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Masculine and racial identities of black rugby players: A study of a university rugby team

By

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464905

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

at the University of Witwatersrand

Johannesburg

2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, LungakoMweli, hereby declare that this research report is my own original work.

In the instances where the work of another person has been referenced or quoted, it has been cited and fully referenced according to the American Psychological Association (APA) format.

I am fully aware of the implications of using plagiarised work in a project of this nature.

…….

Lungako C Mweli

…….

Date

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Johannesburg

2015

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Issues of RACEand MASCULINITY



"Black males who refuse categorization are rare, for the price of visibility in the contemporary world of white supremacy is that black identity be defined in relation to the stereotype whether by embodying it or seeking to be other than it…Negative stereotypes about the nature of black masculinity continue to overdetermine the identities black males are allowed to fashion for themselves."–bell hooks (2004, p. xii)

ABSTRACT

Historically, rugby was regarded as a white sport, but things changed post 1994. This study explores how black male university rugby players negotiate their masculine and racial identities in playing a sport that is historically white.

Seven rugby players were recruited within the university rugby team for individual interviews which lasted for an hour and more. The individual interviews, with the permission of the interviewees, were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews were analyzed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a way of discovering and making meaning from the key themes that emerged in the data.

The themes that emerged included: The pain associated with playing rugby; access to privilege in playing a sport historically associated with white people; navigating the identity of being black and man; references to soccer; aggression and expression of emotion associated with rugby; and transformation (racial integration). Social identity theory was employed in interpreting the themes that emerged in the study.

In conclusion, it appears that rugby has had an influence on both the racial and masculine aspects of these black players' sense of identity. It could be concluded that rugby does subscribe to the social gender roles of men, as the participants seemed to characterize some of the significant characteristics of masculinity. Based on the use of social identity theory, the participants had a desire to show the in-group (rugby players) in a positive light; this could be interpreted as their being protective of the group they belong to.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction and aim of the study

According to Torres, Jones and Renn (2009), identity is socially constructed and influenced through the individual's interactions with others within their social context. In addition, identity is constructed through social norms, expectations and cultural or social changes. Erickson (1994, as cited in Torres, Jones & Renn, 2009, p. 577) also expresses that "identity is shaped by how one organizes experiences within theenvironment (context) that revolves around oneself." Identity therefore may be seen asthe perception we hold of ourselves, and our experiences as forming a part of who we are. Often identity theories describe identity as a developmental and progressive concept, but it is also commonly perceived as one's beliefs about oneself with regard to a particular social group (Torres et al., 2009). This type of social group identification is also commonly found in sport settings.

In sport subcultures, group identification involves adopting and modelling certain mannerisms, attitudes and behaviours that are characteristic of that particular sport group as a way of establishing the self as part of the sport subculture (Donnelly & Young, 1988). This assertion does not necessarily apply to male sports only, but speaks to the sport environment as a unit, because each sport group, without necessary gender boundaries, has its own level of group identification that exists amongst its members.

Focusing particularly on the field of male sports, masculinity is one of the main forms of identification for the male gender. In this account, identity constructs exist within a context which takes into consideration power, culture and class aspects and the intersection of these aspects. Du Gay, Evan and Redman (2000) point out that social identity is an act of power, exampling the black-white relationship which qualifies the white race as "human being," thus excluding the black race; another example used is that of the man-woman relation, which gives power preference to men.

This power preference bestowed on men creates the masculine ideology of adhering to culturally defined standards for male behaviour, which becomes the main focus forthe individual in society (Chu, Porche & Tolman, 2005). Cultural norms and expectations therefore play an important role in the individual's construction of their identity with regard to the rules and roles they have to follow to be part of the male sports group.

This study will be exploring the concept of identity in the sport of rugby with the main focus being on how identity construction amongst black rugby players[1] intersects with issues of masculinity and racial identity. The aim is toinvestigate the relationship between identity formation and development within the sport environment with looking at how black rugby players have experienced their participation in a sport historically dominated by whites in South Africa. An exploration of their views on the general masculine nature of the sport will also be infused as part of the sub aims of the research.

Informed by coverage of literature, this study begins with a basic assumption that sport participation has an influence on one's identity, and aims to explore how one creates and recreates identity through one's orientation of this sport code. Therefore the review for this research will explore the socio-historical context of rugby within South Africa. This is intended to ground the topic, to uncover the aims ofdiscovering the black identity experience withina historically whitespace.

1.2 Rationale of the study

My interest in this study derives from realizing that there is a gap in the available literature on … sport on different forms of identity in relation to sport. This statement is based on the difficulty I experienced in finding relevant literature on this topic, especially in South Africa. This research aims to explore how young black males negotiate their masculine identities within the specific context of rugby in South Africa in order to fillthis gap. Sport is a historically and culturally embedded domain that has influenced developments and changes within the South African context, and has itself also historically been an enforcer of the concept of racial segregation and power differences (which defined the white race as being more powerful and masculine in comparison to other races) in the country.

However, in acountry composed of different cultures, religions, and racial groups, one could argue that masculinity cannot be a fixed norcan it be a universal ideology, even though society holds this concept as being universal and as having a fixed meaning (Morrell, 2008). Masculinity is quite a debatable and complex topic. To support this argument, Chuet al. (2005, p. 94, quoting Connell, 1996) bring to our attention that "within most groups, certain masculinities aremore honored than others such that a hegemonic masculinity, or 'the form ofmasculinity that is culturally dominant in a given setting,' … becomes evident." This

[1]The term 'black' is used to refer to young black rugby players

indicates that masculinity comes in different formsbut hegemonic masculinity exists across cultures (Connell &Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell andMesserschmidt (2005, p. 832) state that “hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice(i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity),”this being particularly relevant to the past situation in South Africa which allocated masculinity based on practice of power over others and application of the patriarchal system.

Although people of black descent have always been historically viewed as having a hegemonic body in South Africa, the most significant power was the “white male hegemonic power” in the country, because of itscommand of power in various ways (Cashmore, 1982). Without going into the history extensively, this white male hegemonic power was not only visible in the patriarchal system – which painted females as less powerful and being involved in less physical activities; it was also exposed through the way in which the white males governed the spaces which could be occupied by certain races and also physically applied the punishment if these set rules were broken or not obeyed. This hegemonic masculinity was maintained by taking power away from the other. From this stems an interest in discovering how this view of the black individual works in the sport of rugby, considering that it places a lot of emphasis on the body, conveying how rugby reinforces and tries to challenge the stereotypes of how black men were viewed or perceived and how that has impacted on how these athletes perceive themselves (Carrington, 2002).

This study is significant because it enters into the intrinsic world of rugby and its integration of races in South Africa, with an exploration of the different and similar experiences of black rugby players in terms of their black identityin rugby. The research builds upon how these individuals class, culture, race and backgrounds in the sport come into play in their experiences of rugby and its environment. This research has the potential to convey a glimpse of the transformations and dynamics of rugby in the new South Africa and how issues of race and masculinity are negotiated within these spaces.

This creates a sense of what it is like to be a blackrugby player in the new South Africa, considering previous limitations and marginalization of black people in participating in this sport. The inclusion of blacks in various sports where they were previously denied participation shows the movement the country has made towards equal rights and opportunities which in turn shows growth in the country, even though race-specific sport stereotypes still persist in society.

1.3. Conceptual framework: Social identity theory

Less emphasis was placed on a conceptual framework however, the social identity theory was assumed as a means of assisting the reader to attain a better understanding of how an individual's environment can have a significant impact on their identity formation. This theory is regarded suitable as the research study presupposes that the rugby environment has an influence on rugby players' identity construction. Social identity theory holds the concept that the belief system of larger groups becomes salient in individuals' lives, and this saliency therefore means that the in-group behaviours become the norm for individuals within the group. Basically this study will take note of various ways the sport has influenced the self concept and behaviours of these participants, which are indicative of an in-group mindset. Hogg, Terry and White (1995, p. 259) assert that

> the basic idea is that a social category (e.g., nationality, political affiliation, sports team) into which one falls, and to which one feels one belongs, provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of the category –a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept.

Based on Tajfel's (2010) understanding of the social identity theory, the key tenets of this theory that make it relevant to this study include:

1. An individual identifying with certain groups
2. In order to achieve a positive social identity, the group has to present as different from the other groups
3. To retain positive self-evaluation the member must maximize the difference between their group and other groups – even if it means discriminating against the out group

This theory can assist in unveiling the behaviour that these players conform to for the purpose of belonging to the in-group, which in this case refers to being a rugby player. This theory can be applied to understand how the rugby environment can influence the identities of rugby players; because the group behaviours and beliefs of the team become important, thus shaping some of the individual's ways of being, especially in terms of stereotypical racial behaviours and masculinity.Much of this can relate to the hegemonic masculinity thatdictates that people should behave in ways which preserve or reinforce male privilege. This theory may be useful in identifying how these players integrate these various parts of their identity. This theory is also relevant to the social identity crisis that has been evident in South Africa

since the social and economic reconstruction of the country. Booysen (2007, p. 1) defines the crisis as a sense of loss of the "old internalised forms of societal identification and socialization, and the search for new forms that meet individual's basic need for meaning and for adaptation to changing social realities."

Considering that black rugby participants are an active part of the transitioning South Africa through their participation in a historically white sport, this theory is be a great fit for determining the negotiation of their racial and masculine identities (a black man in a white world). As the country transitions, these individuals have had the ability to explore different spaces in society that were previously inaccessible, and that plays a huge part in forming their self concepts. As it appears that these players place a lot of value on their rugby identities, their membership in this group is foreseen as one of the salient identities, therefore this theory can help engage with the intricacies of being faced with dichotomies of race, class, power (black or white, power or powerlessness, high or low status etc). Mtose and Bayaga (2011) discuss the factor of the psychology of black identity as a matter of social identity, by explaining that the black self-concept is based on the membership or affiliation with the black society group. But in this case, the black rugby players are exposed to both the white and the black worlds.

1.4 The report structure

The report consists of five chapters: an introductory chapter, literature review, research methodology chapter, discussion and analysis of findings, and the concluding chapter.

The introductory chapter introduces the topic, the literature review entails an inclusion of previous data that is relevant to the research topic, and this is discussed in this chapter. The third chapter is the research methodology, which explains the methods that were employed in the research. The fourth chapter includes an analysis and discussion of the data, which addresses the central themes and how they relate to negotiations of masculine and racial identities. The last chapter, which is a concluding chapter, provides a reflection on the research processwhilst also evaluating the findings and some of the meanings of these findings.This chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the limitations of the study and future research endeavours, as well as recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Rugby is a popular contact sport with a strong historical background in South Africa. Rugby has been associated with various characteristics, such as speed, power, agility, fitness and body size to perform at various levels (Posthumus&Durandt, 2009).Although it could be argued that the sport has its physical and mental health benefits for its participants, it also holds some difficulties at the same time. This places into question, how this type of history-filled and physique-focused environment impacts on the identity and character-building of individuals participating in the sport.

This chapter will firstly provide an overview of the history of South African rugby under apartheid. It will then discuss the sport of rugby in relation to the post-apartheid era, and issues of transformation and tensions associated with this. This literature review will also cover issues related to intersections between race, gender and class in relation to rugby.

2.2 Sport and race in South Africa

South African rugby history is embedded in racial- and gender-specific standards which perpetuated the cycle of racial division established by the laws of apartheid. This suggests that sport in South Africa mimicked thecountry's status quo, which resulted in its own racial prejudice regarding the assignedboundariesor race-specific sport code participation.

A study done by Bhana (2008) is indicative of the overt representations that are evident concerning sport and race in the South African context: Two boys of different races, aged 8 and 9 respectively,had thesetwo statement to makeabout race-specific sports:

> "**Soccer is always black men**, and I don't like it when they run around and think they're so cool and stuff … and the worst thing about soccer is that there's a goalie and in rugby there's no goalies so it's easier to score (Bhana, 2008, p. 3)." – White boy

> "**Black people play soccer**! Whites are not so strong. They're weak that's why they don't play soccer. They eat unhealthy food. When you push a white person they just

> fall. **They're not so strong** because they eat Danone [a brand of yoghurt] (Bhana, 2008, p. 3)." –Black boy

These statements reveal the images of "sport and physical strength," and "sport and race" in the South African context. It is also evident that certain sporting codes are associated with people of particular races, with soccer seen as a sport for black men and rugby for white men.

Bhana (2008, p.5) comments on the state of rugby and race in South Africa by stating that the country is

> driven by broader social goals and transformation and the need to develop sporting excellence, therefore greater numbers of black players are now seen in rugby and cricket and, along with this, changing masculinities are seen … and that the changing form of masculinities in South Africa is complex – hegemonic white masculinity continues to exert a powerful influence while black urbanised masculinities are ascending.

This statement raises questions about the transformation of rugby as a sporting code post-1994, especially in terms of integrating black rugby players. In some waysthis statement insinuates that the claims of transformation and inclusion of black players in rugby may serve as a way to prove to society and create the image that changes have been made, almost as a corrective move, rather than as a true reflection of how things are.

From the public perspective, the social construct of a successful sport like rugby was and arguably still is identified with"masculine prowess, in which the white, middle class, heterosexual, and physical male was constructed and reified as the ideal" (Price& Parker, 2003, p. 110). This lens basically indicates which race was viewed as superior and was possibly found suitable for being identified as masculine,which meant that anything that differed from such categories of being was considered subordinate (Price & Parker, 2003).This statement raises a lot of questions around the definition of masculinity and where it is positioned in relation to power. Evidently, in the apartheid era the white race was considered more masculine, specifically due to their possession of power and actions which denigrated the black races.Thiscalls into consideration whether masculinity during the apartheid era was power based or physically based. Black people were considered more eligible for physical labour as a job, but not eligible for a sport like rugby, which has physical demands.Evidently power precedes physicality, as indicated by the country's history.

As mentioned earlier, white masculinity was considered to be more hegemonic, while black masculinity was subordinated. Under apartheid, rugby was one of the sports that was also used to express white men's masculinity and power (Black &Nauright, 1998).

In his book *Sport, Cultures, and Identities in South Africa*, Nauright (1997) covers the historical context of 'white' sports in South Africa, specifically rugby and cricket which displayed anintense level of racial specificity. In South Africa, cricket was representative of the British colony, serving the purpose of distinguishing the British culture from the Afrikaner and black cultures (Nauright, 1997).Although these sports were an indication of the differences and alienation between the two white cultures in the country, the core discrimination was extensively directed towards the black cultures. The racial exclusion was evidenced by South African cricket teams opting to include outside white teams to compete with them as preference over the inclusion of black individuals from the country who had an interest in the sport (Nauright, 1997).

As is well-known inSouth Africansociety, rugby is a sport that is entrenched in the Afrikaner culture and was conceptualized as a boundary-setting or exclusionary tool aimed at the black majority (Nauright, 1997). The histories of these two sporting codes (cricket and rugby) indicate a sense of holding onto space and the extent of this – as indicated by groups of the same race being unwilling to allow each other to participate in each other's sports – places emphasis on the need to sustain a sense of dinstinction between the cultures and races. It may be questioned as to what extent racial specificity in sport was a race issue and to what extent it was a cultural issue, as evidenced by intra-race distinction in sports code.

With white sport's aim to exclude the black race, African cultural practices were responsible for the restoration of a self confidence for Africans by creating solidarity and ethnic loyalties (Cobley, 1990, p. 83). "Black consciousness" also became a phenomenon that was directed at creating solidarity amongst blacks for the liberation from the inferior image created to define the black individual. Mangan and Ritchie (2004) point out that sport has been used in contradictory ways in the history of South Africa, using ethnic and national identity as a tool to serve these contradictory purposes, like superiority and subordination. The past construction of the sport in South Africa was aimed at excluding certain groups in abiding by the apartheid law of segregation and maintaining white power by denigrating other racial groups, therefore the superiority of the white race was in coexistence with the subordination of the black race. Sport affected people at cultural, economic, political and psychological

levels by serving purposes of ethnic restriction and liberation. However, in the twentieth century sport played a crucial role in the liberation of marginalized groups, even though this is an ongoing and difficult process (Mangan& Ritchie, 2004).

2.3 Rugby under apartheid law

The sport of rugby developed as a character-forming and manly game in South Africa (Black &Nauright, 1998). Therefore not only did the sport put emphasis on manliness, but it also built the players' identities and their way of being. Despite what might be assumed about the origins of rugby culture, it appears that historically the sportwas associated with English-speaking (of British origin) South Africans rather than the Afrikaners. The transformation and growth of the sport began to with the British teams that toured the country between 1903 and 1906, which then led to the decision to hold international games within the former Boer Republic, Transvaal, Western Province and Griqualand West (Allen, 2011). This took place after what appeared to be a reconciliation between the two conflicting white South African groups after the South African Boer war (1902).

This became one of the pivotal moments in introducing the Afrikaners to rugby culture, although it was only between the years 1910 and 1948 thatrugby played a role in mobilizing the identity of the white Afrikaner (Hill, 2010). It was after World War I (1914–1918), which Leed (1979, p.x) characterizes as "an ultimate confirmation of the power of men to ascribe to," that there was a dramatic risein the number of Afrikaners participating in the sport of rugby. The association of the sport with mainly white Afrikanerswas formally developed, influencing the firm identification of rugby asan Afrikaner sport, as we know it today.'One could make a connection between the wars and the increase in the numbers of people taking part in rugby by suggesting that rugby was a sanctioned space for proxy war. Dominance and territoriality could be claimed based on victory in the rugby war rather than an actual war.

Although there was reconciliation within the two white South African groups, the Afrikaner South African government established discriminatory policies against black people which affected other countries touring in the country for rugby. This discrimination became more evident against players who were of black descent, even from visiting countries. In a tour to South Africa in 1970, the black players in the New Zealand rugby team (which consisted of both black and white players) endured and experienced a great numberof injustices and exclusionary actions, which led to thecancellation of a follow-up tour in 1973 by the New

Zealand government (Nauright, 2012). The racial discrimination against all international black players in rugby appeared to be quite rife, as evidenced by the New Zealand team's experience in the country, whichcaused a lot of upheaval globally. 27 national teams pulled out of the South African tour as a result (Nauright, 2012).

Whilst Afrikaner and British South African groups had their differences, the idea of rubbing against black bodies, from a race considered inferior, was far beyond their inclusionary capacities. However, the cancellation of the tour and numerous back and forth protests against discriminatory policies guided South African rugby administrators to move towards a non-racial selection process in rugby, although this is still regarded as a slow process in South African rugby today, reflectedin the numbers of black selection in the Springboks and at other amateur levels. One needs to question whether, in light of changing policies in the country, this was the only way the white government could maintain their dominance. Nonetheless, the political changes that were made in South Africa marked a new journey for world rugby and touring (Nauright, 2012). It was these tours that were responsible for the development of the Springbok identity in South Africa (Allen, 2011).

2.4 Black rugby prior to 1994

Before, the former Springbok player Uli Schmidt expressed that rugby was neither natural nor culturally fitting for black individuals, and that they should rather play soccer (Black &Nauright, 1998). This statement was indicative of the inability to accept non-whites playing the sport, but regardless of this mentality existing in South Africa at that time, numerous black and coloured rugby teams around the country were participating in the sport, although they were forced to play in isolation from the white teams (Van der Berg, 2011). The history of black South African rugby appears tobe deeply rooted in the Eastern Cape Province, which also set the tone for the emergence of black rugby in South Africa around the 1880s (Van der Berg, 2011).

Rugby was a popular sport in Xhosa culture, which led to the first provincial controlling board of black rugby, the Eastern Province Native Rugby Board (EPNRB) in 1905 (Van der Berg, 2011). Rugby was also popular in the Western Province, Griquas and Transvaal, which encouraged non-whites' participation in rugby. The growth of the sport in the Eastern Cape was during the days of colonization, and involvement and interest in sports such as cricket, rugby etc. was seen as a demonstration of black people's ability to assimilate European

culture (Odendaal, 2012, p.235). Schools were recreated to include sport; this also served a political function, as the transformation was viewed as “an important part of self-conscious process.”It appears that the enthusiasm with whichthe Eastern Cape met sports, and the initiative of starting a board to represent black players in the country and starting inter-town competitions, saw a stronger establishment in the province which made the sport survive amongst the black players (Odendaal, 2012).

With many other boards forming around the Eastern Cape Province, the kwaZakhele Rugby Union (KWARU) decided to merge with the South African Rugby Union (SARU), which was a coloured body, and together they challenged the rugby order that was in existence (Van der Berg, 2011). One thing that is interesting about rugbyis that the Eastern Cape is still considered to be the only region where the popularity of rugby amongst black players possibly competes with football participation amongst black people (Odendaal, 2012).

2.5 Rugby post-apartheid (1994)

1994 was a historic milestone which brought democracy toSouth Africa, andintroduced new policies in the country. On 27 April, South Africans of all races, gender and cultures were able to vote for the first time (Twenty Year Review, 2014). Previously, under apartheid, the education system had beenracially based and deliberately and explicitly aimed to ensure that Africans remained a source of unskilled labour for the economy (Twenty Year Review, 2014). However, the major shiftaway from racial segregation in the country resulted in the emergence of multiracial schools, which encouraged cross-mixing of races, thus giving non-white groups the ability to participate in the sport, as a resultof exposure. Consequently, over the years, the emergence of black players in rugby has been on therise, as a result of the re-establishment of the country in its departure from the apartheid system and moves towards democracy.

The 1994 policies of affirmative action for protection, equalization and anti-discrimination were put into place to discover a new country. With changes being made politically in the country, the 1995 Rugby World Cup victory against New Zealand (the All Blacks) symbolized the day in which the country united, as black and white South Africans seemed to have discovered a sense of common unity as the victory was celebrated across the country. This was an unorthodox event, since the country had suffered from a long and painful history of division, conflict and oppression at the hands of the Afrikaners, who were perceived as the

owners of the game of rugby (Grundligh, 1998). However, when Nelson Mandela appeared in the same number jersey as then-Captain Francois Pienaar, it became a symbol of identification and was viewed as a more positive image of embracing the new order in SouthAfrica (Grundligh, 1998).

The 1995 Rugby World cup team only had oneblack player present, Chester Williams, which was also seen as one of the first steps toward the reconciliation of a divided nation through sport (Hoglund&Sundberg, 2008). In the aftermath of the Rugby World Cup victory, the South African Rugby Union (SARU) committed to initiating a programme of rugby development specifically for disadvantaged areas in order to create a solid base of black rugby players (Desai, 2010). Since then many players of colour have been included in rugby in South Africa. Regardless of the steps taken forward towards the admission of black players in rugby, however, there has been resistance throughout the years.

The integration of different races in sport was a concept that was fought for and was met with resistance for many years. Blackswere thought to have no sporting ability and, as in other areas of life, were regarded asnon-persons (Merrett, 2010). Post-1994 there have been racial discrimination incidents associated with the sport of rugby. For example,Geo Cronje refused to share a room or any type of facility with fellow black teammate, QuintonDavids, in 2003,during the World cup training (Gallagher, 2003). Although this was dealt with in the form of dropping Cronje from the training squad, this event represented a glimpse of the racial struggles that exist in the sport of rugby regardless of the country's political change.

Currently, FikileMbalaula,Minister of Sport and Recreation, has suggested to the South African Rugby Union and the Springbok coach, Heyneke Meyer, to include 60% black players and 40% white players in the Springbok team, in accordance withthe sports quota system (eNCA, 2014). This can be seen as a way of reclaiming black power, and the most important thing to note is the unevenratio between the players, of 60:40%,which from one perspective merely perpetuates the cycle of racial difference and claim for power, even though the main struggle and protestation has been for equality. AfriForum, as a non-governmental organization aimed at protecting the rights of the minorities (mainly Afrikaners), decided to challenge the Minister's call for a racial quota by lodging a complaint withthe International Rugby Board (IRB) (AfriForum, 2014). This was due to their impression of this instruction as a crude form of racial discrimination (eNCA, 2014). This

merely shows that the realm of rugby is a continuous political and racial struggle, and equality in sports seemed still to be an issue, even in 2014.

The current racial discrimination in rugby possibly supports Grundligh's (1998) argument that theeventsof the 1995 rugby World Cup did not resolve tensions that existed in this sporting code.Grundligh (1998) argued that 1995 rugby world cup wasa parody, far from the realstate of the country. In his conclusion, Grundligh (1998) argued that although there had been claims of change, nothing had really changed, especially when it cameto the inclusion of rugby players in the national rugby team. Clearly, there is still resistance to fully including black rugby players in the national team, as well league teams. Black rugby players have been somewhat included in teams and at times through a quota system, but does this system confront the main issue at hand, and does the inclusion mean that the struggle for racial equality is over? Keohane (2004) suggested that when the Super 12 coaches of 2003 wanted a quota system of four players in a squad of 22 players, they did not understand the concept of transformation, as they did not believe in the ability and potential of black players. To some extent the struggle for inclusion through forced procedures can undermine black rugby players' abilities in the sport, as at times they have to question their presence in the team– whether it is by merit or the quota system. As much as inclusion in a rugby team can prove a player's worth, how the player gets in can also be emasculating if the player does not feel that they have earned it through participation.

2.6 History of black rugby and identity

The history of black rugby indicates that black teams were formed in the 1800s in isolation fromwhite teams, and competed in separate league games due to the obligatory segregation in all aspects of life (Nauright, 1997). There have been a few exceptions over the years, for examplethe beginning of black players being included in the National team (the Springboks). In 1981 South Africa witnessed Errol Tobias become the first non-white player in the South African national team at the age of 31 (Van der Berg, 2011). But instead of this recruitment of a coloured individual being a celebratory moment, it caused emotional uproar in the coloured communities, as Tobias was viewed as a sell-out for playing for the Springboks (Van der Berg, 2011). Tobias' response to the chaos was that:

> We had no say in the politics. We didn't even have a vote, so all I knew at that stage was to play rugby. My goal was to show the country and the rest of the world that we

> had black players who were as good, if not better, than the whites, and that if you are good enough you should play. (Van der Berg, 2011, p. 68)

In the case of Tobias, his motive was to display black talent to the rest of the world and lead by example, by suggesting that judgement should not be madebased on the colour of the skin. His aim was to represent the black race and present a positive and empowering image on behalf of the black people. Three years after Tobias, Avril Williams made his debut for theSpringboks as well, and he was followed by Chester Williams in 1993. Based on these few players, the coloured community, which was also viewed as black,paved the way for the emergence of black players in the history of rugby in South Africa during the apartheid era (Van der Berg, 2011).

Sport has createda new image of the black individual, in the sense of black sportsmen with physical strength and ability. This creates another way for these black individuals to relate tothe world, not based on what they cannot do but what they can do successfully (Manganyi, 1973). Sport has been represented as a culture of domination, where black individuals are able to put their physical strength to positive use and create better images of the black race. Cashmore (1982) communicates in his work that blacks are able to deliver in terms of physical performance in sport, and further states that sport has played a crucial identity-conferring function for many young black individuals. It provides a sense of achievement and this has great meaning for a man who has been continuously associated with negativity (Burroughs, 2008). There are cases of certain players being discouraged about their level of performance in relation to being viewed as quota player, which makes players doubt their ability to be selected on merit. The quota systemwas, however, abolished because it hindered the process of growth and achievement of South African rugby. This system was also found to be an unfair system to white players who were better, but had to be excluded because of their whiteness and to black players, who would doubt if they made it on merit (Van der Berg, 2011).

Post-apartheid, Owen Nkumane was the first black Springbok to emerge, in 1998 (Van der Berg, 2011), and more black players have since represented South Africa at national and international levels in rugby, namely: Chiliboy Ralepelle, Bandise Maku, and Odwa and Akona Ndungane to mention a few. However, evidence shows similarity in relation to these players' educational backgrounds, in that they attended multiracialschools.For instance, Ralepelle attended at Pretoria Boys High school and the Ndungane twins attended Hudson

Park High school in the Eastern Cape, which is a multiracial school. This still displays the slow progress in SARU's plan to recruit and develop rugby in disadvantaged communities. Van der Berg (2011) points out that there is still a deficit or lack of progress in the development of players from townships in South Africa.This is indicative of black people's limited exposure to the sport, especially if theycome from disadvantaged communities. There are those few exceptions of talent spotted in townships and rural areas; however, few opportunities exist and access to facilities is also a persistent problem. Smiles (2012) suggests that black townships and locations have been overlooked in favour of the "white image" ofthe game of rugby in South Africa. Sometimes this white image can be passed onto black individuals of higher class and privilege, which provides them with opportunities to be exposed to the sport.

It is a development of recent years that South Africa has had a high amount of black players of high profiles to play at the same time, such as Bryan Habana, SiyaKolisi and TendaiMtawarira to name a few. These changes in the rugby context cultivate the idea of intersectionality within anenvironment where different factors come into play through a consideration of the history of the sport and its ongoing developments.

In this transformation and inclusioninto rugby, black rugby players have always been associated with particular positions on the field, and often have certain abilities ascribed to them, particularly speed or running ability, which areassumed to be a genetic component of black individuals (Cottle& Keys, 2010). Contrary to the common belief that black males are more physically strong compared to the white males, in rugby, black males are stereotypically perceived as filling particular positions in the rugby team. Smith and Langa (2010, p. 86) make reference to some of their research participants, who communicated the idea that:

> *Black boys we do play rugby but uhhm I suppose it's about having a highposition like a black guy is the fastest and you put them on the wing and that's justthe way it is it's like that for every team.*

This is a typical example of the mindset that exists regarding black players having a homogenous trait or skill, such as speed, which is perceived to be exclusive to the black players only. Is this another way of classifying the white players as more masculine, as they engage in positions that require body weight and assertion, and does that imply that black

men are still in a position of being viewed as being less masculine in comparison to their white counterparts?

2.7 Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality is an important part of this research, as it explores matters of race, gender and class, and how these subsequently relate to relations of power, especially in the rugby context (Watson &Scraton, 2013). This refers to the processes of exclusion and inclusion based on factors of identification with regards to the mentioned intersections, focusing on ways gender and class may influence privilege, whilst race may be experienced as a challenge. Intersectionality opens ground for the explanation and the understanding of factors with regards to differences and identity formation.

Race is the central focus of this study, and Manganyi (1973) argues that the importance of the colour of one's skin is only of importance in terms of what it signifies psychologically and sociologically. Manganyi's (1973) argument sparks the notion of black consciousness, which is conceived as the mutual knowledge that exists within the black community and how black individuals relate toeach other as conscious beings through impressions and thoughts, and how this creates black solidarity. With blackness being historically associated with lack of power in most areas of life, Fanon (1967) states that black inferiority stems from existing through the other, referring to the black man's relation to the white man, therefore black consciousness became a notion important for the liberation of black individuals, psychologically, in terms of finding positivity and pride in being black.

Looking at the internalizations of racial and gender stereotypes, Manganyi (1973) illustrates in his work that the assimilation of white culture by black individuals may lead to the assumption of a false identity or false consciousness. This is a very important argument considering the history of rugby and its labelling as a white sport. It is therefore important to see how class has played a role in the identification of these black males within a historically white sport.

This argument has been made in order to link class to race; in society, black individuals belonging to acertain class affording them access to better educational systems are viewed or labelled as "coconuts," and seen as taking on a role of a white person. This is an indication of the perceived difficulty of integrating two socially contradictoryidentities; considering that white and black are considered opposites, society therefore assumes that such cultural

systems cannot co-exist within one body, as it causes confusion. An argument could be made that this is not necessarily the case, because what one participates in does not necessarily define who one is, it merely influences the associations onehas to various groups. The case of an individual belonging to a particular class and having access to more opportunities does not make him less “black.”

Contradictory ideas also emerged in terms of gender in the sport, with the social understanding that rugby is a male sport and females participating in it seem to have created a sense of boundary crossing. Segal (2010) postulated that the participation of females in rugby challenges the ideas of appropriate female behaviour and the ideal female body, although the women who participate in rugby themselves often viewed their bodies as being different form the typical female. Therefore female participation in contact sport may signify resistance to gender expectations. It also presents as a challenge that a strong emphasis is placed on appearance, even though schools encourage girls to succeed in sport, but it seems that the choice of sport is seen as problematic if it poses a threat of women becoming masculinized.

The history of South African rugby is of one of the forces that provided problematic positioning of race, gender and class, although there has been transformation. The sport was fundamentally grounded in the interactions between these factors in order to facilitate a particular idealof preferred player, supporter and administrator, as it was central to a specific form of identity (Chandler &Nauright, 2013). The sport in its new transformative nature has been rather viewed as a commodity, where the teams are used as symbols of the new South African nation (Chandler &Nauright, 2013). Symbolically, in the history of rugby, class was one of the factors that shaped the behaviour on the field, where the concepts of masculinity in rugby began with class-based ideals thatstressed elegance over strength, but with the participation of lower classes in the quest to utilize their physical strengths for the game, which was deemed as theiradvantage over the middle and upper classes because they were of a working class whosework included physical components (Chandler &Nauright, 2013).

It is therefore suggested that in the history of world rugby,the lower classes had more physical capacity in the sport of rugby, andyet in South Africa the participation of lower classes was not condoned. It was also a contradictory element inthe sport because the involvement of the black players would have been seen as tainting the elegance of the sport, although the black physicality would have been found useful. This mentality links to

theexperiences of black players in current society, who view their rugby involvement as an enhancement of their status in society.

The inclusion and creation of opportunities for South Africans to participate in rugby from disadvantaged areas, to cultivate potential skill and talent, and possibly select them based on merit, has also been a new plan for South African rugby. Considering that disadvantaged areas do not have many resources to shape talent and uplift performance, this is also one with an awareness that sometimes lower class individual may have the physical ability to provide something of value into rugby teams.

This inclusion in rugby has given birth to racial stereotypes aroundthe positional play andphysical attributes of black rugby players.

2.8 Race and Class

Post-apartheid South Africa came with changes in the educational and social contexts of the nation, which meant that there would be a focus on the way people identified themselves in the new South Africa. With this huge shift in the South African society, the 1990s introduced a significant change, in allowing black students to attend white schools, which meant that a few learners were afforded the opportunity to interact with other races and different cultures with the benefit of education, thus creating a rise in what were termed “multiracial schools” in South Africa (Dolby, 2001).

This new shift of structures conclusively meant that new generations of black students would construct their identities differently from the previous generations, because they had been socialized and exposed to a different environment from their elders (Dolby, 2001). Dolby (2001, p. 8) adds:

> But young black people can never look wholly to the prior generations for clues about how to develop their own identities. The experiences of the two generations differ, and some cultural commonalities with white youth must arise from their shared conditions of life – common experiences in the same streets and schools mediated by many of the same cultural media.

It could be said that in the shift from apartheid to democracy, one of the cultures that has been absorbed by black learners at white schools is culture of rugby, because it was previously a generally white sport. It can therefore be argued that black identity in modern

rugby is due to the educational shift from racially segregated schools to multiracial schools. Although there are a few exceptions when it comes to black rugby players emerging from multiracial schools, the majority of black players who participate in rugby in modern South Africa had the opportunity to attend multiracial schools, which makes class a very distinctive part of the racial identity in black males in rugby if one makes the link withthe ability ofthe individual's parents to afford to send their children to such schools.

The question also lies in the role that rugby plays in the privileging and disadvantaging black rugby players in their association with the sport. On the one handthe sport is viewed as prestigious, thus providing the players with a particular status, whilst on the other hand,players face judgement from people of the same race as they may be viewed as intersecting into a different identity that goes beyond what areunderstood as historical boundaries. This relates to the psychological element of black identity, where players can either hold onto the past views of their race as being inferior, or rather own the new identity and channel it into an evolving sport.

2.9 Masculinities

The nature of the sport of rugby in terms of physicality allows for its classification as one of the most masculine sports in South Africa. Team sports like rugby that involve excessive physical contact place emphasis on manliness, thus shaping and encouraging a heterosexual identity on rugby players (Price & Parker,2003). The extract below displays the masculine levels associated with various sports that men partake in:

> Trevor: I was going to these dancing classes. I became the subject of a bar-rage of the usual kind of negative connotation with homosexuality. I used to get name-called a lot… and I went through a really, really rough time. But my sporting abilities started, for some reason, to come out through this. I think it became a challenge that I thought… that if I could prove myself as a good athlete, as "somebody," then, maybe, I would gain respect. (Price & Parker, 2003, p. 114)

Trevor was a dancer turned rugby player; he demonstrates the two extremes of the reactions of being involved in a sport considered feminine, like dancing, and rugby,which is considered masculine. This is one of the reasons why rugby holds substance for the research of masculinity – as 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.

In the middle class of the United States, hegemonic masculinity is based on emotional stoicism, physical toughness and heterosexual dominance over women; this type of ideology does not solely exist in America – it is arguably the most common ideology (Steams, 1990 as cited in Chu et al., 2005). "Masculinity can be understood as a gendered story-line or theme that shapes an individual's narrative of self and views of others" (Pringle& Hickey, 2010, p.119) – in other words, how males view themselves within the masculine stream of their gender expectations. Like all men in society, sportsmen are expected to represent a particular masculine group which requires them to present themselves a certain way (as men upholding the standards of society).

The same argument can be made about women's participation in this sport, which poses a threat to the view that it is a masculine sport, as gender identities are questioned (Wright & Clarke, 1999). The power dynamics between men and women cannot be denied; women are constructed as possessing less power (Wright & Clarke, 1999). With women participating in this sport, the expectation is for women's rugby to be less masculine because of society's construction of feminine behaviour. This conceptualization would be best described by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 831) as "hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity."

Masculine stereotypes

2.9.1 Heterosexual dominance over women: Sexual identity/sexualized orientation

Male sport in general is considered a heterosexual domain with heterosexual males, which means that their masculinity is judged on their ability to take charge over the female gender. In conjunction, Muir and Seitz (2004, p. 310) state that "the more crude his behaviour with regard to women or homosexuals, the less likely his actions will be negatively sanctioned by his peers." In a peer group, individuals value the group norms; in the case of rugby, masculinity comes with stereotypes that the men should be against homosexuality. This sends the message that they should avoid things that makes them look feminine, because they have to uphold amasculine appearance.

Muir and Seitz (2004, p. 316) further state that

> nowhere are masculinity and misogyny so entwined as on the rugby field. At the post-game parties that are an integral part of the rugby culture, drunken men sing songs that depict women as loathsome creatures with insatiable sexual appetites and dangerous sexual organs.

This is symbolic of how rugby players have been perceived to psychologically and sometimes physically dominate women (Anderson & McGuire, 2010).

Group behaviours in such sports may include, for example,sexual competitions which encourage sexualized behaviour, and if the players fail in a sexual encounter with a female, they are ridiculed in the presence of their teammates. It therefore becomes crucial for these players to be involved in such activities to foster a group identity and avoid being labelled negatively (Muir & Seitz, 2004). Usually these sexual games are associated with alcohol consumption, thus making these behaviours extremely risky. A common conceptualization ofrugby players is the use of misogynistic language in order to encourage players to accept pain, such as calling each other "sissies," "ladies" or "girls," but this may also be a misconception about rugby as a sport and the behaviours that are associated with it (Anderson & McGuire, 2010).There has for some time been a male concept which refers to the process of a male succeeding in pursuing a female as "scoring;" even that to some extentindicates a sense of domination over the female, as scoring is usually associated with games, perpetrating the idea of males dominating the female (Fuller, 2010).

"Rugby appears to embody many characteristics associated with a hegemonic understanding of masculinity. As such rugby was identified as a potentially strong influence in identity development for those who actively engaged in playing" (Stephenson, 2012, p. 2). Stephenson (2012) continues to explain that a successful identity entails satisfaction with one's appearance, management of feelings, sexuality and dominance, amongst other aspects.

2.9.2 Emotional stoicism

Emotion is something which is understood as being difficult to define, merely because it is considered to be subjective experience; however, regardless of this contention there seems to be some consensus regarding it being somewhat a response to a cause which may be expressed through verbal means, emotion-specific cognition and expressive behaviour (Nicholls, Levy, Jones, Rengamani&Polman, 2011). Lazarus (1991) considered emotions to be relational, cognitive and motivational, and this led him to establish various types of

emotions, which were categorize according to positivity and negativity. The positive emotions were compassion, gratitude, happiness, hope, love, pride and relief; and the negative emotions included anger, anxiety, disgust, envy, fright, guilt, jealousy, sadness and shame (Lazarus, 1991). According to Nicholls et al. (2011), professional rugby players report experiencing anxiety, anger, pride, hope, shame, relief, sadness, happiness and guilt. One's emotional reaction is dependent on how an individual appraises an environment, according to relational significance to his or her personal well being. When it comes to rugby, there seem to be certain emotions that are granted as acceptable to express because they uphold masculine identity, but some emotions are suspended due to the contradiction of this identity, and this is often referred to as *emotional stoicism*.

Emotional stoicism is a term that refers to lack of emotional expressiveness or absence of emotion (Graver, 2007).Addis and Mahalik (2003, p. 9) suggest that "the norm of emotional inexpressiveness serves to preserve power for men in potentially vulnerable interpersonal contexts." As an example, athletes may also compete whilst feeling intense injury and would suspend from expressing their pain, and in turn receive praise for their toughness and bravery (Addis &Mahalik, 2003). The appraisals ofsuch behaviours reinforce emotional stoicism and toughness, whilst encouraging the neglect of self-care, because the masculine role of self-sacrifice in the sport environment plays a role of importance whilst preserving their power.

"Young male athletes are encouraged to exhibit aggressive yet emotionally distant personae (Muir & Seitz, 2004, p. 310)." Any emotion that shows weakness is practically suppressed because males want to uphold that appearance of toughness and strength, and any expression of unmanly emotion or behaviour threaten their masculine identity. Certain emotions have been depicted as embarrassing.

2.9.3Physical toughness: Aggressive nature of rugby and skills

In consideringthephysical factors regarding rugby, a few characteristics surface in terms of common attributes, such as: fitness, speed, agility, endurance and strength (Knobel, 2010). The ability to generate high levels of muscular power is one the important attributes of rugby players, for itseffectiveness in the fulfilment of the pushing, tackling, pulling and lifting requirements of the game (Gabbett, Kelly &Pezet, 2007). Speed is another skill which requires players to move quickly for positioning, whether for attack or defence mode, whilst

agility defines the player's ability to accelerate, decelerate and change directions rapidly (Gabbett et al., 2007). These skills complement a player's player ability on the field.

Rugby's association with physical domination and aggression can be seen through some of the shared experienced expressed by some high school players from a study in New Zealand:

> If you play soft like you did last week you'll go up there and get belted, and they'll gloat over it. If you train hard all week like you did today and take that aggression you showed today with you you'll win, you'll go out there and rub their faces into their own dirt. (Light & Kirk, 2000, p. 173)

Maxwell and Visek (2009) further state that rugby is a sport of sanctioned aggression, showing the true nature of the sport. They additionally explore the three forms of aggression that exist within the sport environment, which may surface ondifferent occasions, namely: instrumental aggression, which is physical expression of aggression with the intention of a favourable game outcome; 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 individuals' immediate reaction to provocation (Maxwell &Visek, 2009).

Aggression is usually defined as an intentional act to hurt a victim by an aggressor. Baron and Richardson (2004, p. 12) defines it thus:"Aggression is any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment." In sport and within the sphere of rugby, the use of this word better speaks to assertiveness, and rather forceful behaviour, which is often functional rather than destructive. Assertion is distinguished from aggression as more channelled aggression and does not attempt to harm; it strictly exists within the rules and spirit of the game (Crocker, 2011). Baird (2010, p. 4) uses rugby as an example, stating that "I know that it hurts when someone tackles me in rugby; however, this type of intentional harm is not included within the traditional definition of aggression. In the sport psychology literature, this type of enthusiastic play is considered assertion."

"Aggression can be understood as a symbol of superior play and athletic prowess while simultaneously a symbol of masculinity" (Baird, 2010, p. 7).

Aggressive behaviour within the psychology realm has been understood from a Freudian perspective, which classifies it as instinctive behaviour. The notion of the death instinct, which is conceptualized as a form of destructive energy existing within a person's psyche, is linked to aggression-related and aggressive behaviour (Coakley, 1998). Coakley (1998) therefore makes an argument based on this theory that this destructive energy can be controlled by releasing it through an aggressively expressive activity. This theory has been applied to sport, and it could thus be argued that rugby therefore becomes a sport of constructive outlet, but also as providing an opportunity for players to engage in aggressive behaviours (Coakley, 1998).

However in Bandura's learning theory, aggression takes a form which implies that itis influenced by learning; because this sport is depicted as an aggressive sport the players learn this behaviour as being characteristic of the game. Social learning theory argues that behaviour is learned, and if aggression is an accepted mode of behaviour within this sport it can be reinforced and is likely to occur if it is part of a group norm (Crocker, 2011).

Some of the ways of expressing aggression can be extreme in the sport of rugby. However, considering the nature of the game, it is expected that such aggressiveness would be expressed. Itmay be speculated that aggression in this type of sport is an expression of a level of competitiveness and a way of asserting that competitiveness on the field. Baird (2010) suggests that contact, pain and aggression are characteristic of a player's rugbyness in terms of their self-identity.

2.9.4Body associated with rugby

Pronger (2002, as cited inStephenson, 2012) expresses that physical appearance acts as a validation of the masculine identity, hence athletes' bodies are considered the ideal body regarding physical strength. If one agrees with this assertion, it would also be crucial to point out the role society has played in terms of producing an ideal masculine body with regards to sportsmen,depicted in media images. Olds (2010) found in his study that there are strong associations between the success of a player in rugby and body size, and this is an indication of the emphasis placed on the body and its size, which encourages intense training in players. However, over the years there have also been different body sizes associated with certain positions.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) mention how masculinity has been marked by interplay between social processes and bodies, arguing that the bodies of athletes are used as weapons. The transpiring view is that masculinity is indicated through skilled bodily activity, as has been seen through sport. Bodies are therefore understood as tools of strengthening the social construction of masculinity through social activity. Rugby is viewed as a sport that reinforces masculine traits such as physical dominance, toughness, competition and tolerance of pain, and through this players are able to distance themselves from practices which are considered feminine (Segal, 2010). It isthus viewed as a sport that reproduces the gender roles.

Wellard (2009) argued that most players identify their bodies as being a central component in the formulation of their understanding of masculine performance and how others viewed them, whilst additionally noting that the physical bodies are used as an expression of identity.

2.10 Injuries

Injuries are a large part of rugby, ranging from knee, ankle or ligament injuries; they are a reflection of the nature of the game (Griffiths, 2012). When considering the latter one may argue that the bravery or courage in participating in such a sport plays its own part in the reinforcing of the image of masculinity. There are a few risk factors associated with injuries in rugby, such as strenuous activity, high levels of participation, age, previous injuries and position (Griffiths, 2012).

According to Stephenson (2012), rugby has the highest injury rates or occurrences compared to any other team sports. A study done by Griffiths (2012) at a West Rand school in South Africa showed that 70% of the players suffered knee and ankle injuries during their 2009 and 2010 season. It was also discovered that the incidence of injuries increased as the level of play went up, with possible reasons being the high demandsof playing at a professional level,with an increased competitiveness that in turn requires increased body size and strength (Holtzhausen, Schwellnus, Jakoet& Pretorius, 2006). The high levels of injury in rugby are understandable considering the requirements of speed, body contact and strength, and the physicality of the sport (Hoskins, Pollard, Hough & Tully, 2006).

According Green and Weinberg (2001), in cases of injury in athletes, the typical emotional reaction follows Kubler-Ross' cycle of grief stages – an approach to identifying the process of recovery. During this process of recovery the athletes experience the following stages: of denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance consecutively, as a means of

psychological adjustment to the injury (Green & Weinberg, 2001). This cycle involves emotion, which in the case of most male athletes would not be easily expressed as an indication of apainful experience, with the exception of the expression of anger, merely because it is articulated as a normal emotion expressed in rugby, and it is viewed as a masculine emotion.

The concepts of subordinate and hegemonic masculinities also help understand men's struggles in responding to disability or injuries (Connell &Messerschmidt, 2005). Sportsmen often regard injuries as affecting their self esteem and sense of masculinity because an injury is internalized or considered as a sign of weakness (Wellard, 2009).

2.11 Other possible identities that may be important

Identity is a concept that has a large spectrum of definitions and can be linked to various behaviours and associations of an individual.

Hecht, Jackson and Pitts (2005) state that each individual has four layers of identity which exist in different forms, namely; the personal, enactment, relational and communal layers. These layers are interlinked, therefore cannot be separated from each other.

The **personal layer** is the level atwhich an individual defines themselvesin general, in terms of their self-image and self-concept, the **enactment layer** looks at communication as being in the forefront of forming the self, and the formation of identity through performance (Hecht et al., 2005).The **relational layer** is defined through an individual's social interactions and relationships, examining how theymakes sense of their identity in relation to others and how their identity is influenced by how others view them; as part of this layer an individual could also views a relationship as a unit of identity – an individual seeing himself as a rugby player would be an example of this (Hecht et al., 2005). The **communal layer** looks at identity as an entity of group identification in terms of common characteristics shared in the group, for instance, in this study this would apply to the commonalities that form the rugby team, and would focus on what the norms are of being involved in a rugby team and the sport of rugby (Hecht et al., 2005).

Hecht et al. (2005, p. 38) use examples like "I am a politician" or "I am spouse" to explain these various layers of identity, and these indicate the different ways in which rugby players may conceptualize their identities. These layers additionally indicate the social factors that

influence one's identity, as in the case of the rugby environment, which has factors of different levels in the social context which influence the identity formation of rugby players.

Although the main focus of the study is masculine and racial identity, one cannot look at these identities without making space for athletic identity,which also informs a large part of rugby players' sense of identity. Brewer, Van Raalte and Linder (1993, as cited in Steinfeldt& Steinfeldt, 2010, p. 264) define and describes athletic identity in these words: "athletes who persist in sport over time develop a salient athletic identity wherein they strongly identify with the athlete role."

Steinfeldt and Steinfeldt (2010) further argue that this kind of identification may function as a positive factor for these individuals, wherebytheycan identify with their athletic team and develop the ability to separate themselves from those who are not part of the in sporting circle. This can lead to professionalism, but it is also important to be aware that an over-identification with this role may have a negative consequences, like having difficulties facing retirement, so it may cause emotional distress (Steinfeldt& Steinfeldt, 2010).Miller (2009, p. 69) further states that "jock identity was positively associated with conformity to masculine norms, particularly for men, whereas athlete identity was positively associated with some masculine norms (i.e., Winning) and negatively associated with others (i.e., Playboy)."This statement further tries to establish how the jock – a more ego-driven sports identity, which is associated with conformity to masculine norms – can be more associated with elevated health-risk behaviours (Miller, 2009, p.69).

Throughout the years many articles have discussed the results of research conducted in the area of the effects of sport on individuals, some of these articles suggestthat sport has a large influence on individuals' self esteem levels. Considering that there are positive and negative incidents in rugby which may impacton the self esteemof the players, one can assume that experiences like these, amongst others, have the ability to shape one's identity. Ichraf, Ali, Kahled, Liwa& Ali (2013) additionally state that the self esteem of individuals is rated through their feelings of being significant, capable, honourable and successful. Considering this definition, self esteem can easily be linked to the identity development of the athlete, in the sense that sport performance can have a great impact on one's self esteem, more specifically affecting one's masculine identity as well.

Macleod (1998, p.864) explains this impact of this concept on athletes perfectly through these words:

> Sport provides both narcissistic opportunities and narcissistic wounds. To perform successfully in front of 100,000 spectators most likely enhances an athlete's self esteem, but to fail savagely deflates it. Individual athletes' ego-defences must be sorely tested throughout a career and potentially most so when increasing age impacts and retirement threatens. The interpersonal conflicts of athletes, coaches, selectors and the sporting public are a reservoir of ongoing psychosocial stressors.

The physical setting (rugby) of these individuals helps them develop a sense of identity, so occurrences such as losses in thiscontext play a role in their identity.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology Chapter

This section of the research paper focuses on the methods and procedures that were employed during the research process in addressing the research topic:

"*Masculine and racial identities of black rugby players: A study of a university rugby team"*

3.1 Research Question

How do black rugby players negotiate their masculine and racial identities in their participation inthe historically white sport of rugby?

3.2 Methodological approach

This research was qualitative study, with the main concern of the research being the meaning in context, involving data interpretation (Willig, 2001). Considering that the study involved interviews, this type of research required the researcher to be actively engaged with the data and to show commitment to the time-consuming process (Willig, 2001). Qualitative research was aimed at gaining a better understanding of participants' life experiences, by applying Willig's (2001, p. 141) statement that "qualitative research requires and acknowledges a subjective element in the research process." The researcher therefore had to adopt this method in the process of collecting the data, and used the players' subjective realities regarding their participation in South African rugby.

The study took on an interpretative phenomenological design of inquiry because it was best suited for the subsequent steps of gathering information for this particular form of research. Creswell (1998) sugested that this inquiry offers a description of human life experiences of a group of individuals on the basis of a specific phenomenon or concept. Applying this allowed the researcher to provide extracts as proof of their own interpretation of some of the participants' experiences, and also to describe these experiences as a form of thematic indication. The study aimed to elucidate how these specific sportsmen make sense of their identities through their narratives of their experiences in the sport.

Much like any other method, the qualitative method comes with its own advantages and disadvantages.One of the advantages of qualitative research is its ability to provide insight into the attitudes and behaviours of the participants (Boxill, Chambers & Wint, 1997). But

whilst qualitative research provides an in-depth exploration and investigation of issues, it also primarily relies on subjective assessment, which explains the concerns around validity when it comes to this type of research (Boxill, Chambers & Wint, 1997).Imperative factors that required attention when adoptingaqualitative perspective onresearch were the concepts of reliability and validity. Considering that the research involved the formulation and analysis of themes, these two concepts played a vital role in the research process. Validity was understood as the accurate representation or the capturing of the true nature of a phenomenon; this concept was relevant to the process of interpretation in the study (Silverman, 2000). Reliability referred to the degree of consistency of the interpretation, which was relevant more specifically to the transcription process, which was reliant on the researcher's interpretation of the tape-recorded interviews (Silverman, 2000).

The research process included the conducting of semi-structured interviews, and fulfilled the requirement of the process of data analysis subsequently. This shaped the entire research, from the way the research questions were phrased to the methodology, which enabled the attainment of the required information and thefulfilment of the main purpose of the research study. One of key factors during these interviews was the building of rapport with participants, which seemed to allow the participants to be present in the process and be honest about their experiences.

As much as this research aimed to gauge the participants' understanding of their masculine and racial identities in relation to their participation in rugby, it also wanted to have a greater understanding ofhow societal expectations and rules played a role in the participants' understandings of their own male identities.

3.3 Participants and procedure

A letter of permission was submitted to the Director of Sport at the University of the Witwatersrand in order to commence with the study under protocol, and the participants were briefed about the study upon participant selection. Male rugby players at the University of the Witwatersrand were recruited for the study and the selection of participants was based on specific criteria which had to be met in order to be part of the sample: that of being a male in sport (sportsman), specifically a rugby player, of black descent and currently registered at the University of the Witwatersrand, for convenience purposes. The sampling procedure was suppose to begin by selecting a sample (black rugby players) and thenproceed by applying the random selection method of selecting the target size of tenmale participants through the

allocation of a number to each individual. This was for the purpose of non-biased selection. However, due to a limited sample size and unavailability of more participants during the recruitment stages, the research process only included seven.

All of the recruited participants were black males who were currently rugby players in the University of the Witwatersrand rugby teams, whose agesranged between 18 and 22, and who were between their first and third years of study at the university.Most of the players had been playing the sport since a young age. One of the players revealed that they had started during preschool years, three gained an interest in participating in the sport in primary school and two started in high school.This clarified that these participants had had access to the sport through the schools they had attended, as evidenced by some joining in the earlier years of childhood; however, some had to develop enough appreciation for the sport to participate in later years. Interestingly enough, there was one player who disclosed that it was his first year participatingin rugby at an institution due to the non-existence of the sport at the school that he had attended, even though he used to play for leisure at home.

The researcher found rapport to be an important part of the study, which required establishment during the interview stage to provide comfort for the participants. The participants seemed open about their experiences and were invested in the process, including investingtheirtime, which made things easier for the researcher. The researcher experienced the participants as not being shy oftelling their stories or standing up for their views. They may, however, have been times where the participants were conscious of what they couldsay about their current team, as they had mostly positive things to say about the team environment in addressing racial issues.

3.4 Methods of data collection

In order to gather the above mentioned information about the participants, the researcher first had to go through a recruitment process. The recruitment process was designed to be convenient for the researcher, who chose a team that was within geographic reach. The recruitment process of the participants was initiated by the researcher gaining the contact information of one current rugby player in the University of the Witwatersrand team, which opened a platform to recruiting further participants. The researcher attended training sessions where the rugby players were and explained her research project and requested permission from the coaches. The researcher provided the coaches with participant information sheets to hand out to players. After the coaches had informed some of the players, all the participants

were forthcoming and willing to participate, and this enabled the researcher to get their contact details and proceed with the initial stages of the research, which was setting up appointment for the interviews.

The study employed semi-structured interviews to acquire the desired information. Before recording these interviews, the researcher discussed the concept of confidentiality with the players, whilst also mentioning that anonymitymight be limited, although the researcher would refrain from using any identifying information that could be of harm to the participants or their reputation in the sport.Smith, Flowers and Osborn (1997, p.56) share that in a semi-structured interviewthe researcher is rather guided by his or her interview schedule, which has a set of questions, than dictated to by it. This method of data collection was suitable for this research, because it places more emphasis on establishing rapport with the interviewees or participants in order to have the freedom to explore important and interesting areas that may be revealed by the participants (Smith et al., 1997). This research consisted of set questions, but it also followed the participants' responses as an interest area. These interviews were captured through voice recording in a chosen venue, which was suitable for both the interviewer and interviewee. These captured recordings were stored in a safe place for the researcher's use.

3.5 Methods of data analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis gives the participants the ability and space to express their stories about the topic in their own words, and that is the purpose of this study (Smith et al., 1997).The main focus of the study in terms of its use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was to form an understanding of the essence of the shared experiences with regards to the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 1998). Through IPA, the researcher was able to gather information from semi-structured interviews, and the documented extracts or narratives from the participants act as proof for the interpretation and meaning given to that extract (Creswell, 1998).

The process of IPA involved three stages, namely: the reading text or content of the interviews, identifying of themes that have emerged in the text, and lastly the introduction of themes into the process of analysis (Willig, 2001). Although transcription was a time-consuming process, it was a necessary aspect that comes with interviews. Interpreting the meanings behind some of the participants' responses requires consistent engagement with the transcript (Smith et al., p.64).The process of analysis involved the transcription of these

interviews, which led to the identification of themes that emerged from the participants' interviews.According to Braun and Clark (2006, p. 82), "A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set."

The data analysis was by far the most time consuming process the researcher underwent. However, the steps taken through this analysis werea means to identify themes and provide interpretation.

1. Due to time constraints, the researcher appointed someone who signed a confidentiality and fee agreement to transcribe the audio-recorded interviews. There were time-frame agreements regarding when the transcription process should be done in order to allow the researcher to commence with the data analysis. It should be noted that the researcher recognised the limitations of employing another individual to transcribe the interviews, as this process would have afforded her the opportunity to enhance the connection and interaction with the data.

2. The researcher referred to the transcripts and the recordings tothoroughly analyze each participant's transcribed interview.

3. The researcher highlighted all the important and relevant information to the study by hand and recorded various notes and codes next to important information.

4. Once this was done, the researcher compared the various interviews and started to note any recurring themes that emerged through a manual process. The themes were listed on pieces of paper, and the researcher then checked how relevant or how many time numerically the themes appeared in each participant's transcript. Thus, numerically assigning the number of times each participants had a theme occur in their narrativesdetermined which themes were included in the study. This process allowed the researcher to form an understanding of this phenomenon in order to describe it, but also allowed her to identify which themes appeared the most reccurrent and important.

5. The researcher had to cross-examine the transcripts and identify any themes that were similar that could require the researcher to establish sub-themes.

6. The engagement with the transcripts was the mostessential component of the research. The research strongly relied on the researcher's interpretation ofunderlying meanings of what the participants provided, whilst also supporting those interpretations with extracts from the transcripts.During this process, the researcher had to note the participants' language, behaviour and even their appearance, as one can note that appearance is a huge part of the rugby culture. After all, the body is an important aspect of not only the rugby culture but of society as a whole. These were utilized to form arguments and interpretation not only about the information the participants provided but about the participants themselves.

7. The researcher also had totake into account social identity theory – keeping in mind the social gender expectations placed on the male participants and also noting rugby as one of the sports that feeds into these expectations of masculine ideals. Therefore the narrative accounts provided by the participants regarding their experiences in rugby were engaged with as a means of gainingperspective on their racial and masculine identities.As Smith and Osborn (2007, p. 66) suggest, "the analyst holds that the respondent's story can itself be said to represent a piece of the respondent's identity."

8. The whole process led to the final write-up process, which was included in the discussion section of the report, which contains thematic analysis supported by literature. According to Smith and Osborn (2007, p. 76),

> the final section is concerned with moving from the final themes to a writeup and final statement outlining the meanings inherent in the participants' experience. The division between analysis and writing up is, to a certain extent, a false one, in that the analysis will be expanded during the writing phase. This stage is concerned with translating the themes into a narrative account.

These steps were all taken to ensure the reliability and validity of the analysis, which is a concern when it comes to qualitative research. The researcher had to be immersed in the data analysis part of research process and continued to refer back to the transcripts and recordings to ensure that the write-up captured the underlying meanings as intended.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Informed consent was discussed and permission obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand and from the participants.Participants could only take part in the research once they had given consent. The participants and the Director of Sports at the university were provided with information sheets which briefly explained and informed them about the purpose of the research, as well as what steps hadto be taken to become involved in the research. It wasnoted and also suggested for the avoidance of easy identification due to racial specificationthat the participants refrain fromrevealingpersonalinformation that could compromise their position in the team.This meant that the players were not forced to reveal any sensitive information about current racial realities or difficulties in the team if they existed, however if the player decided to reveal anything, it was through their own free will. This could have been doneby providing specific information related to past experiences outside of the University of the Witwatersrand with regard to sensitive information. It is also noted that this could have limited the amount of information the participants could provide regarding their current experiences in rugby.

The male participants' limited confidentiality and anonymity were discussed with regard to the individual interview. It was also communicated that the outcome of the research would be given at the request of the participants. There were no cases of emotional distress of the participants noted, however if that hadarisen, participants would have been provided with Life Line contact details to contact for free counselling.

3.6.1 Voluntary participation

Participation in the study was voluntary and the participants were free to pull out of the study; the researcherensured that the participants did not feel forced to participate. The research study did not aim to cause any harm to the participants, in the physical, emotional or psychological sense. The questioning procedure did not mean to offend, but the content was clear.

3.6.2 Confidentiality

The participants' identity and the information divulged during the interview process was protected and kept confidential. The information has been treated with respect and sensitivity. It was communicated to the participants that they couldshare or disclose information they were comfortable sharing and theywas encouraged to refrain from disclosing any personal information which could be compromising, especially considering that their identity can be easily disclosed due to the selection criteria.In this regard there was limited anonymity in terms of their identity.

3.6.3 Informed consent

A consent form was given to the participants informing them about all the aspects of the research and the aim of the study. Only the researcher and the supervisor have had access to the material used during the research process; tape recordings, transcripts and additional notes have been kept in a safe place.

3.6.4 Researcher stance

The main aim of the study was for the researcher to maintain a non-biased and non-judgemental stance throughout the study. The researcher's views and opinions were carefully filtered in order to avoid affecting the research process in anyway; however, it should be noted that researcher's interpretation of the data is not the only possible view, and that it can be interpreted in other ways.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

This chapter analyzes the central themes which emerged as identified by the researcher in relation to the racial and masculine identity constructions that the participants had in their experiences of being in the rugby environment. The themes which emerged represent the prevalence of particular responses. The prominent themes which emerged from the data were: the pain associated with playing rugby; access to Privilege in playing a sport historically associated with white people; navigating the identity of being black and a man; reference to soccer; aggression and the expression of emotion associated with rugby; and transformation (racial integration).

4.1 THEME ONE: THE PAIN – 'Bruises and scars'

In the process of the analysis of the rugby players' interviews, what presented as of great importance to them was the male body's ability to cope with pain. The construct of withstanding pain seemed to shape their ideas about their own masculinity and how they made meaning of themselves as males. This seemed to correlate to the social expectations of males as be physically strong and emotionless when it comes to feeling pain.The male body as an objectthat does notexperience pain presented as a key theme when it comes to the rugby environment, and it appeared that many of the participants attached their sense of manliness to theirstrength, body size and physicality. These factors seemed to provide them with the confidence they need to play their masculine roles on and off the field.

As a way of conforming to the general understanding of masculinity which presupposes the tenets of strength, toughness, aggression, physicality, risk taking and competitiveness, a few of the players placed importance on the bodily pain experienced in rugby as a meaningful identifier of their masculinity. The way in which they reflected on this pain was to relay the message that their toughness was judged by their ability to cope with bodily pain in the sport. The extracts below illustrates this point:

> ***RP2:****"I mean you just find the bruises, the scars and everything, they are a big thing though to me,it's a huge deal."*

> ***RP2:****"it represents being a man, it's like you feel like I am man ,not like in the sense that I have the body parts, but you feel like, how can I put this, it's like being a superhero…those scars represent that, that strength you have."*

The ability to withstand the pain that the body experiences in rugby links back to the idea that males in society are expected to be strongand this seems to be the idea that RP2 identifies with. He compares himself to a superhero, an entity that is usually seen as masculine. Rosenberg and Canzoneri (2013) identify superheroes as caricaturesof exaggerated masculine characteristics and behaviour.This superhero imagereferencesaclichéd physical presence that is both instrumental and appealing in its nature, much like in rugby.The idea that one can be powerful, invincible and untouchable hooks onto the basic tenets of the ideal man. Thus the comparison that RP2 establishes seems to suggest that he views himself as portraying the classical masculine behaviours.

RP2expressespride in enduring the pain he experiences in the rugby. A most likely argument that can be made is that this staying power fitshim into thestereotype of male identity, which is also indicative of his value to conform to dominant forms of masculinity.The sense of pride in having scars provides the opportunity to prove himself to be a brave man, which serves as a signifier of strength and manliness. This yet again highlights the internalized discourses surrounding masculinity which construct males as physically strong. Male rugby players therefore equate injuries with bravery and this resonates with the ideology of the male identity. What additionally appears as significant in this is not only the internalized view of masculinity, but that the scars often also play a role in the social recognition and approval of the player as being a "man" through physical means. It could therefore be argued that if the players did not have an audience to prove themselves to and social role criteria to conform to, the scars would still be scars. The discourse that can be formed around the scars is a great appeal to the players as it labels them as "strong," "courageous" and "brave."

Anderson and McGuire (2010, p.250) assert that the rugby field becomes a "proving ground" for the masculine behaviours that players are expected to embody. When the crowd cheers for a player taking a knock or "taking one for the team,"the cheering plays the role of encouragement, and also applies pressure on players to withstand the pain. Not flinching under physical pain seems to be a demonstration how a "man" handles pain. Giving into the pain often opens up an opportunity for a playerto be labelled a "sissy" or a "girl,"which

arethe sexist discourses with which players are threatened of if they show any form of weakness.

In the book *Rugby in Our Blood* edited by Powers (2011, "Lost Love" section, paragraph 12), Oscar Pistorius recalls being tackled and having a bad landing in a rugby match from his days of playing, where he experienced pain,andhe remembered hearing one of the supporters (a father)yell at him "Walk it off! Don't b a sissy! Get a life, come on!"

This demonstrates that these players often face negative reinforcement from fans, opponents, fellow teammates, parents or coaches if they acknowledge the pain. If this is the case, what are the social views of players or athletes who are not participating in sports that involve getting scars or accepting bodily pain as part of their performance? The attitude that was gathered from the interviews, which may not have been intended to insult anyone, was that the masculine status of the sport was somehow superior to level of masculinity of others, as they did not meet the social standards of masculinity. This almost emulates the narcissistic personality make-up where in this regard players are provided with a coat of superiority, relying on social approval to serve their own internal needs and sensitivities. Minigh (2007, p.106) describes this by stating that "the super-athlete lifestyle promotes an elitist outlook that can lead to athletes concealing inner insecurities and feelings of incompetence."

> ***RP7:*** *"because we play rugby, rugby to us is the toughest sport there is, you have to be a ultimate man to play rugby, so for all the other man who play other sports to us we look down on them,uhm even when it comes to physical fitness and physique."*
>
> ***RP7:*** *"well uhm growing up we were told that uhm your body is a tool even in rugby as well, your body is your tool and rugby we don't have any protective gear,you only, the only protective gear that you have is your body and the amount of strength you have,so physique is very very important in rugby, you need to be very strong to, to be able to play rugby."*
>
> ***RP7:*** *"…uhm my coach in high school believed that,because naturally black people are stronger than white people, both structure wise and everything, so our coach believed that if black people don't get injured,that was a belief he held dearly to himself that black people don't get injured."*

The material above presents an understanding of how physique and the participation in rugby is already a way of positioning themselves with this ideal of being a man. The body acts a signifier of masculinity; the ability for the player toreceive pain without protection against any physical contact is articulated as a symbol of strength and manliness which ideally fits the stereotype of manliness.If these features are believed to define what manliness is, it can be argued that this idea references other sports as less masculine or weak, thus labelling men who participate in those sports as weak. This gives a sense that rugby players are the ultimate men based on the fact that they take the knocks without protection other than their bodies; as RP7 points out, "*the body is your tool*".

RP2 shares the idea that for sports that do not entail any amount of bodily pain or do not place much emphasis on the body as a protective shield,this translates to the participantsof that particular sportbeing less tough in comparison to rugby players. However, it is also important to consider the nature of rugby as a game that not only features the ball as the main focus but the body of the players themselves is important tools. In most sports which involve ball play, a lot of the focus is on the ball itself,as well as how the player handles the ball through means of running, but any contact to the body is usually considered a foul; however, in rugby, body contact is a big part of the sport. This, in comparison to other sports that use certain gear to protect players from being hurt in anyway, calls into question their manliness.RP7 uses the words "you have to," which may denote a sense obligation to conform to the male stereotype, because if you do not, people will look down on you, and that is emasculating.

As much as receiving pain was an important factor, RP2's statement below also showed the importance of inflicting pain as a key component of the sport. Basically if you can give it you should be able to receive it. His statement asserts the idea that soccer was too soft for his aggressive behaviour, especially as a non-contact sport. This leads to the attitude that most of the rugby players had regarding soccer players – whereby they were regarded as participating in a sport that was not considered to be the most masculine sport.In a way this almost gave a sense of rivalry between black rugby players and black soccer players, as the participants wanted to protect their sport and their sense of masculinity.

In these extracts not only does it appear that there is need to differentiate between their own and other sports, but RP7 also gives the impression that there is a difference betweenthe ways in which black players and white players may be affected by pain. By pointing out his

coach's idea of a black player as not being injury-prone, he proves the strength of black men. Natural strength is therefore indicated through their ability to withstand attacks without sustaining injuries, further supporting the idea that black physical strength exists – although in rugby it may have been made a myth. RP7 provided the narrative with a laugh, which could signify that those words were very reassuring and comforting for him to hear from his coach, who was a white person.

> **RP2:** ***3.12*** *"I always hurt people, I always pushed too hard or pushed too much, that was a big problem to me so I was like yeah, it took me time to accept that soccer wasn't my thing but then after a while I was like mxm you know."*

Shefer, Stevens and Clowes (2010) argue that the existing notions of masculinity are dangerous for young men as it places them in situations where they have to conform to this masculine ideal, suggesting that other forms of masculinities are less important based on their non-violent and less risky stance. This common ideology has led certain members of society to label themselves as less or more manly than others based on these standards, and relative to rugby players who may perceive themselves to be more manly in comparison to other sports based on these standards.

4.1.1 The body affecting confidence

The body in part plays another role in the internal states of these players.Some of the players linked their body size to a particular level of confidence about their performance and as individuals.This is important because men in society contain a desire to present as confident and strong, and this may lead to the avoidance of situations which may present them as weak. The body therefore acts as a crucial theme in the discussion of situations which may either display the players in a confident manner or in a less confident manner. The material suggests that the confidence created by one's body size is attached to the vision of dominance over the other men.

> ***RP1:*** *"I'm pretty heavier well apparently so yeah it gives you confidence."*

> ***RP2:*** *"they all take supplements and all and the thing about being big is the mark is it's an ego thing, it also boosts like self-confidence like when you know,walking around tall and stuff."*

> ***RP5:*** *"nowadays especially in South Africa for rugby players you need to be big, you need to have that power, you need to have that strength, you have to have the size because, it's a mental game at the end of the day. So if you walk on the field and your opposition thinks what I can run over him, he gets that confidence but when he looks at you he's like oh shit. It gives you a little bit of hope or chance or something like that."*

The researcher became aware that RP1'sstatement aimedat differentiating himself from the rest of the black rugby players, as he considered himself as heavy, however the researcher took note of the delivery of the statement, and believed that although the statement was intended to be delivered withmodesty, this appeared to cover a lot of pridein being different from the usual stereotype of black rugby players.

Haung (2009, p. 153) defined confidence as "a state of being, an inner spiritual feeling of who you are and how you are capable of performing." In relation to this definition, it appears that some of the rugby players identify their body size as a characteristic that determines their capability to perform on the field. Therefore the use of body enhancers is a means to increase players' confidence level based on how they perceive themselves in relation to the opponent. With the knowledge of the importance of body size in rugby, players who seem to lack in this area find artificial ways to fit this image.

RP5's reference to the opposition's thoughts about of a player relates to Steinberg's (1993) point about the psychological processes that underlie the idea of defeating the opposition. In human nature it is possible thatwhen a man is defeated or dominated by another man there is an element of feeling castrated, so they have to find ways to regain or enhance their masculinity (much like the use of enhancements which get them back into the masculine game, as they increase body size).

In speaking about this, the quote indicates that body size has become the key focus in the rugby environment and presents itself as a core factor players aspire to develop. The body is seen as an instrument of power; this provides the players with the confidence that they can dominate the opposition. Therefore, body strengthplays a role in boosting the attitudes of the players regarding their ability to cause pain and also withstand it when participating in the sport.

Although body size is seen a key factor by most of the players, the material fromsome of the other rugby players presented alternative views on this, regarding theirperformance ability, as indicated by the following extract:

> ***RP3:*** *"He was white, you know white people just gym from childhood. They grow up big you understand so yeah the guy was bigger than me. I think he wasn't better than me."*

Even though some of the rugby players believe that bigger is better, RP3 felt comfortable enough to express his experience of being a smaller-bodied player and in his own defence that his size did not mean that he was unable to perform better. However the players placed emphasis on the role of body size as a central component of the physical identity of being a man.RP3 additionally gives the impression of the limitations that a black man or boy may have encountered due to race, even if he thought that his performance was better. There seems to be a twofold defeat, where on one level his race gets in the way of achieving his goal of being part of a provincial rugby team, whilst on another level his body or stature is considered inadequate – so based on his experience, body size in rugby seems to be of great importance.

RP3 refers to his white opponent, whom he was battling against for a position in the provincial team. He comes up with the idea that white rugby players acquire their size from gym and start very early, which explains their body size, but he felt that the white player was not as instrumental as he was in the try-outs.

The researcher took note of the participants quickness to defend their own body types, more specifically those who felt that they did not quite fit into the standard body ideal of a rugby player (physically big and muscular). Indeed based on the researcher's observation of the rugby team, it appeared that the body types between the white rugby and black rugby players were different, inasmuch as most of the black rugby players were smaller in stature in comparison to the white players, more specifically the participants themselves. One would wonder if that did not make the black rugby players internalize a mentality ofinferiority of the black body as suggested by the rugby and societal ideal of"bigger is better"in defining the image of a masculine male. The reason why this is called into question is because it appeared that the participants who were smaller in stature felt the need to state that their small body size was a quality that could help with speed, with which the bigger players might struggle;

this came across as a sense of holding onto to the importance of their role in the team whilst also appealing to find ways to engage with a way of holding onto their masculinity. This masculinity, however, is gained by pointing up a skill that the physically larger players may lack, in order to avoid their own feelings of castration.In the constant pursuit of defining a difference, there seems not to be an existence of a black body type without reference in comparison to a white body. RP3'sattachment of the big body image to the white race in rugby in reflecting on his rugby career is a significant component as it captures Phiri's (2013, p.163) critical reflection on Kopano Matlwa's book, *Coconut*; where she states that even in "postmodern black society, it reveals the impossibility of imaging and imagining blackness without imagining and imagining whiteness." That even under the new South African law and in the quest at an attempt at new racial relations, whiteness still becomes a pertinent part of a black man's identity.That even though he was playing post-apartheid, the ripple effect was still much in effect, thus that one cannot make reference to one without referencing the other, even when it comes to the body.There is much significance in the participants' need to defend their black bodies,almost refusing to be seen as the secondary body to the white body. This inescapably links back to power relations in relation to the white race. RP3's statement possibly embodies words of a black man who refuses to be viewed as invisible merely because of his race or his body type.Writing a different script in relation to the previously produced stereotypes about the black body seemed to be something RP3 needed to address. The performative nature of RP3's statement speaks directly to Marable's (2001 in Jackson 2006, p.86) suggestion that the "Black masculine identity development is impossible without acknowledging and countering the stereotypes that threaten the survival of Black masculinity."

4.1.2"Black people got speed" – racial stereotype

In society, numerous points of view have existed over the yearsregardingthe physical strength of black men and the view of black men as dangerous individuals. However, in the rugby field there seems to have been a common assumption of black players as less physical and more about speed which is a concept that challenges the ideal of hegemonic masculinity. However, this suggests that there are different body types in the rugby field relative to one's race. This argument cultivates two opposing views which were evident from the material:

> ***RP1:*** *"as a black rugby player we not the biggest guys around, we sometimes usual, the stigma that we usually quick and strong."*

> ***RP4:*** *"yeah I think white people are more physical in the game, but black people got speed. Usually in a team, the wings are black (Laughing),black people move. Alsoif I'm playing rugby against a white person, I know I'm out, I know I'm through, but if it's a black person I know eish now I have to be quick on my feet also like try step, do something."*

This presents an acknowledgement that the players with smaller bodies are able to play a vital role on the field and somehow use their stature to defeat opponents with bigger bodies by outrunning them. What RP4 seems to display is a fear or sense of threat felt when it comes to having an opponent with the same skill as him. The additionally fosters a protectiveness over the black person and their skill, and viewing whites as non-competition as they bring a different element to the game, as opposed to the black person.This suggests that in rugby a player cannot only be defeated just by tackling, but through other means, and this leaves space for those who do not fit the physical image of rugby players to claim glory through alternative ways, which might not even include physical domination. This is still a way of performing maleness and can be referred to as personalized masculinity, as a man can choose whichever masculinity they would like to ascribe to without being forced to fit all the criteria of hegemonic masculinity (Anderson & McGuire, 2010). The ability for other players to show character or succeed in a tussle against a bigger player suggests that body size is not necessarily the only characteristic of manliness or masculinity. RP4's suggestion that he has the ability to display his masculinity by the compensatory meansof speed over bigger players, indicates that he can retain his masculinity in another form which does not necessarily relate to a larger body size.

RP4 specifically mentions a stereotype that exist in South Africa regarding the position of a black player in a team, which is being a winger, a position attributed with speed,suggesting that the black man does not naturally have the big body, and that hisstrength lies in running. This can be somewhat limiting for black players in terms of the rugby space, however evidence can be contrary to this stereotype, as society has seen various physically built black players in rugby. Much like RP5, RP4's statement that "white people are more physical in the game, but black people got speed" already demonstrates that it is a belief he has himself based on his experience in rugby. However, it also creates a gap between the two races because it sets more boundaries on players to fit into the team position based on their racial profile. The race-specific body discussion relates to alternative masculinities; these two

excerpts not only demonstrate analternative argument in contestation of the existing idea of white players being viewed as physically stronger, but theymay also present a different meaning of strength as not only relative to size but accommodating the inability to weaken under tough physical situations regardless of one's size.

RP4 seems alsoto indicate an acceptance of defeat in his encounters against a white player due to the body size, which almost creates this fear of "the white man," and somehow demonstrates an inferiority complex,as he may come across as viewing himself as weaker. The compensatory action is indicated in his belief that in competing against a black player he may have a chance,based on the assumption that they have the same skill,although he has to adapt to the fast play; he thus indentifies a place where he can reclaim his manhood. This relates to the supposition Steinberg (1993, p.33) presented, that "when the dominant male disappears, all the meek males in the neighbourhood rush over, seeking to fill the vacancy."The main intent is to reclaim and enhance ones masculinity by seeking to dominate the other.

> ***RP3:*** *"let me just tell you this, white people are more delicate than black people."*
>
> ***RP7:*** *"black people are known for speed and everything and all that kind of stuff, yeah my coach used to say uhm any rugby team if you wanna win,you need black magic (short laugh)…"*

Contrary to RP4's tough appraisal of white players, RP3 presents a different side, as he suggests that regardless of the stature, white people are sensitive. RP3 implies that black people are naturally strong, even if they do have to train to keep fit, however white people have to work hard for their strength, as it rather acquired than inherent. This may come across as a claim to one-upmanshipover white players, to secure the idea that black players are unbreakable in comparison to white players. "Delicate" is a word that can be used to describe fragility and is indicative of weakness in the context in which RP3 used his words. This comparison seems to indicate an active competition for a winning spot for the racial group that is stronger, and RP7 claims that black people are stronger; this shows a player who is attempting to strengthen the image of a black man. RP7 also appears to indicate that black players are an important ingredient in rugby games; he points out that black players are naturally stronger,and this makes it evident that strength can have different meanings to different people. Although the common stereotype is that black people have speed, this may

not relate to body size, which yet again indicates a claim for strength in order to define their manliness and links back to the reliance on supplements which is associated with the white players, pointing it out as a weakness within the white players that may lead them to require boosts for their bodies and performance.

4.1.3Artificial strength –Strategies of enhancing body image

The theory of social identity speaks of individuals viewing themselves as part of a group based on similarities to the self. This is a notion that appears to exist in the rugby environment, andmay result in certain behaviours and decisions beingmadein the desire to remain part of the in-group. As established and discussed, the body is a central component of the rugby player's identity and can define an individual's masculine identity. To fit in with the group through the male body idealand performative masculine ways, some players may resort to unnatural supplies in order to acquire this ideal in-group identity.The following extracts indicate the strategies used to enhance this male/rugby image:

> ***RP4:*** *"yeah they do, they dope. Rugby players dope, they take injections, they take pills some of them there are many things people do, you might be shocked. Some people before a game they inject themselves with uhh chemicals which enhance them to get angry and violent."*

> ***RP5:****"With us (black players) it's a mental state if we can get our minds in the right places, and then well perform as aggressive or as hard as we can. And with the white guys it's more of supplements and bio fuel or bio plus whatever they call it those kind of things so that's, I think that's the only difference with the two groups of camps."*

It was noticed by the researcher that some of the players wanted to be a bit more diplomatic or politically correct about the use of steroids, which almost presented as a protective action. This could have been as an initial fear of being judged. However there was a common implication that associated doping with white players.The fact that "the white"guys might need help apart from gym to get their toughness might also make the black man feel like a man because they do not rely on doping. Toughness acquired by white players through supplements and doping suggested that white masculinity was rather fake or artificial in its nature.There is something about the use of supplements or steroids that has a negative connotation attached to it that people do not want to be associated with, as indicated by the manner in which the black players distanced themselves from the use of these materials. The

researcher got a sense that the participant expressed some pride in himself for not needing "artificial help," because it gave him a legitimate way to claim his manliness.Much like the Shaka Zulus of this world, the black players took pride in knowing that they relied on their natural talent and bodies to perform in the game. Contrary to the white players, who used something external to their bodies to claim their masculinities.The discursive language used by the participants is of great importance. The specificreference to the word "they"in the extract almost indicates that the RP4externalizes the behaviour, as he possibly does not want his reputation to be affected negatively, but also to preserve his masculine image.The use of "rugby players" also appears to serve as anexclusionary term, where he generalizes that doping is a part of rugby, however he distances himself from the rugby players by sayingthat "they" take injections, although the player himself is a rugby player. It becomes evident that when rugby is spoken of in a positive light it is easier to claim the self as a rugby player, however if there is a shade of negativity associated with the sport, the players distance themselves.

These supplements enable the players to develop muscles and bulk up faster and easier in order to play their masculine roles and compete with their opponents at a level that displays their manliness through means of expressing the accepted emotion of anger through their bodies. There is great awareness that supplements enhance the player's ability to perform which is crucial part of the sportand players are met with the demands to demonstrate the characteristics required of a rugby player. RP4, who seems to have been viewed as small in the sport, suggests rejecting the need to submit to the pressures to gain weight through artificial means as it may not be the true reflection of their physical strength.

> ***RP4:****"you are too small, 80kgs, you're too small, just get big and I said how can I do it? They said you can take pills like some players here our teammates take pills, but at the end of the day you gonna play nice, they gonna see you, they gonna test you."*

Rugby in its nature has been viewed as an outlet for young men to exhibit their physical strength and virility in a controlled setting (Phillips, 1987). This setting therefore particularly requires that the male rugby players conform to not only the rugby standards of a rugby player but to the gender concepts bestowed by society,as rugby somehow seems to be an extension of field of masculinity. The idea of being caught and being shamed is much more important and fearful than pursuing the ideal body, although the player wants to be big. In escaping exclusionary outcomes one has to identify with the socially accepted gendered

identity, and in the rugby field the player would have to conform and try to be bigger in order to fit the standard rugby image, because men who embody this form of identity have the luxury of achievingstatus and recognition for their bodies (Stephenson, 2012). However on the other hand, the fear of using pills to fit this image can also be viewed as "sissie" behaviour because a man should not fear consequences, as he assumed to be strong enough to handle them.

4.2 THEME 2: ACCESS TO PRIVILEGE

The interviews indicated an important aspect of the participants' identity. The information disclosed by the players suggested that their exposure to and participation in rugby has not only enabled them to cross racial boundaries but additionally exposed them to an elevated status and privilegeswhich present a fair share of benefits. Although this has traces of positivity, the participants indicated some negatives associated with crossing these boundaries. While many comparisons were made by the players with soccer players (to be discussed further), what seems to be evident in these comparisons is the difference in status and identity when it comes to these two sports.This may be a true reflection of a racial system which ranks soccer ina lesser position because it is considered a black sport in South Africa, even though it is the biggest sport in the world, whereas black players who participate in a largely white sport,such as rugby,are considered to be higher in social class due to the association with a historically white sport.

4.2.1 "Women these days they love men who's physically appealing" – Engagement with the female counterpart

The male body as an identifier of masculinity spreads into other life areas of these players, which enable the players to also fulfil other aspects of the male role. It is evident that the sport, in its encouragement of the pursuit of the male body ideal, also leads to the attractionoffemales. Female attraction wasunanimously listed as one of the benefits of the participation in rugby. The extracts below demonstrate this:

> ***RP1:*** *"off the field uhh getting girls (Laughs) it's a major thing I mean when a girl sees the pride and joy of his rugby are his quads, like his legs," "women these days they love men who's physically appealing, it's either he's ripped or quite big, I mean rugby players are pretty big."*

> ***RP4:*** *"it's likeit'slikea plus to your CV like you goingto a girl. I play rugby yeah I'm fast. You have a six-pack? yeah I got a six-pack yeah wanna see it?wanna touch? yeah I wanna touchmara if you don't do such things you have a big belly, you just a man but rugby pays off very well."*

Previously, the idea has been suggested that the male body is used as a tool for dominance over other men and additionally as a vital aspect oftheir confidence. It is apparent that an additional function of the physically strong image is as a means of attracting girls. Attracting girls is partly seen as part of the male's role in society.RP4's statement, "if you don't do such thing you have a big belly, you *JUST* a man" speaks to the whole notation of the body separating males into certain categories, his statement asserts that because a big belly is not found attractive by girls, in essence it takes away the chances of being able to get girls. This ultimately lowers one's masculine levels because one is regarded as not man enough.

The narrative also suggests that women are merely attracted to the body, implying that the participants may work hard for their bodies in order to gain the perks or privilege of social recognition from women. In addition this can reinforce the idea of men having more of an advantage over women from a physical size point of view, as girls might associate the body with safety and manliness. Naturally, the recognition by females of physical strength and appearance can be desirous for men.Dinez and Humez (2011, p.267) state that "muscles are markers that separate men from each other and, most important perhaps, from women." In context, being able to flaunt their muscular bodies to women may give them a sense of dominance. Considering that women usually do not possess the same body structure as the male counterpart it means that they are not within their competitive element, as a woman cannot out-muscle them but rather just admire the sight of muscles.

It has been made quite clear that the engagement of the female counterpart is specifically on sexual terms or relational terms as another means of fitting into the masculine role. Contrary to what society usually does to women, it was interesting to observe RP1 finding joy in being considered "candy," and in the fact that women often objectified them based on their bodily features. Although it always presents a concern when women are being lusted over by men, it appears that when men experience the same attention from women, it is flattering but most importantly makes it easier for them to "score" a girl.

4.2.2White girl trophy – Crossing boundaries

The participants share a pride in their ability to participate in a sport that is perceived as culturally associated with white people. The participation in the sport is perceived as enhancing their identity to a status that enables them to cross boundaries concerning females.

> ***RP2:*** *"ohh the girls of course (laughs), besides that its lifestyle, you learn discipline and you learn how to communicate with people, like of different cultures and to think differently."*
>
> ***RP3:*** *"it made you as I said, put you on a high rank yeah put you on a high rank cause if you a black guy and you playing rugby, first-team rugby even if like on the under 16, 18 you could get a white girl you understand so eventually it changes the race kinda thing."*
>
> ***RP5:****"when we just arrived and people didn't really know who we were or whatever , you could see they gave you looks but after the game all the black boys, you could literally walk up to a white girl and speak to her and she'll be fine with it because you a rugby player you know."*

It is quite interesting how the black players took such pride in sharing their privilege of being able to interact with or date white girlswho are seen as prized possession; it is indicative of the identification of white girls as superior to black girls, especially in the rugby fraternity. Noticeably, it might be due to the access to spaces that have been previously forbidden, which further integrates them into the white rugby culture. This idea is in line with Fanon's (2008) argument that the fact that the black players who play rugby makes them good enough or "different from the rest of the black guys,"creates the idea that there are exceptions contrary to the historical laws against interracial relations.Fanon (2008) speaks of the need for a white man to give authorization to a black man to have a relationship with a white female; in this context one could view participation in rugby as that authorization to the black male.

Playing rugby seems to afford the players a sense of community identitywith the white community whilst also providing social networking opportunities outside of previous boundaries.A white girl being seen as a privilege also affirms the idea that some males hold about improving their own social image by association. There is this idea that as a black man it is difficult to date or at least be associated with a white female because it is out of the black man's circle, so being the guy whois able to achieve what is considered to be a difficult task can grant you the luxury of being deemed "the man."

This creates the idea that rugby enables the black rugby players to be more acceptableand accessible to white girls as a result of theirengagement with a space that is considered as their culture.This creates a new and different identity for the black players as they are conceptualized as less of a black individual, and rather constructed as having a sense of belonging with the white culture.This is also exemplifiedby RP5's response, which suggests that the rugby culture creates a new identity for players.

> ***RP5:*** *"ok there's still a lot of white people who are afraid of black people. They still have this thing, that blacks are harmful or hurtful or criminals or whatever but as soon as they see you on the rugby field then it's like no you are a different black , you are a safe black, or they can trust you."*

Stereotypically, as RP5 mentioned, the black man is considered to be a harmful and dangerous man on South African soil and is commonly associated with criminal activity. However, participation in rugby spares these black players from being stamped with these labels, likely due to the white people understanding the player's participation in the sport as a signifier of being legitimate, therefore making them exceptions. The idea that rugby players are possibly viewed as different or exceptions directly links toan account in Fanon's (2008) book *Black Skin White Mask*,where an explicit condition is laid down by a white man to permit or authorize a white female to romantically be involved with a black man. The condition was as follows: "You have nothing in common with real Negroes. You are not black; you are 'extremely brown'."This statement captures the essence of RP5's statement – that as long as you are rugby player, you are not like the rest of the black people.

RP5 specifically notes that the change in treatment is when he is "on the rugby field," suggesting that the recognition as a rugby player does not usually go as far as leaving the

premises of the rugby stadium, so this safety net might have its moments of lapse in the outside world where he is not initially pegged or identified as a rugby player.

4.2.3"The higher ranks" – Elitist status and the impact on social identity

> The notion that Blacks are inferior to Whites is afundamental premise of racism, especially in the South African context. [Miller] stressed the point that although the manifestation and extent of covert racism has changedsomewhat, "positivist notions of 'inferior' and 'superior races' continue to influence how South Africans relate to one another, both on a personal and institutional level". (Smiles, 2012, p.210, quoting Miller, 2001)

This quote captures and highlights the relational state between different races in South Africa –much like previous discussions around the embedded idea of white people's supremacy, which can be related to the black players' allocation of an elitist status as part of their experiences in the rugby environment.

It is evident that the participants identify themselves as occupying a certain position in the social hierarchy, and this is particularly in comparison to other black individuals outside of the sport. However at times this is not a self-claimed position but rather a position assigned by society on them and even the black society itself.A certain amount of respect is given to the players for their participation in the sport not only because it is viewed as dangerous, which depicts them as bold and brave, but also because it is beyond their racial limits. These individuals may be pinned as those who "tinker the borders of identity" as Dolby (2001, p. 17) would put it, as they have involved themselves in border-crossing and have tried to rupture or break the racially divisive atmosphere within society and the sport environment.

> ***RP4:*** *"people like respect you like yoh man you do rugby…"*

> ***RP3:****"Yeah so you only seen as long as you dating a rugby player always on the high ranks so when you dating a rugby player kinda like you just a normal girl even if you not, you just normal girl, we'd say that girl is hot man if you dating a rugby player at that time."*

This demonstrates the effect rugby has on the social identity of the players and the people that associate themselves with them. Society often depicts rugby as a dangerous sport, and the idea that only the strong and brave can participate in it earns the players respect for participating. RP3 clearly demonstrates the typical male behaviour of rating girls based on their appearance.Nonetheless,RP3 presents a different idea, implying thata woman's level of attractiveness canbe highly determined byher involvement or association with a rugby player. This ultimately means that a girl'sstatus or level of attractivenesscan beelevated based on the fact that she is involved with a rugby player.This paints the picture that rugby as sport does not only grant the rugby players good looking girls but the girls themselves should consider themselves privileged to be in the presence of a rugby player. Once again the woman is reduced to being the subordinate of the man, who relies or depends on a man's word to determine their worth. One could argue that this perpetuates the cycle of male domination which is the epitome of hegemonic masculinity.

4.2.4 "Something special"

RP5: *"it gives you this, I almost want to say, elite status, you know, you feel like I'm somebody you know like every black person can go play soccer you know like you not a black person playing soccer, well don , congratulations but it's, it's different with rugby."*

RP5: *"it just gives you this little sense of you know I've got a little edge you know, I've got something special,something different and yeah I think they feel like you you a little class above where you ought to be."*

This material above demonstrates the notions of inferiority and superioritythat society determineswhen it comes to the black and white races in South Africa, and in some sense these notions still play themselves out in different ways in society, as exhibited in the rugby setting. Smiles (2012, p. 236) suggests that South Africa has reached a momentwhereby "class privilege [has] replaced race privilege", and this seems to be the best way to describe the phenomenon that is taking place in relation to sport.It appears that the struggle is not necessarily between races in this case but rather a struggle to prove which black individual is superior based on social class – which is why the comparison of soccer is so important in this context. RP5's disclosure that playing rugby makes him feel like "somebody," implies that without playing the sport he would be invisible.Making a comparison to soccer simply points

out that nothing about a black person playing soccer is special because it is considered the norm or ordinary, but a black male who plays rugby is an extraordinary and defiant individual who breaks the stereotype and is rewarded by the privilege of association with a higher class of individuals.This relates strongly to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital which is captured by Sullivan (2002, pp. 145–146) as follows:

> Bourdieu's view is that cultural capital is inculcated in the higher-class home, and enables higher-class students to gain higher educational credentials than lower-class students. This enables higher-class individuals to maintain their class position, and legitimates the dominant position which higher-class individuals typically goes on to hold. Of course, some lower-class individuals will succeed in the education system, but, rather than challenging the system, this will strengthen it by contributing to the appearance of meritocracy.

In this scenario, the black rugby players would assume the role of the lower class individuals who succeed in the rugby system and often are seen as having earned their high class status in society based on performance. However the mentalitythat these players have of having a higher status than other black individuals merely plays into the cultural capitalist system, where a line is drawn between classes and no challenges are made to the system.

4.3. THEME THREE: NAVIGATING IDENTITY

Although the reception into another, white culture can be considered as ideal for the players as it comes with its privileges, it come with its own share of downfalls on various occasions. Sometimes crossing boundaries can result in rejection and alienation from one's own racial identity of origin. Some of the players expressed being referred to as coconuts by their own race and also being viewed as not belonging by the white race when playing in unfamiliar territory, which appears to lead to a state of lost identity forthese young blackmen.

4.3.1 Not black enough, not white enough

In the pursuit of being part of a generation of change and transformation through participation in rugby, the participants disclosed the difficulties of facing rejection or judgement from both white and black racial groups. According to Khanna (2011), the principles of acceptance and rejection are the fundamental determinants of one's gravitation towards a racial group. One can imagine the difficulty of being a black player in what was considered as white space, and

the upheaval that may arise from it. Rejection on both ends may possibly lead players to not have a point of reference and feel conflicted in relation to their identity, as this rejection threatens their sense of belonging. This rejection from both sides holds the danger either placing them in a zone of no identity or embracing of both racial worlds, which seems to be the case and likelihood with these young black men. The quote below clearly demonstrates this idea:

> ***RP7:*** *"to begin with,you youyou encounter a lot of weird experiences, like so for instance, people like when you go, when you play in provinces like the Free State and all those, Potchefstroom,where there's largely a lot of Afrikaans people,for you to be a blackperson there, you look kind of odd in the sense that you look lost,what are you doing there… It's not your sport and also it's kind of hard to get accepted amongst other Africans, I mean black people, because you play rugby, it's the same as, it's one of those things I still will come across even now, I mean 20 years in democracy but still people look at me, they see me as a coconut because I play rugby."*

The above extract demonstrates the rejection or loss of identification from both the white and black end of the racial spectrum. On the white end the rejection is based on cultural difference indicated by skin colour and rugby being originally confined to the white race, andon the black end, exclusion is based on the inability of others to identify with his interests, which are racially foreign. Due to the racial history of the country, the black and white racial binary is quite a difficult concept to navigate, in that it almost seems that these two races are inseparable. Phiri (2013, p. 163) reflects on the complexities of post-apartheid discussed in Kopano Matlwa'snovel *The Coconut*,published in 2007, suggesting thateven in "postmodern black society, it reveals the impossibility of imaging and imagining blackness without imaging and imagining whiteness." Which is quite an accurate picture of some the existing dynamics in society, as evidenced by RP7's quote. The society has been so entrenched in its views that it becomes difficult to separate the two.Vital to this study is the specific mention by RP7 of places in South Africa which are widely known for the residence of the Afrikaner people. RP7's reflection on feeling lost or like he did not belong actually highlights on some of the persisting difficulties that black players face. Even though RP7 doesn't indicate any feelings of being threatened, what is evident is the anxiety associated with being in unfamiliar "Afrikaans" territory and having the knowledge of the history of the country. The statement "it's not your sport" captures the difficult feeling of being aware of your blackness and

coming to the realization that you are different from the rest, who make you notice your blackness.

Dolby (2001, p. 79) explains the space that these young black players are in as "Borderlands," which are defined as "wherevertwo or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy." This space is characterized by anger and hatred due to the possible threat to existing identities, caused by racial crossover and connection. It is quite evident that when races come together there is a huge possibility for individuals to renegotiate their identities and that is something that is difficult to handle forsome. As evidence of this difficulty, black rugby playerswho cross boundaries through their participation in rugby, are often perceived by black people as taking on "racial duplicity" (Phiri, 2013, p. 166). This term denotes the black players as being deceptive and as being unrepresentative of the black race.As a result of expressing an interest in what is considered a white activity, the some of the players werelabelled"coconuts". According to Khumalo (2011, in Phiri 2013, p. 1766), "coconut refers to a self loathing black person who looks up to white people to validate his or herself-worth." This term implies being black on the outside but white on the inside, in another sense insinuating that the black players are attempting to be white.With the knowledge of RP7 struggling to fit in on both sides, the next narrative also illustrates the emotional costs of being associated with playing rugby as black player and a diminished sense of belonging in society.

> ***RP7:****"I think for some black people,it made them feel like I'm betraying them as for others it made them feel,they felt like I've gone beyond."*
>
> ***RP7:*** *"when you black and you play rugby,it's never you black and you play rugby, yes there are glories ok,like rugby, yes they acknowledge that rugby is played by tough people, the fact that you play rugby they probably, you there in terms of the food chain you there, you up top, but you not up top as black person,you up top as a black person who trying to be white, or a black person who lost his morals and personal beliefs and all that kind of stuff, so even now it's still associated with, yes it's up there but it's for white people, it is related to a higher power which is white people."*

In the above excerpt RP7acknowledges the status that come with being a rugby player, being on top of course implying that everyone else is beneath him regarding masculinity, so playing rugby ensures the preservation of one's masculinity. RP7's statement furthermore shares the persisting mentalities around sticking to your own rather than crossing boundaries. Owing to his involvement in rugby he is possibly identified as a sellout because he is seen as a "black person trying to be white," as mentioned by RP7 or perceived as"trying to be something they are not,"and as betraying his own race. This is an accurate reflection of the resistance that persists in society, which hinders the process of racial integration in South African society.The first black rugby players were met with the same attitude when theywere selected to represent the country alongside white players and management. The players can be placed in difficult situations when they supersede the restrictions.Much as some of the black players who have participated in rugby need to not be placed in a box, Benet-Martinez and Hong (2014) suggest that there is growing evidence that "people who arethemselves a product of the crossingof cultural and racial boundariesmay be likelyto believe in rigidcategories and more likely to believe in the mutability of human traits in general."

4.3.2 Navigation of racial identity

While previous discussions have highlighted heavily the concepts of masculinity, one of the fundamental focuses of this research has been on race and how this identity is negotiated/navigated in a rugby setting (which is historically white). The participants have expressed coming across difficultiesrelating to their identities as a result of their participation in rugby.The occasional diminished sense of belonging of some of these players is largely influenced by negative views and judgement in society.This sub-theme indicatesthe participants' engagement with the issue of race from both the white and black cultures which at times has placed players in difficult situations.

Mtose and Bayaga (2011, p. 506) state that, as a way of avoiding discrimination, "black children had developed contempt for being black and thus sought to be white." This statement explicitly implies that, by embracing a white activity, these players want to adoptwhiteness. As a way of fitting in with the white race and avoiding being discriminated against, one tries to adopt their cultural ways. To a degree there is some relevance to this statement, as in previous discussions some of the players did take pride in sharing the privileges that come with being a rugby player – which are implicitly linked to the whiteness of the sport. However based on the scrutiny and discrimination some of the participants have

faced from both races, this makes the search for belonging and the process of fitting into a particular culture a tad difficult in this black-and-white world.Someplayers disclosed having experienced discrimination in their younger years from white dominated teams. This is a classic example of "Borderlands," where two cultures occupy the same territory and this becomes a situation that raises a need to point out "difference," which serves to make another person feel out of place and unwelcome.In the midst of being excluded by both cultures, players find themselves in a place of middle ground, where on one handthey feel they do not belong in the white culture due totheir blackness,and on the other hand they are also pushed away by certain black people because they are seen as deceptive and disloyal to their own black race. Much like Fanon's (2008, p. 48) words, "for the white race would not accept him as one of its own and the black virtually repudiated him."With an early experience of a push and pull betweenboth cultures, some participants may have found their identities being allocated to a place of no belonging. In embracing white culture, the young men have received judgement from their fellow black people.Black societyviewsthe black players as associating and identifying with the superior in-group of the white minority.

4.3.3"Coconut" – Racial views affecting identity

The extracts below clearly demonstrate the views that black people hold regarding racial or cultural boundary crossing.

> ***RP1:*** *"we always associated,like in a way people view as you think you better than all of them cause you,cause uhh to them you doing a sport not every black person does so automatically there's a coconut."*

> ***RP7:*** *"The people who thought I was betraying them uhm, we get slandered,they call you coconut,they say you not white,you notblack and all that kind of stuff."*

> ***RP1:*** *"black people had that fear of I'm not gonna play that sport my ancestors or their ancestors used to oppress us."*

There is an entrenched historicunderstanding that one should be loyal their own raceand not "side with the enemy," which is evidenced in the fact thatthese eyes see through the oppressed-oppressor dyad.RP1's participation in the sport has created a dichotomy between himself and his fellow black people, whom he refers to as "them" and "black people." When RP1 was challenged by black society about his association with the white culture there seems

to have been a distance created between himself and black society. Based on RP1's first quote, it is evident that black society has a perception that "white is better," as they already assume that he thinks he is better than them. This is commonly known as the "inferiority complex," where the previously oppressed think and act helpless while they turn on themselves and each other (Cudd, 2006). By assuming that RP1 thinks he is better than them, they are already admitting to themselves that as a black person they are not good enough and that stepping into the white culture is a sign of superiority.

RP1 seems to alternate between the two cultures; in one moment heexcludes himself when it is an attack or a judgement on him. However when he expresses his views on how black society views white society, he uses the word "us," which indicates a closeness to the black people. RP1's use of the term"us" at some level indicates inclusion of the self in the oppression, that because he is black and his ancestors are black, the oppression and struggle did somehow affect him in his existence, as he is an extension of his ancestors. Being torn between races is certainly evident through his discourse.

> ***RP4:*** *"my old relatives like my granny, those kind of people they don't want me to play rugby, they don't understand rugby. They think it's something physical but like the new generation like my brother my mom they understand that rugby is actually a nice sport. They thought I was gonna get hurt cause we playing with white man they still have that funny, that mentality from back then."*

The above comment reflects on the differences between the older generation and the new generation's knowledge about rugby and the constructionof the white male. The country's history has an imperative role to play in the slow progress of elderly people's construction of the white man and a changing South Africa. The apartheid years haveimplanted the idea that black people should fear the white man, so when RP4 participates in a sport which involves white people, it is not well received by the older generation. The combination of rugby as a physical sport and a white man seems to equate to the idea of danger, which appears to be discomfitting for the older black generation. As a result, his decision to participate in the sport despite hisfamily's anxieties, may be viewed as a brave and manly move. Although one needs to take into account that his idea of danger may not be the same as the older generation's idea.To some extent RP4 may not have fully understood the sense of fear expressed for him because his interactions with white people may have been entirely different from those of his parents and grandparents. In the past, interaction between races was

strongly discouraged and against the law, however in recent times black and white younger generations are in the same spaces and that leads to connections and the forming of friendships.

In relation to forming friendships, one of the players revealed something interesting during his interview, as he disclosed about his white friend, who was also labelled as a result of his friendship with a black male from the township and visiting him there. Nhlapo (2009, p. 33) uses a quote from Stevens and Lockhart which states that "black South Africans in particular tended to have negative attitudes towards their own group who show friendliness to their white counterparts." Much of this relates to the fact that black people already feel that they have lost a lot of things in the past to white people, so when RP4 participates in a sport involving white people there is fear that the white culture may threaten his roots and fundamental cultural values. Nhlapo (2009) associates this mentality with a fear of domination, once again, which may lead to a loss of one's black identity. In light of the country's history, this explains why the black society may have a stronger reaction regarding one of their black people crossing racial boundaries.

> ***RP7:*** *"I think it's the same with my friend as well, they used to say he's a white boy, he's a black boy stuck in a white man's body."*

RP7's extract produces the idea that interracial friendship means the taking on of another's identity– one cannot retain a pure identity if one is crossing a racial boundary.His statement is similar to that of being called a "cocunut," so much so that a black person is seen as trying to be white when associating with white people. A white person is also perceived as trying to be black when associating with black people. This can somewhat be viewed as an implicit way of maintaining that gap between races because it creates the idea that each race has a certain way of being. Therefore once one identifies with another race's way of being, they are seen as adopting that identity, rather than retaining and extending their own natural identity.

Some of the participants have disclosed having faced some exclusionary issuesin the past and in their younger years which they experienced as discrimination to a certain extent. The sport itself although, undergoing a transformation has had flaws as it was clearly seen that 'white people were holding onto their space' which meant that the rugby field was unwilling to accept outsiders.

One of the relevant issues that materialized related to the selection of players based on race rather than merit, where one of the participants felt that white players during his younger years were selected into a team based on their race rather than their ability or merit. This was an act of exclusion, as he felt that he was a better player. The researcher did gauge the fact that some of players trusted their ability in the teams they currently play for, however in the past being recognized for their talent may have been a difficulty. According to Smiles (2012, p.208),"a meritocracy is a noble social ideal founded on the belief inhuman equality. It stands in contradiction to ascribed status and privilege. Merit selection underpinned the philosophy of non-racial sport. Meritocracy is an elite selected on the basis of ability (performance) rather than social background. The complaints about being rejected not based on the inability to perform but because of the social background and white identity of another player can becharacterized to some extent as a discriminatory act,as "discrimination refers to negative actions toward groups that are the targets of discrimination –in this case player of colour" (Smiles, 2012, p. 243).

> ***RP6:*** *"no I used to experience in primary cause you know my school was full of Afrikaners, blacks were few so sometimes when you get to play touch rugby those guys take time to pass to you, see, but as time goes on ahh we started being friends."*

RP6 recollects a memory from his younger years when he showed an interest in rugby but was rather rejected because he was not recognized as a part of the Afrikaner group.The fact that he was not passed the ball regardless of his presence indicates invisibility associated with his blackness. Firstly this reflects face-value judgement and exclusion based on his skin colour, however it appears that the more he participatedin the sport, the more he became part of the in-group. In some way it relates to the struggle of being recognized as having a common interest when the players have different backgrounds – at first he was a black man which meant he was not one ofthem, but because of his interest and talent in one of their sports he became worthy of inclusion. It almost seems as if RP6 had to earn his place before being included and noticed, and he wanted to participate in the sport irrespective of his race and the discrimination. The acceptance of white rules in order to eventually be accepted is a concept that has long been evident with in South African society, from the black man living under apartheid laws to a black boy in school fighting for acceptance in this new integrated South Africa. However RP4's persistence in trying to play rugby indicates that he did not

view himselfas inferior to the white boys, as he felt his participation should not be based on his race but rather his interest and ability.

RP6's story relates to Park's stages of assimilation: contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation (Fitzgerald, 2014). Park argued that contact exists when various groups coexist, and as these groups come together they compete, which leads to conflict (Fitzgerald, 2014). However there comes a time when the immigrants have to adapt to the dominant group and possibly get to a point of merging with the dominant group for assimilation (Fitzgerald, 2014).In context, these black rugby players go to multiracial schools where they connect with various races,and in some ways by playing rugby they have possibly accommodated the white culture into their lives in order to merge as one in the form of being seen as a rugby player who is part of a collective, not a black person playing rugby.However, in reality it is not that simple to get to a point of assimilation in a country that is still transitioning. The following extracts highlight this:

> ***RP3:*** *"the coaches think you not playing good so you kinda like think like oh so this is a white thing issue, ne? These people are just so racist, I remember,I don't want to lie, I thought that ah they so racist. Like I was playing so good, I was playing good, I don't want to lie. It hurt me cause even everybody was like, ne, you should have played number 8."*

> ***RP3:*** *"so firstly I got knocked out for the last round, it was the last round, the last last round. So I got knocked out. So it kinda like broke me down like yoh it broke me down. I looked at myself I was like no why ain't I white, if I was white I would have made it."*

RP3 disclosed his past internalized thoughts when it came to his exclusion in a team, as he felt that he internalized that mentality of inferiority, as he used his blackness as a reason for his exclusion in a team. On one hand,this excuse can serve as protective and defensive mechanism from viewing himself as weak and inadequate, which helped him in maintain his manliness. On the other hand, when he was not selected for a team even though people thought that he deserved it, there was a slight depression in relation to his blackness and the limitations it has forhim, and possible envy of the privilege of the white man as it afforded them the opportunities he had desired for himself.

4.4 THEME FOUR: REFERENCE or COMPARISON TO SOCCER

While the participants were generally content with participation in rugby as black players, some of the exposure to rugby exists on different levels. Most of the players had beento a multiracial school in which the sport was offered but from an opposing perspective some reasoned that their original participation in the sport was by default. The participants' responses held various views of what is considered as the "black man's sport," soccer. In the engagement with the material two ideas were presented when it came to the sport – either it was their first choice, which did not end successfully,which led to the pursuit of a rugby path;or it was a comparison between the value systems and statuses of soccer and rugby environments.

4.4.1 Soccer as a primary consideration

RP2: *"(laughs) well couldn't play soccer."*

RP4: *"I couldn't just sit there and do nothing and I couldn't play soccer so I said let me just go do rugby."*

Both the extracts demonstrate an inability to excel and participate ina sport that is considered the black male sport. Although there seemed to be expressed disappointment in the self for being unable to play soccer, RP4 wanted to find a sport that he could participate in, as not getting involved seemed unnatural. The idea of being a male who does not play sport did not fit into the masculine image of African culture, as being a man included being active, not passive. Most of the participants had attended multiracial schools, which predominantly encouraged and celebrated rugby participation more than other sporting codes, such as soccer. These extracts highlight how these players were introduced to rugby by "default," and the significance of race-specific sport.

RP5: *"well, it's just we had to play sports in high school, uhhm soccer was only third semester and I was just keen, keen to learn something new uhhm I just wanted to do something that I haven't done before and it looked exciting."*

RP7: *"uhhm soccer was more, it was influenced by my father, because you know, he was into soccer and the whole soccer is for black people kind of thing, I ended up playing, so yeah, I thought soccer was for me but, you know."*

RP5 saw rugby a new challenge for him to conquer whilst waiting for the soccer season to start. Based on these extracts it appears that fundamentally these players were all rooted in soccer before their exposure to rugby, whether participation in soccer was because it was understood as being the sport of black people or influenced by family, as evident in RP7's case where his father seemed to be the driving force behind his participation in soccer. In the case of RP5, Steinberg (1993) relates this to the Oedipal conflict in the competition between the father and son for the mother. This conflict results in the son trying to identify with the father out of fear of castration in order to assume a masculine role. So in some ways it could be argued that his involvement in soccer is to model himself after the father. As much as his race had originally decided his participation in soccer, his need to create himself as replica of the father in order to retain his masculinity may have also played an important role, although he eventually ended up playing rugby.

Phillips (as cited in Nauright & Chandler, 1996) suggested that rugby was created for the execution of the idea of producing the "manly gentleman," which seems to be something most of the rugby players would agree with based on the values they disclosed having learnt in their exposure to the sport. According to Kendall (2011, p. 81),values can be described as "collective ideas about what is right or wrong, good or bad, and desirable or undesirable in a particular culture." These values seem to have been closely linked to class, as certain behaviours seemed to be attached to the black environment, which is viewed as producing a less gentlemanly and socially acceptable character of men. Although the behaviour described concerning the soccer players is complementaryto the male identity as ascribed by society, the extent to which this behaviouris taken is, however, disapproved of by the participants.

> ***RP5:*** *"the serious side of my life came when I started playing rugby cause its more structured people take it more seriously in a sense as opposed to soccer where it's all fun and games, we all having fun because we love it and uhhm like discipline as well…"*
>
> ***RP1:*** *"these football players disrespect the refs like uhm it's it's a bit hard to say but it's the truth, just look at the way refs are viewed I mean on the rugby field, on the soccer field, yeah they get a bit angry at the ref but for us as much as you, we view the ref as like, in Afrikaans we say oom as in uncle you know."*

> ***RP7:*** *"I've learned a lot of discipline in rugby than I think in people who play,it's not like I'm teasing or anything, people who play soccer don't have those kind of morals."*

An image has been created ofsoccer playersas ill-disciplined, which is term that would be considered as well-suited to describe black people. It is quite evident that the rugby identity has taken such a primary role in the participants' lives,as reflected by their need to compete with other sporting codes in order to retain their reputation as a "manly gentleman."However, that is only achieved by contrasting themselves to the soccer players, who are viewed as ill-disciplined and disrespectful. The participants seem to project the idea that rugby as a sport has taught them respect and discipline, and they believe that soccer does not produce the same principles. There is strong need to elevate the rugby standard and the kind of "men" it produces in comparison to what is considered to be the "man's sport" (i.e soccer).There may be a sense of "*othering*" between black rugby players and soccer players, possibly due to the competitive nature of who is the ultimate man because soccer does pose a bigger threat than other sports when it comes to being identified as manly (whether you watch or play the sport). While this competition may also be a competition of race in a sense, where soccer players are often identified as black whilst the black rugby players are labelled "coconuts."

Mtose and Bayaga (2011, p. 511) use the term "false consciousness," coined by Manganyi in 1973 to explain an extreme version of this phenomenon whereby black people assume a white identity and consequently become alienated from self and theircommunity. Hence the assimilation into white culture provides the black person with a falseidentity because it requires the substitution of his/her African culture for a white culture. The players have taken on the culture in a way that plays a role in their construction of their identity as human beings and men; the lessons and values they learnt from rugby form an important part of their lives.

The clear distinction between these two sports clearly highlights the difference in privileges when it comes to the sports. RP3's comment seems to expose an underlying impression of black soccer players being inferior or beneath back rugby players. His statement suggests that the privileges they as rugby players receive are far beyond and possibly classier than those of soccer players. This refers back to the idea of a white woman being the ultimate prize for a black man to claim their status in society, so implying that a soccer player may have difficulty pursuing a white woman becomes a clear distinguisher of who is the "better man."

RP3: *"But if you playing soccer you didn't get a white girl cause no guy who played soccer was dating a white girl."*

RP6:*"not like most soccer players do, some soccer players do get fame and they just want to spend their cash without ukucabangelaemuvaukuthieish kana (thinking at the back of my head that) I don't have a degree."*

The stereotype of the black soccer players spending their money recklessly on fancy cars and partying as a way to publicize their wealth has given room for RP6 to criticize this lifestyle choice, not from a black man's perspective but rather from a rugby-playing black man's perspective. RP6 suggests that the teachings and lessons he has learnt from rugby would prevent him from taking on such a lifestyle and this in some way prevents from identifying with the identity of these soccer players. This merely means that he assumes a position of rugby identity and not his black identity.Social identity theory in this case would recognize that similarity goes beyond race, instead highlighting other similarities the participants may have found in the rugby setting with other players. The identity and behavior of these players is greatly informed by their environment, similarly to what is expressed below by RP1:

RP1: *"even white soccer players that, some of them have that tsotsitaal thing going on, it's just the environment."*

The above material exposes a different viewpoint to the way in which black individuals are positioned as trying to be white, but actually displays white males also trying to fit in with what is assumed to be a black lifestyle (playing soccer) by trying to be black. Much like the statement made about white soccer players being influenced by the ' black' sporting environment they are in; black players'exposure tothe rugby environment can leadto a slight attempt to identify with the rest of the group that you are primarily exposed to.Thus suggests that once again a white man cannot be a white man playing soccer but rather a white man trying to be white because the sport he is playing is outside of his usual social circle. However, not as much attention has been given to the white soccer players as the black rugby players.

4.5 THEME FIVE: AGGRESSION AND EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

One's sense of belonging to a gendergroup appears to be a psychological phenomenon, rather than just something that is expressed through one's knowledge of the attributes of the gender.

The participants' attribution to being men could be based not only on what they know or define as male characteristics, but also on how they identify themselves according to that definition of being a man and living up to the male identity ideal. This sense of belonging influences how the players behave or act in a way that can allow them to be considered a "real man," which stereotypically include attributes such as; strength, hardwork, heterosexuality, toughness, physicality, competitiveness, aggressiveness and being unemotional (Chu et al., 2005).

The rugby setting on its own seems to have these attributes as a requirement for participation in the sport, which allows the claim that the players meet the masculine identity standards merely by participating in the sport. Conversely, the findings reveal a common admission by the players that they are fairly emotional individuals who portray softer emotions in particular situations, while in the game emotions are not factored as a manly trait. Consequently, questions which could asked relating to this are: "does this disclosurethreaten their masculine identity?" or "does the fact that these softer emotions are hidden in social spaces allow them to uphold this identity?"

A player who is able to disclose that he isa sensitive or emotional being may have felt that because his identity was anonymous that it would not be taint his male image, whilst possibly also trying to give the impression to the female researcher that not all rugby players are emotionless creatures. Although this disclosure was to be protected by the anonymity, one emotion that rugby players do not feel embarrassed about expressing is that of anger. The players have a strong preference and consider it as a requirement of the game to exhibit the emotion of aggression rather than other emotions which may reveal a sensitive side which may oppose the masculine identity ideal. According to an Australian study on school-age rugby players, findings suggested that "aggression against others was a symbol of both being a good rugby player and being a 'real man'" (Baird, 2010, p. 67).

The following material is a demonstration of how aggression is viewed as a masculine emotion:

> ***RP2:*** *"like I had this thing when I was I was growing up like you know, common thing with Zulu people I don't know, uhm but I always have like this angry thing inside of me, like always angry like I don't know why but it's just always ready to do*

whatever, like now if you wanna fight lets fight now and do whatever, let's do it now. And yeah rugby is the place for that kind of person. It helps to just let it out."

It is also important to note how RP2 allocates his aggression to his Zulu culture, which has been seen as a culture of warriors in history and how this aggression is suitable for a rugby setting as a zone of war.

RP3: *"Yeah so eventually we rugby players just say we've got guts and aggression. That's, let's just say that's our emotional."*

RP7:*"I mean you can't play rugby with no emotions. There are certain things certain emotions you have to go through in order to play rugby, uhhm aggression to me it's an emotion."*

RP4: *"you become so aggressive like if you fight with someone before thing, the game, you become so emotional and into that game you just want to tackle but there's space you just want to go for the man."*

The ideology that aggression is a manly emotion plays itself out explicitly in the rugby setting, as the sport isindisputably considered masculine. However, when a sport does not require aggression or the application of it in play, it is stereotypically deemed feminine based on the nature of the sport which relates to social gender expectations and roles. Based on RP2's comment below, this perception can be indicative ofa difficulty faced by the rugby players in positioning themselves in relation to sports that are viewed as less masculine or feminine. He identifies the aggression required in the rugby with the masculinity of the sport as an identifier of his own masculinity; the stereotype he conveys relays the message that sports that do not require aggression are feminine. Therefore his participation in such a feminine sport would make him feminine or less masculine. This comment therefore indicates the gendering of sports according to suitability of the male social role:

RP2: *"it's very aggressive and that's the beauty of it and it's why people do it cause you want to, it's like the real men's sport; you can take tennis, I wouldn't take tennis, it's like for females, golf or anything you know what they say, but rugby you feel like a man in there, feel like yeah this is my place."*

RP2 points out that a sport that is unisex, such as tennis or golf, which also do not engage much aggression,is not quite masculine. In short it may not be good for his masculine image

to participate in such sports. He also implies that the activeness of females in these sports indicates femininity and weakness relating to the whole ideology of men having to dominate women, so playing the same sport as them would mean that they are on equal grounds. There is evidence of a gap that is also purposefully created for men and women in sports.

> ***RP3:*** *"like soccer, soccer women, but soccer has always been there for women but rugby has improved as well as we see, women play rugby."*

When the researcher interviewed RP3, she noticed the genuineness of his statement on women's participation in rugby, as a sign of improvement in society. He saw it as a breaking of boundaries, much like in soccer, without a negative attitude to the idea.

> ***RP3:*** *"hockey is known as a woman's sport, you understand, but then rugby, is more, it's more, I don't know how to put it, it's more physical."*

What seems to account for the masculinity of the sport is the fact that it is a physical sport, not just through ball play but rather through bodies. The ability to physically dominate another male is seen to be the ultimate performative act of masculinity.The other sports, according to RP3, do not present that opportunity to physically challenge a man or present an opportunity to use the aggression to do that in order to defeat them and claim victory.

As aggression is a sanctioned emotion within the rugby environment, it also appears that there is a constant filtering of which emotions are suitable for a man to display in public. Although some of the participants previously admitted to being emotional individuals, theystrongly emphasized the importance of avoidingtheoutwardexpressionof softer emotions in a social space, as it would be opposing their image of being strong men.Steinberg (1993, p.50) asserts that "men use logic as opposed to emotion." This imagine of a man has often led to the inhibition of their emotions in order to protect their masculine identity as envisioned by society.

> ***RP1:*** *"uhmmit's hard for us to open up because we are you know very … tough guys."*

> ***RP2:****"well it's a very emotional sport, I'd be lying if I say we are detached or something, in fact we are the most emotional people I know (laughs) but we are men so we do have to hide that part of ourselves just because we think you know about*

society knows us as people who are hard,rocks and stuff, but yeah I've seen men cry even here."

This indicates that the social standards can dictate how one's identity should be composed according to one's gender and how one should express themselves socially. An act of "crying," which is largely associated with femininity, is expected to be expressed in the privatespace in a man's world. This relates to the previous discussion about the body and pain, where feelings of pain during the game would not be expressed due to the player's need to prove their strength and the ability to bounce back in a tussle.The statements by these participants indicate conformation to what is considered to be the ideal masculine role.

RP2:*"if you just lose, don't cry in front of people. That will be bad, don't cry."*

RP2 highlights the restrictions a male has when it comes to this expression of sensitive emotion. The expression of these emotions in a public space is considered as female behavior which in retrospect is "unmanly."To admit one's emotional struggles in the presence of others hurts their male reputation so as a way of conforming, RP2 internalizes the idea that the emotional issues of a man are meant to be dealt with privately, or in fact that they should not primarily struggle with emotional issues as they are logical beings.RP4 adds:

RP4: *"yeah we just hide it cause we masculine, we always running face but seriously but after you lose game you just know it's going down. Some players even cry, I even cried once, we cry it's life."*

Contrary to what society has to say about men's expression of emotions, RP4 disclosed the experience of himself and teammates crying over a loss of a game. This presents as quite contradictory to the players' ideas of not crying when one is injured, which seems to be a more individualized process in comparison to the team dynamic associated with a loss. This presents aparticular exception when it comes to the expression of these sensitive emotions. In some way there seems to be an attached image of investment when players express sensitivity to a loss. There is something externalized from the individual when the emotion is that of expressed in a group environment:at some level it creates solidarity; however, if other players do not cry this may also be an embarrassing experience. Whereas crying after an injury places a lot of attention on your ability to withstand pain, by avoiding crying, the player escapes the negative attention of being labelled as weak, or called a girl or a baby which are considered terms of denigration. In individual cases, it appears that men want to perform masculinity and

preserve their masculine reputation. In group cases there ispossibly less judgement and far less attention on the individual for self-conscious individuals who take the masculine role and behaviours seriously.Facing pain and expressing that emotional pain through crying alone in public can be anxiety-provoking but if the expression is executed in a group, a new type of desired masculinity is created.

As speculated above, rugby requires aggression and seems to be viewed as aggressive; the sport itself thus pressures the players to accept pain as a way of expressing their manliness.

> ***RP1:*** *"In my high school, we had this thing called klappies. We made first team, you had literally, physically not torture you, but smack you around, I mean you are a rugby player you should be a man now."*

RP1 refers to the process of initiation when younger players are elected to join the first team, and part of the initiation process is to take acceptable physical torture from the seniors as way ofdisplaying manliness. And this would also determine their readiness to join the team, as the sport itself can be tough. This almost acts a preparation for the sport of rugby, where a player needs to be able to take the knocks without crumbling or breaking. This is somehow similar to the black culture of initiation school, where boys go to the mountains to or the bush to be refined into a man – their return from that journey symbolizes their ability to survive in the mountains.

> ***RP5:*** *"I mean, we different off the field and stuff but it gives you that little bit of masculine I'm gonna be strong about this, I'm gonna get hurt and on the side there a crowd and you'll stand up. You can't linger on the ground crying even if you want to dig a hole and hide you know, you'll stand up and pretend everything is fine and it's just between you and yourself , you know it's hurting so ya it gives you that little bit of oomph."*

The cost of being a rugby player means having to sacrifice one's own internal feelings to uphold the social standards of being a man. RP5 discloses this as if there is not a choice regarding how he deals with a painful situation. What seems to matter is preserving ones maleness. The concept of pretence is one that has been evident in many of the experiences of the players as a way of conforming to social pressures to present themselves as the rocks that they are expected to be. This means sacrificing one's own personal feelings, which is also labelled as an act of bravery – which is manly.

4.6. THEME 6: TRANSFORMATION (RACIAL INTEGRATION)

While Smiles (2012, p. 249) suggests that "Sport is both unifying and divisive,it can unite warring factions and bring different social classes and racial groups together. But it can also reinforce the barriers that separate groups. Human (1998), in Smiles (2012, p. 255), states an important view that "transformation is of no value unless it involves the transformation of the mind."

Transformation in South African rugby is a relevant matter that relates to race and the racial history of the country, and although many articles have opposing views when it comes to this topic regarding rugby, the participants felt that there has been a major shift in the rugby environment barring a few isolated incidents in their past experiences which could have made them evaluate their belonging. Rugby, according to the players, is a good example of racial integration and a change in mentalities, which is important for the forward mobility of the sport and for future black participation. The players express a sense of unity when it comes to the rugby environment, which is arguably a symbol of racial integration.

> ***RP2:*** *"our place is there as black males we play our part and so far I haven't seen any difference when it comes to race as in whites played better than blacks that kinda like we all the same colour when we there we all brothers, yeah feels good."*

> ***RP3:*** "*What happened in the old days actually changed everything, you understand all about race so eventually when Nelson Mandela freed us, we everything was free, whether you black or white you play any sport. So eventually it doesn't influence being black, I wouldn't count myself being black and you understand. When you get on the rugby field we one.*"

RP2 possesses an in-group status when players of different racial background meet as one unit. The concept of brotherhood that he expresses is a large signifier of his experience of being part of the team, and not seeing difference. However, at the same time, difference might not be as obvious when the black players are seen as taking on the identity of the white players. It no longer becomes about the colour skin of the player but rather whether or not they behavior reflects their race or not. The war against other teams does, however, create a sense of unity, because being on the same team means that the teammates fight for you because you are brothers and the opponents are the enemies.

On the other hand, RP3's statement really reveals this strongneed of racial solidarity within the rugby team. To the extent that RP3 distances himselfor rejects identifying himself as being black. Race is explicitly overlooked, possibly as a means of pursuing the racially integrated view he states, that "when you get on the rugby field we one."One would question whetherthis racial solidarity then only exists on field and possibly not off the field. As part of transformation, and reevaluating the importance of the black man, Nelson Mandela receives special mention as he may have been the epitome of heroic and powerful.

> ***RP3:*** *"currently I remember I played provincial rugby with some of hometown boys because they said they from hometown cause it was just trials, their coach from hometown brought them there. I played with two boys from hometown so you see everything is changing now so eventually imagine a person a person from hometown playing provincial rugby so it's something else. So you see, you can see there's a change."*

> ***RP3:*** *"white people opened for us to show us that ok you know what we are going to put Nelson Mandela there to hold our trophy as our president to show the black people that we are inviting them to come to play rugby with us.*"

In the above comment, RP3suggeststhat there are more opportunities made available for black players to compete at higher levels in rugby; this communicatesthat the participants experience and foresee movement towards racial integration in the sport. This transformation is not only happening in rugby but in other sports, too; it appears that the sport of one's interest should no longer be based on one's racial identity but about one's ability to perform in the sport. RP3 does, however, seem to be conflicted when it comes to racial identification. On one hand, he acknowledges his racial background, whilst on the other, he does not want that to define who he is.He alternates between using the words "us" and "them," possibly because he identifies himself as part of the in-group since he already plays the sport.

> ***RP4:*** *"people expect uhhmm all white people to play rugby. But now white people also play soccer. It's like changing, the trend is changing. Like more black players are becoming assets to white uhhm dominant uh teams."*

> ***RP7:*** *"colour is actually not seen or it's not that much of a big deal as it was maybe in the '95 World Cup, now we by far different,it's not there now, your rugby mates are your brothers, you go jollying with them,you do everything with them (chuckles)."*

> ***RP3:*** *"white people opened for us to show us that ok you know what we are going to put Nelson Mandela there to hold our trophy as our president to show the black people that we are inviting them to come to play rugby with us."*

A significant point that seems to have come across is that things should not be done according to race and the South African nation, although a rainbow nation with various differences, should embrace doing thing beyond one's limits and racial boundaries. An important message one of the rugby players has for aspiring rugby players as a way of fighting previous notions and stereotypes is that:

"Don't play wing because you black, because you fast; compete for that other position you love even though that guy is white and big"

Conclusion of the analysis chapter

The themes which were discussed in this chapter elicited navigation of the black rugby players' racial and masculine identity within the rugby setting. The engagement with their personal experiences with regard to the research topic allowed them to express their own understandings of how the sport they play informs their identity. The masculinity of the players seemed to be clearly expressed through their dominant theme of the male body, which was indicative of the physicality of the sport and how it represented them as meeting the male ideal. Complementary to this masculinity was the participants' desire to live up to ideal male standards through the nature of this sport, which is identified as relying on the expression of aggressive emotion, discarding the rest, which clearly distinguished them as "real men" in comparison to other sports that were defined as feminine. Participation in some of these sports pushed the players to identify what impact it would have on their identity if they engaged with these sports. The male body as existing in different sizes seemed to bring up a possible identification withother attributes of male identity.

The themes also tapped into the importance of race as a central aspect of participants'existence, as it related heavily to their identity. Although this emerged as a difficult subject, due to experiences that pushed some of the players to a zone of no identity and belonging it did, however, also have positive outcomes.The sport itself exposed them to various life lessons and additionally provided them with an elevated status which came with some privileges, although at times there had been a heavy price to pay to get to this point.Nevertheless, the players had the ability to claim a high social status with the benefits of attracting females.This is relevant because the participants' experiences have highlighted to society the transformation that has taken place in the rugby setting since their initial involvement with the sport, and how there is hope for more racial integration and opportunities for black rugby players in future.

The themes relay that the participants appreciate the values which they have learnt through the sport and high position the sport has placed them in the masculine chain.This is merely owing to their expressed ability to cross boundaries ofrace created by society and the country's historical systems.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore the masculine and racial identities of black rugby players, in order to ascertain how they construct their identity relative to the topic. In relation to the sport, these were explored and analyzed for the achievement of an understanding of the negotiations of these two identities in a historically white sport. This took into account the multiple social influences that are at play in this study, as race and masculinity areat the root of a patriarchal system.

5.2 Central findings

The findings of this study are displayed through the six themes that addressed issues that emerged in the study, namely: The pain, Access to privilege, Navigating identity, Reference to soccer, Aggression and expression of emotion, and Transformation (racial integration). These seemed to intertwine at times across themes, which is indicative of how rugby as a sport has been created out of the foundation of both racial and masculine identities and has somehow established itself as having a high social status or class. These themes highlight the various ways in which players expressed their masculine identities; particularly through dismissing other sports as feminine, which in turn strengthened their male identities. These results expose how one extreme cannot exist without the other, therefore pointing out the attributes that make other sports less masculine makes the participants seem more masculine.

Rugby as a sport seems to be the epitome of the male identity based on mere involvement in the sport, however the strong desire to uphold that identity has encouraged some players to resort to activities that will allow them to be able to identify with the other players, whether through enhancing their masculinities through gym or through artificial means such as steroids, shakes and injections. This is a signifier of the amount of emphasis placed on the male body and how it is the representation of the strength and power one possesses. Although body size was understood as key to the rugby environment, rugby was considered as a friendly sport, as it accommodates different sizes and shapes. This encourages players who do not appear to be physically built to express their masculinity through other domains such as speed. The findings reflect a strong need to dominate in the game as it translates to other areas of life.

The results have also highlighted the conflicting concepts of race and racial identity. The involvement in rugby by black players has at times led to labelling and alienation from both cultures. Although they embrace the rugby player image and status, the participants were victims of the country's historical racial issues in their early days, and some were very open to discussing such issues with the anticipation of being able to share a different viewon their current situation. The association of black players with the rugby culure has also established them as belonging to a certain class within society which has also afforded them a high social ranking amongst other black individuals. The results do demonstrate that although there have been major shifts in the rugby setting, there is still more to be done to accommodate more integration. This, however, also reveals society's mentality on transformation even though when people such as the black rugby players try to live according to the current set standards of an integrated society, they still get discouraged for it. This explicitly indicates a struggle between moving forward and holding on. In conclusion, the rugby players have shared the view that their nature of their sport is directly linked to their identity, and that they are an example of the new South Africa and crossing boundaries.

5.3 Limitations

A limitation could possibly have been in the questions, as they may have be phrased to get a desired outcome of the research; but at the same time they were designed in order to avoid being overly intrusive, as some of the content could have been sensitive. So a limitation could be the fact that the questioning was limited to protect the participants from revealing any difficult and self-threatening information.

An additional limitation relates to the fact that the information disclosed in this research does not represent the universality of the "black race" in South Africa; because of availability issues and time constraints, the researcher was unable to select other representatives of the black race,namelycoloured and Indian players, so the information gathered was only based on black Africans.The small sample size, which is suitable for qualitative research, is additionally a limitation, as is does not allow for generalization of the information.

The fact that the researcher was a female could have also either enabled or disabled better communication about masculinity. The gender issues when it comes to such a topic can either lead participants to create a good or positive image about themselves in certain areas of the interview, or may result in the withholding of information in other areas of discussion of their masculinity.

Some of the questions asked during the interview process may have been understood in various ways by different participants, which may also have led to different responses.

5.4 Reflexive Journal

Creswell (1998) pointed out that in some research studies, the researcher may find it difficult to bracket their own personal experience from the study, so it is important that the researcher is well aware of their own experiences in order to maintain objectivity throughout the study and avoid biased judgements. Therefore the researcher needs to be aware of how his or her experiences might be introduced into the study at hand (Creswell, 1998). The researcher is aware that being a black female may shape the way in which she interprets the text or data.

The participants may find comfort in discovering a racial similarity with the researcher, but on the other hand the participants may find difficulty in discussing matters of their masculinity with a female. It is therefore important to note that considering that the participants are male, they may not reveal in depth some of their experiences to do with masculinity, and that they are most likely to remain unemotional and refrain from talk revealing sensitivity or weakness. In this regard, reassurance of confidentiality and professionalism should be emphasized for the comfort of the participants.

During the research process, the researcher was faced with sampling issues, as she initially aimed to interview more than seven participants and was expecting to meet various groups that were considered black (coloured, Indian, etc.), but she had to work with availability of the players. Quite aware of her race, age and femaleness, the researcher was aware that those three components would present conflicting responses. Race and age would provide/aid a sense of familiarity and identification. However being a female would have been a buffer to accessing more in-depth emotion. The researcher was additionally nervous and reluctant to approach the players as she had her own preconceived ideas of an unpleasant and unfriendly black rugby player's attitude. The researcher was surprisingly met with friendliness and respect from the participants and by the coaches, who kindly passed on the message to the players who wanted to participate in the study during the recruitment stages. Even though the researcher got a sense that her femaleness would impede the deepening of the process, the participants took the process seriously and attempted to answer the questions to the best of their ability given the circumstances. Although the researcher was anxious about how the interviews would go, and very cognisant of not presenting herself as a journalist, seeing the

participants comfortable and using the interviews to address past issues that had given them a lot of pain made the process worth experiencing.

It was enchanting to see the participants not worried about time, and being invested in the process. Due to lack of experience on the researcher's side, there were some questions she missed out on that she wished she could have the participants elaborate on, to link back to the research topic.

One great difficulty the researcher was confronted by was writing about race issue in a tentative manner that did not aim to implicate the participants or insult readers of various cultures and races. The challenge the issue of objectivity as the researcher attempted to avoid confusing her professional and personal opinion and feelings about race with those of the partcipants. This may have prevented the researcher from digging deeper into her own feelings about the issue, as she desired to provide an insightful piece of work within the realm of psychology and felt that the issue could take a political tangent. As it is well known fact that race is a very political and personal issue, the researcher may have had been more prepoccupied with being politically correct than providing a true reflection of her feelings around the topic of race. Being a female researcher writing about masculinity presented a very interesting dynamic as the researcher got the sense that the participants wanted their sport and themselves to be viewed in desirable way.It appeared that the participants wanted to impress the researcher by desiring to be seen gentlemen. It was quite hard to gain the perspective of an accurate picture of the current team dynamics in the team, as the players seemed to have had positive experiences thus far in relation to race, and the topic of race did seem to be glanced over in the present, but was easier to talk about if it concerned past experiences.

In addition, some of the information provided by the participants did not come as much of a surprise to the researcher, as she also attended a school which considered rugby the most valuable sport and placed its players on a pedestal. The researcher had prior knowledge of the behaviours and the culture the players. However, this processprovided more depth and enlightenment, and as a result the analysis stages exposed the researcher to literature that made her confront some of the historical and current realities that might have been difficult to tap into and discuss.

Overall, conducting the research interviews was a rewarding experience, as some of my views of rugby players were challenged; however, the write-up process was a strenuous process which seemed like a rocky relationship that resulted in the researcher falling in and out of love with the topic.

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APPENDIX A

CODING TABLE

THEMES	RP1	RP2	RP3	RP4	RP5	RP6	RP7	TOTAL
Body image & physicality	12	9	7	10	4	12	9	63
Mental toughness	4	1	0	6	0	0	2	13
Reference/Comparison to soccer	4	1	4	1	2	2	5	20
Racial mentality/views	3	1	5	6	2	1	6	24
Past-experienced discrimination	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	5
Transformation (racial integration)	3	3	5	2	0	0	1	14
Emotions	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	10
Identity Sports identity	0	0	0	0 2	0	0	0	0 2
Aggression (representing manliness)	0	2	2	2	1	1	6	14
Group identity	2	2	2	1	1	0	3	11
Elitist & crossing boundaries (identity)	3	2	8	2	6	1	7	28
Racial player characteristics	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	5
Values	2		0	1	0	0	1	4
Rugby player image (masculine)	4	1	0	0	3	0	0	8
Rugby as an outlet	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Support	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	5
Barriers (communication)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Competition	0	2	4	4	1	1	1	13

&consequences								
Gender stereotypes & specificity of the sport	**0**	**4**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**9**
Rugby player characteristics	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Confidence	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**6**
White race holding onto space	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Gym/body enhancement	**0**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**10**
Rugby as dangerous	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**12**
Injuries	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**

Appendix B: Consent form for the Director of sport

I _____ Director of sport at_____ agree that Lungako C. Mweli, a Masters in Community Counselling Psychology student at the University of the Witwatersrand, will conduct a research study at our universitywith the black rugby players as participants to explore the construction and intersection of the racial and masculine identities of black student rugby players.

As the Director of Sports, I have read the information sheet and permit research study to take place at our university with the rugby team. In the study be required to participate in an individual interview process. The interviews will take place at suitable venue at the university and at scheduled times arranged by the researcher and the participant.

I know I may withdraw the players from the study at any time and it will not be held against the team or the students in any way. Participation for this interview is voluntary and information that reveals the identification of the participantswillnotbeincluded in the research project.

I hereby consent for the sportsmen from the Wits rugby team to participate in this research project.

University's name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix C – Participant information sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Good day,

My name is LungakoMweli (student number – 464905) and I am a Master's student registered for the degree of Masters of Art in Community-based Counselling Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements of the degree, I am conducting research into the identities of blackstudents. It is hoped that this information may enhance psychologists' understanding of the effects sport have on the identity of sportsmen and the role it plays in the way these sportsmen perceive themselves through the experiences of being in a sport environment as black men. The main concern is to discover the racial and masculine identities of black male student rugby players.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall have to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you. The interview will last approximately one hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview schedules will be kept for 5 years following any publications or for 2 years if no publications emanate from the study. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I shall answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on tel. no. 078 782 9373, or my supervisor, Dr.MaloseLanga, on tel. no. 011 7174536.

Thank you for taking time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

LungakoMweli

Appendix D – Participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix E – Audio recording consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIOTAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix F – Interview Schedule

Age: _____

Year of study: _____

Type of school attended: _____

Place of residence: _____

Questions

1. When did you start playing rugby?What influenced you?
2. What is it like being a black male playing rugby?
3. How did this influence your identity as a black person playing a sport historically associated with white people?
4. Is there interaction between class (e.g. place where one lives or school attends) and the choice of rugby as a sport?
5. What are the challenges that black rugby players face?
6. Would you say rugby is masculine sport? Are there things that rugby players do enhance their sense of masculine? Are there any racial differences between black and white rugby players in terms of all these activities?
7. What happens to rugby players who do not live up to the image of being a rugby player?

Appendix G: Plagiarism Form

Word Count: _____ Copies submitted: _____

Declaration

I, _____, know and accept that plagiarism (to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that

- This research proposal is my own work
- I have correctly acknowledged all direct quotations and paraphrased content
- I have provided a complete, alphabetised reference list, as required by the American Psychological Association (APA) 6th edition method of referencing
- I have not allowed anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as their own
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work, or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the content in my writing
- The word count given above is correct

Signed: _____

Date: _____

IMAGES

Definition of black





Transformation (racial integration)





The male body – racial stereotyping of body and skills



The Male Body – opposing racial body-size stereotypes

