nokwazi secondary school

Nokwazi Secondary School is one of the former Model C schools that celebrates and embraces ethnic and cultural diversity, and is located 20 kilometres from Thokoza township in Johanesburg South. It was established in 1963 as a majority White

school at the time, because it was distant from the township. This changed when most White learners moved to other schools that had more White learners, and Black children are now the majority in the school together with Coloured and Indian learners. The school offers all academic subjects and learners have a comprehensive learning experience, not just in subjects and curriculum learning, but also in sports. Although the school also offers tennis, hockey, basketball, swimming and netball; rugby and soccer are the dominant sports. The school offers contact rugby to boys only, and girls are allowed to play touch rugby that boys do not play. Although soccer is popular with the boys, girls have wrestled soccer structures and now many girls participate in soccer in the school. There is a female senior rugby coach for the boys and a female touch rugby coach for the girls, and soccer has male coaches for boys' and girls' teams. The coaches are committed to the progress and development of their teams, and have well maintained playing fields, although the changing rooms are aging. While all the sporting codes have boys' and girls' teams, soccer has four girls' teams and six boys' teams. Rugby has four boys' teams and there are four touch rugby girls' teams. Below is the netball court in the school, which is shared with tennis and basketball sports. The soccer and rugby fields are well maintained and rugby always takes a bigger slice, because of the nature of a sport.



Figure 4: Nokwazi Secondary School and some of its sports grounds



Figure 5: Nokwazi netball[9]/tennis/basketball fields

4.5.2. Yekeni secondary school

Yekeni Secondary School, a former Model C school, was officially opened on the 8th of September 1990 by Dr P.H. Bredenkamp, the Director of Education, and started in 1988 with 114 learners and nine educators. It is still dominated by White learners, together with Black, Indian, and Coloured learners. The possible reason is because Yekeni is 30 kilometres away from the closest township Makokova (pseudonym), and only Black parents that can afford to pay the high school fees and transport for their children attend the school. Yekeni Secondary School continually strives to create and uphold its traditions of being a rugby school, and plays a high standard of rugby against other former Model C schools. Apart from offering soccer, netball, hockey, swimming and tennis, rugby is the dominant sport and is seen by the jackets that rugby players wear at school. They are respected and leaders in the school, maintaining the hegemonic character rugby enjoyed during apartheid and still enjoys post-apartheid.

Soccer is a sport that is played because Black children have been admitted to the school. Soccer coaches explained how their schools were rugby schools, by revealing that great support was given to rugby in order to preserve rugby as a sport. Yekeni Secondary School is vibrant and dynamic with facilities that are very modern

[9] The participating players and coaches agreed to show their faces in the thesis.

and of extremely high standard, better that those found at Nokwazi Secondary School. At Yekeni Secondary School there are three well maintained playing grounds for each sporting code with the exception of soccer which has only one. The sport grounds continue to be maintained by caretakers that are paid by the governing body, and not necessarily the Department of Education.



Figure 6: Yekeni Secondary School learners

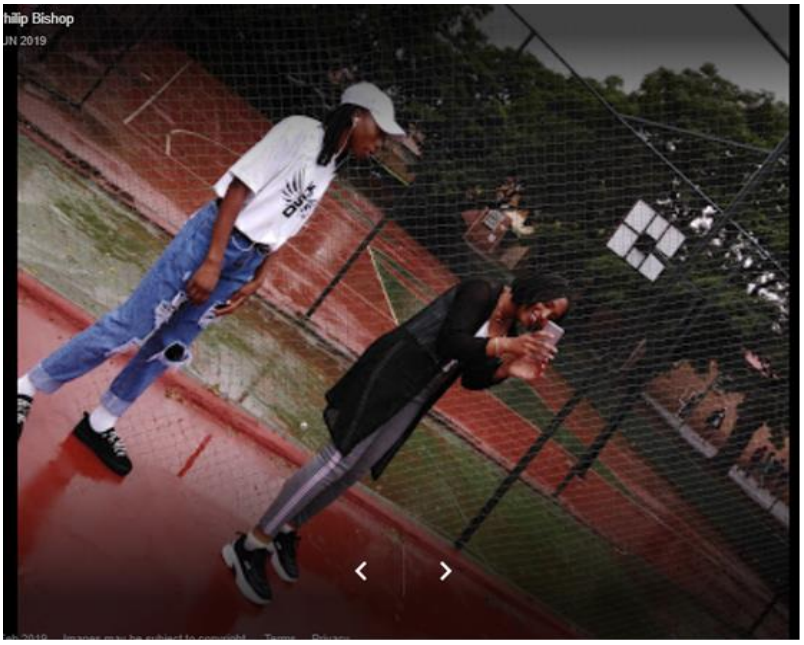


Figure 7: Yekeni Secondary School and sport grounds

4.6. Research Sampling and Participants

The quality of a research project is highly dependent on the participant selection strategy or strategies employed by the researcher (Cohen et al., 2007). My study used a qualitative exploratory case study, and it was important to use purposive sampling. I used snowball sampling to make sure I chose rugby players and soccer players who had previously participated in the school leagues as well as coaches.

4.6.1. Purposive sampling

This study focused on gender and race participation in rugby and soccer, which meant I selected participants who were able to supply relevant information about the phenomenon under study. A purposive sample is made up of a group of participants who meet common criteria (Padilla-Diaz, 2015), and for this study rugby and soccer players and coaches were selected. Purposive participant selection allows a researcher to use his or her judgement to recruit certain participants from a population of those who have the most suitable characteristics for the research (Strydom, 2005). Even though this could be problematic for representativeness of the sample and generalisability of the data, Cohen et al. (2007) argue that data gleaned from purposively selected samples "is deliberately and unashamedly selective and biased" (2007, p. 115) to fulfil the mandate of finding suitably qualified research participants. It was important to identify and select individuals or groups of individuals that were knowledgeable about or had experience with the phenomena of interest (Creswell, & Plano Clark, 2011). While the number of years was not necessarily a determinant for knowledge, I hoped that players would have in-depth information and experience about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in their respective schools.

4.6.2. Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling, refers to a "process whereby participants are recommended by individuals who know other individuals who are likely to yield relevant rich information data" (Best & Kahn, 2006, p. 19). After realising that I did not have enough players to participate in the study, in particular White rugby players, I

requested coaches to assist with identifying other players and I explained the preferred criteria. The experiences of the coaches played a crucial role in the identification of more rugby and soccer players to ensure that I collected rich data. I selected two female soccer players and two male soccer players, two female (touch) rugby players and two male contact rugby players, with a total of eight players per school. Due to the nature of the research, the race of the players was also used as a criterion, in order to have different views and experiences because the schools were multiracial. It is these specific criteria that resulted in challenges with the appropriate balanced sample.

Similarly, for the selection of coaches, I used snowball sampling because I had to use coaches that were available in the schools. According to Etikan (2016), snowball sampling is a technique that qualitative researchers use to recruit participants who are easily accessible and convenient to the researcher. Oftentimes this may include utilising geographical location and resources that make participant recruitment convenient. I selected two coaches per school, and due to female coach in the two schools selected I had two female contact rugby and touch rugby[10] coaches, and one female and male soccer coaches in the two selected secondary schools. The total number of coaches was four, three females and one male. I preferred coaches that had been in the school for at least three years in order to reflect on the racial and gender participation in the sports based on their observations. Table 2 below represents the participants for the study. Scott and Morrison (2008) posit that methods used to select the sample determine the nature and validity of the findings that are generated from the study of that sample, as different approaches yield different kinds of data and different constructions of knowledge.

[10] Touch rugby coaches and players were selected in the schools because they did not offer contact rugby for girls.

TABLE 2: PARTICIPANTS SAMPLE FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

	PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	SCHOOL GV/HI	NUMBER OF YEARS	RACE
1	Coach: Rugby	Female	GV Nokwazi	7 years	White
2	Coach: Rugby	Female	GV Nokwazi	5 years	White
3	Coach: Soccer	Male	HI Yekeni	6 years	Black African
4	Coach: Soccer	Female	HI Yekeni	4 years	Coloured
5	Soccer player	Female	GV Nokwazi	3 years	White
6	Soccer player	Female	GV Nokwazi	4 years	Black African
7	Soccer player	Males	GV Nokwazi	4 years	Indian
8	Soccer player	Male	GV Nokwazi	4 years	Black
9	T/Rugby player	Female	GV Nokwazi	2 years	Coloured
10	T/Rugby player	Female	GV Nokwazi	3 years	Black African
11	Rugby player	Male	GV Nokwazi	4 years	Black African
12	Rugby player	Male	GV Nokwazi	3 years	White
13	Soccer player	Female	HI Yekeni	3 years	Coloured
14	Soccer player	Female	HI Yekeni	4 years	Black African
15	Soccer player	Male	HI Yekeni	3 years	Black African
16	Soccer player	Male	HI Yekeni	3 years	Black African
17	T/Rugby player	Female	HI Yekeni	2 years	Coloured
18	T/Rugby player	Female	HI Yekeni	3 years	Black African
19	Rugby player	Male	HI Yekeni	4 years	Coloured
20	Rugby player	Male	HI Yekeni	4 years	White

4.7. Research Methods

The research paradigm, design, and approach influenced the choice of research methods, and I used semi-structured individual interviews and non-participatory observation; the latter was used as a secondary method. Interviews played a major role in collecting the data because they gave me the opportunity to interact with the participants and gain insight into their thoughts and experiences about racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in the selected secondary schools. Table 3 below represents the date and duration of each method, which shows differences for each school and participants.

4.7.1. Individual Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews, according to Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2011), are research methods that enable the interviewer to obtain information on an individual's interpretation of certain situations from their own point of view. Interviews are understood as a means of accessing information from respondents, through conversations that allow the

interviewer the opportunity to step into the mind of the respondent and both see and experience their world through conversation(s). The decision to conduct semi-structured interviews was influenced by Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2011) for the following reasons. First, being a qualitative study and based on ontological and epistemological perspectives, the use of interviews would flesh out the experiences and views that are within the chosen methodological approach and the necessary elements of forming social reality. Second, the means through which I would explain and construct meanings from the social phenomenon of interest in the study was through accessing deeper and more complex data, which would ideally be realised through semi-structured interviews. It is also through in-depth interviews that I had the opportunity to collect ample data from which to identify patterns as they emerged from my interaction with the respondents (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010).

Semi-structured interviews involve the researcher introducing a topic, then guiding the discussion by asking specific questions (Creswell, 2014) I was initially concerned with the phrasing of the questions when I was designing them, because I wanted to ensure that all planned questions were not sensitive and were not threatening to the participants. I requested my supervisors to check all the interview questions before I used them, to further ensure that they covered all aspects of the study. I made sure that I had a similar set of questions for rugby and soccer coaches and rugby and soccer players, and I had the opportunity to probe where necessary. While Cropley, explains that “we interview people to find out from them things we cannot directly observe” (Cropley, 2019, p. 34), Cohen et al. (2007) posit that we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions, the way people have organised the world, and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. Thus, using semi-structured interviews and interacting with the participants assisted me to collect detailed information and understand their experiences and meanings of participation in soccer and rugby in the schools.

Table 3: Details of the interviews

TYPE OF DATA COLLECTED	WHO WAS INTERVIEWED	DATE	AVERAGE DURATION OF INTERVIEWS
Individual Interviews	Each coach	End of June; July; August	1-1,5 hours
	Each player	End of September; October	40-45 minutes
Observation	Each school	2017	Twice a week, mostly Wednesdays and Fridays afternoons as I stopped work at 2pm.

4.7.1.1. Players' interviews

Individual interviews with male and female rugby and soccer players were organised at different times that suited their programmes. Before starting the interviews, the interviewees were briefed on the nature and purpose of the research interview and were handed the consent forms to read and sign, as shown in Appendix F. The interviews took place in different places in the schools because I needed to utilise every moment that participants had to collect data. For example, some interviews took place in the guest rooms, classrooms, and staffrooms and some took place on the soccer and rugby fields, based on some players' requests. The different contexts were important to ensure that time was not wasted, while at the same time ensuring that participants were comfortable and not disturbed. The players were asked generally the same questions that reflected on their experiences and the state of racial and gender participation in their schools. Some questions wanted players and coaches to talk about the controversial and complex racial or gender experiences, and they took time to think and talk about them, which was important in this study. It was advantageous that I had fostered a trusting relationship with them, which made them relax during the interviews and observation. There was a difference in the length of time to respond to the questions because rugby and soccer players took 45 minutes to one hour to complete the interviews. I did not have a problem with the time, having prepared myself for possible long interviews, because I wanted players to reflect critically to the nature of and experiences they had encountered.

4.7.1.2. Coaches' interviews

Rugby and soccer coaches' interviews were interesting because the coaches were very experienced, having played and coached in some community clubs. They had a lot to draw from and discuss about rugby and soccer. I had briefed them on the nature and purpose of the research interview and, before the interviews started, I requested that they read and sign the consent forms, as presented in Appendix G. Their interview questions were different from those of the players because I wanted them to describe their experiences of coaching, how they selected their teams, explain the status of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer, whether they had experienced racial challenges and whether they were implementing racial and gender policies in their schools as the managers. I believed that these questions would shed light on the status of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer and give insight into participation rates. The interviews were long because coaches drew from social and school coaching experiences, and, for me, indicated that participants enjoyed talking about their rugby and soccer coaching. experiences. The coaches' interviews took one to one hour and half hours, depending on how much one responded to the questions and follow-up questions regarding race and gender participation in either rugby or soccer. Generally, the interviews represented relaxed critical conversations because participants were allowed time to describe their experiences in any order, as long as they addressed the research questions. With the permission of the coaches, all interviews were audio–recorded, to ensure that detailed information was captured for later transcription.

I managed two interviews each day for coaches, three interviews each day for players, provided the rooms and the participants were available, which resulted in five months of data generation for both players and coaches. Data collection depends on participants' availability, which makes it complex and time consuming (Patton, 1990). After every interview, I listened to it so that if there was a need to go back for clarification or more information, I would be able to do that while the conversation was still fresh.

4.7.2. Transcription of individual interviews

Transcription of interviews is an important process because it is part of analysis, and I immersed myself to understand participants' responses. I firstly listened carefully to all the interviews repeatedly, without transcribing them, and the second time I started transcribing and coding responses to identify any emerging patterns. Transcription, according to Creswell (2008), is the process of converting audio-tape recordings into text data by hand or through the computer. In this study I transcribed all interviews by hand, hence it took longer because I wanted to make sense of the participants' responses and at the same time start the analysis process. Considering the focus on gender and race, it was important for me to transcribe the interviews so that I understood the words within the context. The table below is an example of the process, and more information is in Appendix F. While the process was tedious because I did it manually, I was also enhancing my research skills as I organised data, coded and recoded, identified patterns, themes and sub-themes.

Table 4: Showing data coding of the coaches and players

CODES	PATTERNS	CATEGORIES	PROPOSED THEMES
"I enjoy playing touch rugby…it is very fast-paced…very energetic…you have to have an eye for it" "You need to know different skills when you play it (touch rugby)" "I used to play netball…was tired of netball because of all the attitude from girls…this is pity behaviour not to play." "Touch rugby is not contact…I wish it was contact…I do also enjoy contact rugby being played…you just get energised from seeing the boys carrying the ball" 4BF T/R	Physicality Gender stereotyping sports. Apologetic behaviour. Role models Disrupting gender boundaries Beyond femininity Girls' tough character Agency	Transgressive Sporting Femininity/ divergence from the norm Disrupting gender boundaries/ beyond femininity/girls tough character/ Gender Stereotyping Agency? Energised by contact rugby (Meaning?) Nature of the sport Very fast-paced (if touch rugby is also perceived as fast = what can you say?) energetic	Touch Rugby: Gender stereotyping sports; Fast paced; get energised from seeing the boys carrying the ball (masculinisation); Social discourse on sports (the manner of talking about rugby); Disrupting gender boundaries (Where? How?) ✓ "Genderising rugby - social discourse" ✓ Masculinisation/ Normalising Gender Rugby Bias Discourse
We don't have contact rugby at the school [for girls] but we do have, we stated touch rugby two years ago, and our teams are doing very well, we even have some of our girls that were asked to	Transgressive Sporting Femininity/ divergence from the norm Disrupting gender boundaries/ beyond femininity/girls tough character/ Gender	Transgressive Sporting Femininity/ divergence from the norm Hegemonic Masculinity Discourse	Hegemonic Masculinity Discourse Divergence from the norm but promoting masculinity

represent the district level and also some of them were invited to provincial trials for touch rugby. We don't have touch rugby boys' teams because we have the normal contact rugby the, 15 men, so there, its levelling up. In terms of race, about 65% of the kids in our school are African, the majority of our teams, the majority competitors in each team are from the African cultures, and the rest are your Caucasian, your White kids and your Indian kids, I even had Japanese and Chinese that used to play for me in the past. But it depends on the interest of the child. WF	Stereotyping/ Girls tough character/ increase in female participation in other sports even in once male dominated sports except rugby/attesting to the increase in girl participation and add a note on success Hegemonic Masculinity Discourse	School's racial composition - game of numbers "normal contact rugby" for boys and touch rugby for girls AND no touch rugby for boys and no contact rugby for girls (dichotomy.	

The process of interview transcription and observation analysis took approximately seven months (May to mid-November 2017) because of the number of interviews and going backward and forward, transcribing in detail. It is also important to mention that, as a full-time teacher, I used weekends and holidays effectively, another reason for delays.

4.7.3. Participatory Observation

In addition to the individual interviews, I conducted informal non-participatory observations of rugby and soccer practices and games at the two schools. I visited the players' training sessions on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the two schools, alternating rugby and soccer in each week, to observe the nature of participation in each sporting code. The trainings were mostly done from 2 pm to 5 pm and I was given permission to attend any training session; I organised my visits with the coaches to attend their training sessions and matches. I thought it was important to be seen at the practices and attend some games of the participating schools in order to build trust with the players. I thus attended some rugby and soccer matches that were played against other schools on Friday and Saturday leagues. Bell (2005) states that observation is an important data collection method because it can reveal information that is often discrete or hidden. I therefore used a 'fly on the wall

approach' to observe individuals and groups without getting involved in the life of the group. Thompson (2016, p. 77) states that non-participant observation levels out researcher biases in other methods and reveals differences between what people say and what they actually do, and this method helped to observe what participants did in the sporting fields, something that comes naturally rather than being acted out.

During a game, players are not consumed by the presence of a researcher, as compared to practices when they are not as serious and might be conscious of the researcher. Thompson (2016) posits that non-participant observation minimises the risk of people being affected by the presence of a researcher, which for this study depended on what was happening, as mentioned above. The unstructured non-participant observation was useful in this study because the time I spent in the field opened my eyes to that which I could not obtain from the spoken words of coaches and players. I recorded most of the training and games, with the consent of the coaches and players, to observe the nature of interactions in order to have a picture when they talk about it in the interviews. Bell (2005, p. 45) posits that "cameras that are phenomenalistic" uncover the not over obvious practices, defining and structuring ideas until certain focuses emerge without directly engaging with participants. This means that non-participant observation zoomed into participants' true behaviour as they consciously and unconsciously carried out their everyday life in the sports fields. This enabled me to write notes of all interesting happenings, taken for granted comments, behaviours and the actions of the participants. As mentioned earlier, I was in the research field for approximately six months because of the observations and interviews, especially the latter that took time to complete.

Table 5: showing a timetable for rugby and soccer in the secondary schools visited

TIME: 2 pm - 5 pm	Male rugby	Female T/rugby	Male soccer	Female soccer
MONDAY	-	-	-	-
TUESDAY	Training	Training	Training	Training
WEDNESDAY	Team A vs Team B	Inter-house games	Team A vs Team B	Team A vs B
THURSDAY	Team C vs Team	Team A vs Team B	Team C vs	Team C vs D

	D		Team D	
FRIDAY	-	-	-	-
SATURDAY 10 am - 4 pm	School league games	School league games	School league games	School games

4.8. Reflection on the data collection process

Understanding one's own racial and gender biases is sometimes a struggle and being aware of them is the first step towards improving relations among different racial groups. It is not easy to do such research because it needs a researcher to declare a clear position on gender and racism. I went into this research knowing that issues of race and gender tensions could surface, because I was exploring race and gender participation in rugby and soccer in former Model C schools, especially rugby that has a particular representation generally. I needed permission from the school administrators to access the buildings and speak with the players and coaches after the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) gave me the go-ahead. I struggled to find schools in which to conduct my research, because the schools I approached had White principals who were not comfortable with my presence in their schools. Interestingly for me, male principals had problems with me doing the research in their schools, stating the unavailability of time for both players and coaches – the former who needed to be in class and the latter who needed to train the teams. Of the ten schools in the area, it took a friend who introduced me to one of the female principals who accepted that I do the research in her school.

I was reminded of my feelings of discomfort when I issued consent letters to players, coaches. I had planned for all racial groups to be equally represented in the study; unfortunately, of the ten White rugby players I approached, only three accepted my invitation. I had to ask the parents of players who were under 18 for their consent, which is why I received a rejection letter from them. This means that though White boys are dominant in rugby, Coloured and Black players were more represented as participants because their parents easily agreed to be involved. While there were no Indians playing rugby, a few of them were involved in soccer and Coloured and Black participants dominated in soccer. This was another challenge that needed my patience and I had to consider other ways to ensure that my study was a success,

irrespective of such challenges. In addition, the examinations and schools finishing early on some days was another challenge, because players cancelled their appointments for interviews. The nature of the schools' timetables meant that interviews had to be scheduled far apart on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, and some were scheduled on Saturdays, which were sport days for the schools. This meant that several interviews had to be rescheduled, resulting in a five month data collection period.

4.9. Data Analysis: Critical discourse analysis

This study used critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse all interview transcripts and observation data as written texts, to make sense of the participants' statements, information and experiences. It was further used to reveal any possible discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and biases in the participants' responses that were made consciously or unconsciously. Manion and Morrison (2007, p. 461) mention that data analysis involves "organizing, accounting for and explaining the data, which means making sense of the data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities". This means it is a process that involves creativity as patterns and themes among complex data do not usually pop out, including being open to multiple possibilities or ways of thinking about a problem, changing patterns of thinking, making linkages between the seemingly unconnected data with the intention of opening the world in some way (Patton, 2002). The process of analysis, for Polkinghorne (1989), is always interpretive, because interpretation is an act of finding narrative meaning through which we attempt to elicit implications for a better understanding of participants' experiences. Foucault (1980) argues that "the search for clarity and simplicity of meaning is seen as illusory, because there will always be other perspectives from which to interpret the material under review".

CDA aspires to dissect, disrupt, and render the familiar strange by interrogating participants' responses to identify "the effects in the real to which they are linked" (Foucault, 1980, p. 237). Price (1999, p. 23) states that critical discourse analysis "draws inspiration, whether directly or indirectly, from Foucault's genealogical work". Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) focuses on power relationships in society as

expressed through rugby and soccer coaches' and players' language and practices that were discursively produced. In this study, FDA assisted in understanding how the players and coaches thought, what they knew, how they spoke about rugby and soccer as representing particular discourses, and how their knowledge was socio-culturally embedded. Thus, Foucauldian critical discourse analysis helps to deconstruct discourses to reveal any taken for granted biases and rules of inclusion and exclusion in rugby and soccer participation. It was important to see how and why some categories of thinking and lines of arguments have come to be generally taken as truth, for example, that 'rugby is a White men's sport'.

Fiske (1994, p. 11) cautions that "our words are never neutral, they have meaning in a particular historical, social, and political condition and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions". The words also represent a language which is an important aspect for critical discourse analysis because it signifies rugby and soccer players' and coaches' reality and their social context and practices, which are never neutral. This means CDA also allows researchers to move beyond seeing language as abstract to seeing words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition. I thus used the Foucauldian discourse analysis because of the distinct interest in the social, political and psychological characteristics of language use from institutionalised patterns of knowledge that govern the formation of subjectivity.
Silverman and Torode (1980, p. 11) add that critical discourse analysis is an "intervention in the natural flow of talk and text that attempts to interrupt everyday common sense". Common sense, if not problematised and interrogated, has the potential to be naturalised and to pass unquestioned, while causing inequities and prejudice. For example, in this study, it could be taken for granted that because women's contact rugby and soccer are not popular, lack of media coverage is understandable, while perpetuating gender stereotypes. Thus, Janks (2010) argues that denaturalisation of common-sense assumptions is needed to reveal them as constructed representations of the social order, serving the interests of some at the expense of others. In particular, when discourses are linked to a wide range of social identities and are embedded in diverse social institutions, they provide the "need and the means to reflect on our own taken-for-granted ways of saying, writing, doing, thinking and valuing" (Gee, 1990, p. 142). Along the same line of discussion,

Batsone (1995) asserts that critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal how meanings are constructed so that the particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly. Because they are covert, they are difficult to challenge directly, facilitating what Kress calls the “retreat into mystification and impersonality” (1989, p. 57).

The exposure of hidden meanings is important because they are not obvious to the speaker, particularly when the role of habitus is taken into consideration. Thus, the aim of critical discourse analysis is to reveal the role of discursive practices, such as those related to normative racial and gender participation biases and exclusionary practices in rugby and soccer in secondary schools (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002). The deconstruction of experiences is important, as Stubbs (1980, p. 6) explains, “If people and things are repeatedly talked about in certain ways, then there is a good chance that this will affect how they are thought of”. This is because, as Janks (2010) argues, it is possible that even if one tries to move into new discourses (gender and racial equity), normative and entrenched patterns of speaking about the world influence the choice of words. It was important in this study to critically examine and unpack the way players and coaches talked about gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer, whether there was reproduction of normative discourses or reconstruction of traditional discourses through interrogation.

This study found Foucauldian discourse analysis an invaluable analytical tool for getting at meanings and gaining awareness of players’ and coaches’ beliefs, ideologies, discourses and attitudes towards current practices of race and gender in rugby and soccer. The Foucauldian discourse analysis unearthed racial and gender ideologies and genderised discourses imbedded in language, that was influenced by social ways of talking that were taken for granted by some players and problematised by other players.

4.10. Trustworthiness, Credibility and Confirmability

The aim of trustworthiness in qualitative research is to support the argument that the inquiry’s findings are “worth paying attention to” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 109). Trustworthiness, as Sandelowski (1993) mentions, is a matter of persuasion that the

researcher made the practices visible and auditable, and the reader of the research judges it to be so. However, Sandelowski (1993) regards reliability/dependability as a threat to validity/credibility and questioned the usual qualitative reliability tests such as member checking (returning to the participants following data analysis), or peer checking (using a panel of experts or experienced colleague to reanalyse some of the data) as ways of ensuring that the researcher has analysed correctly. But Guba and Lincoln (1989a) regard member checks as the single most critical technique for establishing credibility. Sandelowski (1993) argues that if reality is assumed (as it generally is within the qualitative paradigm) to be multiple and constructed, then repeatability is not an essential (or necessary or sufficient) property of the things themselves, and we should not expect either expert researchers or respondents to arrive at the same themes and categories as the researcher. Put simply, an attempt to increase reliability involves a forced artificial consensus and conformity in the analysis of data. Sandelowski (1993) therefore rejects reliability as a useful measure of quality in qualitative research in favour of validity or trustiworthness. To ensure the rigor and trustworthiness, this study used member checking, detailed transcription, systematic plan and coding (Gunawan, 2015). This is especially important when using critical discourse analysis as categories were created from raw data as I moved backwards and forwards between transcripts, notes and the research literature. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have proposed four alternatives for assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative research, that is, credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability.

4.10.1. Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that ensuring credibility is one of the most important factors in establishing trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry. It is the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings and establishes whether the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants (Patton, 1997). I used participants' responses to represent their voices in relation to my interpretation. I further ensured credibility by transcribing all the interviews and then shared the findings with the participants to make corrections where necessary, to make sure that their views were well presented. The confirmations happened at various stages of transcription until the identification of themes. Because of the

sensitivity of the study, I wanted to make sure that participants agreed with all the responses.

4.10.2. Dependability

Dependability is the extent that the study could be repeated by other researchers such that the findings would be consistent (Patton, 2002). A qualitative researcher uses inquiry audit in order to establish dependability, which requires an outside person to review and examine the research process and the data analysis in order to ensure that the findings are consistent and can be repeated (Creswell, 2003). I asked my supervisors to examined the research process and data analysis process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasise the close relationship between credibility and dependability and argue that, in practice, a demonstration of credibility goes a long way to ensure dependability. Shenton (2004, p. 71) suggests that dependability "may be achieved through the use of overlapping methods". In this study I used the non-participant observation and individual interviews to ensure dependability.

4.10.3. Confirmability

Confirmability is the degree to which the findings of the research study can be confirmed by other researchers (Kulkarni, 2013). This means that confirmability is about establishing that the data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the researcher's imagination, but clearly derived from the data. For this study I used my supervisors to confirm that the findings were shaped by participants more than done by the researcher. This helped to establish that the research study's findings are accurate and portray participants' responses. The research is confirmable when the investigator's bias is reduced to a minimal level or even eliminated. It is a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest. I was critical of my gender and racial background as I was interacting with participants, especially those who were not Black. Therefore, I ensured confirmability in this study by making an in-depth methodological description so as to allow integrity of the research results to be scrutinised.

4.10.4. Transferability

Transferability is also important in research and “is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to another situation” (Merriam, 1998, p. 35). It is achieved through an in-depth description of the research process to allow a reader to see if the results can be transferred to a different setting. To ensure transferability of the research findings, I provided a detailed process of data collection and analysis in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. I also made a detailed description of the phenomenon under investigation to give a clear understanding of coaches’ and soccer and rugby players’ experiences of racial and gender participation in the secondary schools.

4.11. Ethics

According to Resnik (1998), ethics are the moral principles that govern a person’s behaviour and research ethics may be referred to as doing what is morally and legally right in research. The study was conducted with the approval of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Along with the consent of the parents, coaches, and players, approval was also requested from the Gauteng Department of Education and the principals. Qualitative research in a social context involves human elements as participants, and appropriate steps were taken to adhere to all ethical guidelines in order to uphold the participants’ privacy, confidentiality, dignity, rights and anonymity as the names of the schools are pseudonyms (Parveen & Showkat, 2017), except pictures taken, which were agreed upon. According to Bickman and Rog (2009), research needs to take care of these various ethical issues at different levels of the research, and I ensured that I respected the expected ethics.

I considered all relevant ethical issues in the research by issuing consent information letters to the participants prior to the commencement of the data collection process. The information letter provided information about the purpose of the research, procedure for data collection, type of data to be collected and the benefits of the research to the participant and the society in general. Also, participants were informed of their right to voluntary participation and that they could withdraw from the study at any time during the process without any consequence (Jensen, 2002).

There was no refusal on the coaches' side, but seven White rugby players withdrew from participation in this study, and I engaged others who were willing to participate.

Anonymity and confidentiality were ensured and assured to all the participants. To ensure confidentiality, all data collected from the participants were treated and kept confidentially in a safe place in locked drawers. I kept their records secure through the use of password protected files, and encryption when sending information over the internet. Only the researcher and research supervisors had access to the raw data collected. The data will be destroyed five years after submission of the thesis. This is important if other requirements apply and particularly for writing papers. To ensure anonymity of participants, fictitious names were used for the participants at interviews, in order to obtain data without exposing any personal and identifying information.

4.12. Conclusion

This chapter presented the overview of the research methodology I selected for this study, and the rationale for the choices made. The research paradigm, design, and approach were discussed and the contextual background was carefully provided for the readers. In addition, the justification of the chosen sampling strategy and methods of data collection were also discussed. Consideration was given to issues relating to the trustworthiness, credibility and confirmability of the data, all crucial to the validation of research.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Status of race and gender in sports participation: Resisting exclusion in rugby and soccer

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter engaged with the methodology of the study and discussed the research paradigm, which linked with the critical social and feminist post-structural theories to understand the role of social discourses in gender and racial participation in soccer and rugby in secondary schools in the south of Johannesburg. The research design, approach, and methods further presented the importance of engaging with the participants in their natural context to gain insight into their experiences of sports participation. It was important that I interacted with the rugby and soccer players as they talked about gender and racial participation in the sports, to have access to the unknown information and experiences.

This chapter presents the findings and discusses their meanings using the theories and reviewed literature. From the analysed data, the following themes and sub-themes emerged, as presented in the Table below:

Table 6: Themes and sub-themes

Theme 1	The discourse of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer in secondary schools
Sub-theme1.1	Re-enforcing hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: Male perspective
Sub-theme1.2	Challenging hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: Women's perspective
Theme 2	Discourse of Hierarchy in rugby and soccer reconstruction of soccer and problematizing touch rugby
Sub-theme 2.1	'Partial' masculinity in soccer: Allowing girls' participation.
Sub-theme 2.2	Touch Rugby Isn't Contact: A discourse of gendering sports
Theme 3	Discourse of race and gender in schools' rugby and soccer
Theme 4	Experiences of participation in rugby and soccer
Sub-theme 4.1	Complexity of participation in schools' soccer and rugby: Exclusionary practices
Sub-theme 4.2	Racial and gender experiences in rugby and soccer participation
Theme 5	Disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically
Theme 6	Factors that influence the decision to participate in specific sports

5.2. Theme 1: The discourses of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer in secondary schools

The discourse of hegemonic masculinity is one of the outstanding themes that emerged from the analysis of the players' and coaches' interviews. As mentioned in Chapter Four, while the study initially focused on contact rugby and not necessarily touch rugby, I found that women were allowed to play touch rugby and not contact rugby in the secondary schools. The theme has two sub-themes: *Re-enforcing hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: The male perspective* and *Challenging hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: The women's perspective*. It was important to represent the two themes separately to show how the hegemonic discourses are perpetuated by male players and coaches, whether consciously or

unconsciously, and challenged by female players and coaches who interrogate the state of rugby and soccer in schools, especially rugby that has been problematised.

This sub-theme discusses male culture in rugby and soccer, two sporting codes that have institutionalised masculinity as the operating principle and reinforced masculinity and masculine behaviour as acceptable qualities required in sports to preserve their privileges. Conversely, women's voices are challenging this masculine behaviour and bias as the reason fewer women are participating in sports.

5.2.1. Sub-theme 1: Re-enforcing hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: male perspective

The participants unsurprisingly associated contact rugby with strength, being rough and getting hurt, and soccer was linked with speed and physicality. The responses below illustrate the points:

> *Rugby is more of a manly sport … you get to test your strength and all that, girls can't play in a male rugby match, strength wise. It's not stereotyping. (**Black male, rugby player, Nokwazi sec school**)*
> *Girls in this school are afraid of playing soccer physically, because they think that balls will hit their faces because we kick hard … girls will use hands to protect their faces and we don't because we are used to playing the game. (**Coloured male, soccer player, Yekeni sec school**)*
>
> *Mostly boys are very enthusiastic about the [soccer] game, because they have been playing from very young age, competing, even fighting during games. It is always tense, they take it very serious, a lot at stake, pride, best skills. **(Black male, soccer coach, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *Boys should be boys, boys love their sport … when it comes to soccer, boys are quicker, fun, and entertaining, they are not scared to put that leg inside. The boys love their sport, the risk they take says a lot, there's a lot at stake for them. **(Black male, soccer coach, Yekeni sec school)***

The responses suggest that rugby and soccer were naturally established to be physical and played with roughness, which is a traditionally dominant and hegemonic archetype - masculinity, culturally exalted and constructed to exclude women and against other forms of masculinity which it subsequently subordinates (Connell, 2005). The participants' choices of words such as, *"we kick hard", Coloured male,*

soccer player, Yekeni sec school); "girls can't play in a male rugby match" (Black male, rugby player, Nokwazi sec school); "they are not scared to put that leg inside" (Black male, soccer coach, Yekeni sec school), represent the traditional social dominant knowledge systems that privilege men and normalise their bodies to have been made to get hurt as a way of showing masculinity (Cooky & Messner, 2018). The 'love' of the sports is shown through the risks men take during the games as increased pressure to win at all cost is emphasised by coaches and supporters, leading them to neglect injuries and continue playing in pain (Chen, Buggy & Kelly, 2019). This way of thinking and talking excludes female participation and also men who do not subscribe to such ways of playing, because the normalised discourse is that they are sensitive and 'soft' and should not get hurt. The responses could be representing the unwritten rules that have been set up to monitor who is supposed to participate in rugby and soccer, because that is how the sports were constructed and expected to be played. Joncheray and Tlili (2017) have explained that sport is a fertile area to display the way that ideas and practices, as well as bodies, are gendered through a hegemonic masculine discourse. Anything less than the expected way of playing is changing the nature and rules of the games and make the sports less entertaining, a possible reason touch rugby was started, to be played by 'slow and soft' players.

The rules are reinforced and unquestioned because of the normalised social discourse defended as 'not stereotyping', but positioned as protecting women who are susceptible to roughness. I noted that women participants linked the lack of contact rugby for women as attributed to the structured rules and suitability of the body to 'handle' the roughness, the speed and the kind of injuries that are experienced in the sport codes. Thus, the concept of 'sport' is not only a descriptive term for institutionalised and formally organised activities, but is an ideal arena for the display of gender rules and a construction of discourses whose central focus is the body (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013; Wellard, 2016).

This was noticed in the males' responses as they displayed the traditional ideas about participation in soccer and rugby sports. To represent the sensitivity of girls and linking the originality of soccer with maleness, responses such as girls "*use hands to protect their faces and we don't because we are used to playing the game"*

(Coloured male soccer player, (Yekeni secondary school) reinforce the discourse that soccer has been designed for boys who, supposedly, do not use hands during the games to protect themselves from injuries. This is contested because men do use hands during soccer games, even though it is unacceptable for 'hand ball'.

The declaration of rugby as "manly sport" and the acceptability of boys to get injured as a way of testing their strength, as if their bodies are naturally designed to handle bad injuries, is problematic. Mweli (2015) notes that "rugby players are expected to immerse every inch of their body during play, which makes certain threatening experiences, such as injuries, more likely to be more detrimental in terms of affecting their masculinity and ways of dealing with such incidents" (pp. 28-29). Thus, women who play these sports codes should constantly negotiate their display of gender, particularly in relation to muscles, toughness and aggressive gestures (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013, p. 103). Of concern is that once such women do this, society names and labels them as not fitting the expected feminine representation, because their bodies are too masculine.

It was further interesting to note that the way soccer coaches talked about soccer sounded as if they were representing an existing story in the society. There is a normalised narration about male soccer being always fun and entertaining, needing quicker skills and great risk taking, as if it is biological, and anything else that does not represent this has been linked with women's soccer. The findings of this study show that some coaches perpetuated such discourses because they want certain kind of players that are able to push, tackle, dribble, and have certain speed, to fit the socially constructed and expected standards of a soccer player. There is exclusion if a player does not display any of the constructed bodies, because this will water down the game. From the responses, it is noted that this kind of thinking is developed from an early age, which is a form of social conditioning for aggression. Pringle and Hickey (2014) are of the opinion that "masculinity can be understood as a gendered story-line or theme that shapes an individual's narrative of self and views of others" (p. 119). Boys admitted that because they have been involved in sports at a young age, they are aware of having developed not only competing skills and physicality but even a fighting spirit during games. This early involvement and

acquiring of skills builds the confidence that makes them not scared of injuries, rather than seeing this as socialisation and promoting gender bias.

Of interest about such discourses is that individual players have to meet these gender expectations by viewing themselves within such masculine streams to be accepted within the community of these sporting codes. Maxwell and Visek (2017) talk about instrumental aggression that exists within the sports environment. It is a physical expression of aggression with the intention of a favourable game outcome, which can be observed and displayed by rugby and soccer players as expected and acceptable for this community. It does not necessarily mean that hostile aggression - which is a planned infliction of pain that is unrelated to the goal of game - and reactive aggression - which is anger and an individual's immediate reaction to provocation - do not exist in sport fields, they might happen unconsciously (Maxwell & Visek, 2017). Reactive aggression could be represented by a response like "*even fighting during games. It is always tense, they take it very serious, a lot at stake, pride" (Black male, soccer coach, Yekeni sec school)*, because there is a fine line between playing with passion and being provoked to act angrily during the game, a reason there are a lot of fights during the games.

However, to link such behaviour with men is gatekeeping and gender bias, creating social barriers that have led women to either not being offered opportunities to participate in rugby and soccer in these schools or being reluctant to participate due to the manner of talking about these sporting codes. Thus, the male players and coaches reproduced discourses that reinforced hegemonic masculinity, and perpetuated gender bias which also addressed the powder of discourse. Janks (1997) says that discourses need to be denaturalised to reveal them as constructed representations of the social order, serving the interests of some at the expense of others.

The next theme shows female players interrogating and resisting the male discourse that rugby and soccer are manly sports, and endorses a new discourse that girls are physically and mentally able to play these sporting codes without subscribing to the expected male practices.

5.2.2. Sub-Theme 2: Challenging hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer: women's perspectives

Even though women that want to play contact rugby could be perceived as interfering with the norm, they are challenging the social expectations and ways of thinking about women's participation in male-associated sports. The following responses illustrate this point:

> *If girls decide to play rugby it would be like we are over our heads, why are we trying to do manly sports? … What if as a girl I actually like playing rough things and I wanna get hurt, there is nothing wrong with it?* ***(Indian female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *People just think, you are a girl, you can't play soccer and they compare you with the boys, like soccer is a boys' game alone because it needs speed and you get hurt. I have seen bad injuries, but it's like girls should not get hurt … limit their participation* ***(Coloured female, soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)***

These responses suggest a different way of doing gender that challenges the cultural and long-existing social traditions in sports participation which reposition women in the two sport codes. There is problematisation of a discourse that wants to project a women's body in sport as only an object of beauty that needs to be protected from roughness. According to Carlman and Hjalmarsson (2019, p. 417), "Historically, women's participation in sports has been seen as inappropriate and immoral and viewed as having the potential to lead to an injuriously masculine impact on the body and senses". The participants' responses are challenging the discourse of a women's body as not equipped for playing rough and getting hurt because it is soft and only suitable for playing sports that are prescribed by men, because of the traditional construction of rugby and soccer. Knoppers and Anthonissen (2007, p. 3) talk about theorising gender as "situated social practice rooted in the doing and saying of organizational actors", and the participants' responses are changing the discourse that exclude them from participation in rugby and soccer. In these secondary schools' contexts, the female participants are problematising the situated social practice in rugby and soccer by interrogating the discourse that presume that women in sport are afraid of getting hurt and getting involved in rough sports. Coakley (2017) talks about gender ideology as influencing "how we think of ourselves and others, how we relate to others" (p. 262), and some

participants think negatively about themselves participating in the sporting codes that limit the participation of girls.

Considering that the origin of sport is thought of as a product of society (Nichols, 2017), it appears that girls and women are not expected to have a choice of sport codes to participate in. The unwritten rule of participation in rugby has been noticed by some participants considering that *"if girls decide to play rugby it would be like we are over our heads; why are we trying to do manly sports?" (Indian female touch rugby player, Yekeni secondary school)*. Such responses are challenging the hegemonic masculinity discourse and address the idea that "power is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge, and 'regimes of truth'" (Foucault, 1991, p. 63). It is therefore promising that some girls are conscious of the unfair discourses and practices in school sports, especially sports that are considered to require "high levels of physical fitness, composite of aerobic fitness and anaerobic endurance, muscle strength and power, speed, agility and body composition" (Hene, 2013, p. 47). If rugby and soccer are described and thought about in the above manner, they are already selecting the kind of participants to play the sports, at the same time eliminating participation of females and other men who do not resemble such physicality. For the reason that rugby and soccer were traditionally called "manly sports", the participation of 'unmanly' individuals became a challenge, resulting in the labelling and name calling of girls and women as lesbians, causing stereotypes and exclusion.

Moreover, the female players further challenge traditional discourses that endorse men as the custodians of sport:

> *We can play the same rugby boys play and it would not be a problem for girls… It would be a good thing to show people what girls can do, because as girls people think that we can't do like contact sports, but we can.* ***(Black female, touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***

Society still does not believe that girls should be able to play the same sports that boys play, irrespective of women's considerable participation in such sports. The participants challenge the association of bodies of specific sporting codes, and argue that women's bodies can also handle the pain and injuries despite the assumption

that men's bodies are the only ones that can handle this. I argue that even though men have succumbed to the traditions, the social discourses and expectations put pressure on them because they 'have' to act even if they are unable to and put themselves at risk in order to meet those expectations. Thus, women who play these sporting codes should constantly negotiate their display of gender, particularly in relation to muscles, toughness and aggressive gestures (Scraton & Flintoff, 2013). As mentioned earlier, of concern is that when women show such physical gestures, society labels and makes them feel like they have done something against nature, overlooking that the body can reshape itself when it is engaged in constant training. It is unfortunate that women have to prove their abilities to participate in male associated sports and 'show' society that they can play sports in their ways rather than in the traditional socially expected ways.

The theme illustrates the different ways of thinking between male and female players and coaches when it comes to participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools. The male players continue to think of rugby and soccer as male-oriented sports, a discourse that perpetuates male hegemony in the sports. Even though the male players might be seeing female players participating in rugby and soccer in their schools, the social ways of talking about these sports is entrenched in their ways of thinking about it. Of interest is that one of the male players mentioned that it is not necessarily 'stereotyping' women players, but that they are not able to play rugby the way it is supposed to be played. This, for me, shows that there is a particular expected way rugby should be played and by a particular player, and women do not suit that description. Given that the player is still at school, this way of thinking and talking about rugby emanates from the society. Using the questionable biological discourse that portrays a woman's body as soft, the women participants have problematized normalized discourses that link males with sports like rugby and soccer and view women as unsuitable due to the nature of their bodies. The social discourse was challenged by women participants who mentioned that they can play any sport, irrespective of toughness and speed needed, and can do it in their way, not the traditionally exclusive way.

5.3. Theme 2: Discourse of hierarchy in rugby and soccer: reconstruction of soccer and problematising touch rugby

This theme addresses the hierarchy between rugby and soccer based on how the sports are played and the expected 'toughness' during the games, resulting in the establishment of touch rugby for girls as an alternative to contact rugby. The nature of soccer is different from rugby because of tactics needed to play the sports, and soccer has experienced a high number of female players compared to contact rugby. It is the differences between the sports that put rugby hierarchically higher in terms of aggressiveness and toughness compared to soccer, which explains the reason for the greater number of women participating in the sport, compared to rugby. The sport administrators in secondary schools appear to be keen to ensure that male rugby continues to be fully supported with uniforms, training resources, and finance, while female touch rugby teams struggle to receive the same support and rely on 'left-overs' of the uniforms, training resources and finances after the male teams' needs have been met. If rugby and soccer are offered in secondary schools, they do not receive the same treatment, because they have different financial social status in South Africa. This kind of status creates a hierarchy between the two sports, and touch rugby is not in the same league because it is dominated by women's players in secondary schools. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the schools I studied offered touch rugby for women and only men played contact rugby.

5.3.1. Sub-Theme 1: 'Partial' masculinity in soccer: allowing girls' participation

From the analysed interviews, I noticed that participants talked differently about soccer compared to contact rugby. The discourse of strength and aggression was not used when participants talked about soccer, which suggests that soccer is recognised as 'partially' masculine, not only because the nature of physicality is not the same as in contact rugby, but also that girls have joined and play the sport in high numbers. Kane and Maxwell (2011, p. 43) state that the degree of physicality necessary in each sport determines if that sport is thought of as "typically male" or "typically female", which means that soccer is sympathetic to women's participation, because it does not involve heavy tackles like those found in rugby. It is noted that women have increased their quality of soccer over the years, with Banyana Banyana

winning the African Cup of Nations this year (2022), while there is little change and development in women's rugby participation in schools. The female participants highlighted the point that it is not about competing with boys, but playing soccer their way, to suit them and still represent the sporting code.

> *Nowadays, I feel like there is a lot of girls who are more involved when it comes to sports like soccer, but in other sports it's more divided … but when it comes to soccer they are involved. Maybe it's because it's not too rough as rugby.* ***(White male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *Of late things have changed, girls have started to be more interested in playing soccer … rather than just coming to the field and watch … it is just about kicking the ball, of course creativity, but not too much physical like rugby.* ***(Black male soccer coach, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *There are many talented girls who play soccer, and as girls we are proud of ourselves … we prove that girls can play good soccer like boys. We can be fast, we also fight for the ball … of course not the same as boys, we don't want to be the same anyway … we play our own soccer.* ***(White female soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)***

These responses recognise the increased interest and participation of girls in soccer as accommodative and considerate, because it is perceived and experienced as less rough and physical compared to contact rugby. The rugby player mentioned that the increase of women in soccer is because it is not as rough as rugby, addressing the different masculinities that some sports represent. Although both sports use a ball, the manner of interaction with the ball and the skills required with the ball - which is also shaped differently - is not the same. It is possibly the reason participants think of soccer as not an intensely rough sport, and such discourses could be viewed as devaluing soccer and "physical capital" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 21) that makes men's soccer relatively 'soft' when it is talked about. Physical capital means accumulated human labour that the body has captured as a form of capital in its own right (Bourdieu, 1984), and in this study the production of physical capital determines the hierarchical status between rugby and soccer. They train their bodies in masculine ways that encourage competitiveness and speed which is meant to dominate; thus, converting their physical capital into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). It is noted that roughness, toughness, ball skills, and speed are not the same in soccer and rugby, because soccer relies more on ball skills and speed. This statement does not mean that roughness and toughness are not needed in soccer, as players tackle each other roughly, but that the degree is not the same as in rugby. As one player

mentioned, *“they are not scared to put that leg inside … they take risks”* (*Black male, soccer coach, Yekeni sec school).*

The language of comparison suggests that even though female participants acknowledge the differences in the way males and females play the two sports, it is about women claiming their own ways of playing soccer because they do not *“want to be the same anyway [as men] … we play our own soccer” (White female soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)*. Hoekman, Breedveld and Kraaykamp (2016) state that soccer has become a place of equal opportunities as far as gender is concerned, because it is about “kicking the ball”, which is not complex even though creativity is still important. Thus, it could be argued that participation in soccer, to a certain extent, challenges the power and status differences (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 2012, p. 201), as women redefine it for their participation. The participants’ responses could be representing the re-conceptualisation of soccer because women see themselves as part of the players and not only as intruders and spectators. While male soccer players also acknowledge the increased participation of women, Connell (2019, p. 69) notes that “gender stereotypes and ‘doing gender’ constructed ‘real’ soccer as a men’s game and women’s soccer as something different”, participants in this study are re-doing gender by deconstructing and reconstructing soccer.

The findings of this study indicate that women are also seeing soccer as a women’s game, in their own right. On this issue, one of the participants indicated that as *“girls we are proud of ourselves … we prove that girls can play good soccer” (White female, soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)*. There is no one prescriptive way to be fast or fight for the ball, which differentiates women’s and men’s soccer, instead participants argued that the ability to be as fast and able to fight, the same as anyone else, is generally important in any sporting code. The problem is the comparison between men’s and women’s soccer that results in the latter being seen as slow, and overlooks that men’s soccer can also be as slow and men are never perceived as playing like women. Women’s soccer continues to be considered as a different game because of the “different paradigm” (Pfister, 2015, p. 17) that is created by comparisons with men’s soccer. The heterosexual paradigm, for example, normalises men’s privilege and domination that posit woman/feminine/heterosexual (and man/masculine/heterosexual) as the natural

order from which variance is considered a punishable deviance (Engh, 2011). Thus, women's roles, sporting activities and behaviours are deemed inferior to those of men. The above response represents pride and ability which does not set the gender difference on the agenda (Dawson, 2018).

Thus, girls who had bottled-up their talents because only boys had the cultural significance of participating in soccer due to beliefs that males should be tough, tolerant of pain, and competitive, have realised that they were being constrained by the tactical cohesive systems of thought (Foucault, 1972). The findings indicate that participants have changed their consciousness, beliefs, and experiences because they have realised that they can confidently participate in soccer rather than cheer from the terraces. The participants have constructed different discourses from the ones available to them and chosen to resist the traditional exclusionary discourse, which corroborates Foucault's (1972) observation that "where there is power there is resistance" (p. 95). The women's discourses resist marginalisation in soccer, which represents deconstruction of tradition and reconstruction of alternative narration that empowers them by challenging the meanings that have been considered true and fixing reality. The responses further deconstruct the existing structures and ideas that maintain the priority of the rationalist patriarchal perspective, and create new structures and ideas that produce new freedoms and opportunities for women from their own experiences (Burke, 2001). Thus, Forte (1989) argues that to represent women's experiences in soccer, new words or a whole new language is necessary, where women can narrate and name their experiences that were not represented in mainstream culture.

5.3.2. Sub-Theme 2: "Touch Rugby Isn't Contact": A Discourse of gendering sports

The previous theme focused on soccer and women's participation, and this theme discusses the discourse of touch rugby as the alternative and downgraded version, and a suitable sport for women. While the study focused on contact rugby, the analysis of participants' responses identified touch rugby as the sport that was introduced in secondary schools specifically for girls' participation, without much support. It was dominantly female participants that talked about touch rugby and

voiced mixed feelings of the joy of participating in the sport, and displeasure that touch rugby is offered to females only which symbolises a reduction in status. The separation of contact and touch rugby addresses the concept of gendering discourses, because the sport codes were differentiated according to gender representation resulting in certain expected behaviours and practices as if they occur naturally (McGhee, 2012).

It was therefore not surprising that schools had no intention of introducing and allowing contact rugby for girls, because touch rugby was conceptualised and introduced specifically for them in the participating secondary schools as well as other schools. The following responses illustrate the point:

> *Unfortunately, the female's teams are not afforded the same possibilities and the same respect like the boys' contact rugby … a lot of schools allow touch rugby for girls, they are not very keen on allowing the girls to play contact rugby.* ***(White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *Obviously no girls are playing rugby, only boys ... it's a contact sport, so I don't think girls like it. Girls would prefer netball or hockey, which is why touch rugby was introduced as a "soft sport" for girls.* ***(White male coach, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *I think that people are biased to females doing rugby or if there is female rugby they will not make it like full contact, they will have touch rugby or something very light compared to what is expected.* ***(Coloured female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *"They just say 'We will just give you a shirt and a short then you are fine', but the boys have this whole nice uniform* ***(Indian female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school).***

The responses reflect critically on the lived realities of girls in some South African secondary schools, illustrating the perpetuation of gender inequities and lack of support for women's contact rugby and the lack of gender parity in the sport. The limitation of girls' participation in rugby highlights that physicality is predominantly defined in terms of bodily strength, muscularity, and athletic prowess (Deaner, Balish, & Lombardo, 2015). Connell (1995, p. 78) explains such characteristics as a ''culturally idealized'' form of masculinity, because if a coach boldly states "*no girls are playing rugby, only boys ... it's a contact sport"(White male coach, Nokwazi sec school),* it could be perceived as perpetuating gender bias.

Posthumus, Macgregor and Winwood, (2020) posit that within South Africa there is no standardised format for introducing young girls to rugby and developing their fundamental contact rugby skills, while there are development programmes that build boys' skills in rugby. There are numerous development programmes for boys at grassroots level, and it is definitely unfortunate that opportunities and respect for girls' development is not prioritised as early as it is for boys. It is possible that gender bias starts at grassroots level, because questions have to be asked about the lack of girls' representation in primary schools. Disappointingly, globally the first phase development rugby programme for girls was planned for 2017 to 2025 with the global campaign being called, "Try and Stop Us" (Pavitt, 2021). This late development tells a story about the delays in expanding and strengthening girls' and women's rugby globally, and specifically in South Africa, due to lack of grassroots development programmes. This could also be explained as the strategy to limit the progress of girls' and women's rugby because if schools continue to marginalise them, improvement will not accelerate.

It is interesting that touch rugby appears to be partially supported in the secondary schools, which could be interpreted as the intention to restrain and slow women's movement to contact rugby. Women's players mentioned that they are not given the same support as boys' contact rugby as they continue to lack the resources and sponsorship from the society and private companies that contact rugby has. The reason for this is because it is seen as the soft sport that does not have the status that is associated with contact rugby. Even though the participants talk about touch rugby as dominated by female players, Amórrelo (2017) states that in South Africa it was established as an informal part of training regimes for boys' school contact rugby. It could be argued then that, compared to contact rugby, touch rugby is just an alternative sport, used to keep the girls from participating in contact rugby. Morrell (2017) posits that touch rugby was often part of training regimes for contact, 15-a-side rugby and, particularly at boys' schools, touch rugby was a favourite activity during break time and after school. There is nothing serious about touch rugby rather than for practise and keeping boys busy - another sport that was created by men, initially for men. It has allowed women to play, arguably as a way of keeping them busy and delaying the fast increase like in soccer, and serves to "bolster a sagging

ideology of male superiority and reconstitute masculine hegemony" (Messner & Sabo, 1990, p. 67).

While a concerning response from a coach, that, *no girls are playing rugby, only boys ... it's a contact sport, so I don't think girls like it (White male coach, Nokwazi sec school),* it appears acceptable that not many girls are expected to play rugby, which could represent a socio-cultural belief, whether consciously or unconsciously. It is this way of talking about girls' limited participation in rugby as 'obvious', that represents the deeply interwoven social systems and institutional arrangements that people have created and use to perpetuate superiority (Evans, 2010; Shor & Freire, 1987). A case in point is the creation of a dichotomy between contact rugby and touch rugby, and consequently, touch rugby is perceived as inferior and appropriate for women while keeping the superior status of contact rugby and its association with roughness and masculinity. It is however promising, from the above responses, that women's players are aware of the male hegemonic practices in rugby and are prepared to interrogate them. Richard (2012) notes that participating in sport allows space for participants to question their values and those of others in ways that may actually challenge traditional, hegemonic interpretations. Even though some secondary schools could be perceived as supporting women by starting touch rugby, the social discourse that *"touch rugby is boring" (Indian female Touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* is discomforting because such language maintains inequity between contact rugby and touch rugby. Nicholson and Hoye (2008) encourage the interrogation of knowledge production, the type of knowledge produced, as well as paying attention to who produces the knowledge that has the power to empower or marginalise and promote stereotypes about others. It is thus important to consider the reasons for starting touch rugby without support, and problematise the language used when explaining reasons for starting and linking touch rugby as an alternative for women.

Those who produce the knowledge wield it as a tool to maintain the status quo and preserve the hierarchical order of social, political, and economic systems (Freire, 2005). In this study, dominantly male players and male coaches continue to produce knowledge that disempowers women's participation in rugby, and promotes the narration for women to participate in soccer because it is not too violent and tough.

According to the following statement, the reason soccer is better for women than rugby is because *"girls are seen as 'weak' people and we can't do like contact rugby" (Black female, touch rugby player", Nokwazi High school).*

It is because of such responses that I argue that touch rugby was a strategic move to 'purify' contact rugby as the masculine sport, rather than only an alternative sport for women who prefer a "softer" version of rugby. Morrell (1996, p. 16) says that "contact team sports like rugby have been understood as a key contributor to hegemonic masculinity and racist, misogynistic and homophobic acts and views". It then means that a conceptual shift is needed which could lead to broader structural and cultural changes to "taken for granted assumptions, values, and practices that systematically accord power and privilege to certain groups of men at the expense of women" (Meyerson & Kolb, 2000, p. 554). Considering the discussion thus far, touch rugby is systematically devalued because of the social discourses and the language that is used when touch rugby and contact rugby are talked about. It promotes the discourse of hierarchy between contact and touch rugby, consequently the latter is inferior because it is seen as feminine. A reason it is important is that even if girls participate in touch rugby, they do not embody the strength and skills to play full contact rugby.

The devaluing of touch rugby was also noticed when a participant mentioned the point that touch rugby is *"not afforded the same possibilities and the same respect" (White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi sec school)* by the schools' sport administrators, because they are given and have to share second-hand uniforms from male teams to wear during the games. It is disheartening to hear such a response: *"They just say 'We will just give you a shirt and a short then you are fine', but the boys have this whole nice uniform (Indian female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)*. This practice cannot be taken for granted, because it addresses the continuous inequity between women's and men's sport generally, and especially for contact rugby and touch rugby, given the traditional financial support that the former sport has been enjoying. Acker (2000b, p.146) suggests that "the knowledge that informs assumptions and interpretations of sport participation and allocation of resources is influenced by discourses concerning socially produced distinctions between male and female, masculine and feminine". Some schools appear to

discriminate against girls - whether intentionally or unintentionally - who show potential in rugby and soccer by devaluing their performance, stereotyping and lacking a back-up and support structure for girl players. The normalisation of unequal distribution of uniforms and resources is the result of contact rugby being “a product of culture and a reflection of the ideologies of dominant social values and ideals” (Super, Hermens, Verkooijen & Koelen, 2018 p. 11) that maintain, reproduce and reward male participation and female subordination.

The participants’ responses further expose the aspect of *agency*, which is important. As Koca, (2016, p.78) posits, “What possibilities there are for us to act, is our awareness of how we are being constituted within the discourses”. As mentioned previously, it is encouraging that female participants are dominantly questioning the treatment of women in school sports and suspicions about the introduction of touch rugby for girls and women in secondary schools. It is also important that women interrogate the normalised discourse that women are expected to play touch rugby and it is abnormal to see men playing the sport, as it has been downgraded to a ‘soft sport’ suitable for girls. Schools act as gatekeepers and reinforce masculinity as they institutionalise masculinity as the operating principle (Bowley, 2016). In the two participating secondary schools, although girls were keen to play contact rugby, they were not supported and instead ‘pushed’ to touch rugby as the sport that was designed to accommodate them. I argue that girls’ participation in rugby in secondary schools is seen as an abomination as this weakens the masculine image of contact rugby, preferring girls to rather play touch rugby that is not as aggressive and violent as contact rugby.

This institutional organisation of sports suggests a gendered world of male rugby discourse (Coakley, 2016) and how they socially and relationally propagate gender roles in sports, seeking to maintain a hierarchical ideology of masculinity and the subordination of women. The gendered social arrangements that are socially constructed by means of dominant discourses are anchored in schools, where female players are not offered the same sporting and support options as boys. Rugby and soccer tend only to be offered to boys as ‘obvious’ practice, and it is accepted that girls take part in netball, touch rugby, dance and gymnastics, sports that do not require aggression and violence and appear to be linked with

entertainment and fun, rather than contact rugby and soccer. This is the reason why girls experience unequal power relations that eventually differentiate the treatment of boys and girls in rugby participation in secondary schools. The formation of 'a watered-down form of rugby' is a way of keeping the "yoke"[11] over females, as they would over-feminise contact rugby and it would lose its status of aggression and tough concepts that are linked with particular masculinity. It is disappointing that the agency shown by girls to choose to participate in rugby or soccer continues to be suppressed by discourses that constitute women's and girls' bodies as 'not tough enough' to play rugby and soccer, forcefully acting against their participation in these sporting codes.

5.4. Theme 3: Discourses of race and gender in schools' rugby and soccer

Schools are reinforcing the traditional social understanding that rugby and soccer are male sports, and females that participate in them seem to have created a sense of boundary crossing (Nauert, 2018). According to Segal (2010), the participation of females in rugby and soccer challenges the ideas of appropriate female behaviour and the ideal female body, signifying resistance to gender expectations. Considering the socio-political history of South Africa, rugby and soccer have been forces that provided problematic positioning of race, gender and class (Robert, 2010). Although the participation of women in male-dominated sport has improved due to progressive legislation that created inclusionary strategies, national sports leaders prioritised racial integration of men's sports, such as rugby and soccer and hosting of major events over mainstreaming gender equity in sports (Pelak, 2010). Soccer has always been looked at as the people's game and de facto national sport, with women's participation being pivotal to pushing the traditional male boundaries, from gendered boundaries to forming their own teams and league (Groenmeyer, 2010). School sports were influenced by this social organisation prior to 1994 in South Africa, with the changes taking place post-1994 where racial and gender integration in sports were strongly encouraged by the democratic government.

[11] Yoke refers to touch rugby that has been fastened over the neck of women like a wooden crosspiece, for them not to question their exclusion in contact rugby

Even though schools encouraged the participation of girls and women in the male dominated sports, Hamed (2017) notes that the choice of sport is seen as problematic if it poses the threat of women becoming masculinised. It is such discourses that result in gender and racial stereotypes that, for example, linked rugby with "masculine prowess, in which the white, middle class, heterosexual, and physical male was constructed and reified as the ideal" (Hamed, 2017, p. 27). It is the way players talked about rugby and soccer that appeared to differentiate their status and racialise them, which, arguably, is the continuation of the history as the society talks about them rather than changing the narrative. While the responses from the new generation could be perceived as presenting the 'truth' as they hear and see it, it is concerning that they repeat the narratives as if they cannot see past the history. The responses illustrate the relived discourses:

> *I would say, for example, Black children need to assimilate in White culture to be in the rugby teams, they are found with less experience and skills than White children. As for girls, they are expected to behave normally and not to be rough and rugby is rough … then a statement is that girls should not be involved in such sports.* ***(Indian female, touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *It's mostly Black and Coloured people that play football generally. In the schools is the same, it cannot be different, if you think about it ... Maybe it's because the other races take part in other sports like rugby or cricket, that's where they are playing. Soccer has been good really, if you look at rugby. You see lot of girls kicking a ball, any race, because soccer is an easy sport, you just kick the ball … not easy to just find rugby ball lying around and easy to kick, no, no (laughing).* ***(Black male, soccer player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *Not many Whites have trial for soccer, it has been popular to townships, including Coloured, and White boys don't seem interested much. Sport is tough in South Africa, we found it like this … still some differences, it will take some time to change in the schools.* ***(Indian male, soccer player, Yekeni secondary school)***
>
> *The rule say girls can't play male's rugby match because strength wise girls get hurt easily … they cannot do scrum the way we do it. It's tight there, we hit hard and punches are quick to come, it's passion and pride for boys. I'm not sure for girls.* ***(Black male, rugby player Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *Lots of people are not really coming to rugby because they say no it's a White person sport, it's not really. Maybe schools are changing slowly because not all schools have big fields … is a demanding sport for townships. Most White schools were built to offer rugby long time ago, it was like culture for White boys to play rugby and be involved in sport generally … look at their sports fields, spectacular. It's gonna take time to have proper racial change in rugby; soccer is a bit different… We really getting there for girls to play rugby, slowly coming because they have national team now … some schools have contributed to this. Soccer is easy game, if I compare … not much is needed, maybe a reason women are attracted to play it … is not too*

rough, not serious injuries like rugby. ***(Black male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***

These responses show that rugby and soccer have proven difficult to change because participants' discourses still articulate and reinforce the social organisation of the sports. There is strong belief that rugby participation in former Model C schools is changing painstakingly slowly and unless destabilised, existing gender and racial division in rugby participation is unlikely to be unseated. While there is recognition for change, with Black learners starting to play rugby seriously, they are still a drop in the ocean, given that Black South Africans are the majority by far. It was interesting to hear an Indian female, touch rugby player, (Nokwazi sec school) mentioning that Black players have to *"assimilate in White culture"* to be accepted in rugby, which means having to 'give up' their own culture to be accepted. Nauright (1997) states that "As is well-known in South African society, rugby is a sport that is entrenched in the Afrikaner culture, that they are perceived as tough and big, was conceptualized as a boundary-setting or exclusionary tool aimed at the black majority" (p. 47). This statement could also apply to women who want to play rugby, that they are expected to assimilate to men's cultural, body and behavioural practices and 'lose' femininity. Although rugby is seen as rough and violent, it cannot be a reason for women to be excluded as if their inclusion was going to affect the associated toughness and physical strength. It is concerning that rugby is still mentioned as "changing" to allow other races and girls in the schools to play, which means schools are not changing as quickly as it is assumed. The slow change needs to be problematised rather than defended as 'change in sport' taking time, because it might be taken for granted while promoting regression. Soccer has easily accommodated the participation of girls, irrespective of race, even though it has been dominated by Black and Coloured men. It could be perceived as less aggressive and violent, an easy to play sport.

The writers of the 'rules' in rugby have been gatekeepers for girls to participate in sport because the practices in the sports are violent, and girls are unable to scrum like the boys. It is the construction of rugby that is linked with masculinity and women's vulnerability has been used dominantly as the reason for slow change in rugby. While the schools have allowed girls to play soccer, the concern is that the

support is not the same as for boys because women are possibly seen as ‘intruders’ in rugby and soccer sports. I argue that participants’ responses in this section also address the power of discourse which illustrates how language gathers itself together according to socio-historically and institutionally constructed rules and regulations that structure and allow certain statements, terms, categories and beliefs to be made and not others (Foucault, 1972, in Adams St. Pierre, 2000; Scott, 1988).

The discussion does not overlook the development programmes with the children in townships in the Eastern Cape, Soweto in Johannesburg, and Khayelitsha in Cape Town, to mention but a few, that started in 2010 to encourage boys’ interest in rugby. According to Moola (2018), while great pressure is put on rugby and cricket managers to have more Black people in their teams at all levels, secondary schools, professional teams and academies in South Africa are struggling to hold onto or recruit young Black players. When experiences of racialisation and gender bias limit the participation opportunities in rugby and soccer in the schools, it might thwart young people’s aspirations and curtail their livelihoods (Fine & Cross, 2016). Again, responses such as rugby is “*changing slowly*”, and *“lots of people are not really coming to rugby” (Black male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* possibly suggest that rugby administrators in schools are not questioning the reasons for the continuing dominance of White players in rugby and Black players in soccer. They further do not problematise the limitation of women’s participation in contact rugby, and could be perceived as encouraging men’s rugby and not questioning Black and Coloured dominance in soccer.

From the findings, the gendered and racialised practices continue to be reproduced in school sports, resulting in slow transformation in rugby and soccer participation, sports that have been known as White male and predominantly Black male sporting codes. According to Langtiw and Heidbrink (2016), such practices that exclude and marginalise along the lines of race and class devalue people, and over time get ‘under the skin’, leading to the erosion of young people’s sense of civic trust. Thus, statements like rugby *“is a demanding sport for townships” . (Black male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* and that it was the culture for White boys to play rugby, perpetuate racialisation and class in sport, and the participation of so-called ‘low class’ people could be perceived as devaluing rugby. While sport in school settings

has often been constructed and viewed as a pathway to resettlement and integration for young South Africans, and as the great equaliser in South African society, Sonn and Baker (2016) caution that sport settings are complex and contested terrains acting both as a site of reproduction of racialised stereotypes and hierarchies as well as spaces for challenging racism.

It is thus unsurprising to hear responses such as rugby *"is a demanding sport for townships … Most White schools were built to offer rugby long time ago"* and "*maybe schools are changing slowly because not all schools have big fields"* which normalises rugby's exclusionary status and stereotypes township schools as unable to meet the sport status of the middle class. Again, I do not overlook that such responses do not necessarily represent players, but this is what has been observed in everyday social discourses. This observation could be linked to the sport infrastructure development in townships, which has been changing at a snail's pace. For example, Zolani Moya of the SABC News (16 February 2020) reported that theft and vandalism at sporting facilities, especially in underprivileged areas, in the Eastern Cape, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela Bay remain a huge problem. The sports infrastructure in former Model C and private schools is well maintained, which addresses issues of continuing unequal socio-economic issues in South African society that influences sports development. It could possibly be true that racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer will take time to change, as long as economic inequities continue as they affect participation in the schools that offer quality coaching in rugby particularly. It is thus important to continually reduce and ultimately eliminate unequal power relationships that result in domination in rugby and soccer sports, so that a more just world that encourages social cohesion and transformation is attained (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998; Freire, 2000). The participants' understanding of participation in school sports was a way to express and highlight their situation to be able to change it, as some critiqued the power relation and social practices in schools' rugby and soccer. I am aware that the same participant might be 'trapped' in the traditional hegemonic discourse, but hope that talking about it conscientised them to re-think their positions.

5.5. Theme 4: Experiences of participation in rugby and soccer

It was important to listen to the players' experiences of participating in rugby and soccer in their respective schools, and to understand their emergence and how players and coaches make sense of them. The findings indicate differences between male and female experiences, Black and White rugby players, women's touch rugby players and men's contact rugby players, as well as White, Black, and Coloured male soccer players. The participants' responses present a complex racial and gender picture in the schools' sports participation, which is unsurprising in a social context where racial tensions continue to be identified in sports.

5.5.1. Sub-theme 1: the complexity of participation in schools' soccer and rugby: Exclusionary practices

The theme presents various practices that shape participation in rugby and soccer in former Model C schools, which have remained complex. Sports have evolved little by little in relation to the traditional bias of social discourses about race and gender, as male dominated sports show commitment to transformation, which is perceived as disguising discourses that divert from the real issues (Maralack, 2010). A consequence of South Africa's socio-political history is that most White, Black and Coloured rugby players have attended the best expensive private schools, and usually the Black and Coloured players have attended former Model C schools in South Africa, which has enculturated male dominance in rugby. The dominant Black male soccer players have attended the schools that accommodated working-class families, and both sports have reinforced the historical gender bias using different practices. Ely and Meyerson (2000) see gender as being central to social, political, and historical practices that produce gender-based inequities. Thus, gender and race relations play an important role in sport and are conceptualised as axes of power that shape organisational structures, identities, processes, and the dominant forms of knowledge that become truths or taken for granted ways of operating (Acker, 1990; Meyerson & Kolb, 2000).

The practices in schools, as organisations, have preserved gender and racial participation imbalance, as responses below illustrate the point:

In terms of rugby team formation, teachers do not call for girls to form teams, but they support boys' teams. I don't know why, but the boys' rugby is mostly supported even in my school. I would like to see the school being able to help girls form rugby teams and support touch rugby team, what's the difference? ***(Indian female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***

Boys receive much support than girls from the school. Girls lack proper uniforms and soccer boots, and the boys always have everything … girls always have to beg for assistance in the school. I don't know why, but I have noticed this, maybe it's easy to support boys because they have always played sports. ***(Black male, soccer coach, Yekeni sec school)***

We play with many different teams, but the majority are White dominated. I guess it's circumstances. I applied to a White school with my White friend; they took him and I was rejected. It's Afrikaans school and there's no other colour but White in the rugby team … it's the racial thing, the selection process… ***(Black male, rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***

The responses indicate that teachers played a role in keeping rugby as manly as possible, whether consciously or unconsciously, because they appeared to intentionally focus on developing their teams and overlooked starting and supporting girls' teams alongside men's contact rugby. The contact rugby teams receive more support than the women's touch rugby teams that were started by the schools as an alternative for girls, but the women's teams were deprived of the resources they need to develop. Men's rugby has dominated the space and it has been normalised to strengthen men's teams rather than supporting the development of women's teams. This means a conceptual shift is needed which could lead to broader structural and cultural changes to the "taken for granted assumptions, values, and practices that systematically accord power and privilege to certain groups of men at the expense of women" (Meyerson & Kolb, 2000, p. 554). Similarly, in soccer the bias in the distribution of resources is the practice that has frustrated the development and strengthening of women's participation in schools' soccer. It appears as if men are 'entitled' to receive support, while girls have to be beggars, which could be linked with the social practice where women have to work twice as hard for recognition. In this study, I recognise that feminist research has shown that sports are gendered activities in that their meaning, purpose, and organisation are grounded in the values and experiences of men and celebrate attributes associated with dominant forms of masculinity in society (Birrel, 2000; Burstyn, 1999).

The allocation of resources in sports should not be taken for granted because it continues to remain uneven in South Africa (Richardson, 2001). Thus, to encourage respect and positive attitudes towards both male and female rugby and soccer, it is crucial to “de-normalize the taken for granted assumptions” (Gramsci, 1971 in Janks, 2010, p. 36) and practices that favour male dominance and continue to mark women players as outsiders in rugby and soccer. The responses above suggest that due to the continuing unequal allocation of resources and soccer uniforms, for survival women rely on the men’s teams to share their resources and beg the management to assist with transport and soccer boots. Although it could be perceived as ‘normal’ for soccer players across gender differences to share training soccer resources, it is notable that the practice of asking for assistance is usually unidirectional and signals power struggles in the soccer and rugby fields. Acker (2000b, p. 146) suggests that “the knowledge that informs assumptions and interpretations of sport participation and allocation of resources is influenced by discourses concerning socially produced distinctions between male and female, masculine and feminine”.

In addition, the political history that racialised schools continues in a democratic South Africa, as some Afrikaans schools seems to promote their cultural practices in sport. While rugby is always associated with Afrikaans culture in South Africa, it appears as if they use it to keep rugby dominated by White players. Robinson (2018) posits that, as observed in the past, the systems for scouting talent in rugby prior to 1994 were meant to only find White players. Likewise, the selection systems in schools still give an advantage to White players, excluding other racial groups. While rugby is also played in English schools, it continues to be dominant in Afrikaans schools, including universities, in South Africa. It appears like the schools feed the universities, as they also provide bursaries and scholarships.

5.5.2. Sub-theme 2: Racial and Gender experiences in rugby and soccer participation

In the school context, the knowledge about men’s and women’s rugby and soccer is inherently gendered and racial and is produced in various communication channels such as boardrooms, sports fields, and everyday conversations. These becomes part of experiences for coaches and players, as highlighted by the responses below:

*There's a lot of discrimination going on unfortunately in schools. My experience as a coach, the ladies' teams always experience discrimination in sports, in rugby. The men's teams always get everything they need, we had to fork [pay] out a lot of our own money for petrol, sometimes to buy kit, to assist the players who couldn't afford their own kit. It has been painfully unfair … little change in the schools for rugby. I think all sports, soccer there's also a struggle. Yes, rugby is still dominated by White players in my school, it's another struggle to attract other races. At least Coloured and some Black players are diluting the race a bit. (**White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi – Hl sec school**)*

*There is no girls' cricket or rugby teams in the school. I did try and start these but interest, there is no real interest because there is no real interest from above. Support has to come from management, but there was no interest to support girls' rugby team … there's nothing you can do, money is needed for sport. (**White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi**)*

The responses present continuing challenges for women to participate in sport, and rugby in particular, as coaches and players in men's teams. Slee and Allan (2005, p. 15) have mentioned that former Model C schools seem to have "covert or hidden exclusion practices with authority that continue to tell others what and how to participate in sport", which is concerning because it constrains changes in schools' sport. It is therefore discouraging to listen to the coaches' experiences that show unwillingness to change in the sports system and the schools. Collins and Kay (2003) acknowledge that male dominated sports continue to be sites where unequal social relations that underpin women's experiences of social exclusion are very persuasively reproduced. Robinson (2018) argues that sport participation can contribute to social inclusion, yet some of the practices that prevail in school sport, given the history of sports in South Africa, result in exclusion and marginalisation for some girls and other racial groups.

The following responses further show that the history continues within the democracy with a discourse that promotes readdressing inequity in sports:

*It's a boys club I must say. I am honest, I have experienced this, it's a boys' club. If you are female you don't really fit into the scope of things. I have been on [rugby] tours, and I have been to festivals where no proper regard and respect is afforded to the female. (**White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi sec school**)*

People should stop making it a big deal if a girl does rugby saying she is going to get hurt or if female do rugby or soccer it is going to be boring, girls are slow, especially with soccer. They used to say if you watch a girls' soccer match it's not entertaining,

they run all over the place. … Stop looking down on females … endorsing the males … they discourage participation. ***(Coloured female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***

*… the boys' rugby is more supported, since long time ago, stadiums are full of White people because it's still a White sport in South Africa. I would like to see the school being able to support touch rugby team, what's the difference? It's just that we are girls and we are basically playing the same sport, and I always say it should be supported the same way. Male rugby team never had problem of anything, in touch rugby we have a problem with our clothing [uniform], they [management] just say, "We will just give you a shirt and a short then you are fine", but the boys have this whole nice kit. When we play with other schools we just wear a shirt, we wear random shorts or tights or anything, which are not the same as the shirts. (****Indian female, touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school****)*

These experiences suggest that men's rugby and soccer players, administrators, and managers are able to keep their sports favoured socially because the management, who dictates the allocation of resources, has been biased against girls' and women's participation in rugby and soccer. From the findings, it appears as if coaches do not have much power to change the cultural practices that were created to protect the 'invasion' of girls and women in soccer, and rugby in particular, because of the slow acceptance and support of women. This is especially true for women who coach men's rugby, as they did not have the positional power, which relates to one's formal status and title in the organisation, because it is dominantly occupied by White men. The 'boys club' has been created through a particular way of talking about rugby and soccer, protecting and labelling spaces as theirs, for example, the practising and playing fields. The language used when participants talk about the sports, as noted in other themes and sub-themes, is exclusionary and supports the maintenance of the 'boys club'. This represents the public discourse about female athleticism throughout history, and suggests a genealogy of ideas which continues to limit women's participation and authority in rugby and soccer (Southall, Nagel, Anderson, Polite, & Southall, 2009). It is unbelievable that women's games are perceived as slow and boring, because they are compared with men's games, but the society does not complain when men's games are slow - it appears to be accepted as 'one of those days'. Such discourses suggest that men's games are always fast-paced and entertaining, while at times they are as slow and boring. Social critical theorists apply the lens of sociocultural critique which exposes the inextricably interwoven social systems and institutional arrangements people create and use to perpetuate gender and racial superiority (Evans, 2010; Shor & Freire,

1987). A possible reason women's games do not receive the same financial support, because of such discourses that try to frustrate and discourage them.

There is a need to redefine and deracialise rugby and soccer as sports that allow all racial groups and genders to participate rather than having a few Blacks or Whites in respective teams that blind society and government to look like all is well. I argue that there is little autonomy for a Black child who wants to participate in rugby, because of the current education system and the sports administrators within the advantaged schools that intentionally select players to keep rugby dominantly White and represent the traditional culture of the sport. Similarly, there is still a stereotype that links soccer with the Black and Coloured working class in South Africa, which influences parents' and some players' decisions to discourage participation in soccer in the school contexts. This study argues that the reason White children do not play or choose soccer is not the same reason that Black children do not want to play rugby; there seems to be some structures and systems that appear to prevent participation in both sports that are racially and gender based. This means that there may not have been any significant changes between the periods of apartheid and post-colonial democracy, hence the feminist post-structuralist perspective that we continue to define ourselves within the terms of such outmoded discourses, at least to some extent, since access to a new discourse does not undo or overrule the other as we supposed it did.

The historical development of rugby and soccer in South Africa produced two different sporting codes that, to a greater extent, continue to reinforce gender and racial hierarchies, leading to the continuing quota debates in rugby to encourage the participation of Black players in general. It is not a surprise that Black players associate themselves with soccer participation, while White players associate themselves with rugby as shaped by history. The following responses stresses the point that choices are defined by history

> *In my [soccer] team currently no White players because they are more interested in rugby, and I feel it's where they came from.* ***(Coloured male, soccer player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *The involvement of parents in team selection flares racial tension when I pick a side and their son is not included in that side, where White parents disagreed with the*

coach's selection. That is one of the challenges we face in schools. ***(White male, rugby coach, Yekeni sec school)***

The responses underscore the fact that rugby and soccer are still racialised sports in which there are few White players in soccer and more in rugby, and also that there are few Black players in rugby because they dominate in soccer. Participants' responses indicate that White children mostly *"take part in other sports like rugby or cricket",*(*Black male, soccer player, Yekeni sec school)* which means that processes and practices of selection in rugby in secondary schools do not contribute to the transformation practices that were put in place by the government to address the legacy of discrimination and racism and encourage the process of deracialisation. Of concern is that South African rugby is not an equal playing field because, *"rugby is more dominant with the White boys" (Black male, rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* as observed in the past, that the systems for scouting talent prior to 1994 were meant to only find White players. Similarly, the selection systems in schools still advantage White players, excluding other racial groups (Robinson, 2018). In addition, it disadvantages Black players when White players possess greater social capital that affords them access to resources and opportunities. Because soccer development in South Africa could not be monopolised by any racial group or gender, the absence of White children can only be a result of parental guidance or administrations in schools that shun soccer and discourage it among their children.

Again responses such as, *"boys' rugby has more Whites; but rugby still needs improvement…no girls are playing rugby, (White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi – Yekeni sec school) and a lot of White boys dominate" (Black soccer player, Yekeni sec school),* show that rugby has not moved an inch towards true transformation in secondary schools so that the majority of Black South Africans have the opportunity to participate and achieve representation in terms of their demographic proportion. In other words, the influx of Black children into former Model C schools was not done in good faith, but there remains a tendency in significant circles to pay lip service to transformation, while reinforcing racial stereotypes and the supremacy of particular racial groups. It is difficult to regard rugby as a game of the people yet, if the current racial and gender participation in secondary schools is seriously considered. Various rugby structural barriers such as racial and gender discrimination practices and

social stratification negatively impact the chances of all racial groups, especially the Black players' participation in secondary schools, and representation at club, provincial and national levels. The continuous exclusion of girls as 'outsiders', in rugby participation, confirms the unjust treatment tendencies used by these secondary schools. Similarly, the racial stereotype in soccer discourages White boys and girls, who might want to play the sport, from participating because of parents' influence and the racialised social traditional discourses. The White male rugby coach reveals that *"team selection flares racial tension"* because White parents still believe that rugby is their culture and therefore rugby is White, promoting White supremacy. This means that if Black players are field in rugby *racial tension flares up*, as White parents would not approve it and challenge coaches.

Not surprisingly, sport remains trapped in an apartheid-created economic, racial and ethnic enclave system (Maralack, 2010). This is so because although sport should contribute to eradication of social injustice and act as a powerful tool for reconciliation, sport's central challenge is to grapple with the complex, variable, multi-layered and often tangled practices and hierarchies that exist in multiple fields of social relations and straddle complex intersections of social injustice (Evans Agergaard, Campbell, Hylton, & Lenneis, 2020). Sport represents the dominant socio-cultural system and confirms the way in which the genders and race are differentially valued in rugby and soccer as mentioned by coaches and players (Koivula, 2001). This means that sport is framed as a social construction, influenced by power relations, narratives and discourse (Coakley, 2009), as noted in the 'boys club' discourse that was gender and racially exclusionary. Hartmann (2012) states that "there is little doubt that sport is one of the most powerful and important institutions in the production, legitimation and (at least potentially) contestation of contemporary racial formations" (p.1007). Thus, the association of rugby and soccer with White and non-White respectively appears expected, which addresses the continuing normalisation of race with rugby and soccer in these Johannesburg secondary schools.

The responses support former President Mbeki's statement that "the legacies of apartheid and the social divisions it generated has meant and still means that the ongoing transformation of our country's sport is not an easy one" (ANC Today, 1999,

p. 37, in Maralack, 2010, p. 37). While participants' responses were within the school context, I argue that the racial discourse is produced at the level of everyday interactions and at the institutional level (Kahi, 2017). The post-structural feminists interrogate and disrupt such discourses and assumptions that normalise the association of rugby and soccer with White and non-White, with the aim of creating space for the development of new meanings and understandings that destroy the traditions for alternative discourses in secondary sports (Markula, 2017). While I acknowledge that the participants' responses were uttered innocently from their everyday observations, they represent complex discourses and practices in rugby and soccer. Post-structural feminists encourage resistance towards the normalisation of racial participation in some sports by interrogating language, discourse, and power in relation to their roles in the construction of knowledge and social realities of race preference in rugby and soccer.

The responses further address issues of socialisation which refer to the process of how individuals come to understand the responsibilities, norms, and culture of a specific group (Benson, Evans & Eys, 2016). Again, the norms and culture of rugby and soccer are associated with specific racial groups, which, maybe surprisingly or unsurprisingly, further link with the hierarchical racial organisation of South African society. According to Kunene (2006), soccer has been considered the game of the working class, and Smiles (2012) has indicated that rugby has been considered a middle class sport in South Africa, which is additionally linked with the social structure. It then makes sense that conceptually and practically class and race are hard to separate because race resembles class as it is a structuring element of political economy, and class in its turn takes on race characteristics. It therefore cannot be taken for granted that "*it's just that lots of people are not really coming to rugby because they say, 'No, like it's a White person sport", (Black male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* and that "*Not many people from their respective races have tried for soccer … White boys don't seem interested much" (Indian male soccer player, Yekeni sec school).* These statements address the fact that race and class overlap in South Africa, and being of a particular race is not coincidental to the choice to participate in a specific sporting code that is linked with social class and economic benefit. However, there are some cases where some White or Black or Indian players cross race and play sports that are linked with a particular racial

group. For example, Siya Kolisi (who since 2018 has captained the South African national rugby team) grew up as a working class boy who was given the opportunity to attend a private school and was introduced to rugby. Another example is that of Matthew Booth (a former South African national soccer player) who was raised in a White-middle class suburb in Cape Town, and went to an all-White school where soccer was not an option. He played rugby, cricket and tennis, but his father introduced him to soccer, which he embraced. This means school sports could be vital in promoting transformation and the development of sport in society. The future of South African sport would be bright if former Model C schools could offer soccer and rugby to young South Africans, regardless of race and gender, from a young age.

Perspectives that still view rugby as *a "White person sport"* and soccer as the Black men's sport adversely affect transformation and represent one medium in which exclusion and demonisation is used to block opportunities to participate in such sports in South African schools (Sonn & Quayle, 2012). According to Hargreaves (2000a, p. 198), many rugby playing schools remain outside the reach of poor Black people, which means that even the few who get to these schools find themselves discriminated against. While White players have the flexibility to participate in any sporting code of their interest and choice - be it soccer, rugby or cricket - Black players appear to have racial and socio-economic barriers and have only one choice – soccer. Thus statements such as White male players have deliberately deserted soccer as *"they think that they don't have the talent to meet the requirements"*, *(Black male rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* are suspicious because of their current cultural capital that allows them to play any sport. It could be argued that it is a matter of choice for While players in schools whether to play soccer or not, while for some Black players, it is a privilege to play rugby, particularly if the state of playing fields that are deteriorating in some former Model C schools is seriously considered, because such schools have experienced an influx of Black and Coloured players. There is an inability to maintain the sports fields in former Model C schools because of lack of funds and fundraising.

5.6. Theme 5: disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically

The theme presents a discussion of participants challenging the traditional discourse that women should play specific sports, and participation is 'conditional' for others. The participants reposition women's bodies that have been deemed unsuitable or 'not powerful enough' to perform the historically male-only sports, and challenge some traditional truths about women's abilities to participate in any sporting code. Engle (2019) notes that "with the increasing entry of females into this formerly exclusive male preserve, sport has come to be a site where significant battles over gender identities and gender roles are being fought" (p. 34). Similarly, participants are interrogating the preservation of sports for men while some girls have shown that they can perform similarly or better than some boys, as the responses illustrate.

> *We used to play netball, it's like the majority of the time you don't get girls playing certain sports like soccer, rugby or touch rugby. So, I wanted to try something different to prove people wrong that girls can also do this kind of sports, and it's actually nice and enjoyable.* ***(Black female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *I decided to start training with the boys … I was a bit shy, I was slower than them but after two weeks I was at their pace, running up the same pace. I was tough, doing push-ups, sometimes I even beat some of them. We can play the same rugby boys play, girls are seen as weak, people who should play weak unaggressive sports … we can't do like contact sports, but we can.* **(*Coloured female, touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *It's noticeable, many girls want to play soccer and many of these injuring sports like rugby … girls are not afraid of them anymore. They were restricted before, but now they want to prove that they can do it, are not apologetic anymore.* ***(Indian male, soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)***

The responses are challenging the ideology and beliefs about gender as the foundation on which sports are organised, promoted and played. There is a sense of self-perception, self-worth, and self-efficacy in the responses - even the male participant recognises that women players want to have a voice and ownership of their bodies. The responses also represent enhanced feelings of accomplishment "*to prove people wrong that girls can also do this kind of sports…" Black female, touch rugby player, Yekeni sec school)* to challenge gender norms. Such responses from the participants are challenging the culturally shared expectations about the characteristics that men and women should possess and how they ought to behave,

and have been used in sport to limit women's participation (Budgeon, 2014). According to Chunyan Yu, Zuo, Blum, Tolman, Kagesten, Mmari, & Lou,. (2017), the norms are among the strongest social factors influencing an individual's gender-related attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours, which the participants in the current study are challenging. The participants' responses indicate that they want to prove that women are heterogeneous and have same body make up; it is not only men that are strong, independent, and athletic, but there are women with the same physical structure who can perform the same, if not better, than some men. This addresses the agency of women in disrupting established discourses of knowledge as "truth rules" (Acker, 2000b, p. 9), such as rugby is rough for women, and women's soccer is slow and boring, and is further used to define and shape "what can and cannot be said, what constitutes the mandatory, the permissible, the forbidden, and the boundaries of common sense knowledge" (Jacobson & Jacques, 1997, p. 48).

The responses further suggest that participants are not concerned with the social stereotype, that results from the violation of gender norms and the labelling of sportswomen as lesbian or butch. The participants were deliberate when they joined the sports because "*I decided to start training with the boys". (Coloured female, touch rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)* to disrupt the normalised practices and to prove the society wrong that girls should not be dictated what to do. Tredway (2013) posits that when "women are regarded as performing masculinity, such as when playing sport, the assumption is they are lesbian" (p. 37), but this did not appear to worry the participants. By initiating participation in male-associated sports, participants were challenging the hegemonic masculinity, particularly when competing with boys and beating them. While this was proof enough that female players can build their strength and pace through constant practice, it further defies the myth that women cannot play aggressive and fast-paced sports. It therefore means that many female athletes have started to view themselves in a different manner - as capable of narrating their story and determining their journey in sports (Kristiansen, Broch, & Pedersen, 2014). Women in this study exerted control and resisted being controlled because being out of control challenges the very essence of what being masculine is all about (Clare, 2000). The women are challenging "truth rules" which appear to be natural, obvious and free from scrutiny, and also difficult to challenge or change. The society's demands of compliance to the enforced gender

order have been constantly challenged by women that participate in weight lifting, boxing, martial arts, rugby, to show that they are not scared of pain and blood, building their muscles and being aggressive (Ortlieb, 2019; Pelak, 2005).

It is clear from the responses that women do not need anyone to confirm that they can play any sport, they can choose which sport they want to play and engage in, irrespective of the limitations. This does not mean that they are not aware of the socio-political discourses, but they want to push the boundaries anyway. From the standpoint of unapologetic feminism, women in soccer and touch rugby are refusing to be excluded for their behaviour in spite of negativity that is expressed by those operating with hegemonic gender expectations (Andersen, 2017). This demonstrates that female players are no longer masked by ideologies and politics that seemed natural and permanent, excluding them from rugby and soccer, like in the past, as the democratic government's redress focused on addressing issues of gender inequality in sport participation in South Africa. The female touch rugby players have given precautionary statements that need to be considered by the principal, teachers and parents, as they have problematised their exclusion from rugby in secondary school as an injustice and practice of domination. Although they cannot be compared to a boys' team, what they know is that they can play the same sport as the boys do, in their own ways, rather than the expected gender biased social ways.

Gender boundaries have not only been crossed in rugby and soccer participation but also in rugby and soccer coaching in the secondary schools studied. Females have also crossed participation boundaries, embracing the coaching of girls' soccer, touch rugby and men's contact rugby in the two secondary schools studied. It was interesting to find out that the senior male contact rugby team, the touch rugby team, and the girls' soccer teams were being coached by females, while the schools had no female teams in rugby and no male teams in touch rugby. While most schools in South Africa rely on teachers as coaches, affluent schools employ coaches on contract bases. These women show dedication to sport and deserves better salaries as incentives to continue coaching. Although these cases demonstrated women's capabilities in physical contact sports, the system and structures in the schools appear to have constrained the development of rugby. According to Martin (1996), the community of work to which men orient their behaviour is a world by and for men,

a world of strength (physical and mental), speed, and aggressiveness, where women may fit uneasily in this community except in subordinate, supportive positions. A senior rugby coaching position in secondary schools is a well-respected position often occupied by males, but, to my surprise, the female coaches in these schools showed that women have the same capabilities as men. The coaches responded:

> *When this school heard that I had rugby coaching qualifications they gave me the opportunity to start coaching rugby. I started coaching the under 14 boys at this school. Before, I had coached the under 19s boys' rugby team at Masimba (pseudonym) rugby club. The very same year we won the league. Since then, I have been coaching the school senior team and going up the ranks. I had the first team now for more than once and we have either won the league or we came second in the league. I had a lot of opportunities at the school when it came to coaching.* ***(White female, rugby coach, Nokwazi sec school)***

> *Up until five years ago we never had girls' soccer teams, so I started coaching and encouraging girls to come. When I took over, there was no real interest from the school, the problem was lack of sporting facilities; unless it is addressed it gonna stay like that, because your men's coaches focus on the men's teams, they don't readily coach female teams. I persisted coaching the soccer teams because there was no girls' soccer. The girls' soccer teams are doing very well.* ***(Black female, soccer coach, Nokwazi sec school)***

The responses highlight the unapologetic stance taken by women coaches over decision-making positions, higher coaching and leadership posts in schools and sports clubs. Although there is a lack of women coaching at a high performance level in rugby and soccer, women at the two secondary schools showed agency by disregarding many barriers to coach boys' first teams in rugby and girls' soccer teams in schools. It is by identifying, recruiting and developing female coaches that women will be enabled to thrive within the sporting codes and raise awareness and the current issues of support, sponsorship, and resources allocation in rugby and soccer. The more the female coaches know how to navigate the terrains in rugby and soccer, the more they will facilitate more girls' participation in sport, particularly rugby and soccer. Feminist sport scholars have argued that male control of, and deeply embedded gendered power within sport, is a primary factor for the absence, scarcity, and stagnation of women in leadership positions, including coaching (Allison, 2018). Many female teams started in the schools because of the availability of female coaches. This means that women's presence in the fields as coaches of

their own gender have a great influence in increasing participation of girls in rugby and soccer.

Kane and LaVoi (2018) caution that though women have forcefully crossed gender boundaries, the change is minute, as little has changed in the coaching, administration and leadership positions for women over time. This means that the underrepresentation of women coaches must be reframed as “a symptom, or an outcome of a deeper issue, rather than the problem in itself” (Cunningham, 2019, p. 121). While the world of rugby seems to be for men, where they want everything about rugby to circle around them; it is interesting that some females have crossed these boundaries, as noted in one of the schools. The best female rugby coach trains the boys’ team and is the males’ team manager, though it would have been impressive had she been developing girls’ teams like the soccer coach was doing. However, the fact that she is coaching the boys’ teams is also an indication that female coaches can successfully coach male teams. Women have not only excelled in coaching but also in officiating matches. Recently, women have been selected as match officials for the Africa Cup of Nations and also the English Premier league and the World Cup. Although men continue to dominate key decision-making positions in sports, the female coaches in this study have traversed the femininity-masculinity boundaries by demanding to take part in playing and coaching previously male-only sports. Women in my study have challenged both coaching, officiating and playing boundaries, to deconstruct differing historical discourses of knowledge about rugby and soccer and used their agency to reposition themselves within existing discourses.

While it could be argued that female coaches have worked hard to ascend the ranks of sports like rugby and soccer, it is concerning that the developing girls’ teams in rugby have been ‘robbed’ of the best coaches by boys’ teams. Girls’ participation in rugby continues to be at a slow pace, as rugby is regarded as a boys’ game, but not for girls, a form of sex-appropriate behaviour that has led to women being excluded from playing rugby since infancy (Thompson, 2015). The female rugby coach who has acquired rugby’s strict creed, is trapped in the values and practices of male superiority but was successful in showing that manly performance varies and knows no gender. Without sounding pessimistic, it is important to mention that change is

noticed more in soccer than rugby, as recently women have been seen refereeing and acting as lineswomen in big matches[12]. This has not been popular in rugby matches, which means rugby is still operating within archaic cultural gender roles that still require women not to interfere with masculine sports and physicality.

5.7. Theme 6: Factors that influence the decision to participate in specific sports

It was important to understand how players decided to play a particular sport and whether they have played both sports at some time, and eventually decided to stay with one. This theme focuses on the factors that shaped rugby and soccer players' decisions to play a specific sport at secondary school. The players are part of the social network and gaining insight into whether and how it shaped their decisions and whether a player's agency played a role, was important for this study. This research question is important especially that the traditional discourses about gender and racial participation in the two sports have been normalised because of the society's ways of talking about them, and some players have perpetuated the discourses while others have challenged the discourses., Unsurprisingly, the combination of families and coaches played a role in the decision and choices to play a specific sport. Researchers (Dorsch, Smith, & Dotterer, 2016; Holt & Knight, 2014; Sagar & Lavallee, 2010) have mentioned that parents play different roles in the children's participation in sport and ultimately the choice of sport in which to participate. In particular, fathers play a dominant role in influencing boys and girls to play rugby or soccer, as noted in the findings that some fathers encourage girls to play soccer and support them during games, which symbolises a shift from supporting only boys' participation in male-dominated sports. In addition, some players made the choices themselves because the sport provides specific physical, behavioural, emotional, and personal benefits.

[12] Big matches include the Africa Cup of Nations and English premier league games.

5.7.1. Sub-theme 1: The inspiration from family members to play sport

This sub-theme includes parents, brothers and sisters, and grandparents as members of the family, and forms part of the primary socialisation for every child in the process of growing up. Khan, UI-Islam and Iqbal (2021, p. 93) posit that, "Most of the children follow their family rules, customs and tradition, and do as their parents want and directed in all aspects". While this might be true in most cases, it is also important to acknowledge the agency of some children who are able to take the initiative without support and guidance from the parents. Family members are further considered role models because they strongly influence what children do, the decisions they make, and how they eventually turn out. The responses below illustrate this:

> *My dad used to play it [rugby], so he wanted me to start it and after that I loved it so much I continued playing … I enjoy it, just watching other boys playing it on tv when I was young attracted me to it.* ***(White male, rugby player, Nokwazi sec school)***
>
> *My brother was like, "No, join rugby, something that would suit your personality"… I am a rough person. Rugby is a rough and tough sport.* ***(Black male, rugby player, Yekeni sec school)***
>
> *I have loved soccer from the beginning because my family members played it socially. It was in primary school when my friend called me to join the team and I started to enjoy it more seriously.* ***(White female, soccer player, Nokwazi sec school)***

The responses suggest that the involvement of families in sports influences children's participation in sport, and possibly commitment because of the family support. Holt and Knight (2014) have written about the involvement of parents or family members in youth sport, and the implications this has for children's sporting enjoyment and development. They assert that children place great importance on their parents' involvement and influence children's motivation, enjoyment and long-term involvement in sports. If the family members play sport, it means it becomes part of the family activities and the child is socialised and possibly immersed into the sport, and develops a passion that results in dedication. Siekańska (2012) also found that the family with a sporting background always supports and motivates their children as compared to the family having no sporting background.

Some players also showed agency because even though the father and brother introduced them to play rugby, they took ownership and learned more about the sports by watching television and attending games as a way of learning more. Strandbu, Bakken and Stefansen (2020) talk about family sport culture, which is a family culture with a strong affinity for sports that shapes children's decisions to participate in sports. As noted in the response, siblings are also influential in the decision to play a specific sport, because they sometimes see potential when an individual is unaware of it. Fredricks and Eccles (2004) say that as interpreters of sport, parents' beliefs and attitudes about the value of sport influence their children's evaluation of sport and their motivation to continue being involved.

The responses identified that family members participated actively in the decisions to choose specific sports, and be committed to them. In the arena of sport, the support and motivation of the parents and family members is important because it is the source of inspiration and encourages children to work hard. According to Grolnick, Friendly, and Bellas (2013), children look to positive involvement of their parents and family members' recommendations as the motivation to be involved in sports.

5.7.2. Sub-theme 2: The personal attributes to participate in sport

The rugby and soccer players in the secondary schools represent teenage groups, and they are competitive at this level. Longitudinal studies have found that adolescent athletes with positive personality characteristics are more likely to progress to professional sport (Aidman, 2007) because they use that positivity to motivate themselves. Participants mentioned personal attributes as another factor that influence choices to participate in a sport code. The responses below illustrate the points:

> *I started playing soccer when I was 4 years old, it has been my passion for a while … it makes me forget all my problems... soccer occupies my heart and I play it in my time when I have nothing to do.* ***(Coloured female, soccer player, Yekeni sec school)***

> *I'm definitely into rugby, I enjoy rugby because I love contact sport… it gets most of my anger out, and it's just an awesome sport with the tactics and skills. I also like playing it because it gets me to be fit and works in your brain and strength and everything… I don't really like soccer because of all the footwork and everything, I am not really good at my feet, I am good with my hands and everything.* ***(White male, rugby player, Nokwazi Sec school)***

> *I am playing football [soccer], because I have had the passion and desire to play it since I was like grade six, I was 12 years old, because that's actually when I started playing. I chose it because I love the game, it makes me happy, it makes me forget everything.* ***(Coloured, male soccer player, Yekeni sec school)***

The responses indicate that passion, enjoyment and health benefits are important and represent intrinsic motivation to participate in rugby or soccer, because the participants were not forced to join the specific sport linked to their personalities and/or personal benefits. Some of the participants' responses suggest that sport gives them pleasure, strengthens their emotional state, and helps them with personal issues, which makes them committed. Van Heerden (2014) states that intrinsic motivation is when an individual need to feel competency and pride in something, and acts as a driver to participate in sport because of beliefs and the values that are found in doing the activity. At the same time, it appears that some players use self-control, which is a "trait that allows the individual to consciously direct and regulate behaviour when attempting to achieve a particular goal" (Wulf & Toole, 1999, p. 37). The players' reasons for playing rugby or soccer are not only passion; the sports are also used to re-channel their personal issues and emotional behaviour. It means the sports were further used as the therapy that helps players to replace social issues with something positive and meaningful. Involvement in sports has proven to be effective for the youth because it keeps them away from social ills such as participating in violent acts, crime and drug use. According to the United Nations Doha Declaration (2018), sports can contribute greatly to improving people's physical and psychological health, as players also noted and mentioned.

It is further evident that participation in sports activities is not just for strength and psychological development; staying active can also ease symptoms of depression, anxiety and has a transformative effect on mental health. Participation in rugby makes the player energised and happy and puts problems into perspective and calms him down. This means rugby is a game changer as it keeps the young men in this study, stronger and braver, and highly responsive to perceived dangers, through venting that anger physically (Edwards, 2018). Woods and Butler (2020) argue that anger and aggression go side by side, and athletes in contact sports like rugby and soccer need both to succeed. As a result, rugby enforces discipline since it calls for

forceful behavior and controlled fury. Agans, Mueller, Lerner, Geldhof and Weiner (2014) say the engagement of young people in meaningful activities is one of the primary forces for positive experiences in the process of human development, especially when they have chosen the sports without influence from families or parents.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter had conflicting race and gender discourses in which hegemonic masculinity discourses were heard in the voices of male rugby and soccer participants. While male participants imposed their authority on these sporting codes, female participants resisted their exclusion and the lack of support they receive in secondary schools which translates in club, regional and national teams. For the female participants, it is high time rugby and soccer are opened for them and they challenge the system that hinders them. In the discussion of these themes and sub-themes, the discourse of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer in secondary schools emerged and males were seen to reinforce the system. Sporting codes debunking masculinist social values, namely soccer and touch rugby, contested the unmovable position rugby seems to maintain. Interestingly, femininity in action-disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically showed that women have come to play any sport played by men.

CHAPTER SIX

Changing racial and gender attitudes in rugby and soccer participation.

6.1. Introduction

This study explored rugby and soccer players' and coaches' experiences of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer at two former Model C secondary schools south of Johannesburg. It addressed the question: What is the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools? The history of South Africa has politicised sports and promoted racial divisions and gender bias in the society, which has affected and limited participation in schools' sports. Similar to the social structure, certain popular sports were associated with specific racial groups, (for example, Whites were associated with rugby, cricket, hockey, swimming, and Indians were associated with cricket whereas Blacks and Coloureds were largely associated with soccer), and were gender biased (Pelak, 2019).

The democratic government opened up primary and secondary schools to learners of all races, which previously only White learners had been allowed to attend. The former Model C schools not only offered the perceived quality education, they also had state of the art sports facilities and offered different sporting codes for the learners. Rugby and soccer are two of the popular sports in South Africa that are played mainly by learners in secondary schools, and continue to be associated predominantly with White, Black and Coloured races and males. However, not much research has been done in these schools to gain insight into the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer - the sports that former president Nelson Mandela used to unite South Africa in 1995 and 1996 respectively. For Hall (2016), sport is a site for relations of domination and subordination and the reproduction of gendered and racialised power relations, which cannot be underestimated.

The study was located within the social constructivism paradigm, which argues that knowledge, race and gender are socially and culturally constructed. Thus, informed

by social constructivism and focusing on contested race and gender, the study used critical social and feminist post-structural theories as lenses to make sense of the data. First, given that sport is part of social practices and race and gender are socially constructed, a critical social theory encourages the process of critical reflection on sports as practices. It was further used to interrogate the conditions that perpetuate any biased practices and domination, and reclaim narratives for oneself rather than adapting to the dominant narratives. As discussed in Chapter Three, critical social theory aims to overturn oppression in the traditional male-dominated sports, and achieve social justice through empowerment of the marginalised and voiceless players. It is important to unsettle the normalised gender and racialised participation in rugby and soccer in the secondary schools, and the process of critique provides the basis from which individuals can take action towards transforming existing social forms in order to improve their living conditions.

Second, the feminist post-structural theory was used because of its potential to examine differing discourses of knowledge by examining the relation between language and power relations. The theory addresses the process of knowledge production, the type of knowledge produced, and who produces the knowledge that has the power to empower or marginalise and promote stereotypes about others (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). The FPST was important to problematise the choice of words and the language players and coaches used as they talked about their experiences of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer in order to disrupt the discourses and assumptions that make gendered and racial hierarchies and practices appear normal. It was crucial to examine how men's rugby and soccer occupy positions of power and popularity, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987).

To engage with gender and race participation in rugby and soccer in selected secondary schools, the qualitative exploratory case study, as defined by Yin (2014), was utilised for extensive and in-depth description of complex social phenomena. The exploratory case study helped to understand rugby and soccer participation from the socio-gender and socio-racial viewpoints, and further supported the deconstruction and reconstruction of the phenomenon under study (Cropley, 2019). It was important to unpack the nuances of gender and race participation in rugby and

soccer, as the multifaceted issue could not be explored through one lens. Purposive and snowball sampling were appropriate for the study because they allowed for the specific selection of participants that could engage with the research questions. I used semi-structured individual interviews because they enable research participants, including a researcher, to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view (Creswell, 2008). Non-participant observation was important in this study in order to observe the nature of interaction and participation in rugby and soccer during practices and games in the selected secondary schools.

The key research question in this study was: *What is the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools?* To address this question, the study focused on three sub-questions:

4) How do players and coaches experience participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools?

5) What are the players' reasons for participating in a particular sporting code(s)?

6) What are the factors that shape the state of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer within the secondary schools?

To address the research questions, the study utilised the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, which assisted in understanding what the players and coaches thought, what they knew, how they spoke about rugby and soccer as representing particular discourses, and how their knowledge was socio-culturally embedded. Critical discourse analysis helped to deconstruct discourses to reveal any taken for granted biases and inequities, as Fiske (1994, p. 11) cautions that "our words are never neutral, they have meaning in a particular historical, social, and political condition and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions". For this study, this meant unpacking the responses from the participants to understand whether and how the socio-political and historical discourses are reproduced or challenged.

In this final chapter, I present an overview of the findings from the study: players' and coaches' experiences of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in selected Johannesburg South secondary schools. Furthermore, I highlight the factors that influenced players' experiences and choices to play a specific sport. This section of the chapter is followed by a discussion of the implications of the study and the limitations associated with this study. I link my contribution to wider debates and research on gender and race in sports, specifically in rugby and soccer in secondary schools. Finally, the chapter concludes by outlining the possibilities for further research, and particularly proposes more research that explores and examines the nature of participation in sports in the township and rural schools, and the reasons for limited sports offering in these schools.

6.2. Summary of findings from the study

The purpose of this study was to explore the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Johannesburg South secondary schools. This study will hopefully be significant at the level of policy and practice for the encouragement of balanced gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in all secondary schools that offer the sporting codes.

6.2.1. The discourses of hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the normal discourses are that rugby and soccer, as socially constructed are generally constructed with and associated with masculinity. It was unsurprising that two themes emerged that separately show how the hegemonic discourse was perpetuated by male players and coaches, whether consciously or unconsciously, and challenged by female players and coaches who interrogated the state of rugby and soccer in schools, especially rugby that has been problematised. The findings suggest that the discourse of reinforcing hegemonic masculinity was generally supported by male participants, who used the traditional social dominant knowledge systems that privilege men and normalise their bodies to have been made to play rugby and soccer. The feminists argue that, "sport is a 'mirror reflection' of society which indoctrinates the young with the dominant values and fosters the authoritarian interests of the dominant culture" (Theberge, 1981, p.

28). This probably means that masculine hegemony in rugby and soccer is instilled in the early years of boys' rugby and soccer and becomes institutionalised as they grow up, and appears unable to see beyond the indoctrination, as indicated by the findings. The findings show that language plays a crucial role in this discourse, because it does not only describe reality, but it also creates reality, including knowledge construction, as it created male contact rugby and soccer as 'real', fast, and entertaining, and women's rugby and soccer as 'unreal', slow and 'boring'.

The findings further suggest that the nature of the games, especially rugby which is aggressive, violent, and tough, need specific men, and girls are not physically made for this sport because their bodies are 'soft' biologically. This means men in these sports represent the unwritten rules that have been set up to monitor who is supposed to participate in rugby and soccer, because that is how the sports were constructed and expected to be played. The discussion in Chapter Three indicated that the construction of meanings for rugby players and coaches, which involve the selection of particular vocabularies and the exclusion of alternative meanings (Fletcher, 1999) could have been shaped by power relations that are socially constructed and unquestioned. Anything less than the expected way of playing the sports is changing the nature and rules of the games and affect the status of the sports. The rules are reinforced and unquestioned because of the normalised social discourse defended as 'not stereotyping', but positioned as protecting women who may be harmed by the roughness. According to Thornton (1986), male sexuality is the central organising principle of patriarchy, as it emphasises discourses of toughness, aggression, and selfishness. The findings suggest that the emphasis is that rugby and soccer were started by men and for men in the imagined histories. While concerning, it is also unsurprising that rugby and soccer are predominantly group sports. It therefore appears easy to constrain women's popularity with regard to contact rugby and soccer and maintain power through socially constructed patterns and practices, discourses, and schools' sport structural power relations that have been historically established and that have remained the same.

The women that participate in these sports are perceived as interfering with the norm, and the findings suggest that women challenge such a discourse - the social expectations and ways of thinking about women's participation in male associated

sports. The discourse challenges the hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer, and represents a different way of looking at gender that problematises the cultural and long-existing social traditions in sports participation which reposition women in the two sporting codes. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the concept of hegemony informs practical, on the ground work by feminist post-structuralists who critique, challenge and expose the cultural norms and societal structures that legitimate and normalise men's behaviour and experiences with the goal of building gender equity (Lang, 2014).

The findings suggest that women are interrogating the discourse of a women's body as unable to play roughly and aggressively because they will hurt and damage the natural soft body, and are changing the discourse that exclude them from participation in rugby and soccer. There is interrogation of 'common-sense' assumptions that normalise certain behaviours or groups while making others seem unnatural or wrong (Altheide, 1984; Condit, 1994), as men's behaviour in rugby and soccer have been naturalised and expected that everyone will demonstrate. Thus, the women players are problematising the situated social practice in rugby and soccer by interrogating the discourse that presumes that women in sport are afraid of getting hurt and getting involved in rough sports.

6.2.2. The discourse of hierarchy in sports: reconstruction of soccer and problematising touch rugby

As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, contact rugby is only allowed for men and not offered for women in the selected secondary schools. Participants mentioned that most secondary schools only allow women to play touch rugby. This theme presents the differences between rugby and soccer, and places rugby hierarchically higher in terms of aggressiveness and toughness compared to soccer, which explains the reason for the greater number of women participating in the sport, rather than rugby. There is continuation of hegemonic masculinity practices in this theme that functions to include and exclude gender in unequal ways, as it combines several features such as "a hierarchy of masculinities that results to differential access among men to power (over women and other men) and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power and patriarchy" (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012, p.

40). The reason rugby continues to be superior is because the sport administrators in secondary schools appear to be keen to ensure that male rugby continues to be fully supported with uniforms, training resources, and finances, while female touch rugby teams struggle to receive the same support and rely on 'left-overs' from the male team. In Chapter Two, schools were mentioned as places where gender awareness might be overlooked and taken for granted as normalised practices (Thomas, 2007), because they socially construct sport along the lines of gender. While women enjoy participating in touch rugby, they interrogate the offering of the sport only to women as the alternative to contact rugby that is offered only to men, as the perpetuation of gender bias and stereotype. Hums, Bower and Grappendorf (2007, p. 56) posit that "historically women's and girls' access to sport was limited by society's belief that participation in sport, particularly male associated sports, was unladylike and even dangerous to their reproductive lives". This could be one of the reasons touch rugby was established to 'protect' them from such dangers, because practices in rugby are aggressive and tough on women.

In soccer, the discourse of strength and aggression was not used by all participants, which suggests that soccer is recognised as 'partially' masculine, not only because the nature of physicality is not the same as in contact rugby, but also that girls have joined and play the sport in high numbers. The findings further suggest that the language of comparison between men's and women's games indicates that even though female participants acknowledge the differences in the way males and females play the two sports, it is about women claiming their own ways of playing soccer because they do not want to be the same as men. This way of talking about participating in soccer challenges the power and status differences, as women redefine their participation. The findings represent the reconstruction and reconceptualisation of soccer, because women see themselves as part of the players and not only as intruders. It could then be argued that both touch rugby and soccer women are problematising the participation in the sports, and while there is hierarchy in terms of status for the men's rugby and soccer, women are not concerned with such a discourse because they are interrogating the traditional ways of talking about them.

6.2.3. The discourses of gender and race in rugby and soccer

This theme reinforces the traditional social understanding that rugby and soccer are male sports, and female participation is boundary-crossing and will affect the status of the sports. The concern in this discourse is the repeat of the social narratives, predominantly from male participants, that perpetuate gender and racial inequity in rugby and soccer, as if the youth cannot see past the history of sports in South Africa. Rugby and soccer are reluctant to change, irrespective of the government's policy to redress gender and racial inequity in sports' participation in the schools, because the construction of rugby continues to be linked with masculinity and men's soccer continues to experience support at the expense of support for women. The democratically elected government's discourse and ideology, especially 'non-sexism' for this study, was intended to enforce gender equity and encourage women's empowerment in social, cultural and economic life, including sport (Chappell, 2003; Hagreaves, 2000). However, women's increased participation in soccer means they are seen as competitors for the already constrained financial support of men's soccer. Thus, both sports see women who are interested in the sports as 'intruders' who will affect the hegemonic masculinity in rugby and soccer sports. There is also the normalising of rugby's exclusionary status discourse and the stereotyping of township schools as unable to meet the middle class status because of the unavailability of infrastructure and the inability to afford such infrastructure as dominated by the working class group.

As mentioned in Chapters One and Two, the history of rugby and soccer was based on the racially segregated social structure in South Africa, which influenced the association of the sports with mainly White and Black races, without overlooking the participation of the Coloured race. In particular, rugby was mostly linked with the Afrikaner culture, even though it is played by the English speakers, and soccer was linked with the Black working class because of the changed status after the discovery of gold in Johannesburg. Interestingly, this association continues to be strong in this study, because the dominant discourse is that White male players prefer to play rugby, and Black and Coloured male players predominantly play soccer, because access to rugby needs someone who attended expensive private schools. Thus, participation in rugby for Black and Coloured men is a matter of access to specific schools where rugby is part of the culture, while participation in

soccer for White men is a matter of a status and choice, because soccer is offered in their schools. The issue of race for women's participation in touch rugby and soccer was not highlighted, because the latter sport was accommodative of any race, unlike as compared to rugby.

6.2.4. The experiences of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer

The understanding of players' experiences of gender and race participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools was important in order to examine whether there was any change or was there a continuation of social discourses that perpetuate inequity. The complexity of participation in schools' soccer and rugby was identified in the different practices that promote male dominance and female subordination in the sports. It means even though women have gained access to men's sports, men maintain power over the sport experiences, rules, distribution of resources, and decision making (Andrews, 2000). Disappointingly, teachers play a role in discouraging the development of women's contact rugby teams and favour men's rugby teams, due to the lack of inclination to start a women's team. Again, rugby teams receive more attention and support than women's touch rugby teams - despite being started by the schools as an alternative for women - but deprive them of the resources they need to develop. Theberge (1981) states that structural differences are evident in the numerous ways that women experience discrimination in sports, which include financial support, facilities and equipment, coaching, medical and training facilities, and transportation. The same practice was noted in soccer, as men appeared 'entitled' to receive all kinds of support while women have to constantly request assistance while representing the schools. This is because even though women have been given access to play men's sports, it does not mean that the structures are reformed, particularly when "leadership and administration of the games is still mainly left in the hands of male officials" (Grundlingh, 2010, p. 51).

Another concerning finding was the coaches' discourses of continuing discrimination in men's rugby to maintain the 'boys club', which is the old language that continues to exclude women's participation in contact rugby, and it is taken for granted. The women's teams are deprived of rugby and soccer uniforms, financial support, and

transportation to the games to represent the schools. The concept of a 'boys club' is an indication that men keep their sports as masculine as possible by allocating all the support to themselves. This is unfortunate because men continue to occupy managerial positions and make decisions that disadvantage women's sports development. The intention is to discourage participation and women have proven difficult to frustrate because such practices are familiar with what women experience in a society that disapproves of participation in sports that are masculine. It is encouraging that women support themselves to ensure that they achieve their goals, irrespective of lack of support. There is a continuation of this social practice in the secondary schools as far as gender bias is concerned, unsurprisingly but disappointingly, because sport is seen as a vehicle to promote social cohesion.

6.2.5. Disrupting gender boundaries unapologetically

Even though women have experienced lack of support, they have problematised the practices that promote inequity and have critiqued the language that has been used to discourage their interest in participating in male-dominated sports. It was encouraging that women took ownership and were not apologetic for deciding to play any sport(s) they liked, to show that they are capable irrespective of gender and body composition. One of the aims of critical social theory is to overturn oppression in the traditional male dominated sports and achieve social justice through empowerment of the marginalised and the previously voiceless players that have unsettled the normative participation in male-dominated sport. This discourse represents women that criticise the natural organisation in rugby and soccer in the selected secondary schools. For the critical social theorist, it means they take action towards transforming existing social forms in order to improve the conditions of participating in sports (Giroux & McLaren, 1989; McLaren, 1992). The findings indicate women's resistance towards the normal gendering of bodies in rugby and soccer, and argue that they can play the same, if not better, than men.

Interestingly, some men also noticed women's intentions to prove their abilities, irrespective of the discourse of dangerous injuries in the sports; they argued that it is the nature of sports. As discussed in Chapter Three, a critical social theory encourages the process of reflection on practice (O'Loughlin, 1992), which was

noted in the current study when women and men reflected critically on the practices in the schools' rugby and soccer. Cole (1993) posits that the concept of 'sport' has been re-evaluated by post-structural feminists to see it not only as a descriptive term for institutionalised and formally organised activities involving the body, but as "a construction of discourses whose central focus is the body" (p. 78). Thus, the findings show that women are questioning the use of language that shapes the way they see and make sense of the world, and consequently the way they understand and interact with each other.

6.2.6. The role of families in sports' participation

The passion to play sports is strengthened by the support from the families, and the findings show that family members play an important role in encouraging participation in rugby or soccer. It is clear from the findings that fathers were directly influential in the decision to play a specific sport because they played the sport and could act as coaches, to ensure they entrenched the love of the game. This means that families also enculturate their children with the culture of the sport, including the manner of thinking, speaking and acting within the sport, whether consciously or unconsciously. It is because of this enculturation that feminists seriously question the actual content or meaning of a choice which grows out of a context of powerlessness, as the findings suggest the influence of family members, especially fathers. This statement does not deny the players' capability to choose, but questions whether it could be coming "within contexts of powerlessness" (Andrews, 1988, p. 14), hence interrogating the 'real' power the 'choices' have. Notwithstanding the argument, the support from the family is still important, especially support from the fathers for girls that choose to participate in male-dominated sports. Without being gender biased, fathers have access to the hegemonic discourses that empowered men's sports and could 'coach' the girl much better as an insider, without overlooking the power of enculturation.

While families played a crucial role in influencing decisions to play a specific sport, the findings further show that individual players made personal choices to play a particular sport. This, for critical social theory, is self-emancipation because some participants' choices were able to interrupt particular historical and situated systems

of oppression (Lather, 1992, p. 121), especially women that were adamant that women can play rugby. Some feminists (Andrews, 1988; Dolan, 1992; Thompson, 2001) are suspicious of 'choice' because they occur in the context of a society where there are serious differences of power between men and women, as a presumed incapacity of women to make decisions (Andrews, 1988, p. 14). Without overlooking the above, the findings represent a generation that uses choice to reclaim narratives for itself rather than adapting to the dominant narratives, especially women that cross the boundary and the men that recognise women's capability to play male-dominated sports. The choices were based on personality because the sport is believed to assist with personal issues and safety from engaging in some challenging adolescent behaviour. While sport is generally linked with health benefits, the findings also show that players join sport to assist with mental health and to ease depression and anxiety. Participating in sport also promotes discipline for players, because they have to show commitment, hard work, and team spirit, especially in sports like soccer and rugby.

6.3. Significance and contribution of the study

The focus of the study was to explore the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools, due to the lack of existing research in South Africa. Thus, this study is significant because it contributes knowledge about the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in the former Model C secondary schools, which is under-researched in this post-apartheid era. The contribution to knowledge made by this study is in highlighting the unjust and unfair gender and race practices in rugby and soccer within the secondary schools' contexts. It highlights the continuation of social discourses that associate rugby mainly with White middle class men and soccer with Black and Coloured working class men, consequently excluding anything different. Another contribution is the women's resistance to the male hegemonic masculinity discourses in rugby and soccer, which promise change and improved future participation in rugby in the secondary schools. The study aimed to explore and interrogate gender and racial participation and practices in rugby and soccer in the former Model C schools, to think of alternative sustainable interventions and strategies to improve gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer to address the continuing unfair practices.

Another area of significance is to encourage the usage of multiple spaces to gather teachers, coaches, management and players to address gender and race practices in rugby and soccer in the secondary schools. This could assist with identifying common goals, speaking with 'one voice' and making decisions as one team to address biased practices. This study contributes insights into the unfair distribution of sports resources and financial support that constrain women's development in rugby and soccer, which bear a resemblance to the practices in the social sport organisations that continue to favour support for men's teams and disadvantage women's teams.

6.4. Implications of the study

The findings from this study have several implications, and are highlighted in this chapter. These include implications for policy and practice (including in primary schools and universities) and for further research. These implications should be understood within the context of the overarching findings of this study.

6.4.1. Implications for gender and racial participation policy in rugby and soccer in former model C secondary schools

In the first and third chapters, I argued the lack of research that specifically focuses on the status of gender and racial participation and practices in rugby and soccer in South African Former Model C secondary schools. The results of this study suggest the continuing racial and gender inequity participation in rugby and soccer, which are practiced in various ways to preserve racial association with rugby and soccer and men's power. This addresses the importance of developing and implementing sport policies to monitor gender and racial participation in secondary schools. Secondary schools need to make sure that they are intentional and conscious of race and gender representation in rugby and soccer, especially when they develop teams, to ensure that they contribute to the government policies that promote gender and race equity in sports. The secondary schools also need to ensure fairness in the allocation of resources and distribution of financial support for boys' and girls' teams, to strengthen the development of women's teams and increase participation.

It is important for the schools to provide training and constantly run workshops for management in rugby and soccer about the importance of consciously implementing and monitoring policies, which might encourage reflection on the individual behaviour. The management (rugby and soccer administrators and team managers in these schools) needs to make sure that men's and women's teams are formed, fairly supported and that the language used is interrogated when both teams are reported. This thesis suggests that schools need to play a role in confronting and addressing the historical rules and structure of ideas that created and sustain the preference for White men's rugby and Black and Coloured men's soccer. To attend to the treatment of women as an 'add-on' to the supposedly natural and hierarchical structure of rugby and soccer, it is essential for the schools to destabilise the continuing male dominant structures and exclusionary masculine participation practices in rugby and soccer, which became the measure of support and participation in rugby and soccer for males and females within the schools, universities and society. The encouragement of women's participation in the structures and organisations of rugby and soccer in the schools, not just as window dressing, is important for different discourses in the way rugby and soccer is conceptualised and practised.

6.4.2. Implications for men's and women's attitude on racial and gender equity participation practices in rugby and soccer

Considering that rugby and soccer fields are contested 'spaces' that have been traditionally and 'naturally' declared for men, it is unsurprising that gender equity is 'conditional' for women's teams. Rugby is no exception, as racial participation in secondary schools is skewed towards the White male players. It is critical that men and Whites are urged to be conscious of their language, actions, and attitudes toward female and non-White rugby and soccer players, considering signals of annoyance or ego regarding the presence of women and non-Whites in the rugby and soccer fields. Genderising and racialising sports need to be problematised as this leads to constrained access and discrimination practices which exclude women from entering rugby organisations, while at the same time receiving less resources than would be legally deserved. It is the usage of forceful language and rules in rugby and soccer fields, taken for granted as men's 'normal' behaviour that was

challenged and girls demanded justice in this regard. In addition, women also need to continuously have a positive attitude towards the development and support of women's rugby and soccer, because no one will do it for them.

6.4.3. Implications for stigmatisation of women soccer players

As discussed in Chapter Three, women who play male-dominated sports usually experience name calling because they are a threat to the traditions of those sports. While it might not be easy to change some socio-cultural beliefs, it is important to use mainstream media to educate the society about the dangers of name calling and labelling women that play sports that are associated with men. To be exact, considering that soccer is played by children, teenagers, young adults, and adults representing the society, it is important to use different platforms to enlighten them that individual sexual choices, appearance, and dress codes have nothing to do with playing rugby and soccer, but represent an individual choice. Similarly, the South African society need to be made aware of the continuation of the racial divide posed by historical racial association of rugby as the white middle class male sport and soccer as black African and Coloured sport. Male and female Coaches, administrators and teachers have to implement inclusive policies to curb selection challenges that reproduce the status quo. Considering the power that teenagers and youth have in shaping the society's beliefs and behaviour, the schools, universities, and rugby and soccer clubs need to play a role in disseminating information that participation in sport usually changes the physical appearance of an individual, but it does not automatically classify an individual in a particular sexual or racial group. Actually, it is crucial to make the society aware through mainstream media that sport is democratic and does not represent only men's lifestyles, or a particular race because that could result in gender and racial stereotypes and discrimination. The soccer clubs and organisations have an important role to play in challenging and changing the society's beliefs and understandings of rugby and soccer as a symbol of masculine culture rather than a sport that can promote gender equity practices.

6.4.4. Implications for rugby and soccer development at grassroots level

The development of interest in sport for children from the grassroots level has the potential of promoting sustainable participation in sport at a later age. Schooling, particularly primary school, also plays a role in instilling the culture of participation in sport for children, which can be nurtured until university level. Without marginalising other sports, considering that rugby and soccer are some of the dominant sports in South Africa, it should not be difficult for teachers and grassroots development organisations to encourage and increase girls' 'appetite' to play the sports. There is an opportunity at an early age to teach children about discriminatory practices in rugby and soccer and the importance of respecting each other's game. This information can be reiterated at schools by teachers and coaches to ensure that communication is not unidirectional but multi-directional, and teachers should be provided with training and coaching skills. This means that it is important to re-evaluate the role and relationship between physical education and grassroots organisations in encouraging boys and girls to participate in rugby and soccer, without being gender- and racially-biased.

6.5. Limitations of the study

This study was limited to only two former Model C secondary schools located in the south of Johannesburg, because of time constraints and work commitment as a full-time teacher. The addition of another area in Johannesburg could have presented a holistic picture of the status and practices in rugby and soccer. Even though qualitative research allows a small sample, the inclusion of some private schools could also have presented a more holistic picture of the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer. In addition, the inclusion of another province could have presented an additional picture of the status of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South African secondary schools. Another possible limitation of the study is the focus only on rugby and soccer, while cricket and netball could have strengthened the study, because of their popularity. The tendency to discuss race and gender in terms of White and Black, male (boys and men) and female (women and girls) could be another limitation for the study.

6.6. Possibilities for further research

The existing research in South Africa has not prioritised exploring and interrogating the status of gender and racial participation in the former Model C primary schools, because such research could present a picture and understanding of the practices in secondary schools. Similarly, future research could examine the status at universities, because of the close relationship in order to gain insights into whether and how changes have taken place or inequities are continuing. Another research could focus on teachers' perceptions of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer and the role of physical education in encouraging participation in different sports.

Considering the continuing racial and gender inequity participation practices in rugby and soccer, which are also identified in the women's senior national rugby and soccer teams, research should be conducted with the players, investigating suggestions on how to address gender and racial inequity participation in rugby and soccer. There is a great need to encourage rugby and soccer players to participate in conducting research about their games, rather than waiting for someone to do research about them, as another way of making people aware of the practices that take place in soccer and increasing information about women's rugby and soccer in South Africa. Researching perceptions of the community about the status of women's rugby and soccer in South Africa and lack of media coverage, is one of the issues to problematise because they discriminate against women's rugby and soccer. Understanding how the society perceives women's rugby and soccer, female rugby and soccer players could help with information to understand the violence the women experience in the society.

In addition, a longitudinal research needs to be done in township and rural schools to understand their perceptions of the introduction of rugby in the primary and secondary schools in relation to the general state of gender and racial participation in rugby. More research needs to be done with the rugby and junior and senior women's national soccer teams to understand their experiences about participating in these sports. The sport administrators' perceptions and experiences have been overlooked in research, and adding their voices to the state of rugby and soccer in the secondary schools' context could be another area for future research.

6.7. Conclusion of the study

This study reveals the urgent need for more research to be done on the state of sport in general and participation in rugby and soccer in particular in South Africa, focusing on complex racial bias and gender (in)equity practices that occur in schools. Teachers, parents and coaches are still hesitant for girls to play perceived masculine sports, mainly for fear of the physical risk, the injuries they associate with rugby and soccer participation. However, the feminisation of these sports may foster social cohesion and harmony in society as girls and all racial groups would be able to access sport facilities and resources, interact, and work together to create teams that are representative of all racial groups and are classless - a rainbow nation. Considering the continuing racial discrimination and gender inequity practices in rugby and soccer participation in the society, it is of concern that researching racial and gender (in)equity practices in rugby and soccer within school contexts and society has received little attention. The study unsurprisingly confirms various gender inequity practices in rugby and soccer participation within school contexts. However, of concern is that rugby and soccer players and coaches ignore these practices due to their conception of racial and gender equity participation practices and also normalise men's dominance in rugby and soccer and women's marginalisation in rugby and soccer.

In addition, the study shows that most male participants took gender inequity in rugby and soccer participation practices for granted as most White participants overlooked racial inequalities of power relations that shape the manner in which individuals understand and make sense of participation in sports. In this study, participants conceptualised racial and gender inequity practices in rugby and soccer participation in ways that instituted and reinforced inequitable racial and gender relations, due to the disconnect with the understandings of power relations. Their conceptions further assumed a binaristic understanding of men and women without questioning the socio-cultural and political construction of races and genders. Though girl participants have challenged the dominant construction of racial and gender ravaged by inequitable racialised and gendered social relations, they seem to have had little power to exercise agency in ways that systematically subverted dominant values of gender and gender inequity practices. Consequently, alternative practices of gender equity in rugby and soccer participation appear not to have been

conceived by rugby and soccer stakeholders, making it important to constantly engage with rugby and soccer players in the community and school rugby and soccer to understand their conceptions of gender and gender equity practices in rugby and soccer. I noticed that as participants explained and narrated their conceptions and experiences of gender equity practices in rugby and soccer, they became aware of the issues and practices they had been taking for granted. This means the more we engage in critical conversations with all rugby and soccer stakeholders, the more likely practices of gender inequity could be addressed.

The study has made suggestions with the hopes of having opened new possibilities for more research, while acknowledging the continuing struggles of addressing race and gender inequalities and inequities structured in school rugby and soccer participation in secondary schools in the south of Johannesburg.

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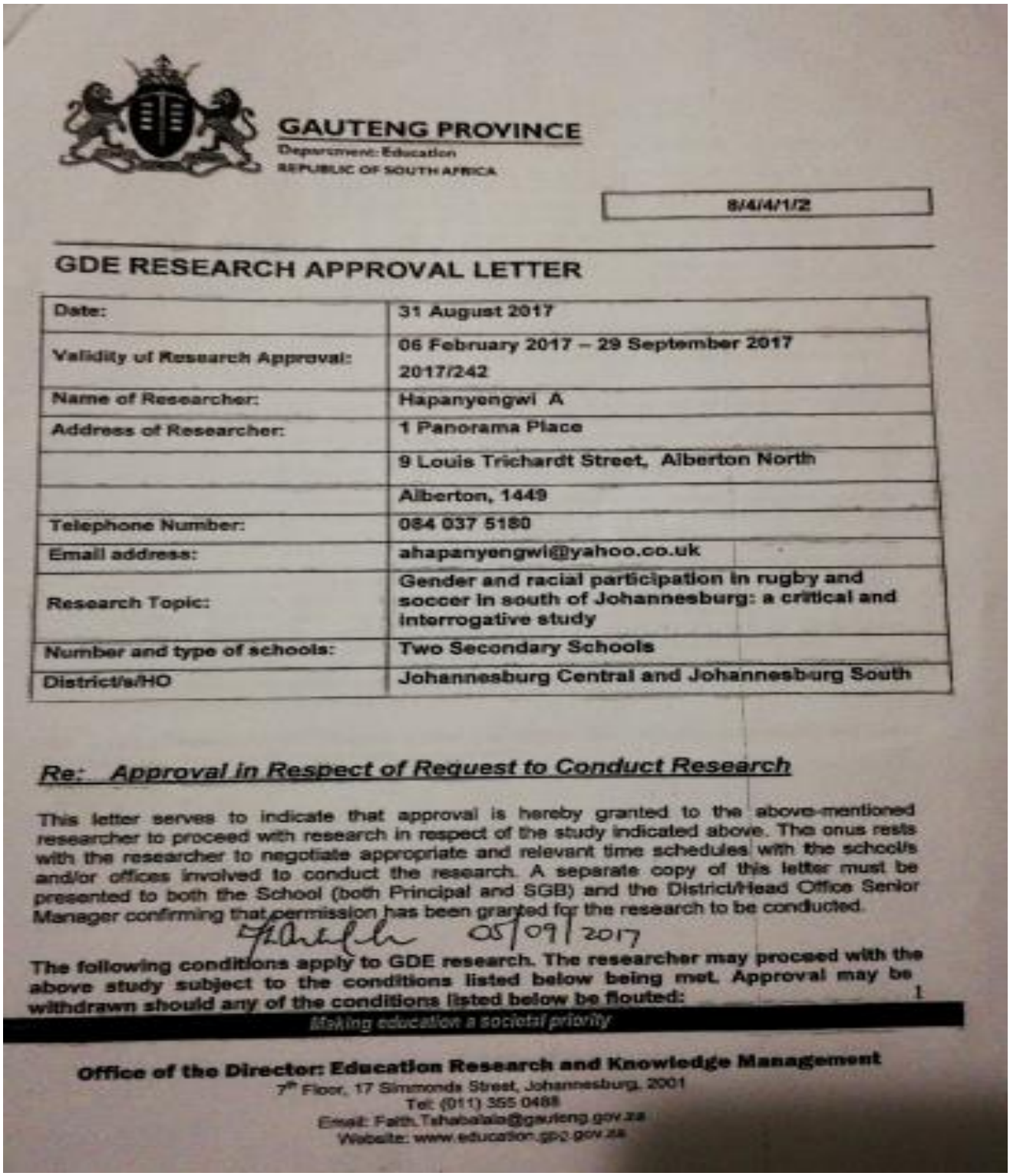
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Appendix



GAUTENG PROVINCE
Department: Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	31 August 2017
Validity of Research Approval:	06 February 2017 – 29 September 2017 2017/242
Name of Researcher:	Hapanyengwi A
Address of Researcher:	1 Panorama Place
	9 Louis Trichardt Street, Alberton North
	Alberton, 1449
Telephone Number:	084 037 5180
Email address:	ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk
Research Topic:	Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in south of Johannesburg: a critical and interrogative study
Number and type of schools:	Two Secondary Schools
District/s/HO	Johannesburg Central and Johannesburg South

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

05/09/2017

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted:

1

Making education a societal priority

Office of the Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management
7th Floor, 17 Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, 2001
Tel: (011) 355 0488
Email: Faith.Tshabalala@gauteng.gov.za
Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

Appendix B

LETTER TO THE PARENT/GUARDIAN
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
School of Education
Faculty of Humanities PHD RESEARCH THESIS

Addmore Hapanyengwi
Wits school of Education
Faculty of Education
27 St Andrews Road
Parktown, 2193
Cell.: 0840375180
E-mail: 786437@students.wits.ac.za
ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk

27 June, 2017

Dear Parent/Guardian

My name is Addmore Hapanyengwi, a PhD Student at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education. I am doing research on:

Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary schools, South of Johannesburg: a critical and interrogative study

The research aims to explore the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg Secondary Schools. It seeks to find out how and why rugby and soccer players choose to play the game, and whether school have sports policies that address and monitors gender and racial participation in South Africa. I will observe how sports are conducted and I will hold workshops with coaches and discuss how gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer can be encouraged.

My research participants will include the rugby and soccer coaches as well as your child as a rugby and or soccer player, the latter with your consent. The data collection process of the research involves audio and video recording of the selected rugby and soccer activities and interviews. There is a chance that your child's face might appear in the videos. This challenge will be catered for by video-editing that will make the faces blurred. There are no forseeable risks in your child being present during the data collection process. No form of payment is given for participants. I would like to assure you that there will be no changes or alterations in your child's daily routines and activities as a result of the research. When we finish later than the normal time, we will notify you. Coach(es) will carry-out the activities as usual and I will be an observer. Your child will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. He/She will be reassured that he/she can withdraw her/his permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There anticipated risks in participating will be ameliorated.

LETTER TO THE LEARNER
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
School of Education
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES PHD RESEARCH THESIS

Addmore Hapanyengwi
Wits school of Education
Faculty of Education
27 St Andrews Road
Parktown, 2193
Cell.:0840375180
E-mail: 786437@students.wits.ac.za
ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk

27 June 2017

Dear Learner

My name is Addmore Hapanyengwi, a PhD Student at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education. I am doing research on:

Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary Schools, South of Johannesburg: a critical and interrogative study

The research aims to explore the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg Secondary Schools. It seeks to find out how and why rugby and soccer players choose to play the game, and whether school have sports policies that address and monitors gender and racial participation in South Africa. I will observe how sports are conducted and I will hold workshops with coaches and discuss how gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer can be encouraged.

I am inviting you to be one of the research participants. The research involves audio and video recording of the selected sports activities and interviews. Although your faces might appear in the videos, I would like to assure you that all videos will be edited and all learner's faces will be blurred. This challenge will be catered for by video-editing that will make the faces blurred. In these activities, your coach(es) will carry-out the activities as usual and I will be an observer. Therefore, there will be no changes or alterations in your daily routines In the research, I will be focusing on how the coach(es) conduct their sessions as well as your participation. I will greatly appreciate your attendance and participation.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice and will not affect you negatively in any way.

Appendix C

INFORMATION SHEET: Coaches
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
School of Education
FACULY OF HUMANITIES PHD RESEARCH THESIS

Addmore Hapanyengwi
Wits school of Education
Faculty of Education
27 St Andrews Road
Parktown, 2193
Cell : 0840375180
E-mail: 786437@students.wits.ac.za
ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk

27 June, 2017

Dear Coaches

My name is Hapanyengwi Addmore, a PhD Student at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education. I am doing research on:

Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary schools, South of Johannessburg: a critical and interrogative study

My research involves a study in the area of sport and gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer. The research aims at exploring the state gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg Secondary Schools. It seeks to find out how and why rugby and soccer players choose to play the game and whether the school has sports policies that address and monitors gender and racial participation in South Africa. The reseach seeks to encourage and promote gender and racial participation in sport particularly rugby and soccer. I would like to observe how sports are conducted and hold workshops with coaches and discuss gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer. To this end, I would like to invite you, as a coach, to participate in this study.

Should you choose to participate, the specific activities on the playing grounds will involve audio and video recording of all sport activities and carrying interviews on rugby and soccer participation. However faces will be blurred out in the videos through video-editing. In these activities, I will be an observer and will not replace or take over your coaching role. In the research, I will be focusing on how you conduct your practice sessions. I propose to meet you after the observation of these activities for interviews, reviewing my observations and your actions on the field.

I further request permission to audio and video record you and players during the sport activities in question. I also request that you allow me access to the criteria used to recruit your teams, work schedules and players' auto-biographs.

19

explore the nature of racial and gender participation in two of the most popular sporting codes in South Africa.

The principal question guiding the research is, "What is the state of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg Secondary schools"? My study is guided by the following sub-questions:

1. How do sport players choose a sport code(s) to participate in?
2) What are the reasons sport players participate in particular sport code(s)?
3) What are sport players' and coaches' experiences of participating in particular sport code(s)?
4) What are the possible factors that shape the decision to participate or not to participate in particular sport code(s)?
5) To what extent are national and schools sport policies address issues of racial and gender participation in South African sports?
6) To what extent are national and schools sport policies monitor gender and racial participation in school sports?

The research will take place in South of Johannesburg schools, Gauteng province, South Africa. One female and one male rugby coaches as well as one female and one male soccer coaches (4 coaches) will be selected purposively to participate in the research study, as well as 2 female soccer players and 2 male soccer players, 2 female rugby players and 2 male rugby players per school, will conveniently selected with the assistance of coaches to participate in the study. The purpose of the study is fourfold. Firstly, to critically explore and interrogate the nature of racial and gender participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools; secondly, to identify and critically analyse reasons to participate or not to participate in particular sport code(s); thirdly, to examine and problematise possible factors that may shape decisions to participate or not to participate in a particular sport code(s), and forthly, to examine and interrogate the existing national and schools' sports policies that address and monitors gender and racial participation in South Africa.

This study will use a qualitative research approach to obtain an in-depth view to understand gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in schools. Non-participatory observation and semi-structured, one-on-one interviews will be used to collect data. Purposive sampling will be used to select coaches and players for the study.

The study will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the analytical tool. Drawing form Foucault's (1970) and Fairclough's (1999) discourse analysis, text should go beyond the "what" and move towards understanding "how" and "why" of the information. This means that in order to get the meaning of the given text, as both stated and implied, an analysis of discourses should take into account both the immediate context (where and when the words are uttered/written) and the broader context (which exists in the mind and experience of the recipient) (Van Dijk, 2008) This marriage of discourse analysis and critique will therefore be useful to analyse "opaque, as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in the participants" language. Thus, critical discourse analysis would help to deconstruct discourses and reveal any taken-for-granted biases and inequalities in gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg secondary schools. This links with Social Critical Theory and the Foucauldian Post Structuralism which are the lenses that seeks to reconstruct distortions in the South African sports.

If permission is granted to conduct this study, I intend to informally introduce myself to the

Appendix D

LETTER TO THE PRINCIPAL
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
School of Education
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES PHD RESEARCH THESIS

Addmore Hapanyengwi
Wits school of Education
Faculty of Education Humanities
27 St Andrews Road
Parktown, 2193
Cell.:0840375180
E-mail: 786437@students.wits.ac.za or
ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk

27 June, 2017

Dear Principal

My name is Hapanyengwi Addmore, a PhD Student at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Education. I am doing research on:

Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary schools, South of Johannessburg: a critical and interrogative study

My research involves a study in the area of sports and the nature of gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in secondary schools. The research aims at exploring the state gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in South of Johannesburg Secondary Schools. It seeks to find out how and why rugby and soccer players choose to play the game and whether school have sports policies that address and monitors gender and racial participation in South Africa. The reseach seeks to encourage and promote gender and racial participation in sport particularly rugby and soccer. To this end, I would like to observe how sports are conducted in your school, and to hold workshops with coaches to discuss gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer.

I therefore, request your permission to enlist the rugby and soccer coaches as well as the players in your school in all grades as my research participants.The specific activities on the playing grounds will be to audio and video record all sport activities and interviews on rugby and soccer participation. In these activities, I will be an observer and will not replace or take over the coaching role. In the research, I will be focusing on how coaches conduct their practice sessions. I propose to meet you after the observation

Principal's Consent Form

Please fill in and return the reply slip below indicating your willingness to be a participant in my voluntary research project called:

Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary schools, South of Johannessburg: a critical and interrogative study

I, _____ give my consent for the following:

	Circle one
Permission to use the school as a research site	
I agree that my School can be used for this study only.	YES/NO
Permission to review/collect documents/artifacts	
I agree that my School can be used for this study only.	YES/NO
Permission to be audiotaped	
I agree to the audiotaping during the interview or lesson observation by the researcher	YES/NO
I know that the audiotapes will be used for this project only	YES/NO
Permission to be interviewed	
I agree for the teacher to be interviewed for this study.	YES/NO
Permission to be videotaped	
I agree to the videotaping of participating teacher(s) and learners in class.	YES/NO
I know that the videotapes will be used for this project only.	YES/NO

Informed Consent

I understand that:

- the name and information of the school will be kept confidential and safe and that my name and the name of my school will not be revealed.
- I do not have to answer every question and can withdraw from the study at any time.
- I can ask for the participants not to be audiotaped, or videotape.
- all the data collected during this study will be destroyed within 3-5 years after completion of my project.

Sign_____ Date_____

Faculty of Humanities: Education Campus

Room 208/9, Administration Block, 27 St. Andrews Road, Parktown · Tel: +27 11 717-3018 · Fax: 0865532464
E-mail: Thabo.Makuru@wits.ac.za

PERSON NUMBER: 786437

09 June 2017

Mr Addmore Hapanyengwi
Cc: Dr Nkambule and Dr Dlamini,

Dear Mr Addmore Hapanyengwi

RESULTS FOR THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY EDUCATION

I am writing to inform you that the Graduate Studies Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your proposal entitled *"Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary Schools, South of Johannesburg: a critical and interrogative study"* and that you should be admitted to candidature subject to minor corrections suggested by the examiners.

Corrections must be addressed to the satisfaction of the supervisor.

I confirm that **Dr Thabisile Nkambule and Dr Reuben Dlamini** have been appointed as your supervisors.

Your attention is drawn to the Senate's requirement that all higher degree candidates submit brief written reports on their progress to the Faculty Office once a year.

Please note that higher degree candidates are required to renew their registration in January each year.

Please keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Yours sincerely

Thabo Makuru
Faculty Officer
Faculty of Humanities
Education Campus
Tell: 011 717 3018

Research that is carried out under the university's name needs to be both ***ethical and professional***. Part of the responsibility of the Ethics Committee is to ensure that the design and procedures of your project is communicated clearly and professionally to others, including participants. **Please work with your supervisor to ensure that this form and all the supporting documents have been carefully checked for spelling and grammatical errors.**

NOTE: Applications are most often turned down by the HREC because basic instructions have not been followed. Please read the guidelines and section on common errors (Appendix 1) at the end of this form very carefully.

Researcher Information
Name HAPANYENGWI ADDMORE
Student or Staff ID Number 786437
Division/Faculty Humanities
Cell Phone Number /Wits extension +27840375180
Email 786437@students.wits.ac.za/ahapanyengwi@yahoo.co.uk

Project Information
Title of Research: Gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary Schools, South of Johannesburg: a critical and interrogative study
Is this research for degree purposes? yes
If yes, which degree? PhD
Name of Supervisor Dr Nkambule T. and Dr Reuben Dlamini
Supervisor's email Thabisile. nkambulewits.ac.za; Reuben.dlamini@wits.ac.za
Is this research part of a larger project? no
If yes, what is the ethics protocol number? n/a
How does this project fit within the larger project? n/a
Where will the research be carried out? Gauteng East district in Gauteng province

1. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH (250-500 words)
Give a brief outline of your proposed research including a clear description of the research procedures. Include a comprehensive summary of what, how, where and with whom you intend to conduct your research. (*Please note that as soon as you step into a classroom to observe a teacher's lesson for analysis the learners also become participants.)*
The objective of my research is to critically explore and interrogate gender and racial participation in rugby and soccer in Secondary Schools, South of Johannesburg. In a democratic South Africa, the past continues to exist when racial and gender representation and participation in certain sporting codes is observed. In addition, the majority of township, rural, and farm schools continue to be marginalised when the provision of sport infrastructures, resources, and qualified coaches is informally observed, as sports fields remain unestablished from primary to secondary schools. Rugby and soccer had different and continue to have different infrastructure, resources, opportunities, and participation from school, university, and to competitive level. It is the different establishment that draws attention to interrogate the nature of transformation in South African sports in schools, university, in competitive sports, and community sports. It is the informal observation in schools and watching different sports on television, that I became interested to conduct a study that