

**Masculine performance and enactment in the Rhodes University
Rowing Club**

**Thesis submitted to Rhodes University in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Social Sciences**

in

Political and International Studies

By

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February 2016

Abstract

Drawing on the interactions between gender and power in the South African context, this study explores how masculinities are produced, reproduced and contested in one particular realm of social life, namely organised university sport. The study focuses on a rowing club at a historically white South African university (RURC). The narratives of ten male participants (aged between 19 and 23) who self-identified as heterosexual and were recruited from RURC, were utilised to make meaning of the process of identity construction of young males who participate in organised sport within the higher education sphere. The ethnographic aspect of the study, which spanned over three months, provided a window into the norms, values and rituals of the club and how these variously reinforce or interrupt the prevailing gender order. Employing Connell's typology of masculinities as a lens, the study traces the lived construction of masculinity in the individual lives of the members of RURC as one sphere of university life in which masculinities are produced and contested. Within a wider culture that has been characterised as white, heteronormative and patriarchal, the study argues that although masculinities and masculine performances in the RURC are highly contested the practices of the club ultimately perpetuate an exclusionary, orthodox masculinity.

Keywords: gender, heterosexuality, masculinities, hegemony, organised sport, higher education

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Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge my supervisor, Prof. Louise Dorothy Vincent and the Andrew Mellon Foundation Institutional Cultures Scholarship for the investment and financial assistance towards this research. I also would like to extend my thanks to my participants for their involvement in this process- thank you for allowing me to painfully follow you and interrogate you constantly.

To my family and friends, I have so much gratitude. Thank you for the guidance, patience and support. To the loved ones that are closest to me who have seen me struggle and break down but who have also shared in my euphoria and excitement when all went well.

Riba, Ntabane, Mokone, you were the first man in my life to model what it means to be your own man in a world that constantly tells you what ought to be, and at the time I had little knowledge of the impact it would have on me until your passing.

Lastly to my mom, dad and little brother for ensuring I always remain grounded. However, there is no beloved that comes before my mother, Deborah Letau-Mabena. Thank you for showing me that strength and courage are synonymous with black women. Thank you for being the love of my life. Mbokodo.

Papa Mfowethu and sis Phindi, this thesis is for you.

Introduction

Research has shown that gender inequalities continue to persist in the contemporary South African context as they are embedded in the fabric of the society (Segalo, 2015). The legacy of apartheid coupled with gender discrimination have marginalised and disinherited women to a large extent (Profile KwaZulu-Natal, 2001). Marginalisation and inequality is not limited to the workplace or in the home but extends to sport, play and games as well. Since the sporting arena has been recast as a male-dominated terrain, it is the majority of women, more often than men that are systematically denied access or disabled to advance their physical competence. According to Bennett, Whitaker, Smith and Sablove (1987) sport is an institutionalised form of activity that is often used as a mechanism to maintain male hegemony and patriarchy. The patriarchy in sport is supported by social control mechanisms that deny many women access to sport or trivialise their participation (Bennett et al., 1987) as well as perpetuate homophobia and the lack of control that women have over their own bodies (Bryson, 1987). Homophobia itself has been a rampant feature in the lives of the sexually marginalised (Morrell, 2002). The construction and reconstruction of masculine hegemony in sport exists to serve mostly dominant male interests and defend dominant forms of masculinity (Bryson, 1987). It is women, homosexual individuals and effeminate males that are negatively measured against these conceptions of masculinity that are deemed dominant and necessary (Selikow, Zulu & Cedra, 2002). Hence, it is not only women but some men as well that are excluded. The intersection of heterosexuality, patriarchy and hegemonic practices is implicated in the identity construction of young males as well as the maintenance of sexism and homophobia (Selikow et al., 2002). Moreover, the relationship between masculinities, power, inequalities and women and other men's subordination make studying masculinities in South Africa a necessary endeavour.

In this thesis my aim is to examine the intricacies of male behaviour (Hughes, 1945; Dalton, 1959; Goffman, 1959; Schein, 1973) as it plays out in one particular setting – that of an elite university rowing club. I was interested to observe, as closely as I could, the performance that men have to go through every day to present themselves in a manner that is desired by others or that is accepted to be appropriate. In observing their behaviour in context I was also able to observe how through their interactions, they develop their view of the world surrounding them and the attitudes that may act as a guiding principle for their behaviour. The institution then becomes a site where they get socialised into the kind of men they are supposed to be.

Young men in the university milieu produce their own constructions of masculinity within group dynamics. Moreover, these constructions that are produced may be reproduced in the institutional system and influence the way that the institution provides services and caters to this defined group (Dancy, 2011).

The socialisation of young men happens in different ways before coming to a higher education institution following which their identities become further developed when they get to that institution. It is important to identify that no institution is a monolith but rather consists of a number of subcultures. It is a person's interactions with these subcultures that influence their experience of the institution (Schein, 2010). To understand 'culture', is thus to understand the cultivation of shared ideas and customs by members of a social unit (O'Reilly, Chatman & Caldwell, 1991). Keup, Astin, Lindholm & Walker (2001) highlight the way a hegemonic institutional culture can translate into a group consciousness that directs behaviour within that group. When hegemony is internalised and unchallenged it may appear as the natural way of doing things. In that manner the disempowered tend to conceive that society according to how the dominant group has projected it (Bell, 1997). To study masculinities in the context of institutional life is therefore to study how a variety of organisational masculinities manifest in particular practices, circumstances and groupings (Connell, 2008). Therefore questioning the frame of reference and institutional culture that a group or individual may possess gives us clues to the complexities of their shared history and the construction of their masculinities. In order to fully understand the complexity of masculinities we have to understand the workings of the institution and how masculinities are produced within particular institutional contexts.

Although there has been an increasing focus on researching masculinity in the Southern African literature there are few studies that closely examine the experiences of young males in the sporting context from within higher education institutions. Educational research has explored the experiences of young boys and the impact their socialisation has on the malehood they embrace and the conceptions of masculinity they aspire to (Martino & Meyenn, 2001; Kehily, 2002). However, this research is mainly in the primary or secondary schooling context. The present study attempts to add to the body of masculinities research by exploring the different prescriptions of masculinity and the meanings inferred by the narratives of young South African male athletes in higher education institutions.

The study also draws from a broader project on transformation with the aim of recognising and highlighting the challenges that have previously been identified within the on-going transformation debate. It is agreed upon that there is an obligation for higher education institutions to transform and to redress the structural inequalities incurred from the apartheid era (Badat, 2010). There is however great contention regarding what a transformed institution is supposed to look like. As Badat (2010) mentions, a demographically representative institution that prioritises resolving the race, class and gender imbalances of the past order does not necessarily translate into an institution that is transformed. Hence this study draws from this point of contention to give prominence to the role of an enabling institutional environment in meeting the transformation needs in higher education institutions. The study interrogates the attitudes, values and processes in the institutional landscape of Rhodes University and attempts to ascertain whether they manifest as exclusionary practices.

In this research I examined one particular site for the enactment, acquisition and performance of idealised masculinity in the institutional space of Rhodes University, namely the rowing club. This study, using Connell's idea of a typology of masculinities, aims to determine what forms of masculinity are performed in the Rhodes University Rowing Club (RURC) and how these are portrayed and reproduced through discourses and practices. The aim of the research was to explore how male athletes in the RURC negotiate their masculine identities both in relation to one another and to those considered outside of this particular milieu. I was interested in what insight these observations could provide into the nature of the wider gender order that prevails at Rhodes University as an institution and the day-to-day practices which serve to reinforce or interrupt the prevailing gender order.

The following chapter contextualises this research as an aspect of a wider project to transform higher education institutions in South Africa. The first section of the second chapter theorises gender according to the model that informs this study which was devised by R. W. Connell while the second section traces the developments in the literature on masculinities relevant to this research. The next chapter identifies the research methods and techniques, and the procedures used for recruiting participants, collecting data and the process of analysis. The fourth chapter defines the sport practices that are involved in the construction of dominant notions of masculinity within the arena of organised male sport with a particular focus on the prominence of pain, injury and physicality. The fifth chapter discusses the extreme commitment, intensive training, physicality, endurance and group

consciousness that are required in order to participate in the sport of rowing. Given the centrality of rowing in its members' experience of university, this 'hothouse' environment that typifies participation in rowing makes the sport of rowing a useful arena within which to study forms of masculinity produced and enacted in one particular site of the institution's wider set of cultures and structures. Participation in rowing requires members of the club to devote most of their schedules to training and religiously be in the rowing club climate and there are intense relationships that are formed within that social milieu. Hence the sixth chapter explores aspects of heterosexual male relationships: homosocial bonding, relationships with older male figures and members' perceptions of women. This chapter further explores the influence and impact that coaches have on male athletes. The seventh chapter is the concluding chapter that summarises the main findings of the study.

Chapter 1

Background and Context

When the South African post-apartheid government came into power, the structure and architecture of the previous order had not been dismantled (Jansen, 2003). All areas of social life (including higher education) had been shaped around the tenets of racism and patriarchy as bequeathed under the colonial project undertaken in South Africa and further reproduced under apartheid (Badat, 2010). A process of structural transformation became necessary to redress past inequalities based on race, class and gender. The focus for the transformation of higher education in post-apartheid South Africa was initially mainly aimed at responding to the unequal distribution of access and opportunities in terms of race, class, gender and language (Soudien, 2010). There were gross, obdurate discrepancies across each of these dimensions pertaining to the participation rates of students (Education White Paper 3, 1997). Moreover, it was evident that there were disparities in the facilities and capacities of historically black and historically white institutions. Even when greater representation of different races, classes, genders and languages was achieved this did not ultimately translate into transformed establishments (Soudien, 2010). Structural inequalities that permeated the higher education institutions and discriminatory and exclusionary political and cultural norms and values persisted (Soudien, 2010). The transformation project needed to further resolve the different manifestations of racism, sexism and other stigmatisation that persisted within these entities. Hence, institutional change post-1994 was to be shaped and directed by the South African Constitution of 1996 and the 1997 Higher Education Act (Badat, 2010).

Under the Constitution, the reconfiguration and development of higher education and the society at large called for stakeholders such as the state itself and individual institutions to commit themselves to the realisation of equality, the advancement of non-racialism, non-sexism and promotion of values that instil human dignity and protect human rights and freedoms as proclaimed in the Bill of Rights (1996). The Higher Education Act proposed the creation of a “single co-ordinated higher education system that comprised of the following imperatives and goals: restructuring and transforming “programmes and institutions to respond better to the human resource, economic and development needs” of South Africa, redressing discrimination inherited from the past, ensuring “representivity and equal access” and contributing “to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship that are up to the international standards of academic quality” (Education White Paper 3, 1997).

Part of the goals and imperatives for higher education were to create opportunities of greater access for black, women, disabled and mature students (Education White Paper 3, 1997). In reference to participation rates that promote gender equity within higher education progress has been documented: women students increased from constituting 43% of enrolments in 1993 to making up 56.3% of the student body in 2008 (DHET, 2009). This broadened participation is an attempt to implement social equity in higher education as a way of addressing the needs of previously disadvantaged groups (namely black and women students especially from poor or rural backgrounds). Women graduates however continued to be under-represented in 2008 constituting only 41% of Doctoral graduates. Women graduates are mostly represented in the humanities and social science fields whereas there are grossly deficient numbers in other fields (CHE, 2008). This is of concern given that women constitute 51% of the South African population and 55% of undergraduates enrolled at institutions. While women participation as well as black participation in doctoral enrolments has improved it still remains low in comparison to white student participation- particularly white male participation and output.

Another defined goal of higher education transformation is to establish an institutional environment that is conducive to teaching and learning in a manner that promotes a reconciliatory, inclusive and diverse culture. The dignity of all individuals should further be protected and violent behaviour in all forms including racial and sexual harassment prevented (Education White Paper 3, 1997). Institutions have a role to play in transcending certain cultures prevalent in the wider society and creating a space for the transformation of limiting cultural practices (Pillay & McLellan, 2010). An instance of the latter has to do with the need to address unequal relations and gender discrimination in higher education institutions (Soudien Report, 2008). The cultures that are practised in social environments are ritualised and become common norms and values that are adopted in several situations (Schein, 2010). The extent of sexual violence has been established to be pervasive in South African universities yet this problem remains under-researched (Mama & Barnes (2007) cited in Collins et al. (2009)). For instance, a review on the University of KwaZulu-Natal showed that cases of sexual violence committed by males on women and gay men in university residences are pervasive however are not documented because they are not reported (Collins et al., 2009).

The study site for the present research was one historically white, English speaking campus: Rhodes University. Rhodes University was established primarily for English-speaking white students and was modelled on British imperialist culture (Pillay, 2005). The buildings, symbols, artefacts, principles and practices all represented an extension of the colonial British University. During apartheid, although Rhodes did eventually admit black students, apartheid laws required that black students had to be granted special permission to attend universities like Rhodes that were ostensibly ‘white’. Black students enrolled at the university were housed separately from white students. Women students were also separated from males and residential regulations at women’s residences were (and remain) restrictive. It was only in 1980 that the racialised residence system was desegregated (Pillay, 2005). Rhodes University is today the smallest university in South Africa. During the restructuring of higher education in the form of mergers, while other institutions grew, Rhodes University lost its East London campus and consequently decreased in size. During 2000 and 2005, student enrolment grew by 35%, increasing the number of students to 6282 from 4642 (Student enrolment plan 2006-2010).

Rhodes University’s (2006) policies on transformation recognise the need to address discrimination and forge an institutional culture characterised by inclusivity and gender equity. However, to date black students have continued to report finding it difficult to negotiate their place in what is still experienced as a largely white, colonial environment — demographic change notwithstanding. In 2015, a vociferous nationwide student activist movement emerged with students at Rhodes voicing their frustration with the colonial and masculinist culture of Rhodes University, which continues to be experienced as alienating and marginalising by many staff and students. What this moment points to is the difficulty with transforming institutional cultures. The present thesis is one attempt to show how cultures are perpetuated at the micro level, macro level policy and demographic shifts notwithstanding. The implication is that institutional transformation needs to pay attention to these micro cultures and everyday practices since it is at this level that the dominant culture manages to perpetuate itself. The particular micro environment that was chosen as the research site is a university sports club — the Rhodes University Rowing Club.

Sport and transformation

It was in 1953 that the Nationalist government created laws to administer their system of segregation. The Bantu Education Act (Act 47 of 1953) transferred control of education for black people to the Minister of Native Affairs who constructed a restrictive, inferior and subordinate form of education for the black population (Keim, 2003). Thereafter the apartheid principle of segregated education extended to other populations through acts such as the Coloured Persons Education Act (Act 47 of 1963) and the Indian Education Act (Act 61 of 1965). The policy of separate development infiltrated all aspects of life including exposure to and resources for playing sport. In terms of curricula, white people did not only receive a superior education system in the classroom, but also in terms of cultural activities and extra-curricula sport (Keim, 2003). The apartheid system affected all disciplines of sport socially and economically for the black population as their opportunities were reduced (Archer & Bouillon, 1982). The best sporting facilities were reserved for the exclusive use of the white population (Keim, 2003). Due to restrictions on social relations between different race groups, sport development itself was equally separate as other spheres of life (Keim, 2003). The regulations and policing of the apartheid government suppressed the possibility of non-racial sport participation- particularly at regional and national level (Keim, 2003). Sports men and women could only compete with other members of their 'own' race group at regional and national level. Permission needed to be granted by the State in order for members of a population group to compete with those from another population group (Ramsamy, 1982; Archer, 1987).

After South Africa became known as an international pariah, in the late 1960s international sports associations responded to the apartheid government through boycotting organised sporting and cultural contact with national sides (Booth, 1992). White sporting establishments initially resisted interference in sports on political grounds however after the International Olympic Committee (IOC) started prohibiting the country from participation the rest of the international sports organisations also began expelling South Africa (Ramsamy, 1980). They were excluded from the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, expulsion from international test cricket and the tennis Davis Cup took place in 1970 and it intensified in 1972 when they were suspended from international athletics in 1972 (Merrett, 2005). South African athletes and officials were barred from entry into several countries as well as preventing their own athletes from engaging in any sporting activities with South Africa

(Kidd, 1988). Furthermore, there were 27 countries that had an agreement to further bar those athletes from other countries who chose to play in South Africa.

Initially the objective of the boycott was to deracialise and integrate sport in South Africa since it was the last state to advocate for segregated sport. The apartheid administration had ordered national sports organisations to organise themselves separately according to their race groups hence African, Coloured, Indian and white associations existed (Booth, 2003). This was influenced by the racial ideology of sport during the apartheid era that argued that interracial contact in sport would exacerbate racial tensions and disturbances (Lapchick, 1975; Booth, 2003). Magubane (1963: 79) argued that it was imperative to the white supremacist Afrikaner state that black people should be treated as anonymous units within amorphous groups: the emergence of a black sporting protagonist could have challenged and undermined the fundamental beliefs required to sustain apartheid ideology.

However, in the 70s the sports boycott sought to isolate the apartheid regime and their policies as a way of enforcing the abandonment of apartheid itself (Booth, 2003). Due to the level of enforcement and the scope of the sports boycott it was more effective than many other international campaigns to isolate the apartheid state (Kidd, 1988). In many ways isolation had a great effect on the apartheid regime: the turning point came in 1979 when the autonomous sports policy was adopted. This policy allowed sports organisations the right to function and exist independently from the government. Prior to this policy there had been concessions granted for black South African sportspeople to compete with their white counterparts (Booth, 2003) and only a small quota of black people that were allowed to compete in open international events (Merrett, 2005). In 1976 mixed sport extended to club level and subsequently national teams were selected on the basis of merit and mixed representative teams also comprising of black team players were permitted to wear the Springbok emblem (SAIRR, 1977).

In the late 1980s the sports boycott became a strategy to assist in the transformation agenda to build democratic and fair structures in the post-apartheid era (Booth, 2003). In the Rhodes University context, some black students in 1980 had chosen to be active in what initially started as a schools boycott that demanded the end of the permit system for black students attending white universities (Desai, 2005). This solidarity grew to encompass a sports boycott after black students in the university team were given permission to play against opposing teams such as the University of Port Elizabeth squad and yet were prohibited and excluded

from any social interactions or events with the squad's players. This resulted in an initiative where this collective of students boycotted the university team and formed a club that would compete and be affiliated with the Grahamstown township league. The boycott extended to any activities and facilities on campus that were non-academic and non-residence as a way of delegitimising the limited deracialisation that the institution had permitted (Pillay, 2005). This form of action formed part of the greater argument around the resources and facilities of Rhodes University being inaccessible to the greater Grahamstown public, as well as the failure of teaching and research practices to grapple with social issues that were affecting the greater community (Pillay, 2005). This type of activism of protesting and boycotting was influenced by the politics of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) which held the principle of non-participation in apartheid institutions on the basis that there could be no normal experience in an abnormal society.

The apartheid state in the 1980s seemed to be in crisis resulting in part from international pressure and in part from heightened internal civil unrest (Black & Nauright, 1998). Due to the mounting isolation of the South African state, the government attempted to collaborate with sports bodies to bring about reform initiatives – mostly in rugby and cricket — that would attempt to win back international contacts and support (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (1988) cited in Booth (1992)). These reforms were unsuccessful and were met with defiance as the apartheid order refused to deal with the legislative and social issues that remained the core reason for the state's pariah status on the international stage (Black & Nauright, 1998).

What this history amply demonstrates is that sport is a reflection of a particular society and can play a part in defining the moral and political ethos of a community (MacClancy, 1996). Rhodes University Sport has gone through a process of redefining its goals and values since 1994 (Rhodes Sport Strategic Plan, 2014-2020). This has been challenging in a context of limited funding and an insufficient number of sports administrators to assist the student-run clubs. The sporting facilities at the university have been unable to meet the demands of increasing student numbers as well the need on the part of the greater Grahamstown community for sporting facilities. The strategy of extended participation is seen as a means to locate Rhodes University within the Eastern Cape region as an entity that is responsive to its society. Rhodes sport sees itself as committed to an institutional culture that reflects diversity

and democratic, transparent structures (Rhodes Sport Strategic Plan, 2014-2020). But many sporting codes are still unrepresentative of the demographics of South Africa.

South Africa's sporting history demonstrates both the role that sport can play in perpetuating chauvinistic nationalism (Merrett, 2004) and in a more positive vein, for democratic nation-building (Vincent & Stevenson, 2010). For instance, rugby became prominent in attempts to forge a collective identity going forward in the post-apartheid era (Black & Nauright, 1998). The historical moment of the 1995 Rugby World Cup was indicative of how the South African collective identity portrayed itself as unified and integrated however this was an identity that was yet to be realised (Maingard, 1997). As the 1995 rugby world cup showed, depictions of unity and integration in sport can mask an underlying reality that continues to be fraught with racialised and gendered inequities. Similarly, university sport, while ostensibly integrated and nonracial, often reflects the challenges with effecting thoroughgoing transformation in the everyday life of post-apartheid social institutions.

The arena of sport has always been "an important site for the construction of gender and the embodiment of unequal gender relations" (McNeill (1998) cited in Light & Kirk (2000)). Male athletes' bodies are viewed as markers of normative masculinity (Jones & Aitchison, 2007). However, research points to questions about the kinds of masculine enactment and standards of manhood (Tischler & McCaughtry, 2011) that are promoted in sport and what implications this might have for the possibility of equitable gender relations. Studies conducted on college campuses in the United States for instance argue that athletes have been implicated in aggressive behaviour and the use of physical force amongst their male peers as well as within their sexual relationships to a greater extent than non-athletes (Pappas et al., 2004). This is not to say that violent masculinities or the reproduction of forms of masculine enactment that are harmful to relations with women and other men are a necessary or inevitable feature of participation in sports. There is also the possibility of contesting dominant norms, and reformulating ideas about masculinity in these contexts in such a way that the project of forging more equitable gender relations is served (Jones & Aitchison, 2007).

In this project I examined one particular site for the enactment, acquisition and performance of idealised masculinity in the institutional space of Rhodes University, namely the rowing club. This site has historically been categorised as predominantly white, male and elite. As a

club that was founded in the 1930s it only managed to institute a women's division in the 1980s. Participation rates of black students — particularly black females — have continued to be very small. In 2015 the club elected its first black captain ever (Parker, September 2015). McDonald (2005) has noted that rowing as a sport requires extreme commitment, intensive training, physicality and endurance. There is a group consciousness that exists in order to participate in the collective action of rowing; synchronised movement requires solidarity and perfected rhythm on the part of rowers (King & de Rond, 2011). Hence participation in rowing requires members of the club to devote most of their schedules to training and religiously be in the rowing club climate. Given the centrality of rowing in its members' experience of university, this 'hothouse' environment that typifies participation in rowing makes the sport of rowing a useful arena within which to study forms of masculinity produced and enacted in one particular site of the institution's wider set of cultures and structures.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

Connell has developed what has become one of the most influential theories in the study of masculinities and which has been applied in various fields including sociology, education, neuropsychology and women's studies (Wedgwood, 2009). Connell's research in education in the 1970s focused on interrogating the class structure and educational inequality (Connell, 2004). Though gender was not the pivotal focus in this research, sex-differences analysis revealed itself as an important factor in interviews with Australian students and their parents (Connell, 1974). Connell's influential theoretical model of gender was an outcome of this work (Connell, 2004). A seminal paper, 'Toward a new sociology of masculinity', was pivotal in changing the manner in which men were previously studied: as a homogenous group. Doing sociological research using this approach identifies that the domination of women by men is not an intrinsic and inevitable practice of all men. Instead it creates a dynamic system of historically specific masculinities that work in relation to one another; it explores both hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities within the gender hierarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

2.1. Gender as a social structure

R. W. Connell (1995) famously proposed a typology of masculinities, referring to forms of masculine enactment and embodiment that are culturally affirmed and exalted in any particular context as 'hegemonic' and contrasting these forms with those which are subordinated or marginalised. Connell (1995) contends that gender should be theorised as a social structure in order to understand that its embodied form informs an individual's social action, and communicates meaning to others while structuring the individual's access to social, cultural and economic resources. Moreover, it is social circumstances that determine the structures of gender and dictate the different forms of being masculine or feminine through social restraint and constraint. We must locate gender in the historical however its

structures are constantly changing according to the interests formed by various groups (Connell, 2001). As a main component of social organisation, these structures of gender relations are either sustained or transformed in order for these various groups within society to gain or lose respectively (Connell, 1995). Thus a hierarchical structure or “gender order” is created.

Connell (2001) recognises this gender order depicted as a structure where men as an interest group are perceived to have a right to dominate women. This domination is a key element of perpetuating the system. It is pointed out by this theory that whether or not most men wield power, it is all men who are concerned with maintaining and defending the gender order itself. Similarly, it is not all men that attempt to maintain dominance through the use of violence however due to the construction of masculinity within the gender order it is all men that have the means to do so. According to Connell’s (2001) analysis most men do not even perpetrate violence, physical assault or any form of intimidation against women.

Nevertheless, those men who do commit these atrocities against women feel they are justified and authorised to do so based on their supremacist ideology. In addition to that, Connell (2001) further reads the authorisation and use of violence as an attempt to legitimate the hierarchy created between men and women. This highlights a crisis of masculinity in the contemporary gender order where men feel their hegemony is not assured hence violence becomes an ongoing measure that must be carried out. Schacht (2001: 202) demonstrates this in one of his texts locating his white, middle-class, male privilege in the humiliation, degradation and oppression of others. It is through the unjust subordination and powerlessness of others that males claim their privilege and status. Schacht (2001) claims that it is in not only in action but also “mere presence” that males display their oppressive nature. The denial of the existence of this hierarchy also maintains this reality as some men are willing to acknowledge that women are disadvantaged in many ways but will not acknowledge that they -- as men -- are privileged (McIntosh, 2003). The denial of the subordination and discrimination against women largely serves men. Thus to admit their privilege would require of them that they identify that their maleness gains them unearned advantages and it is justified that they should perhaps give up some of their privilege. This access to privilege is what Connell (1987) would term a patriarchal ‘dividend’ that men gain from the high value that is routinely attached to masculinity rather than femininity.

2.2. Connell’s typology of masculinities

Connell (1995) describes hegemonic masculinity as ‘the configuration of gender practice’ that is currently accepted and that is thought to embody what legitimises patriarchy therefore it is pertaining to a social structure and not just concerning personal identity. In a particular society the forms of masculinity that would be subscribed to and endorsed would be the ones that are thought to hold the most social capital and the most gain for an individual (Messner, 1990b). Thus society distinguishes those who embody the idealised traits of ‘real men’ from those who do not. The normative definition from an ideological position is for a ‘real man’ to: i) engage in no sissy stuff and repudiate the feminine, ii) be a big wheel, iii) give them hell and, iv) be a sturdy oak (Brannon, 1976). This implies that in order for a particular form of masculinity to be hegemonic it must show dominance as well as be accepted by the dominated as hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinity incorporates those principles that are assumed to be “uncontested” in social and cultural practice (Howson (2006) cited in Howson (2008)). The hegemony of these forms of masculinity undergoes change constantly and this capacity for adaptation is in itself a mark of dominance (Whitson (1990) cited in Light & Kirk (2000)). However, Connell (2000) notes that in the need to constantly perform, reinforce and re-enact the requirements of dominance lies the possibility of interruption and renegotiation of the norm.

In contrast, subordinate masculinity holds the position of opposition to hegemonic masculinity. Gender (even the sociology of masculinity) is a relational concept as the discourses of masculinity make sense only in contrast to femininity (Connell, 2001). However, it is important to recognise the internal social dynamics also within masculinity where some masculinities are constructed in contrast to others (Connell, 1992). The homosexual version of being a man is subordinated to the dominant heterosexual practices and ideals. Heterosexuality relies on the sustenance of a particular gender order that is derived from the idea of biological determinism (Kessler & McKenna, 1978) which is seen as implying that there are only two genders and it is therefore only appropriate to be attracted to the ‘opposite’ sex (Kitzinger, 2005). This binary is upheld not only in our roles but also our sexual preferences. According to the idea of a male sex role within the context of Western masculinity “to be a man” is essentially to be homophobic (Herek, 1986). For heterosexual men, a negation of homosexuality is a negation of the feminine; accordingly being homosexual is a negation of masculinity. When homosexual men are placed within the binary

they do not subscribe to its structural requirements hence gay men are repudiated and subsequently constructed as feminine (Bartky, 1990).

It is common for heterosexual men to deal with accusations of homosexuality and these are often mitigated with homophobia (Anderson, 2002). Therefore, Herek (1986) grasps the dynamism of the process of expelling and excluding homosexuality in the construction of traditional and hegemonic masculinity. However, Connell (1992: 737) argues that homosexual men are not definitively excluded from masculinity. For instance, masculine gay men enjoy the general benefits of masculine identity while even feminine gay men have some gains from the pervasive subordination of women. Discourses that use a traditional perspective to look at homosexuality always appear to be preoccupied with the “causes” of homosexuality. However even gay men are not exempt from interacting and engaging with hegemonic masculinity from childhood as they are met with gender-conformist and masculinising practices in their home life, schooling, gendered peer groups, competitive sport and the media (Connell, 1990a). The conflict that arises for homosexual men is between their male presence, the meaning inferred by their sexuality and their construction of relationships with women and other men. It is made clear by hegemonic and traditional masculinity that homosexual masculinity has been criminalised, received hate speech, experienced intimidation and violence (Greenberg, 1988). Beyond its subjugation it has been communicated by heteronormative cultural attitudes of dominant forms of masculinity that it is only through downplaying their sexuality or conforming to an orthodox masculine identity that homosexual men will be accepted (Anderson, 2002).

Complicit masculinity describes those who endorse and support dominant hegemonic masculinity but do not necessarily embody it. For instance, there are heterosexual men who occupy traditionally feminine spaces such as work environments usually occupied by women like nursing or sporting arenas that are less aggressive or predominantly reserved for women. As a result, the process of stratification by hegemonic masculine codes would classify those men as transgressors of traditional masculinity (Anderson, 2005). By virtue of occupying a traditionally feminine space their masculinity would be questioned or at risk of being deemed inadequate. Subsequently, most of these men try to stay as consistent with an institutionalised and traditional form of masculinity hence they will either justify an accepted position or pursue an inflated, exaggerated masculinity to make up for where they fall short (Davis, 1990; Majors, 1990). One such position for these men is justified through the admittance of

the particular space as feminized terrain however they alternatively create roles that may adequately be defined as masculine within that space (Davis, 1990). In many circumstances they might choose tasks that emphasise their masculine competences and can be claimed by men and conversely allocate other tasks that will be dubbed exclusively feminine to women. Another mechanism utilised is to claim that the space has been inaccurately and inappropriately gendered; thereafter assign more masculine characteristics rather than feminine. Ultimately they are constantly proving, pursuing or increasing their masculine quota and showing their allegiance to and endorsement of traditional, dominant forms of masculinity.

Marginalised masculinities refer to the intersection of masculinity with the domains of race, ethnicity and class. Connell (2000) mentions the oppositional nature of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and marginalised or subordinate masculinity. He claims that not all men having equal dominance; the configuration of masculinity creates inequalities that are patterned according to other social structures for example along race and class lines. Thus society distinguishes those who embody the idealised traits of 'real men' from those who do not. Those who have claim to hegemony are culturally exalted while others are of lower standing or are denigrated. Racialised societies are characterised by the relative power that is afforded to white masculinities in contrast to black masculinities (Hoch, 1979). The systematic oppression that black males confront has been precipitated by the institutional naturalisation of white, middle-class males as superior to women and other men. Majors (1990) situates working class and black men as the recipients of systematic and institutional racism that has prevented them from gaining equal opportunity to education, employment and ultimately institutional power. Their marginalisation has made black males victims of institutions that structurally limit them. Although most black men have been conscripted to aspire to the dominant social expectations of hegemonic masculinity they do not have access to the legitimate means of achieving it (Staples, 1982). This is highlighted in the way Stewart and Scott (1978) depict American culture and society as having rendered black men invisible and/or impotent. Black men are alienated from civil participation, political, intellectual and corporate spheres of life. As a result, black masculine identities have conjured up other ways of achieving the dominant traits of being a man. They have resisted their denigration and subjugation through appropriating persuasive, alternative expressions within arenas that were once dominated and reserved for white, middle-class males (Majors, 1990).

The limited recognition that black men receive still does not fully challenge male hierarchies that disadvantage black men. Black male success tends to be concentrated in certain fields such as sport and not in others such as education and positions of authority. Structural constraints have created patterned opportunities for black males, where they are integrated into some sports (where they are found in disproportionate numbers) and systematically excluded from other sports and therefore underrepresented (Edwards, 1984). Examples of sports that black males predominate in are basketball, football, and athletics rather than golf, swimming and hockey. Furthermore, most sporting organisations are owned, operated and managed by white males (Majors, 1990). Inequities are not only raced but classed with a considerable lack of resources and facilities for those who come from poor communities. Although for black males success in sport is a form of self-expression and agency, the emphasis on black masculinity as strong, aggressive, and athletic reinforces the racist perception of black men as threatening. In addition, the demonstration of athletic black manhood does nothing to undo other forms of social domination that place women in the position of being vulnerable and subjugated.

2.3. Gender as social practice

Life history case studies reveal themselves frequently in Connell's work as its theoretical foundation is grounded on Connell's conception of gender organised through a series of symbolic social practices. For Connell, bodies exist in society both as objects and as agents. In this relationship bodies can influence social processes; simultaneously social practice itself is formed by the structures within which bodies are appropriated (Connell, 1995). For Connell (1995) bodies are socially inscribed according to their characteristics and their assigned limitations. Society becomes highly gendered through practices that are configured not in isolation but rather through the broader structures that people have generated (Connell, 2001). As inventive as they are, Connell also articulates the inchoate nature of social practices and effectively how they are executed in response to particular situations. Our subjectivity is therefore not simply as a result of our individual agency but organised within the sub-set of cultural discourses and practices that exist in our particular society and the micropractices that constitute our social experience. Social institutions such as the state, places of employment and the school or university environment are gendered. Bearers of high and powerful positions are overwhelmingly men. In Connell's (2001: 35) terms this would be defined as 'the gender configuring of recruitment and promotion, of the internal division of

labour and systems of control, of policymaking, practical routines and ways of mobilising pleasure and consent'. It is a function of gender configurations to normalise the ideas of appropriate work for men and women and endorse this division of labour as though it is natural.

Leadership, competency, strength and assertiveness are normatively associated with men (Connell, 1987). These characteristics are valorised in society mostly if they are possessed by men; women understand the discouragement and critique that may come from pursuing such values and practices. Men become gatekeepers resisting gender equality; the resources critically needed to implement reform in assets, political power and cultural authority are mostly controlled by specific groups of men (Connell, 2005). Connell (1995) further points out that gender is often interrelated with sexual desire. Heterosexual masculinities have to constantly be consolidated through activity that is premised on body-reflexive practice in which particular versions of masculinity are rehearsed and reiterated through talk and in action. In Kehily's (2001) research on bodies in school she explains the desirability of a heterosexual masculinity for young males as resting with gaining access to knowledge, power and privilege through interactions with peers. Being able to talk about sexual encounters with women to other men has to do not only with exercising power over women, but with enacting and confirming one's normative heterosexual masculinity for an audience of peers (Kehily, 2001: 184). Acquiring and conquering women — or at least talking about such acquisitions and conquests — is essential to the masculine repertoire and requires a forum in which to demonstrate mastery of the genre. Gay men disrupt this heterosexual gender order — as masculine bodies doing feminine things (Connell, 1992). Sexuality thus becomes a site for contestation of the gender order and its dictates and presuppositions (Connell, 1992).

Demetriou (2001) disputes Connell's claim of a dualistic relationship between hegemonic masculinity and non-hegemonic masculinities and draws instead on Bhabha's conception of hybridity to argue that rather than being sealed off, hegemonic masculinity is more hybrid than Connell allows. There are diverse practices that work together to reproduce patriarchy in the best possible combination (Demetriou, 2001) in any particular circumstance. Thus hegemonic masculinity may not necessarily be configured purely as white and/or heterosexual. What Demetriou adds is a conception of hegemony that changes and is capable of reconfiguring itself, adapting and appropriating other forms of masculinity, depending on the context, in order to secure its continued dominance. Thus, in a post-apartheid university

campus context, what counts as the most exalted forms of dominant masculinity will not be the same as in other contexts within the same society. Moreover, even within a single university there will be hybrid hegemonic masculinities so that the traits that are most sought after in one micro environment will not be identical to every other micro culture in the same institution. Jefferson (2002), similarly, has argued that rather than identifying a single gender order there exists a 'proliferation of difference'. Connell (2002) acknowledges the contestation of hegemony in gender relations but argues for the existence of superordinate power structures and their domination of systems albeit interacting with, and influenced by, local circumstances.

Also disputed is Connell's conception of the relationship between violence and masculinity. But for Connell (2002) hegemonic masculinity and its tenets are implicated in the perpetuation of institutionalised violence, domestic violence committed against women, international violence, homophobic assaults and crimes and so forth. Critics like Jefferson (2002) the relationship between male violence and the enactment of hegemonic masculine scripts of entitlement and the expectation for men to use force as a form of control over women, as well as the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and homophobia. Understanding the culture and character of micro practices within an institution, including elements of material inequality as well as day-to-day bodily enactments and practices is able to act as a window into ambiguous, hybrid masculinities while at the same time showing their relationship to wider features of a hegemonic gender order which continues to privilege and exalt potentially harmful masculine scripts that threaten a project of gender equality.

There exists a rich tradition of ethnographic work on the social construction of masculinity. In the Southern African context Morrell (2001) examined the relationship between masculinity and competitive team sports and the way in which racial scripts are written into South African sports discourse with for example 'black' soccer associated with clever footwork and 'white' rugby stressing physical confrontation. Gutmann (2001) and his colleagues, writing in the Latin American context, surfaced issues pertaining to sexuality, the impact of machismo in the region as well as on fatherhood, housework and health. Mara Viveros Vigoya investigated reproductive health, sexuality, fatherhood and homosociality — also in the Latin American context. Claudia Fonseca has tackled conceptions of sexuality in a Southern Brazil working-class community focusing on adultery and virility. Barriga (2001) brought new insights into how Chicano and Chicana narratives have transformed and

challenged how *verguenza* (shame) has been used culturally and politically to maintain traditional gender relations. Ramirez (1999) reflects on machismo as a concept that was imposed on Puerto Rican communities rather than as an inherent attribute of lower-class Latin American masculinity. He also deconstructs this form of masculinity and how it manifests through class, status, sexuality, competition and the demonstration of strength. Also influential are ethnographies by Parker (1991) and Carrier (1995) that expressed discourses surrounding homosexuality among Brazilian and Mexican men respectively and Lancaster's (1992) depiction of the culture of machismo in trivial, every-day life in Nicaragua and the workings of power in those contexts. Campbell and Bell (2000) highlighted the hybridity of rural masculinities and advocated for the intersection of rurality and masculinity. Whitehead (2002) explored discursive gendered structures particularly in relation to African American, Latino and gay men to dispel the notion of there being an essentialist, singular black masculinity. Susanne Spindler's (2006) study of how young migrant Turkish men in Germany are projected as deviant and patriarchal unveils how these migrant men use violent masculinities to deal with marginalisation, and exclusion.

In the South African context, Du Pisani (2001), for example, has written of the racist, heterosexual, patriarchal dominant masculinity that arose as a feature of apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism. Campbell (2001) interrogates the ideas of hyper-sexuality and high risk sexual behaviour associated with black men in the context of the migrant labour system and single sex South African mine hostels. This work shows men adopting in-context masculine practices that assist them in adapting to the socio-environmental conditions in which they find themselves. A particular focus of the South African masculinities literature has been on the relationship between masculinity and violence given high rates of gender based violence in the country. Wood and Jewkes (1997) identified the prevalence of sexual assault and other violent practices within sexual relationships amongst youth and linked this to the desire on the part of men to gain prestige and acceptance from their male counterparts through exhibiting these violent practices. This echoes Quinn's (2002) research on sexual harassment and masculinity that depicts men trivialising "girl watching" and normalising assaulting women as part of male behaviour aimed at asserting their masculine identity to their male peers. Jewkes and Morrell (2010) showed that dominant cultural ideals that legitimise violent male sexual practices are coupled with emphasised femininities that encourage women to be tolerant and docile. Walker (2005) has suggested that in the post-Apartheid era old, traditional forms of masculinity have been destabilised and new

masculinities are being formed and traditional and authoritarian forms of masculinity are being contested (Hunter, 2003). This reading is contested by Pumla Dineo Qgola (2007) who argues that violent masculinities are being perpetuated, albeit in new forms, in post-apartheid South Africa. Gaining membership of high-status forms of masculinity and the social privileges that comes with them are still racialized as black men compete from a position of historical marginalisation and inequality. Although, as Horrell's (2005) argues, white masculinities have been disrupted in the post-apartheid and postcolonial moment the outcome of the disruption is unpredictable. Kelly's (2008) study outlines contemporary counter-hegemonic projects that could frame white men as allies to challenging hegemony. However, as Reid and Dirsuweit (2002) have argued, the transition from Apartheid to democracy did not necessarily bring about gender transformation. Dominant forms of violent, promiscuous masculinity are still perpetuated and, as Talbot and Quayle (2010) argue, women can be active participants in the construction and maintenance of hegemonic masculinities.

In this body of work the everyday practice of social relationships and how these inform the construction and achievement of the (gendered) self (Blumer, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967) is highlighted. Normative repertoires of masculinity are constructed drawing on scripts that arise from local contexts. Educational institutions, particularly schools, have long been central to the study of everyday masculine practices (see for example Willis, 1977; Thorne 1993). Martino (1999), for example, interrogated adolescent masculinities and sexual learning in an Australian high school and revealed how sexuality functions as an index of subjectivity. Messerschmidt (2000) argued that adolescent males who fail to live up to the prescriptions of dominant masculinity in school resort to sexual violence as a mechanism or resource to overcome their sense of masculine deficiencies. Thabo Msibi (2012) documented the experiences of black queer learners in Kwa-Zulu Natal, arguing that as much as these learners are marginalised and encounter homophobic treatment and violence from teachers and peers, they also exhibit mechanisms of resistance to the homophobia they experience. Key components in the literature on masculinities in schooling include the strong hierarchies produced, the role of violence and the encouragement of a culture of competition in both sporting and academic pursuits.

Institutionalised as well as individual male investment in sport is highlighted in the literature as central to the manifestation of masculinity construction within peer group cultures (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998). Sport can inform and shape the individual gendered identities of those who

participate in it (Aitchison, 2007). As Bourdieu's (1979/1984) notion of corporeal capital highlights, bodies have symbolic value and there exists the potential for physical capital to be converted into economic or social capital and therefore status and power in society. We perform our class and status through the manner in which we manage and display our bodies. Gill, Henwood and McLean (2005) explore how normative masculinity is policed and regulated through the identities that men embody and how this is communicated through men's talk about their own bodies, other male bodily representations as well as the bodily practices they appropriate. Goffman's (1959) seminal study of everyday social interactions showed that the presentation of the self (using the body as a vehicle) is managed and negotiated through demonstrating meaningful, embodied signs and appropriate symbols in given situations. Booth and Nauright (2003) showed how the Apartheid state invented black bodies in sport as unfit to compete with their white counterparts or possessing a hyper-masculine toughness and therefore reproducing relations of power and inequality. Grundlingh's (1996) exploration of rugby in South Africa showed the relationship between sport and the promotion of the political project of Afrikaner nationalism.

The literature on micro cultures in sport shows how dominant masculinity is forged and reproduced in the sporting arena (see Pronger, 1990; Schacht, 1996). For example, calling teammates names such as "sissy" or "fag" while demanding that players exhibit greater toughness and 'fight through the pain' confirms the assumptions of idealised masculinity, the repudiation of femininity and the discursive construction of gay men as feminised and by extension, weak. Participation in sport is often compulsory for men who want to qualify for dominant masculine approval amongst their peers (Messner & Sabo, 1990) and sport has been shown to be a central mechanism in the process of socialising adolescent boys and teaching them how to be men (Whitson, 1990). Team sports such as rowing are particularly powerful mechanisms for instilling forms of masculinity that embody loyalty, endurance, and a collective identity (McDonald, 2009).

The present study takes this literature as its starting point and seeks to show how gendered bodies are produced and a particular form of masculine performance constructed and reinforced through the micro practices that prevail in one particular sporting club at one particular South African university. The aim is to illuminate the complexities of masculine construction within the context of the RURC in order to highlight how, within institutions, there are cultural and institutional aspects that will promote and sustain or curb dominant

forms of masculinities and the dominant world-views and practices that are associated with them.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

Research that is more of a qualitative nature largely attempts to examine how participants understand, interpret and experience the social world around them (Mason, 1996). The aim is to produce interpretations through descriptions that are rich and detailed in relation to the individuals, events and practices that are studied (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004). To explore the forms of masculinity that are portrayed and performed in RURC the study employed two of the most prominent methodologies that are used in this kind of research: in-depth interviews and the observation of behaviour. According to Campbell and Fiske (1989) using multiple sources of data collection increases the reliability of the results of a study. Moreover, the combination of different but complementary forms of data collection in one study allows for each method to compensate for the limitations of the other (Zelditch, 1962). Ethnographic methods of research aim to provide the researcher with an insider perspective and the ability to render a detailed description of the researched culture in its natural setting and the patterns of behaviour that emerge in context (Lewis-Back et al., 2004). In this way the researcher aims, in studying a culture, to achieve a holistic perspective, emphasising the importance of contextualisation and a non-judgemental orientation towards their research subject (Lewis-Back et al., 2004).

3.1 Participants

The participants were ten men aged between 19 and 23 years at the time of the study who were members of the RURC. The RURC consists of both male and female crews whose level of rowing experience ranges from novices who were introduced to rowing in their university years to those who have been participating in the sport since their secondary schooling. While some members have never previously participated in organised sport, others who did not particularly have a rowing background had engaged in other sports clubs in their secondary school years. Six out of the ten participants were white, while four were black. Most of the participants came from middle class backgrounds. Out of the four black participants three of them were foreign African nationals. Of the four black participants interviewed, only one was a black, male, South African, working-class student. In terms of their sexuality all of the participants self-identified as heterosexual. All were registered as students at Rhodes University at the time of the study and were located in various academic disciplines. The

participants were purposively rather than randomly chosen (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 1998) — that is to say selected because they fitted the study criteria of being male rowing club members. Since the population of interest had been identified for the study and could be located, the key informants/ participants were easily identified, approached and recruited.

3.2 Data collection

The research data was collected by means of open-ended in-depth interviews and observations. The duration of the interviews with each participant spanned between 30 and 80 minutes. The aim of the interviews was to understand the participants' experiences from their own perspective and in their own words (Silverman, 2006). In addition to interviews, observations were conducted over a period of three months in spaces occupied by the participants in their daily routines and practices as members of the RURC. Observations took place in settings such as the boat house, Settler's Dam and the Kowie River where official boat race events take place.

In my practice as an interviewer, I drew on Holstein & Gubrium (1995)'s suggestion that we should think of an interview as active and as an interactional meaning-making process. Interviewing is also about creating a "climate of mutual disclosure" (Douglas (1985) cited in Holstein & Gubrium (1995)) and the outcomes of the interview are negotiated (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The method provides the researcher with the opportunity to document the interplay between social structures, institutional change and personal life experiences of the participants (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927). The interviews took a narrative form in which participants were encouraged to tell their stories in order that the researcher could gain an insight into how the participants make sense of their lives and their subjectivities (Reissman, 1993).

Narratives not only describe life events but portray cultural values (Agar & Hobbs cited in Mishler (1986)). As Reissman (1993) has argued, personal narratives have the potential to reveal the larger cultural narratives from which they are drawn. It is through the exploration of the participants' life stories that we are able to make sense of the particularised 'material, cultural and psychic practices and constraints that produce formations of masculinity' (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003: 9). Crossley (2000) identifies narratives as embedded

within linguistic representations however they also register as performances that are embodied which is why they are central to the present research.

3.3. Method of analysis

Content analysis was used as the method of analysis as it is effective in focusing on the use of language, interpreting texts and the experience of speech (Krippendorff, 2004). If we are to conceptualise this type of analysis it involves interpreting the following phenomena: attributions, social relationships, public behaviour and institutional realities. As a qualitative researcher, in conversation we take note of what seems to not be observable and yet when disseminated to a particular population has power to provoke or prevent certain actions. These attributions refer to the concepts, attitudes, beliefs and cognitive processes that a population may hold which informs their actions (Krippendorff, 2004). When human communication takes place there are also social relationships that may be formed either implicitly or explicitly. Hence Hillman (1995) would state that authority, power and inequalities in social contexts are reliant on how language is used more than what is being said. Krippendorff (2004) validates both behaviour and narratives as public domain since all uses of language are public. This suggests that they are not necessarily shared behaviours but are openly coordinated so as to bring understanding between individuals. Public behaviour represents an individual's disposition, is observable and also creates a social experience between speaker and listener. Content analysis allows the researcher to evaluate phenomena that may reflect the individual's participation in a public, social or political context. Furthermore, there is the consideration of social organisations and how they also constitute their social realities according to their institutional makeup (Krippendorff, 2004). Those who belong to a particular social organisation will often guard their membership, the organisation's practices, culture and communication networks, however content analysis is more concerned with analysing the texts that legitimate these social realities (Krippendorff, 2004: 77). Content analysis is context-sensitive and approaches text as invoking meaning according to its context or discourse. There is no single meaning that is inherent in texts rather it is required that the reader or researcher make sense of a body of texts through engagement that will allow them to draw their own inferences (Cavanagh, 1997).

The first development after having recorded the interviews is to have them transcribed into text in order to be analysed and interpreted. The data collected during observations was

already documented as a set of field notes. The documented texts make it easier for the researcher to read and re-read the data which is important as it allows the researcher to familiarise themselves with the content of their own data (Burnard, 1991). Pre-coding is a phase that is often overlooked however it is helpful to highlight, underline or circle any portion of text, passage or word that seems to contain rich detail (Layder, 1998). Manual coding was used substantively in the analysis process as I felt more confident with working with hard-copy material. Saldana (2009) supports this statement that for some researchers it is more empowering to initially apply manual coding methods as they feel like they have more ownership over their work.

The coding process consists of several stages and as the researcher it is important to always keep the research question and tasks in mind even when working through analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A code is applied to data as a means of assigning a word or phrase that will succinctly capture its essence (Saldana, 2009). During the coding process, the first cycle consisted of ordering and classifying the material into large, manageable chunks after which I initially encoded by determining their initial appropriate labels. Some of the methods used were explanatory, structural, in reference to values and emotions, literary or language use. This was the stage where initial codes were prepared in order to progress to the second cycle where the codes that share characteristics or referred to similar concepts, or thoughts could be grouped as families. In the second cycle of coding the search for patterns that emerged from the data became a more methodical activity. According to Saldana (2009) this process of searching for repetitive codes, attributes and themes is deliberate as you are grouping units that have similarities together in order to make sense of their connections. This cycle tried to draw links and show how the several categories relate to each other. Coding used referred to magnitude, frequency and the salience of the concepts expressed in the data. Charmaz (2006) states that coding is a process of generating the bones for the analysis and once they have been integrated it assembles a working skeleton that allows the researcher to consolidate meaning. Within the second cycle of coding there were sub-categories that emerged and the codes were placed under these categories. In addition, these sub-categories are placed under a major category or heading. The contents of each category also go through refinement (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) ultimately leading to the chapter headings that are employed in the thesis as a whole.

3.4. Ethical considerations

As a qualitative researcher, it is not only the theoretical framework and scientific views that inform your research, but also your own interpretations and perceptions. Given that a researcher does not exist outside of a particular social environment their judgements will influence how the specific study and objects of the study will be confronted (Groenewald, 1986). Given that my own identity position is very different to that of my participants — all of whom were male, several of whom were white and middle class — I had to be aware of the assumptions I would carry into the study about the nature of rowing as inherently white, patriarchal and informed by hegemonic masculinities. In addition, as an outsider to the competitive male sporting milieu and being a black, female researcher exploring men and masculinities, there were many potential obstacles both to my being accepted as an intimate observer of club practices and to my own ability to understand and interpret sympathetically what I was observing (Willot, 1998). I felt that my identity as an outsider and as a black and female, hindered some of the respondents from responding as they might have wished during interviews or divulging their views when it came to particular topics such as the sexist banter that is exchanged between heterosexual males. Some of the limitations of being a female and black researcher were that participants could be influenced to provide craft their responses and behaviour in ways that they imagined would be more acceptable to me as a black woman especially when asked sensitive questions related to racial issues, gender relations or sexual behaviour (Sudman & Bradburn, 1982). As an observer, there were some spaces that I was denied access to — particularly as the main sporting event that the men's team was preparing for got closer.

I tried to manage some of these limitations by assuring my participants that their anonymity would be maintained at all times. Respondents are thus referred to in the study through the use of pseudonyms. It was disclosed to participants that they were part of a research study and their permission was obtained through signed consent forms. Participants were assured that their privacy would be respected and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point and/or to refuse to answer particular questions that they might not have felt comfortable answering.

Chapter 4

Pushing through the barriers: Pain as violent masculinity

It's an honour to step out into that boat and go for it. And you know at the end you're dead, you're dead from the haul. I mean if you look at some of those people in the A crew they push themselves so hard they're almost fainting at the end. Like it gets to a stage when they don't even know. Some of those people push themselves through barriers and I'm just "like how do you even do that?". And that's what you try to find. You try to find those barriers and push them. I mean like you have people their eyes are rolling into their head, the cox — the person steering the boat literally has to pull them back (Interview, Cameron).

Sporting practices are involved in the construction of dominant notions of masculinity. Physically demanding sport has come to represent an accepted component of male development in many social contexts and the risks of injury and pain are normalised within this frame as part of the masculine experience (Young, McTeer & White, 1994). Organised male sport serves the purpose of providing symbolic proof of the superiority of men over women and a means by which men can distance themselves from women and femininity (Messner, 1988). The physicality of male sport is a pronounced feature of the way in which masculinity is constructed as excluding femininity — to be a man is to be that which women are not (Messner, 1990c) including such features as aggression and the willingness to use force that is associated with male dominance (Bryson, 1987). Sporting activities in schools are usually encouraged under the guise of promoting school spirit and boys' health. However, as several theorists have shown these activities are often involved in the systematic construction and promotion of forms of maleness constituted by an expected appetite for violence and confrontation, competitiveness, machismo, toughness and a fear of losing. (Kessler et al., 1985; Connell et al., 1982).

It has been said that when men perform their masculinity, it is for other men (Donaldson, 1993). In Cameron's account of trying to stay in the race and having to battle his own body through difficult physical barriers and pain there are several parties (fellow team mates, parents, coaches) whom he performs his masculinity for. For him, pushing his body to its limits, is an intrinsic element of partaking in high performance sport. This is the meaning a rower like Cameron gives to his own participation in a practice which does violence to his own body. The need to exhibit physical strength and aggression is a learned behaviour that is

part of his construction of a hegemonic masculinity that for him expresses manliness. Cameron admires his fellow rowing team mates in the A-crew as to him they successfully exhibit a form of physical masculinity which he wishes to emulate.

Sabo (1985) has discussed the prioritising of pain over pleasure in sport; it is expected in sport that the tolerance of pain by men is appropriate and normative and should be emulated. Violence in sport is often taken to refer to combative or contact sport however non-contact sport also entails practices that are physically violent (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). In the RURC these practices are not only normalised but exulted for instance in slogans on the walls of the clubhouse such as “never stop erging, erg to pass out” and “someone may beat me, but they are sure as hell going to have to bleed before they do”, that convey the message of the suppression of pain as appropriate and expected. Tolerating pain is seen as an important aspect of the embodiment of a real man (Fitzclarence & Hickey, 1998) and to be able to push through pain, as Tim’s comments suggested, can be a way of overcoming perceived masculine deficiencies such as, in his case, his smaller-than- desirable physical size.

I’ve always thought of myself as having a small body for my age. Not even a big enough body and at the beginning of the year I doubted myself to thinking I’d never be able to row, I’d never be able to make the team because my body is quite small or I’m a bit, my weight is a few kgs off. But throughout the year I managed to build my weight to a good enough level. I got a decent body mass index to row. And I managed to, the first time I sat in that rowing machine I did badly very badly. I got one of the worst times. But a few months on I was able to do the hard training. Through all the pain I was able to to get a decent time. I cut my time drastically dramatically. Which is good. That’s the push I’m talking about (Interview, Tim).

Males engage in dangerous physical activity as to avoid the risk of displaying their fear in front of their peers (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). Other key features of sport that provide the opportunity to perform dominant masculinity include visible skill, strength and aggression which allows even men who are physically small in stature to earn a reputation for being tough and aggressive (Bryson, 1987). One of the respondents in Kessler et al.’s (1985) study on gender relations in an Australian secondary school known as Milton College discusses the distress of having to prove himself through participating in one of the boys’ football teams. In the process he ended up sustaining several concussions and was relegated to a lower team which had an effect on his sense of masculinity rather than being isolated to an experience having to do with sport alone. In Tim’s case, even though he may not have suffered any

injuries he constantly feels he has to prove himself as a result of his weight, size and skill not matching up to others or to what is considered ideal for a man to be as he puts it, being on a “good enough level”. This level of masculine performance is something that, as his comments suggest, he has to achieve. It is an actively sought production that he aspires to and is happy to have achieved.

Kaufman (1987) proposes the concept of “the triad of men’s violence” which includes violence against women but violence against other men and violence against one’s self. This implies that the process of using one’s body as a weapon against other bodies in sport ultimately results in a violence against your own body. Sportsmen are routinely expected to ‘put their bodies on the line’ and ‘take one for the team’ (Messner, 1990c). The cultural messages that are sent through media representations of sports role models support a culture of risk that glorifies those who have a high pain threshold and ignore the individual consequences of injury for the sake of the team’s victory (Nixon, 1993). In relation to a team sport like rowing the conceptualisation of pain as a marker of your willingness to sacrifice for the collective was a recurring theme in the participants’ narratives:

So it’s just a concept of life and you go through things that you can’t explain, the bonds you form is just unbreakable, you go through more with some of these people and you will never be able to explain or express when you are pulling a 5k. And the only thing that’s making me not stop is that there’s someone sitting next to me, doing exactly the same, feeling exactly the same. I’m going to try and push past that, maybe try and beat you but just because you’re doing it too (Interview, Cameron).

It’s their willingness to go on no matter what. Some of those people have like back issues and they’re just fighting through it to get to their next session. People have work that they have to do but they’re still there in the morning they’re still passing their degrees they’re still in it. You know the fact that yah those are the people that you look up to, the people like Nick, Nick Greeff. He’s now the captain, he just puts everything on the line and just goes for more (Interview, Cameron).

That ability you know to wake up at six in the morning for like with rowing you wake up at six in the morning and go and do like the core exercises at the gym or go on the water god forbid when it’s windy and cold and wake up at six and go do that. You know that kind of thing I feel like I wish it carried over into say for instance it’s half-past eleven at night and I just feel like watching a movie I don’t feel like actually working and then I watch a movie. So it’s not like rowing where you don’t feel like waking up and going to the dam but I just woke up went and got it done. And I think that aspect of

a team might have really helped because I knew there's seven other people relying on me you know and I can't just not pitch (Interview, Nkosinathi).

It is difficult to escape the culture of risk as most of the individuals that athletes have interactions with in their sports networks also reinforce and mediate the normalisation of pain and injury (Nixon, 1992). In most instances, those who endorse a positive image of sport and who willingly accept the risk of injury and pain as a worthy sacrifice are those who are actively involved in a club or consider sport to be their livelihood (Nixon, 1993). Members of the RURC experience the rowing club as a network that is strengthened by their mutual encounters with pain in the boat or during training. The ability to overcome pain and discomfort becomes a marker of the sacrifice that members are willing to impose on their bodies in order to fully become a part of the team and of the sport.

So for Cameron, for example, accepting pain and belonging to the rowing club network go together. His sense of being part of a group is accentuated because he and the rest of the crew endure pain together. For Cameron and many of his rowing team members the toughness that they show can only be embodied through direct experience (McDonald, 2009). For him, this precipitates an exclusive self-actualisation in their direct experience in the rowing club as a site of masculine enactment through withstanding pain. Those who have no direct experience of the sport are not able to identify with the rowing experience and what it imparts to the participant. In his interrogation of organised combat sport it is paradoxical for Messner (1990c) that those who are often admired and given the title of top athlete and seen to embody peak physical conditioning and health are the ones most likely to have to deal with and suffer from permanent injuries and other health issues.

Violence is encouraged in everyday talk about sport and how it should be played. Even though the culture of risk may not necessarily be imposed, it is embedded in stories that portray real athletes as those who deal with pain through denouncing it (Hilbert, 1984). Similarly, for Nkosinathi, enduring pain and discomfort in rowing may not be a culture that is imposed on him but it is not particularly negotiable either whereas in the other areas of his life he can negotiate what should take place and when — choosing for example, to watch a movie when he knows he should be studying. In contrast, he sacrifices himself when it comes to rowing and notes that it is the team environment that breeds that kind of conduct and sense of responsibility. Because he wants to be a part of the team he is willing to put subsume his

individual desires. He and his teammates are expected to row whether they feel like it or not, to get back to training as soon as possible after injury and to deal with the consequences that may follow stoically, without complaint. As Tim describes this ethos, the biggest thing is ‘to overcome’; ‘to not stop’.

With training I found that the biggest part was consistency. Once you stop training it’s very hard to get back into it. I’ve had friends who stopped training and they actually quit rowing because they just couldn’t get back. It became frustrating. So the biggest factor is not to stop, to overcome it you keep training. You keep training. When you, first time you train you feel a whole lot of pain, your body is going to be numb but that’s if you break for even a day. So you just keep training and training and training and then you eventually get used to that numbness (Interview, Tim).

While pain is often associated with the idea of acute sensation, Tim describes pain as numbing and goes on to suggest that the emotional bonds between members of a crew make it possible to overcome the limitations of the body. Pain is a way of the body demanding to be heard but athletes are conditioned to silence their pain in order to serve their team.

Because as much as there’s as much as there’s, rowing is quite physical there’s aah there’s quite an emotional connection between every crew in their own boat and so on because when you’re pushing hard you push hard it gets to a point in the boat where you’re just holding on. And you’re holding on for the person in front of you. You’re look at the person and say this person is working hard. He’s not working hard for himself he’s working hard for everybody else. And you work hard for that person. If you have to pass out at the end, you will pass out on behalf of your friends (Interview, Tim).

Disdaining pain and injury in order to accomplish particular sporting goals is well documented as a significant value in elite sport that is acquired by almost every top athlete (Shibutani, 1986). While it is sometimes assumed that dominant masculinity requires that men are estranged from their feelings and emotions and become prone to viewing their bodies instrumentally, (Messner, 1992), Tim describes a more complex process in which the emotions of camaraderie and loyalty to team mates explain the individual’s inurement to their own physical pain .

I can remember my first boat race when we were C crew. We had taken the boat down to the jetty. There was a lot of miscommunication in terms of like, there's four people holding the boat at the front and another four at the back. And I think at some point we thought everyone had their hands on the boat so all the weight shifted to the front and the tallest guy there, Travis, the boat

basically just fell onto his shoulder and dislocated it. So that's one incident that I unfortunately witnessed but he pulled through. He still actually rowed which was very very impressive. I think the nurse told him not to (brief pause) but he just kind of like stuck through the pain and did the race (Interview, David).

Pain is associated with sporting excellence and those who play while injured or experiencing pain are exalted (Roderick et al., 2000) as in David's description of Travis rowing with a dislocated shoulder, while those who do not play through injury risk the shame of losing their place in the team and the approval of their fellows (Roderick et al., 2000). The result is that athletes like Tim and David police their own bodies, closely regulating their responses and monitoring their performance while everyone else in the team is doing the same. This violence is metaphorically implicit in sports, whether it is contact or non-contact sport (Gard & Meyenn, 2010). The culture of risk that is culturally encouraged is said to develop a "self-abusive addiction" within athletes where they are drawn to abusing and risking their health by playing in pain (Telander, 1989).

Pain and injury feature prominently in sports such as rowing and running even though they are not considered to be high-risk or dangerous (Pike & Maguire, 2003). Smith (1998: 181) notes that when an individual participates in distance running as a sport, for example, there is a level of discomfort and pain that has to be accepted in order to claim you have "run the distance". Enduring pain — whether it is intentional or accidental — in competitive sport means sporting excellence and athletic prowess which essentially allows males to accomplish the significant feat of establishing an unambiguous, heterosexual, male identity (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). This notion can be applied to the way in which David frames pain and its consequences. Other men express their approval and are impressed when a team mate plays through injury which is in itself seen as an admirable achievement. Kotarba (1983) describes sport as grossly and inherently irrational due to the pervasiveness and acceptance of pain. However, the narratives of my participants suggest a logic and rationality to the endurance of pain which can only be understood when sport is understood as a site for the enactment of identity rather than being merely frivolous entertainment. Those who resist complying with the practices and expectations associated with hegemonic masculinities lose out on being "one of the guys" (Bird, 1996) and the associated social resources of status and affirmation from other men. Even participants in a team or group dynamic, when observing each other's pain never irrationally construe it as positive: instead the emotions experienced would usually

be anxiety, feeling impotence and constant fear (Collinson, 2005). Equally rationally, men are aware that when an athlete refuses to play hurt, he can often be rejected, ostracised or his masculinity may be threatened and judged (Messner, 1990c) while team mates are let down all of which is weighed up as in many instances more potentially damaging to the self than the actual physical injury (Messner, 1990c).

Literature in the arena of men's health demonstrates that gender has a large influence on the poor health choices that men make and the risky behaviour that they engage in however medical researchers fail to recognise the relevance of this (Courtenay, 2000). The signifiers of "real" masculinity encourage risky behaviour in order to assume a position of social power in relation to women and more subordinate men. Moreover, this denial of the influence of gender by the medical field perpetuates the cultural fallacy that this risky and unhealthy behaviour is natural in men (Courtenay, 2000) By engaging in this kind of behaviour and denying the existence of any health issues or their need for assistance they try to legitimise their power over women as the "stronger" sex and gain social promotion through violence (Courtenay, 2000).

Pain, physical prowess and social power

According to Connell (1989) the differentiation of masculinities takes place in schools and the process is organised around the component of social power. This is indicative of how relations of power manage to structure the process that male students go through of having to choose a masculinity to endorse. Male students who are academically successful in a school environment gain social power in the form of access to higher education and opportunities. This form of masculinity affords one honour and prestige. Similarly, the pursuit of sporting prowess and actively seeking accomplishment in competitive sport at schools is an alternative means in claiming honour and prestige (Connell, 1989). But as Cameron's depiction of the accomplishment that comes through being a good rower, suggests, the binary between academic prowess and sporting prowess does not necessarily hold. Men in an academic environment value intellect and sport becomes constructed as a way of demonstrating mental strength rather than physical prowess alone.

I mean when you're sitting on a rowing machine for an hour or ninety minutes you can get drained but when you get off that machine you've accomplished something for the day. I mean when I hand in an essay I feel

like I've accomplished something. When I get off an erg I feel like I've really accomplished something especially when I've done well and I know when I've done because nobody else can tell me "aah you've done well, aah you've done great" because in my own mind I know how strong I am. And when I've pushed that barrier like it's like wow, I did that and yah I'm still alive. Like it gets to a stage where you're on the rowing machine and you feel like "what am I doing here?". But then you push past that pain and once you're mentally strong you can push past that level (Interview, Cameron).

Cameron went on to describe other traits which for him are associated with being a top athlete but which can be interpreted as mental rather than physical, such as problem solving, tenacity, learning from one's mistakes and dedication.

Uhmm the tenacity of those people they will find a way. They will swim down that river if they have to but they will find a way to go faster than the other crews eventually. Uhmm so we learn from our mistakes and we push through the challenges and we just keep going. And eventually it comes out how dedicated we are to this club (Interview, Cameron).

For Nate, his previous experience of the schooling environment had been quite alienating. He was also not particularly someone who participated in sport. However, the rowing club presented itself as an opportune space to invest in a different form of masculinity that could yield him membership to the group as well as power. He distinguishes how normalising the practice of commitment and dedication in the sport is needed in order to align himself with the prestigious rowing club.

I mean there [are] people who only row for a year and go to the Olympics. I think it's just sort of dedication and just commitment to keep going. Keep going even though you know your hands are blistered and you know you're sore, you're tired. It's just the ability to, yeah basically that's what makes it - it's just the ability to keep going. Because I mean when you're rowing you can't stop. You never stop (Interview, Nate).

There is a regime of behaviours and practices that are normalised and which boys are incited to adopt in order to portray a particular masculinity (Martino, 1999; Coleman, 1990). As Prain (1998) would state gender is not simply in the way you think about it but it is also an embodiment; gender is felt and enjoyed through a literate body that learns the postures, movements and social scripts according to the feminine or masculine. The self-regulation is in accordance with enacting a certain kind of masculinity that Nate and the other rowing members to differentiate themselves from other male students. In the dominant gender order there is a dichotomous element to the way in which bodies are categorized: they are either

powerful or weak, skilful or clumsy, active or passive (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). Men who play sport in an academic environment are able to achieve the double social power of being intellectually and physically revered, thus sloughing off any potential to be labelled as nerd or weaklings (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). These considerable social benefits explain why in Nate's mind 'you never stop' because to do so would be to risk coming to be associated with subordinated forms of masculinity that are willing to demonstrate weakness or succumb to pain.

When issues of violence are addressed within sport they are often not even perceived as violence at all and the injury and pain that may be experienced is legitimised as long as it is within the confines of the rules of the game (Gard & Meyenn, 2000). The awareness of the risk and implications of participating in sport is present but is never readily discussed as much as the rewards (Nixon, 1993). Many athletes' routine acceptance of injury and pain as part of competitive sport is often accepted also by their parents and coaches who advocate for harsh discipline as a means of making their children more competitive (Curry & Jiobu, 1984). The athletes themselves define their involvement in sport as such an integral part of their existence and identity that pain or injury become just another component of their experience (Curry, 1993). Moreover, though injuries or the feeling of pain may accumulate, so does their experience in dealing with them. The physical prowess, mastery and competency is reinforced by honing the ability to overcome injury and pain which is associated as much with mental, as with physical toughness.

As much as physiological demands are tested when rowing, optimal concentration and mental toughness are essential for a rower's performance in the boat (Connolly & Janelle, 2003). Rowers must test their will, physical strength and ability to keep their movements and blade placement perfectly in time with the rest of the rowers in the boat. This requires that their focus and mental power is on par with their physical stamina. Graham Jones carried out a study addressing the issues surrounding mental toughness in elite sport and although there is a general lack of consensus on the definition of this particular concept in literature however the following definition emerged:

Mental toughness is having the natural or developed psychological edge that enables you to:

- 1) Generally, cope better than your opponents with the many demands (competition, training, lifestyle) that sport places on a performer.
- 2) Specifically, be more consistent and better than your opponents in remaining determined, focused, confident, and in control under pressure (Jones, 2002).

Mental toughness was spoken of as a source of struggle by the participants. Though in this social nexus the dynamic of the collective is critical, producing a body that is capable of receiving pain and being disciplined during training is largely an individual responsibility. In an interview with Richard (one of the A-crew members) emphasised the importance of mental strength and what he termed ‘setting a standard’ which can be interpreted as the marker of exalted masculine performance to which he aspires and sees himself as embodying.

Richard: Yah I think everyone that pushes themselves to the same limit as you uhmm automatically even though you don’t even think it they’re an inspiration for you out there. So you might even maybe pull a better boat time or you might get through more sessions than the others. The fact that they also most of the time are doing the same as you that really helps you. When you join rowing from first year and you sort of develop as a person while rowing it teaches you discipline, leadership skills ...the people that you look up to when you’re first here are really people that really set the standard and then you sort of follow that standard.

Thobile: Okay just for clarification, what do you mean by setting the standard?

Richard: Setting the standard? Well I think it varies over the years. Yah setting the standard I would say just sticking to the programme but then also having the mentality of not just doing the programme so that it’s done but actually making everything count. We often say uhmm “don’t count the strokes just make the strokes count” and the moment you have that mentality right there then you’re set for the standard that Rhodes should be looking for (Interview, Richard).

The concept of “sticking to the programme” reflects the requirement of a particular masculine embodiment in rowing. Mastering the art of rowing requires that one learn the techniques that are important to thrive within the social organisation of a competitive, disciplined sporting club. Rowing requires relentless training and learning the skills and technique necessary to pull the best time or pull a better boat and therefore make the stroke count. For Richard,

attaining that level of mastery of the techniques cannot be divorced from disciplining your mind and producing the right mentality in order to discipline your body. He views his body as continually in the process of advancement in order to reach that standard set by the club and its members. As mentioned by Spencer (2009) in his study of the nature of learning body techniques in mixed martial arts, the processes of perfecting sporting techniques require that the body must be conditioned to the performance of an act through repetition (Spencer, 2009). Richard and his team mates can only perfect the stroke through the performance of the same action repeatedly during training sessions. This necessary process in turn instils new habits of mind and body that those who newly join the club must still acquire.

The pressure to show consistency and discipline in meeting the demands of the sport was further elaborated on by Tim and Cameron:

I can say lows are when things aren't going your way but you can look at them in two lights. You can look at those as challenges to overcome which we as the rowing club do. We have to overcome many challenges. So those are generally from when you don't know what to do but you can always turn them around. It's just the way you approach stuff, it's all about attitude in that situation (Interview, Cameron).

Also when we train we have to be off anything like alcohol or smoking. You have to avoid that just to keep fit. You always have to keep fit which is the biggest step. You can train but not be fit and that's going to draw you back. So you have to be disciplined in your drinking or your smoking, keep fit and then you overcome that (Interview, Tim).

Cameron constantly referred to the collective and portrayed the rowing club as having a very particular identity — for example portrayed in how it manages challenges. The identity of the club and the identity of its members thus becomes somewhat intertwined. McDonald and Hallinan (2005) similarly found, in their study of Japanese university rowing that participation in rowing is viewed as the adoption of a culture and identity which distinguishes one group of students from another. Their participants described their lifestyles as being proper and disciplined. This discipline is registered as a form of self-cultivation that would serve to place them in a favourable position in future endeavours such as employment opportunities (McDonald & Hallinan, 2005). Cameron constructs the rowing body as a disciplined body by virtue of how it handles challenges, portraying that type of masculinity as more “hard” and as being superior and distinct to the way other groups manages their own limitations. This distinction of using your willpower to see limitations or the risk of being

injured as something positive proposes that there is no opportunity to display weakness in the rowing club and that is advantageous for Cameron as that is what a disciplined body does.

Tim describes how his discipline in the rowing team carries over into diet and lifestyle choices that go beyond being physically fit and serve to confirm an identity of the disciplined superior person who is control of their desires and so the rower negotiates his superiority through a discipline and mental sturdiness that cannot be reproduced by all persons; but which can be learned and emulated.

On one specific occasion while still stationed at the main gate entrance to the building that leads to the Rowing Clubhouse at 4:45am in the morning, while waiting for everyone to arrive there is news of one of the participants being injured. This particular participant had injured his foot and was in the A-crew and therefore could not row with them anymore. Before leaving for that particular session there had not been enough space in the cars for everyone to go to the water session at the dam hence he and I had to stay behind and miss that session. However, the participant carried on coming to training sessions after having seen the doctor and getting a cast on his foot and ended up rowing at boat races for one of the other crews (Observation notes, Before Water session at the Dam, 27/ 08/ 2014).

According to Coakley (1990) rigid definitions of sport may lead to the development of positive deviance where an individual relies on following the rules and having the capacity to participate in bonding and team activities even though it is physically difficult as they are injured. In the case of individuals such as the one observed above, the activities that he is meant to engage in with the others suffer as he cannot fully participate however due to still attending practice he is clearly striving to still be recognised as a member of the team (Curry, 1991). The rest of his team members feel sympathetic towards him as they recognise and understand his predicament. Injury makes it difficult for an athlete as they cannot easily maintain bonds fully as the only way they know how is through shared activity and competition. The athlete needs to prove that they are still a part of the activity upon which their shared bonds are centred as past success as a team member does not guarantee sustenance of the bond (Curry, 1991). Those who quit or show signs of weakness are rejected and the bond is constantly in danger of being severed. However, in this case the individual/ participant fought to keep the bond intact through still being involved in some ways during practice even if it was just watching and supporting the others. Eventually they were able to participate again however it was not in the highest crew.

Psychologically, men are predisposed to approach aggression in sport as legitimate and this is founded on their perception of the arena of sport as having a clear code of rules and boundaries and subsequently being socialised that violence comes with participation in sport. Examining the differences between boys and girls when playing sport, it has been noted that boys are firm and unwavering when it comes to the rules and girls more flexible (Piaget, 1965; Lever, 1976). The relationships and bonds that men form with each other within a social context such as sport are constituted around a fragile masculine identity that positions intimacy and vulnerability — though desired by men — as a possible threat (Chodorow, 1978). The rule-bound structure of sport puts in place safe boundaries and governs their interactions with other men in a manner in which they can stay clear of dealing with the kind of intimate affiliations that may threaten their masculinity (Gilligan, 1982). This notion of clear-cut boundaries facilitating and moderating their interactions through competition and an intensive, disciplined training programme was prevalent in the rowers' narratives.

I would say rowing... I don't want to undermine other sports at Rhodes but I would say rowing there's more camaraderie from what I've seen. I mean rowing and hockey especially there is a lot of team spirit involved. There's a lot of you know when one, when one feels down and can't really carry on there's always a team behind them to back them up. So I think yeah that's how much of rowing is actually a team sport. You can definitely not do it not push yourself the way we do if it was just one person. Like hours to stick to a training programme without anyone... I think I'd just maybe do half of what was required but I think to add to that team spirit factor if everyone is going through the same pain you sort of endure with them (Interview, Richard).

You know like because it's just you experiencing stuff together and you're going through the pain together. Nobody's trying to get you down. It's only the rowing machine that's trying to get you down. So yeah it's just like that feeling of you doing something, you're feeling pain but there's somebody with you and that's strong regardless of who you are or your background or anything. That pain kind of bond. And that's why it's such a tight-knit group. That's why people just want to be, people struggle when they leave the rowing crew because like they're leaving all of their friends. And like yeah you have friends in real life but they don't feel things that you've felt before like other people in the rowing club have. And so that's something that's special (Interview, Cameron).

During the socialisation process of boys and girls varying emotions regulate and reinforce different gender expectations in society (Thompson, 1997). Emotional inexpressiveness is a term that describes the discouragement by society of men expressing emotion which is

thought to be a female quality. However, as Thompson (1997) points out, it is not that men cannot show emotion as such but it is only those particular emotions thought to be “unmanly” that are disallowed. After all, aggression and anger are emotions that are frequently seen prominently displayed by men in sport as is joy and ecstasy when celebrating a sporting achievement.

In contrast, love for other men, even one’s closest team mates would be a risky emotion to express. Heterosexual males will usually not risk being associated with homosexuality therefore physical contact needs to happen at a safe distance. Hence, many heterosexual males will fulfil their need for friendly and intimate exchange with others by camouflaging it through displays that are acceptable only in the context of sport (Kaufman, 1987). Anderson (2002) refers to a form of ‘masculinity insurance’ that can be secured by those who have extraordinary athletic abilities. Gay masculinities are usually a subordinate form of masculinity however it was found in Anderson’s (2002) study that gay men who possessed superior athletic or sporting abilities were shielded from stigmatisation due to their embodying of this prominent feature of masculinity. Emotions, intimacy or any displays of vulnerability by heterosexual males are at times accepted in the private context with their partner but never being shared with another man (Courtenay, 2000).

Conclusion

Prevalent in many of the narratives is the framing of emotional experiences and moments of intimacy — that the individuals have with one another and as a collective — as sportsmanship. As rowing crews spent a copious amount of time with one another during training, events and regattas they develop bonds and relationships that may have an emotional feature to them. However, dealing with the boundaries of intimacy in sport many of the members of the rowing club contextualise these relationships within the framework of a shared experience of pain and physicality (physical violence) rather than as emotional support. While mental fatigue and physical weariness are acknowledged, the participants were careful not to allow vulnerability to surface too much and the ability to endure pain emerged as a significant device for managing this tension. Support was always framed as team spirit and enabling endurance rather than reflecting in any sense vulnerability or neediness.

For the participants, the space of the rowing club is one in which very intimate friendships with other men can safely be managed and negotiated without sacrificing their status as dominant men subscribing to many of the tenets of dominant masculinity in the prevailing gender order. While the men in the club build and rely upon their relationships with other men, these cannot be associated with being feminine or being a “sissy” who needs to lean on others. Rather, engaging and interacting with one another is framed as a good way of sustaining motivation and mental vitality to endure the pain of rowing and therefore to be successful for the team.

Chapter 5

Being in the same boat

When we talk of identity as a category of practice we make reference to the way in which it can be used by agents as a way to make sense of themselves and the way in which they are distinct from others or similar to others (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). To talk of identity as a collective phenomenon that denotes the shared characteristics imparted by belonging to a same group. Shared characteristics can be manifest in many ways and may give rise to a sense of solidarity with other members of the group. To talk of 'identity' moreover, connotes deep, foundational attributes of self rather than superficial or passing interests (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

Finnegan (1997) points out that identity arises within specific contexts and social situations and that such contexts are multifaceted reflecting such features as culture, subjective sense of self, the actual performance of the self for example through narratives of the self and unconscious structures of the mind are thought to constrain the self and one's identity. Sport has always been a significant feature of identity building in a variety of contexts. For example, during the first half of the 20th century baseball became a part of the collective identity of young males in African-American communities (Ogden & Hilt, 2003; Boyd, 1997; Early, 2000). This expression of self through collective cultural meaning was shifted from participation in baseball to basketball within black communities in America. In sport then, collective identities can come to be constructed and communicated with basketball for instance communicating a sense of self on the part of African American men (Boyd, 2007).

Sport thus becomes an arena where the display of identities and positions for and amongst peers takes place (Renold, 1997). When men play sport together they find themselves in a group characterised by interactions with male peers who constitute an audience that fulfils the performative requirements of masculinity — a context in which acceptable maleness can be performed for the confirmation and approval of others. Sport provides the conditions to be 'recognised' as Taylor would put it. We make sense of who we are through the intimate relationships we have with those who are of significance to us and they contribute to our self-recognition, self-discovery and self-affirmation (Taylor, 1994). In the social sphere, the denial of recognition or mis-recognition can inculcate an internalised demeaning image of the

self. Thus it becomes important not only that we have a sense of who we are but that others recognise us for who we believe ourselves to be.

In the sport of rowing where participants spend long hours together in the confined space of a boat and where every person's stroke matters for everyone else in the boat, these aspects of performativity and recognition are writ large. In this chapter I discuss the how participants made sense of their identity as rowers- as opposed to say, rugby players and what kind of masculinity they saw themselves performing and seeking recognition for on the part of those who share a boat with them. I discuss also how access to recognition is raced and classed rather than masculinity being an isolatable identity category.

Performing and being recognised

In the South African context, rugby was always associated with white and particularly Afrikaner masculinity (Chandler & Nauright, 1996). Rugby might have originated in England but in South African schools was appropriated by the Afrikaans to shape and reflect features of tough, patriarchal, brutal masculinity (Chandler & Nauright, 1996). The dominance of rugby as an emblem of the most culturally celebrated form of masculinity has continued into the post-apartheid era especially at historically white schools as Clayton describes:

Yeah I think I think at school I could've been a leader and I never let myself because I didn't like the system. At school it was very much a popularity contest. You got picked to be a prefect if you were in the rugby team. I mean 60 or 70% of the prefect body were rugby players. The rest of them were either first-team hockey players I think there was one guy who played who didn't necessarily play a sport too much he was more like what would you call an arts kind of guy but he was very good at interacting with the rugby guys so he really wasn't like a true arts guy so to speak. So at school I wrote it off I was like no, I'll go and be I'll go and play tennis and do debate and do something else that isn't rugby and not be a leader and I won't succumb to this system (Interview, Clayton).

For some participants then, becoming a rower was intertwined with a sense not only of who they *are* as men but with who they are *not* — rowers adopt an identity that is often deliberately seen as eschewing the form of physical, brute force masculinity typically associated with rugby. Nate described how rowing has a cultural meaning in his life and the identity he has constructed in and through rowing and how rowing takes up a central part of

his life. He alluded also to the sense that he has of the rower as serious and disciplined in contrast to the rugby player:

So instead of doing like three/ four other sports it's just rowing — nothing else. I think this may sound arrogant but we sort of make the point like at rowing as opposed to rugby you know where like players go to the pitch drunk or stuff. So I think like it does quite affect your student life quite a lot. Like I mean basically for us, basically for me it's just rowing and then academics and then whatever free time I have after that I don't really do much else apart from that (Interview, Nate).

Many of the participants interviewed constructed themselves and their self-concept largely through the value of being a rower before anything else. Voluntary participation in sport allows an individual to assess their talent and value within that particular social structure (Erikson, 1963). However, it is evident that Nate and many of his team members have developed an “attainment value” through the aspect of rowing and have refined their identities through the activity of rowing as a demonstration of who they are, who they hope to be and what they are meant to do (Eccles, 1987). In interacting with Nate it was clear that rowing was central to his selfhood.

Sport, as an identity constructing device is not gender-neutral. Rather, as Renold (1997) has argued, sport is a gendering process where the sport constitutes a powerful collective practice dominated by boys, resulting in the stabilisation of the structure of dominance and oppression (Connell, 1990b). Competitive sports are linked to a sense of maleness as competitiveness, successfulness, aggression, dominance, discipline, goal-direction and physical strength (Messner & Sabo, 1994) and this is what the boys want to embody and be linked to, and identified with (Renold, 1997). As Renold's (1997) study on the gendered practices of playground relations found, sports symbolism of displaying mastery, skills and aggression strengthens a particular male identity. Sport constitutes a visible arena in which individuals are able to form their identities as well as continuously modify them. To achieve in sport is linked to being deemed to be a success at being masculine (Willis, 1982). Sporting activities are not only a social site for learning gendered norms and practices but are also a site in which these practices become ritualised and displayed (Renold, 1997).

Clayton's account of playing sport in high school evoked this sense of ritualised performance and display within the context of close surveillance on the part of other men who risk, as he

puts it, 'collective expulsion' if their adopted masculine display does not meet the approval of onlookers.

Guys who come from that very male orientated, prove yourself kind of point of view will see for example if you're doing something like in rugby if you drop the ball if you illustrate that you pissed at yourself like you hit yourself in the leg, shout or something they'll be like okay good he knows he messed up. You know where as if you just dropped the ball shrug your shoulders and just sink back into the distance they'll be like no he must go he must leave cos he's weak you know. And I've learnt that's how that mindset works A group can induce that type of collective expulsion of someone. And so learning how to work with that learning how to beat it is something that you have to actually be a part of the whole process in order to gain you know (Interview, Clayton).

Clayton's account brings to mind Judith Butler's (1990) claim that masculinity is an identity that must constantly be reclaimed. There are rituals that must be rehearsed and performed in the everyday to re-instill and reconfirm the desired identity as well as the empowerment that comes with it. As Clayton has stated in the narrative what this gendered social action appears to be is men performing for their peers — men asserting their own identity to other men (Quinn, 2002).

Bodies are not only agents that "do gender" but they are also involved in the practice of negating gender (Messerschmidt, 2000). Clayton has eluded to an expulsion or punishment by your peers that transpires in the act of any one of the boys displaying feminine behaviour such as showing weakness or an absence of rugged competitiveness. What Messerschmidt (2000) suggests is that these are the implications when a male enacts behaviour that is perceived to be feminine through a body that is not socially perceived to be female. Practices and behaviours that deviate from the accepted norm are discredited as a way of maintaining the hegemonic ideal of masculine identity. In this context men are often expected not only to perform their own masculinity but to further protect this masculine identity through failing to exhibit empathy to those who are more vulnerable and occupy a more fragile position in the gender hierarchy (Schwalbe, 1992). It is male bodies that direct action by men (e.g. that men should be the ones who naturally display more aggressive behaviour than women) and it is also male bodies that create the limitations of men's action (e.g. homosexuality is feminine and unnatural and confined to a minority).

In the performance of idealised masculinity, particularly in a society characterised by a racist past giving rise to the elevation of the white body as the exalted norm and the black body as the denigrated other, whether or not, and how, black bodies can be recognised as ideal, dominant men, becomes moot. The RURC, aware of its predominantly white membership historically has sought to set itself on a path towards transformation by having a regulation to have black rowers in the boats racing in the C- Crew category as a mandatory requirement otherwise those crews are prohibited from rowing. Responses to, and perceptions regarding, this regulation have been varied among club members. Tim expressed his discomfort with what amounts to a very public recognition of race as ‘an extra category’.

I think it's a, it's a good thing. It's a good thing but uhmm perhaps they shouldn't let it stand out too much. As much as it is good we already have people joining the club because they are interested. You don't kind of have to make people join or force them to join by making an extra category. So I feel like it's a, it's a bit of a forced issue whereas it's not a welcome issue. Why why don't they just say for example the C crew thing why don't they just say okay here's a C crew for people to row in it. Why do they have to specify?

Tim also objected to the nomenclature used in the regulation to refer to the requirement to include black rowers, namely ‘Persons of Colour’.

And why do they have a category called person of colour? That doesn't make a lot of sense. There should be no person of colour or whatever. There should just be people. Uhmm it doesn't matter. So I don't know (Interview, Tim).

Tim insists on non-recognition. Colour, ‘should not matter’ despite living in a society in which colour clearly has mattered a great deal and continues to structure social relations and opportunities in significant ways. Tim's recognition refusal also extends to refusing to recognise his own privilege which has led to a situation in which his access to the club is not in contention. Tim does not want to be recognised as having different needs to the dominant group or to being misrecognised (Nicholson, 1996). He does not want to be categorised as the black ‘other’ who needs to be accommodated. In this he recognises that dominance has a colour and that to be recognisably black is to risk being rendered ineligible for the most exalted echelons of masculinity.

It is important to note the manner in which those with power and privilege in society tend to depict themselves as without race — it is black people who are raced while white people

have the privilege of merely being people. Similarly, the masculine is taken to be the universal as in for instance the reference 'he' which is taken to stand for everyone (Nicholson, 1996). This is symptomatic of the perception of these socially powerful groups (men and white people respectively) of their own lives as the normative human condition rather than as reflecting a distinctive social experience. However, to insist on belonging within that supposed universality is also not the solution as this negates the real differences in experiences that have been socially conferred on, for example, women, and black people. Thus to be identified as a black rower is to be recognised as someone who might have a different background to that which has been the norm in the club for most of its history. Michael referred to how certain classed expectations permeate the club:

Oh well so you have the rowing club, you have very wealthy people, uhmm people of different races, people who might not understand where you're coming from. Uhmm for instance like going on tours you might not be able to afford going on tours and on camps. People might be quite ignorant because they've been, they've grown up in a different background and they might not know about things beyond what they've been taught or what they know as well (Interview, Michael).

Feminist theorists have problematised how women often have to adhere to hegemonic conceptions of masculinity in order to gain any sort of equality to men (Nicholson, 1996). In sport as well, for women to participate in male-dominated sports they have to negotiate their place through demonstrating hegemonic masculine practices in order for some of them to be allowed to participate with males (Renold, 1997). Equality is unlikely without bringing to light, acknowledging and addressing, rather than erasing, the sorts of differences and taken for granted expectations that Michael speaks of. Whiteness too carries unnamed privilege that mostly goes unchallenged (Dyer, 1997; Frankenburg, 1993). In an elite male sport like rowing, as Michael correctly points out, most participants would not have come across the idea of someone not being able to afford to go on a tour or camp. The way in which these casual expectations and normalised rituals of the privileged can exclude and deny access is left unchallenged. Michael's white, middle-class peers are oblivious to his discomfort and see their social practices as the norm which everybody would be able to fit in with. Thus as much as the club itself does not prohibit membership on the part of non-middle class students, effectively the exclusion is in place to the extent that it is not acknowledged and therefore no mechanism is put in place to counteract it.

This invisibility of privilege/disadvantage and the colour of both was illustrated by the fact that in contrast to Michael's disclosure of his experiences of the intersectionality of race, class and gender in the rowing club, white respondents indicated in their interviews that race and gender were not a problem and that nobody had encountered any prejudice in the club. An absence of black membership was ascribed by James to rowing not being in 'their culture' and the paucity of women was put down to 'individual preference'.

I think with the current group, I'll even expand that into racial use and that sort of thing. Ummm I think in the current group of, obviously there's nothing written about trying to be racially, genderly (I don't know if that's not a word) non-prejudiced — there's nothing written about it. But I think at the moment there's that sort of ethos that we've built to respect all genders, all races, all sort of aspects of life. Ummm and I think if that can carry on it will be very healthy for the club. The only reason that for example where there's a shortage of black athletes or perception of a shortage of women has nothing to do with the actual internal affairs of the club. I think it's just more to do with individual preferences. Some women just don't want themselves to be seen as manly or whatever. I know a lot of people who see the sport as quite a manly sport. Ummm and in terms of people of colour it's just not sort of a part of their culture. Especially coming out of sort of our past and I think it's just about sort of exposing the different groups to rowing to show that it can be enjoyed by all (Interview, James).

According to Long and Hylton (2002) this divergence is a result of the lack of engagement of the white respondents with race and the inability to locate themselves as privileged within the social system. Being in a privileged position leads to how James and other white team members produce a self-definition that denies racism and discrimination in sport and this is not at all intentionally malicious (Feagin & Vera, 1995). Nevertheless, this form of individual response becomes normalised as an institutional response so that minimal tokenism that makes no real difference becomes the only response to structural inequities (Long, 2000). While claiming not to have witnessed any prejudicial treatment and while insisting on colour-blindness, participants like James confirm that they have stereotypical and essentialist conceptions of what black people are like — and that rowing as a sport is just not meant for 'them' (Bains & Patel, 1998). In this way those who have privileged access to dominant social institutions and sports such as rowing transfer fault onto those who do not gain access by positioning them as not participating due to a lacking interest, or skill and hence choosing not to be involved (Renold, 1997).

But I don't want to make it sound like a cult like you get accepted or you get through or something you know like I can imagine you know like from a girl's perspective or something looking at it it could look like that and even from other types of guys who are not into team sport it could look like that but you have to be in it to understand it. And I was never in it until I came to Rhodes and I started rowing and I now have got a greater understanding of it (Interview, Clayton).

Adams and his colleagues (2010) have made the claim that those who are most likely to be chosen to assume a socially respected and valued position in the team are those who are more likely to over-subscribe to team norms. In rowing, in order for a crew as a whole to solve the issue of optimal performance and action they need to have perfected their synchronisation and this involves unusually high levels of close cooperation (de Brouwer et al., 2013). As sociologists have observed, in order for communal or collective tasks that necessitate synchronised movements to be carried out, a sense of solidarity among participants is needed (King & de Rond, 2011). In rowing the extent to which the individual must be subsumed to the collective is so extreme that it might be termed 'self-abandonment' — a term that has been invoked in the study of religious organisations.

Gordon (1984) investigated the process of self-abandonment that is vital to group membership in a study of religious groups. This research showed how individuals gain self-control and self-fulfilment through the exercise of abandoning themselves to the group. The act of self-abandonment is a voluntary, individual procedure rather one that is enforced and imposed on someone by the group (Long & Hadden, 1983). It is a continual process comprising of multiple stages in which the individual gradually develops the capacity to abandon the self (Gordon, 1984). It is achieved most fully in contexts where the group values and requires total commitment from its members with individuals spending most of their time interacting with those within the group, associating mostly with their own members — circumstances that Gordon describes in religious groups but which also sum up the experience of rowing at the highest level.

Collins (2004) talks of a group consciousness that arises from the correlation between rhythmic synchronisation and solidarity as it enforces a pattern of coordinated collective performance. This converts itself into a coherent social practice for the group to achieve compatibility with their group members — it is an interaction ritual. Participants become compatible not only through rhythmic focused movements but also through a synchronisation

of interactions: bodily positions, gestures, actions and even speech (Collins, 2004: 68). In the present study, participants referred often to their affinity to group interaction by virtue of having membership to the group as they partake in activities with, and directed to, each other (Forsyth, 1999).

Individuals tend to act differently when they are in the group context. As Forsyth (1999) suggests, groups influence and alter the individual's attitudes, perceptions, behaviour and prejudices. In addition, once these interactions happen within a structure they are organised around clearly stipulated norms and practices that are identified with the group. Rowing is an interactive sport that requires close coordination and cooperation. As a result, team members' perceptions begin to mirror one another and members show a high propensity towards shared beliefs (Carron et al., 2002). Clayton's remarks speak to this sense of being an insider to a way of being involving the abandoning of the individual in order to become a part of a team and having shared beliefs which cannot be understood by just anyone. His sense then is of an exclusive, closed experience — he himself invokes the image of the cult — which others may find strange but which members are highly committed to. Renold (1997) has argued that this experience in sport is most often related to all-male sports and is rare in mixed gender sporting contexts. It is not so much about the exclusion of females that is more central to how they construct their masculinity in team sports, it is more about disassociating with and denouncing the feminine as essential to the experience that is valued (Jordan, 1995). Women and non-rowers in general are constructed as lacking the competence or understanding to be part of this exclusive experience of abandonment to the crew (Renold, 1997). In this way specific disciplinary practices in sport regulate bodies and the choices they make and therefore produce gendered bodies and ways of being (Connell, 1995: 50).

What is attractive to individuals about rowing is its combination of force, endurance and coordination and the continuous challenge to optimise these three aspects (Anderson et al., 2005). Out of all of these three the most difficult to achieve is coordination. During training sessions rowing on the ergometers does increase the physical strength and fitness of the athlete and helps to improve technique and is often used for crew selection (Elliot et al., 2002). But there are differences that exist between on-water rowing and the simulation that is carried out on the ergometer with a different type of coordination that is needed when in an actual boat with team members on the water (Steinacker & Secher, 1993). According to Durkheim (1964) reaching the summit of perpetual homogeneity of movements between

individuals in a group can only be achieved through the emergence of a group consciousness established through individuals relinquishing and coming out of themselves to facilitate their bodies' adaptation to moving together in unity with other bodies. Individuals who experience this level of self-abandonment often extend their commitment to the group beyond sport, to other areas of life.

Well, a lot of the guys they did things like move into the same houses together, they live together, they go out for supper together. Then I mean once you live together that's a pretty big commitment. I've never lived with any of them. I live in a small flat with one other person. I'll live by myself next year. So the typical rower will have his rowing friends who are his social friends and they, his rowing life is his life. Whereas I have I've experienced it differently. I've experienced a social and academic and a rowing life (Interview, Clayton).

Tuckman's (1965) four stages of the group development process includes, firstly, the stage of formation where members are getting acquainted with each other within the structure of the team and are determining the boundaries of the group. After this has been negotiated the storming stage is a transition period during which members must learn to understand their differences. In the norming stage which comes third members develop group cohesion founded on trust as well as norms and practices that regulate their behaviours and interactions. After all this has been established the group attains the performing stage where they may attempt to function as a unit that achieves goals, has a shared purpose and assigned roles. As Clayton's account shows, not all group members are identical in the way in which they choose to relate to the group. Clayton depicts a sense of self that is not entirely consumed by rowing but rather has compartments: rowing, social, academics. This is atypical in the rowing fraternity. The more common approach to team membership in which members see themselves as forming a community of their own and their social lives and rowing lives bleed into one another, is described by Norman:

I think I consider like the rowing group, the rowing community, as different. It's like a different, a different vibe to what you're used to. It's a lot closer than other sports because you spend so much time together. That's what I found. It's kind of like its own little community than the bigger community. And it's like everyone is prepared to go out with each other or be with each other all the time. Yah. I think all in all it's just a different sort of vibe. I mean we all played other sports and it wasn't necessarily this closeness that I've had. Ummm yah I really think rowing is that sort of sport where if we don't get along together it's not going to be the best time.

We spend day and night together and even spending time with the guys in digs (Interview, Norman).

Rowing as a sport is an ensemble activity in that it requires rhythmic synchronisation and coordination for the team to perform at all in a way that is more essential in rowing than in many other sporting activity (King & de Rond, 2011). High levels of coordination between the members of the crew are crucial in order for an efficient boat to ensue (Atkinson, 1896; Ishiko, 1971; Schneider et al., 1978). An efficient boat optimises the conditions for the highest boat speed that the power output of the individual rowers can produce. A shared rhythmic pattern is not always achieved as it is difficult to reach such a level of congruency (King & de Rond, 2011). It is made more possible when the individual gives himself to the group and no longer experiences self-consciousness in interaction with the group and relies on the group for development of self-esteem, consistency, efficacy and authenticity. The group's goals and the goals of the individual thus become indistinguishable.

When members of a crew have rowed for a substantial amount of time with each other they become successful in that their force patterns are alike. As demonstrated by Schneider et al. (1978) and Haenyes (1984) in separate studies, within crews the force patterns would be similar whereas they would vary between groups which is a testament of how critical cohesion between the individuals in a boat is. An individual rower will often develop their own movement patterns as they train and this makes synchronisation of all crew members difficult to achieve (Atkinson, 1896). Unity and solidarity is a prerequisite for moving in unison with one another (McNeill, 1995). Thus in training and in competition it is crucial to encourage and inculcate solidarity between the members of a boat so that they identify with one another in a manner (Whitson, 1990). Michael explains:

Uhmm rowing is rowing is not like any other sport because it's more of a, it's more like you're feeling the same pain as the person you're rowing with. Uhmm you do the same thing at the same time uhmm unlike in some other team sport where if you don't have the ball you can relax. But in rowing everyone in the crew is, well should be pushing the same amount (Interview, Michael).

James, of the experience of being in the sport of rowing:

I think training twice a day every day for nine months of the year or ten months of the year is not matched by any other sport. So I think it's just the training load and all

those things, the social aspects that come about because of that. That separates rowing from other sports- I mean the social things like the team the team dynamic that I was explaining earlier. I think you form stronger bonds in rowing than most other sports. It's just spending lots of time with the people and aah and exerting yourself to a level that you know that they're also doing. Ummm and putting your mind in such a vulnerable place. I mean when you're absolutely smashing the session and you're getting very sort of, you're reaching that breaking point ummm. To share that with someone is more than some people understand (Interview, James).

Poor synchronisation may affect not only the coordination of the crew but the power output of the rowers and cause unnecessary movement of the boat such as rolling or pitching (Williams, 1967). In Dan Brown's (2013) *Boys in the Boat*, he explains the distinction between rowing and other sports in that not only particular muscle groups but the coordination of every muscle in the body without interval, without relent, is required for success. Many of the participants were in agreement of how relentlessly strenuous rowing is as there are no pauses or halts until the end of the race. Secondly, members of a rowing club will tell you of how life-transforming it appears to be; it presents "the prospect of becoming part of something other than themselves" when they push themselves beyond the boundaries of routine physical activity (Brown, 2013: 41). Furthermore, in order for the boat to propel forward against natural elements such as strong waters or winds it requires that the chorus of bodies in the boat hold it together through unison and achieved balance (Brown, 2013). The culmination of all these factors state results in the continuum of precise action and coordination in relation to the rate, applied power and technique that all other team members are displaying in the boat which requires great skill and impeccable cohesion (Brown, 2013).

In rowing, the coxswain is often disregarded however they are significant in that they play a mediating role between crew members to organise a sense of cohesion and unity (King & de Rond, 2011). Hence the cautious and well thought out use of language and tone used in group cohesion is central to create desired emotions (Katz, 1999). It is a call for rhythm and not power that is essential for the coxswain to develop feelings of relaxation to induce a collective concentration when competing (King & de Rond, 2011). The coxswain has to be a decisive communication channel for the crew members as they have the role of steering the boat and giving adequate instructions to the crew. James relates the experience of being in the boat and the influence that the coxswain has on the success of the crew members to row as desired while racing:

Uhhh yah just thinking about it now, thinking about being in the boat you get this sense of tunnel vision sort of just looking forward so it's almost

heightened awareness. You're just concentrating fully on what you're doing other than when you're out of the boat it's immediately everything else opens up and you're thinking about this thinking about that chatting around. Obviously in the boat you're in your own head, no one is talking to you, you're listening to the cox. Ummm it's just, it's almost otherworldly sometimes especially when the boat's going well. Aah you just completely you almost just zone out into another world (Interview, James).

This account relates how during the race the crew members focus on a sustained rhythm and in the process abandon their full hearing and vision until they disembark the boat (King & de Rond, 2011). This limited ability for receiving visual cues from each other as a crew requires that they rely on the disembodied but constructive instructions of the coxswain to foster constant cohesion through gauging the mood of the crew and responding with the appropriate language and tone respectively. Therefore, coxes are symbolic of the interaction rituals and interpersonal consensus and solidarity amongst the crew as an ensemble. Once there is a dysfunction experienced by crew members and they tense up they cannot perform optimally or reach a state of uninterrupted rhythmic synchronisation. Group cohesion and coordination are also related to synergy which implies that the collective is able to maximise the norms, roles and common goals of the team as a whole to produce energy that is greater than the individual energies combined (Syer & Connolly, 1984). Those who often feel this way will frequently talk of their membership to a group more than refer to themselves as an individual entity; they will often use terms that imply a "we/ us" rather than a "I/ me" (Sugarman, 1999). Particularly those who have membership to a relatively small group or crew are more at an advantage to experience more fulfilment and achieve cohesiveness in the group.

Some other factors that may affect the rhythm of the crews and their performance would relate to the internal dynamics of the crew: the unequal status of members, hierarchies and the pressure of winning at all costs (King & de Rond, 2011). Categories in society are utilised to build hierarchical systems however the nature of multiple categories may be used to demonstrate that collectives are not homogenous. Patricia Hill Collins (1998) draws on elements such as race and class to display the multiple variations of men and women that are produced in society. In approaching such group dynamics it is having a common purpose and goal that the group has to achieve collectively and strategically that unites them (Sugarman, 1999). Hence roles and norms are critical for group success and interactions within the group itself (Forsyth, 1999).

And we try renovate we always up-do, upgrade our fleet or something to keep going, to keep competing with the national athletes. So I don't know like it could be that we won't be competing with international players but we're competing against Olympic medallists. And so we know that we have to be serious, we have to up our game every day where yesterday's standard is not good today. Uhhh that's something like in the rowing community that is always, always prepared to go that extra bit to help out others as well. Where we will take it seriously and we will say okay we can't party in half a month because we have to prepare for boat races. And I think uhhh as a whole everyone's always on the boat already so when it comes down to it at the end we're on the money. (Interview, Norman).

Conclusion

Crews operate as social systems in that they possess a psychosocial element that rests on the relationship between human beings and their environment; that shape the relations and interactions between individual athletes and the team as an entity (Sugarman, 1999). The social identity of the team member is tied to how they will evaluate their self-concept in relation to belonging to a particular group- both on an interpersonal and intergroup level (Tafjel, 1981). Well-coordinated groups that pursue activities in a given context achieve them through goal-setting and subsequently performing them as a group rather than individually (Forsyth, 1999). For Norman and his crew members the characteristics of the rowing crews distinguish them as a fully cohesive group from a casual one through their perceived ideas of their high levels of commitment and involvement by team members, subsuming their individual identities to the collective whole (Carron & Chelladurai, 1981).

Bodies go through training and cultivation by certain disciplines in order to achieve the desired goals of a particular sport (Turner, 1992). It is proposed that these bodies become objects over which individual or collective bodily practices are overseen through labour. Therefore, Tafjel (1981) suggests that individuals continuously strive for a more positive self-concept and social identity and they manoeuvre their position through identifying with social groups they believe to be better than other groups (Franzoi, 2006). Rowers see themselves in a particular light — as different to participants in other kinds of sport. In this, they are offering and forging also a sense of themselves as men of a particular kind — disciplined, in synch with one another, committed and serious-minded. The sense of exclusiveness that they have provides them with an identity that they foster through their sport.

Chapter 6

Men making men

The bodily habits and experiences that males have are often induced by what they are expected to do within their social milieu and the expectations they have of themselves (Lilleaas, 2007). Obeying the rules for a man translates to conforming to the social order and the duties of a man as prescribed by society (Bourdieu, 1972/1977). Although men may be socialised differently and live different lives each of their bodily experiences and habits give us insight into how men express and display gender (Lilleaas, 2007). This sense of duty and obligation males have may be conceptualised according to Bourdieu's theory as forming a gendered habitus or worldview that is based within the context of their social location (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Hence in the construction of gender identities we may understand according to Levinson (1978) that there is no identity that is ever fully formed solely by the social context of an individual nor by factors internal to the individual alone. Rather, it is a process of individuals being shaped by the interaction between both the internal and the social. For those young men who participate in the world of organised sport, this milieu becomes a significant social arena within which the body and the conception of the self are constructed. Men aspiring to the status of dominant masculinity are often judged by their ability or lack thereof to be competitive in organised sport (Sabo, 1985).

For many males their participation in the world of organised sport begins in boyhood (Messner, 1990a). For many boys, sport is a natural component of their lives and the gendered nature of the institution of organised sport is obscured (Messner, 1990a). For boys, sport is often a central site for the development of a masculine identity (Messner, 1990a). As Connell (1990b) would suggest it is a collective practice that constructs and denotes masculinities from the process of interactions with individuals and their social institutions. Boys' sports are, moreover, tied up with particular conceptions of masculinity in which competitiveness and the segregation of boys' and girls' play is central to the way in which the sporting arena is constituted (Thorne, 1986). Play that is thought to be more the province of boys are games that are structured by rules, teamwork and competitiveness within a group dynamic (Lever, 1976; Maccoby, 1990). In sport, boys therefore learn not only the skills of a particular game but also skills that are differentiated by gender; masculine skills that pertain to developing assertiveness, instrumental problem-solving, risk-taking and teamwork amongst others (Levant, 1992). The emotional salience of sport is also related to the

connection that boys crave to have with one another (Messner, 1990a). It has been argued that the involvement in male sporting practices in male university groups (such as sports teams and male fraternal groups) further encourage a hypermasculine culture (Godenzi et al., 2001). Male bonding is viewed as a key means of assuming and maintaining patriarchal power. This hypermasculinity is promulgated through male peer support that imparts violence as a tool for confirming male superiority and dominance against women on university campuses. According to DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1993) it is the attachment to male peers and the resources that stem from these attachments that render and motivate the legitimacy of abusive and compulsive masculine behaviour toward women.

6.1. Fathers and brothers

Many boys first become introduced to competitive sport through male figures such as older brothers and fathers and become drawn into its world of male exclusivity by following in the footsteps of significant role models (Messner, 1990a). The significance of early accomplishments in sport is amplified as boys receive attention and acceptance from their families and peers as a result of small sporting triumphs (Messner, 1990a). The literature suggests that fathers and father figures play a major role in how their sons identify with sport and in the ways in which their masculinity comes to be bound up with sporting achievement (Messner, 1990a; Coakley, 2006; Gavanis, 2003).

James relates the dynamics of his relationship with his older brother:

Sort of classic older brother-younger brother sort of relationship. He's always been bigger than me so I think with boys that's always a thing that you sort of look up to. So he always sort of took the lead a bit in certain situations. I learnt a lot from him but me being my own person I also sort of drafted some of that sort of knowledge into making my own pathway.... Being the older brother they are very influential ... I think during my younger years he had a lot to do with the decisions I made. Just in terms of what I thought what he would think about it (Interview, James).

Men enter the realm of organised sport influenced by their previous socialisation and experiences (Messner, 1990a). First experiences in sports are often associated with relationships with older brothers, fathers and other male relatives. Participants in the present study often related positive experiences associated with having been introduced to sport through the interaction with significant male figures in their lives; it was through these

interactions that they developed their ability, gained needed experience and a competitive edge against their male peers and same-aged opponents (Messner, 1990a). As in the case of James, older brothers do not only serve as teachers but as role models (even athletically and in decision-making) and competitors as well. They are the individuals that these male athletes usually wish to emulate because of the athletic successes they have witnessed through them. Therefore, they become the standard that they pit themselves against and measure themselves against (Messner, 1990a). However, those are also the people against whom they first compete for attention and status in the context of the family and in competition with whom they try to develop their own achievements and persona.

Not all boys are raised by their fathers or have a close connection with them though they may have been in the same household. Nate, for example, was raised by his grandparents because both of his parents, professionals, were working and he was often 'left home alone'. The only time Nate mentioned his father was in relation to sports which was something he seemed to share with his father:

I think it's something my dad said when he was like [on the] Springboks side or something like that. He said like basically he didn't really have any friends because he did that in university. So he didn't really have time for any other friends because it's just like friends from [the] side. I think [with me] it's sort of the same case (Interview, Nate).

Fathers who were themselves sports achievers are often at the centre of how male athletes come to identify with participating in sport. Young boys are burdened with the pressure of wanting to live up to the physical prowess and presence of their male parent (Messner, 1990a). According to some theories on male child development it is through identifying with their fathers and imitating them that boys learn how to be masculine (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Biller & Borstelmann, 1967). For some males even though they stay with their fathers in the home they do not necessarily have very meaningful relationships with them (Biller, 1970). There is subtlety in the manner in which many young males are not directly pressured by their father to compete in sport but nevertheless, sport comes to be utilised as a channel to connect with and emulate the status that their fathers possess and display. Nate is an indication of how sporting activities becomes a means for some boys of dealing with a sense of physical inadequacy in relation to one's father (Messner, 1990a). For Nate, sport is a way to salvage his masculine identity and live up to the status and power he associates with his father (Messner, 1990a).

When Norman spoke of the influence from his background he included the introduction to, and entrenchment of sport as part of his life, from a very early age:

And so I've always put my name down for like the most amount of sports I could do because I was so used to it. I'm so used to this lifestyle of sport and work and sport and socialising. What may make a normal person stressed is normal for me. At school in fact one time my father was my cricket coach and I was playing second team and he was always there watching in front and pushing me and at events that was him. My parents would always come and watch me. By having them always on the side pushing me and always talking to me at half-time pushing me to do better I would just tell my body I might as well push myself and do the best that I could you know to achieve that goal. So I think as a child I was always pushed to achieve to do the best I could. And eventually I enjoyed getting that sort of satisfaction of doing well or winning or coming top of whatever in my race. I remember one time at school when I was playing I think I was still playing cricket under-11 cricket and I got like 64 runs. And as we went home everyone's happy and my grandparents were next door. They lived there and my aunts and cousins were there. And I went home and so my father is like Norman did this, Norman did this, he got like this score, you should've seen him batting. And I think that's what made me hold on because after that everybody is just like well done. It was so hectic. And after that I was like I love this. I want to be able to get more appreciation for what I do. I want to always do well so that kind of pushed me as a kid to keep pushing (Interview, Norman).

There is an emotional aspect to the relationships between early experiences of organised sport and interactions with fathers (Osherson, 1986). Sports for some, become a central feature of their lives, coming to be embedded with the approval of a father who might in other respects be emotionally distant or absent (Messner, 1990a). In the framework of dominant masculinities, to display explicit forms of emotion such as care and love for a child are often stigmatised and disassociated from the role that men are required to play in their children's lives and men are often not actively involved in child-rearing (Morrell & Richter, 2004). For boys, sport can become a way to identify with an otherwise literally and emotionally unavailable father (Levant, 1992). However, often this attention takes the form of pressure to perform in a competitive arena where approval is dependent upon success (Levant, 1992). Fathers identify sport as a site where masculinity can be cultivated and where they can still meet the expectations of father involvement in a way that seems manly, heroic and appealing (Gavanas, 2003). These fathers actively take on the role of enforcing that their boy children adhere to how a male child is supposed to be as positioned by gender stereotypes (Lamb et al., 1979). This directly affects the actions and behaviours of young males and influences the degree to which they crave and desperately seek closeness and contact with their fathers (Bly,

1990; Osherson, 1986). However, as in Clayton's situation some males have to deal with having lost their fathers at a young age and therefore may construct other forms of masculine identity that do not simply manifest in sport and traditional masculine measures of achievement:

I am a sportsman but I'm not that good at sports and [nor am I] that great at academics. I'm kind of a Jack of all trades but a master of none. And so [sigh] I've really appreciated the way that this university focuses on academics because it's helped me remember why I'm here. I mean especially after my dad died I always appreciated everything my mom did for me because I realised that she was doing it on her own steam. She didn't have my dad to support her and stuff. So I came here with the intention to do really well and it didn't always work out. Like in first year I crushed first year because I had that attitude of wanting to do well and then I realised that there was so much more to gain from university that wasn't just academics. So in second-year my academics dropped but I still did fine and by third-year I'd really gotten engrossed in the system (Interview, Clayton).

The choice of an exaggerated hegemonic masculinity marked by rule-breaking, disruption, aggression and disorder is usually adopted through peer group surroundings where the gender identifications are a collective pursuit (Connell, 1996). However, Connell (1996) notes that a male's construction of their masculinity does not necessary have to be in conflict with educational attainment – particularly in relation to middle-class masculinities. Clayton's narrative seems to suggest that although the death of his father was tragic for his family, it did mean that his experience of gaining paternal approval for sport is different from that suggested by the other participants.

6.2. Mates

A common motivation for males to get into organised sport is the need to deal with their insecurities, loneliness and need to retain close relationships with other males (Messner, 1990a). However, at the same time males have to constantly be ready to prove their masculinity (Seidler, 1997). Therefore, the way in which they behave in intimate and interpersonal relationships is bound by patterned behaviour in which the desire for connection takes place in contexts in which revealing vulnerability and being emotional carries the risk of being seen as weak (Seidler, 1997). Craib (1987) conceptualised the notion of "elective affinity" that speaks to how young males attempt to fulfil their need for attachment even though they fear it: organised sport provides a safe context with its rule-

bound structure that allows boys to be attached to others without risky or repudiated forms of intimacy. It becomes a safe place for them to form and continue relationships but at an appropriate distance and with clear boundaries provided by the rules of engagement and separation. Moreover, as they participate in the field of sport and transition into athletes they come to the realisation that in order to gain the acceptance and connection that they crave they must be successful at sport rather than merely participating (Messner, 1990a). The realm of organised sport is competitive, structured and consists of a hierarchy of values that participants have to be consistent with in order to succeed. Hence, Schafer (1975) speaks of the development of a “conditional self-worth” where these boys become aware of an acceptance that is based on performance. Therefore, by virtue of maintaining these achievements to become accepted and winning becomes a critical part of the sporting world.

Locker rooms are often viewed as the centre of fraternal bonding for males who participate in sport (Curry, 1991). It is the physical place of symbolic retreat from the rest of society for male athletes to share their victories, defeats and prepare themselves for competition as a collective. However, since the crew do not particularly have locker rooms, the spaces that they do occupy together take on locker-room like qualities for them. This applies for instance to the Clubhouse and all other places used for social gatherings as well as the bus in which the crew regularly travel together to get to the dam where they practice. The clubhouse/locker room gives us insight into assumptions about masculinity through the men’s talk for instance about women, homosexuality and competition. Since it has been proposed through various literature that men have a certain element of divorced intimacy in their friendships, they base them more on engaging in activities together rather than through conversation and disclosure which is often a feature of women’s friendships (Sherrod, 1987). The premise of male bonding relies on shared activity and therefore prioritises the surface presentation and performance of the self (Sherrod, 1987). Most of these males are judged not on the deeper aspects of the self but on the outward presentation of their male identity as I learned travelling with the crew to and from water sessions in the bus:

In light talk the whole crew in the bus start to discuss the transformation that some of them as rowers have gone through, after having observed old footage from previous years. One of the participants who had a dramatic transformation from being skinny to a healthy, fit rowing lifestyle happens to be in the bus. He refers to his past self as “a laaitjie” which translates to young boy... suggests himself as having accomplished manhood and transitioned from boy to man. However, in the same conversation talk is

diverted to how commitment should be taken seriously. They discuss how one of the members in the other crew has not been showing enough commitment and they need to review his role and consider dropping him from the team as he's showing weakness and drinks too much — this illustrates his lack of commitment and priorities. They discuss how this member has revealed some weakness (referring to how he has strength but no stamina) so due to not being able to cope he vomits frequently after training sessions as they were too intense for him (Observation notes, Water session at Settler's Dam, 20/ 08/ 2014).

Male bonding is strengthened by appropriate displays of masculinity that fit into the traditional scope of hegemonic masculinity (Curry, 1991). The sporting arena becomes an ideal institution for men to “do” gender in a manner that is socially approved (West & Zimmerman, 1987) which additionally helps to cement male bonding (Messner, 1987). In rowing the form of male bonding is often predicated on its exclusivity as it unites men that are members of the fraternal group through activities that frequently negate the feminine and any other male that is perceived to be an outsider to rowing culture (Curry, 1991). This affords insiders separation from others and provides them with an identity as individual athletes that is built on making the team, winning races and consequently securing insider status (Dunning, 1986; Sherrod, 1987). Although diverse masculine identities do exist (Greenleaf & Petrie, 2013) many individuals are proud of their membership of a group which has the ability to confer status attributes associated with dominant forms of masculinity and are drawn together through bonds of being members of the same group (Krane et al., 1997). The competitive aspect of sports links these different men together with its potential to enhance their status and sustain valued masculine traits such as strength, endurance and aggression (Dunning, 1986). Although the bonds formed are strong the rule-bound structure of sport also emphasises individuality, instrumental relations between team members, achievement and control (Gilligan, 1982). Those who are allowed to participate in bonding are those who follow the rules and those who do not display the desired characteristics are dropped. Acceptance is therefore highly conditional and highly regulated by fellow team mates.

Performing heterosexuality

There's such great dynamics between everyone. And such close relationships and friendships between people and that sort of flourishes and then extends to more people. And definitely... like looking at the guys it's fantastic because it's always guys you can relate to and truly someone you can talk to.

When you want to talk to someone there's always someone you can talk to on the same wavelength as you. Like the other day I said like guys I was really burning out towards boat race and I was really tired like physically and mentally. And everyone was like yah me too me too and it's like no if you say something it's not like you're going to get shunned or something like that. You can open up to anyone (Interview, Norman).

Many of the participants in the study addressed the relationships they have with the rest of their team members in contrasting ways to conventional notions of how heterosexual males are expected to behave with their peers. Norman illustrates the forms of peer group relations prevalent in the Rowing Club and how these diverge from the normative conception of male interaction outside of organised sport.

While dating and heterosexual relationships are often associated with public displays confirming dominant masculinity (Vincent & Chiwandire, 2013) for athletes like James, participation in sport confers the membership in privileged forms of masculinity that dating confers on other men.

So I haven't had any dating experiences at varsity. I've been single for my three years here. It's not necessarily anything to do with my views on dating. If the right girl comes around I'm not going to say no. I think it's just a matter of either finding the right girl or finding the — because obviously you have different spheres in your life and you can only fill so many spheres at one time. Dating is one sphere that takes up a lot. So if you are filling up your spheres with rowing for example and trying to balance it with academics as well as your alone time, sometimes relationships can't fit in there (Interview, James).

The emotional support and sense of belonging that are provided to some men by intimate heterosexual relationships is achieved through the bonding activities that James has access to through rowing. As the literature suggests, it is not unusual for elite athletes to regard social and romantic relationships that fall outside of the bounds of their participation in sport as peripheral to their sense of self and therefore of less importance and value in their lives than what might be the case for other men (Curry, 1991). As Gilmartin's (2007) research pointed out, young male college students do not prioritise romantic relationships; dealing with emotional attachment is the female's domain and therefore males should be detached.

Nevertheless, some of the participants are in relationships. Cameron argued that rowers are not anti-relationship but did acknowledge the worry that there would be 'domestics all over

the place', suggesting that support for relationships is qualified by the need to maintain focus on rowing and not become distracted.

...some people want to be single and some people don't mind being in relationships you know. Relationships are relationships, it's having another person in your life that you want to share it with at that point in time. There's no "uh you're in a relationship, you're now a softie, uh you're in a relationship you have x, y and z". it's just a relationship. It's not like somebody gets into a relationship and I'm like oh crap, now he is going to be gone from rowing, it's not like that, hopefully he is nice, hopefully she is nice you know don't want to have domestics all over the place (Interview, Cameron).

Patriarchal subcultures use homophobic and anti-female techniques as a way of establishing the dominant heterosexual masculine form which is also effective in socially controlling young males who are still forming their own masculine identities (Lehne, 1995). Young men remain committed to hegemonic masculine scripts to avoid being labelled weak or homosexual hence they participate in anti-feminine rhetoric among their peers. In such cultures women can come to be regarded mainly as having instrumental value as girlfriends that publicly vouch, display and announce male heterosexuality (Vincent & Chiwandire, 2013).

Norman, though, speaks of his girlfriend in a different light — as someone who made things 'a bit easier' suggesting that he found relief from the demands of his life by having someone to share the physical intimacy of hugs with.

It's weird because at school obviously my school would always like often guys from my school would date other girl rowing clubs but I never really got involved it. I was kind of like there was no point. We weren't the same as other guys. Then eventually I came here we both go to the same lectures. We see each other a lot and we kind of started getting along and obviously this year March we started going out. And it's actually been great. I mean we get to see each other often because we both do rowing and work in second year is a bit demanding...so then I got to see her a lot and she started getting involved and it was great to see her like every morning or something. Then it just meant that it made rowing a bit easier, a bit more enjoyable to obviously see your girlfriend out there. Just to see her and go give her a hug in the morning it made it a lot easier (Interview, Norman).

Mfalapitsa (cited in IRIN, 2009) has referred to dominant South African masculinity as subscribing to 'harmful masculine scripts' which include ideas of men being entitled to sex,

possessing the right to violent domination of women and to being promiscuous. To have successful, loving, nurturing relationships with women (Curry, 1991) is to read from a different masculine script. Dominant men are not expected to take intimate relationships with women seriously (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). To make relatedness significant is to risk being seen to draw closer to femaleness. A substantial literature that suggests that males who belong to male networks such as sports clubs and fraternal groups are more likely to be sexually abusive in intimate heterosexual relationships (Boeringer et al., 1991; Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Sanday, 1990; Ehrhart & Sandler, 1985). But participants like Norman do enjoy meaningful relationships with women and seem to have the leeway to display behaviour that transcends the boundaries of normative gender appropriate behaviour. Their behaviour challenges and interrupts the harmful masculine scripts described by Mfalapitsa (cited in IRIN, 2009).

Revered masculinity can affect the way that the rowers read and treat both male and female bodies. According to Morrell (2001) while bodies are the major bearers of masculine value and symbolism, revered masculinity does not automatically inhere in the male body but can be acquired by males nevertheless. Power and dominance is assumed to be integral to masculinity (Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Morgan, 1992) but these characteristics must be socially acquired and reiteratively performed. For men sport provides a vehicle through which this can be achieved (Chapman, 1997; Cole, 1994; Markula, 1995). This can lead to a dilemma when it comes to female athletes. In the RURC the female crews operate on the same schedule as the men however their training requirements are different. In this extract Tim struggles with the question of female rowers being treated equally but differently.

We actually encourage them [girls] to come and row and we involve them. Sometimes we even have to do their work on their behalf but as much as we understand that they they don't like to do some of the things like maybe they don't like to rig boats or they don't want to carry heavy stuff because they say they're girls, we try to keep them as responsible as possible. They have to do their own stuff there. They have to rig their own boats sometimes (Interview, Tim).

Although masculinity is not reducible to individual experience, when someone occupies the masculine position it will have an individual effect on the way they experience their body, their sense of self and the way they project this to others. Through the recurring enactment of these masculine practices over time and space there is a structuring of the production and

distribution of resources, the distribution of power in the form of who has authority and the production of meaning and values (Connell, 2000). The prevailing gender order relies centrally on maintaining the distinction of two categories — namely “man” and “woman” that are inscribed with symbolic meanings that establish the origins, significance and characteristics of each category (Schippers, 2007). As much as Tim acknowledges that women have to ‘do their own stuff’, he constructs the female rowers — and indeed according to him they construct themselves in this way — as often in need of male assistance and not quite being able to match up to the men. For Tim women are individuals who do not enjoy carrying heavy stuff and rigging boats and it is up to men like him to ‘try to keep them as responsible as possible’. Thus the levels of endurance and physical prowess required of a female athlete notwithstanding, even these women are unable to evade the pervasive stereotype of the frail female (Bryson, 1987). This was also detected in my observations during training sessions where the coach would also spend a considerable amount of time on training, managing and supervising the female crews in the water more than the male crews. The training regimen particularly for the men’s A-crew is more intensive however there seems to be more trust placed in them by the coach during training as they usually train without as much as supervision and monitoring. Like the male coaches, Tim confers upon himself authority over the female athletes in the club whom, he insists, ‘have to rig their own boats’ — albeit only ‘sometimes’.

As with any social interaction, one of the features of male peer interaction is talk. Literature suggests that talk about women within male peer groups legitimises the treatment of woman as objects or as sexual conquests (Curry, 1991). This kind of talk serves to enhance the speaker’s image as a dominant heterosexual male (Curry, 1991). It is important for example that stories of sexual conquest are told to an audience of males whose role is to recognise what they signify and this in turn facilitates remaining bonded to the rest of the members of the team. Sanday (1990: 193) states that men have a cultural allure and attraction to “the virile, sexually powerful hero” as they are perceived as someone who dominates both males and females and sexist banter is a way of confirming that one subscribes to these norms. Although the banter that goes on between males does not reflect the values of all participants it does however situationally depict the normalised peer culture of college athletes. I observed how the participants sought to continuously maintain their worthiness of being an agent of male bonding through making particular jokes about women, competing with others’

jokes by being more offensive than the next person or sharing stories that their peers are enthralled by or interested in.

Norman confirmed this impression, relating how the rowers would ‘say anything’ when among themselves and be ‘complete guys’ in contrast to the persona they projected when participating in wider social interactions.

...in the private space well it’s like it’s odd because some of the rowing guys have no reins. They will say what they want to say. It’s bad sometimes but then it’s funny because some of the guys are actually all really good guys, they really are gentlemen at heart. And like with the rowing guys I know they can say anything and just mess around and be complete guys but when they’re like in the out with other people then they will gentlemen they’ll be the nice guys that they are (Interview, Norman).

Sexist talk amongst male athletes has the effect of supporting and normalising male supremacy in the way that it reinforces notions of masculine privilege and hegemony (Curry, 1991). When humour is used in these symbolic changes of insults, jokes or play it serves to police and consolidate heterosexual masculinities amongst each other without the outright charge of violence, aggression or abuse (Kehily & Nayak, 1997).

While doing my observations of the rowers’ relations with each other, the bus trips to and from the morning training sessions at the dam emerged as one of the key sites where social talk could be captured. Some of the collective engagement frequently discussed women as follows:

The boys were of no exception to the drinking culture and partying culture at Rhodes. Boat races seems to be a big deal i.e. they contemplate where they are going to go for the after-party, they start re-telling their drunken experiences at boat races. One drunken account of boat race was an incident where they went out after boat races and one of their former rowers (who was part of the crew at the time) went out with them. There was a female following him and they “partied and jammed” together. At the end of the night he ended up being so drunk he picked the girl up and put her in a dustbin nearby. The girl responded by calling him by all these insulting terms such as “useless”. Offensive language was used in conversation as one guy talking about how his weekend unfolded and describes one of the girls that was in his presence as “really big” and goes on to say he used that description because he didn’t want to call her “fat” because she is and then goes on to joke about it, referring to her as “well-rounded” in a sarcastic manner (Observation notes, Water session Settler’s Dam 20/ 08/ 2014).

Anxious attempts to demonstrate heterosexuality by collectively encouraging sexist banter is a feature of male peer group interaction. Male athlete groups will often do and say certain things amongst each other that would be regarded as inappropriate in wider social interaction (Fine, 1987; Lyman, 1987). Talk that affirms the traditional forms of masculinity dominates conversations between male athletes and serves to strengthen their fraternal bond. Talk that is aggressive, that is hostile toward women and homosexuality and propagates seeing women as objects (for example by talking about individual body parts rather than whole people) is mixed in with jokes and put-downs about each other (Curry, 1991). For many males in hyper-masculine cultures their heterosexual relations are influenced by their homosocial relations (Flood, 2008).

While I did not observe everyone participating in these male bonding rituals through the denigration of women, I also never saw anyone publicly denouncing derogatory speech or dominant sexist or homophobic behaviour (Curry, 1991). Opposing ideas are not easily expressed in such social milieus so they are either dealt with quietly or remain private thoughts. When individual male athletes participate and become entrenched in such cultural patterns practiced in sport they become desensitised to women's and gay rights. Furthermore, as Pronger (1990) indicates the prevalence of masculinity cannot be maintained in an environment that generates equitable relations between men and women or that supports homosexuality. Masculinity is performed for other males and is conferred by them (Kimmel, 1994). Hence the performance of markers of manhood is central if men wish to improve their status and standing among other men (Kimmel, 1994). Male bonding requires activities and settings within which to unfold (Flood, 2008) which may include socialising, drinking, partying, fighting and picking up women. These activities are not lone pursuits but are performed with and for other men. Furthermore, it is routine to share stories amongst other male friends to re-enact experiences for a new audience (Flood, 2008).

For young male students, social and recreational exchanges where they gather together at bars with their male peers to consume alcohol with "the boys" constitutes as an opportunity to display to their friends that they are not under their girlfriend's control (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993). If women were to be included in these homosocial activities this function would not be possible (Farr, 1988). It is in these homosocial moments that males have the propensity to engage in behaviour such as extreme drunkenness and homophobic rhetoric — to reassert their masculine identities (Toby, 1975). Moreover, going out drinking with

members of the club solidifies feeling a sense of belonging — what Nkosinathi called ‘doing that whole thing’:

...the only time we ever socialised with those guys was like at rowing things because after boat races we’re doing that whole thing. I think they would be considered sort of jocks because they are super fit athletes. But on the other hand they also make fun of sort of jock type dudes. So I think maybe it’s because I was on the inside but I think in a social setting they behave essentially the same as any other group of males. Because I mean I was mostly with the men’s club alone...but mostly the way they relate is like once you get a group of males maybe larger than let’s say four/five or larger there’s a sort of rowdy kind of maleness or whatever (Interview, Nkosinathi).

The rowdy maleness that Nkosinathi refers to includes the propagation of a form of hypersexualised masculinity and social approval for casual sexual conquest, disregard for feelings and emotions and repudiation of homosexuality (Ratele, 2008).

While there is often a sense of dysfunction in the way that athletes interact and relate with each other by establishing a distance from each other emotionally (Messner, 1987) given that emotional behaviour is branded as ‘feminine’, the rowers I observed do have very close and intimate relationship with each other and don’t ridicule one another for showing weakness but rather seek to support one another. In this, they develop a very particular conception of themselves as men among men who, because of the very nature of rowing, have no choice but to be highly dependent on one another. Dependency is bound up with competition in that the athletes compete with one another for social dominance by showing overt physical prowess (Messner, 1992) among male peers who strive to maintain dominance over other one another as they compete for scarce rewards and positions in a social hierarchy of other men (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Eder & Parker, 1987).

6.3. Coaches

We’ve got excellent coaches now...and they’re going to take all of those athletes at the top who want to take the step to the next level and they’re going to help them take it (Interview, Cameron).

In terms of the impact that coaches make on the making of masculinities in sport, there has been relatively little research conducted in tertiary education contexts (Amorose & Horn,

2000). However, there have been studies conducted that demonstrate the impact of coaching behaviour on young athletes and how they come to perceive their physical competence and motivation. In Black and Weiss' (1992) findings it was evident that an athlete's perception of their own ability and intrinsic motivation is impacted by whether the coach exhibits controlling behaviour or allows the athlete more independence. Feedback that is more encouraging during practice and competitive situations produced more competent athletes than coaches whose responses were perceived to be more controlling. Furthermore, the importance of coaches in athletes' lives goes beyond mere athletic or sporting proficiency as coaches play a key role in teaching life skills (Gould et al., 2007) and developing the athlete's mental, physical, technical and tactical abilities (Becker, 2009).

While some athletes may be intrinsically motivated to participate in sport for their own internal pleasure and enjoyment (Deci & Ryan, 1985), for many, participation in sport is motivated through the presence of external rewards and constraints and forms of regulation from others whose approval is desired (Deci & Ryan, 1985). At times the rewarding nature of sport for boys is the ability to gain a more socially esteemed position through practices and rules that reward the display of dominant forms of heterosexual masculine behaviour (Messerschmidt, 2005). In some instances, boys may also engage in an activity because it is imposed on them or they feel obligated to do it due to others' expectations of appropriate masculine performance (Mageau & Vallerand, 2003). Another category of individuals present their actions as extrinsically motivated by the importance of the activity and the coherence of it in relation to the values they uphold (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). For instance, intensive training sessions may not be thoroughly enjoyed but the athletes understand how it will be beneficial to them and they comprehend the value of training to improve performance. Coaches and instructors have the potential to either promote or inhibit the motivation of athletes in team sports (Standage & Vallerand, 2007).

Rowers perceive coaches who create a more autonomy-supportive milieu as allowing them as a crew to have choice, to take initiative and participate in making critical decisions (Deci & Ryan, 1985) all of which squares with the identity of the rower as intellectual/athletic rather than an unthinking muscular masculinity which rowers associated with sports that represent arenas for the performance of rival dominant masculinities such as rugby. Crew members see themselves as thinking individuals and not merely objects controlled by authority figures who want to achieve an end-goal (deCharms, 1968). Coaches possess the ability to hone and

inspire athletes to live up to their potential when performing as well as to create an environment that makes pursuing a common goal possible (Becker, 2009). Coaches become primary agents in influencing the lives of young men when cultivating their desire to be the best they can be (Becker, 2009). Some of the ways in which they create and invest in the growth of their athletes is through mentoring and guidance (Gould et al., 2006). Many coaches recognise the need to teach their players values and skills applied through participation. Some of the major factors of coaching in elite sport include the utility of teaching athletes values such as discipline and focus (Gilbert et al., 2001).

Part of the routine during practice sessions on the dam is for the coach to address the team before they go on the water, but mostly after sessions and gives them an analysis of their performance and their shortcomings or what the team members need to individually or collectively work on. What also takes place often is the coach moves between male and female crews stopping them and instructing them where necessary. The coach often brings along a loudspeaker on training sessions and speaks to the crews through it when they are on the water and makes reference to the importance of having a “race mentality” (Observation notes, Water session at Settler’s Dam, 09/08/ 2014).

The coach polices, keeps records of, and frequently discusses, the crew’s wins and losses. Instruction is mostly geared towards a hierarchical competitive culture even with reference to teamwork and the developing of skills being made to serve the ultimate goal of winning (Goldman & McDermott, 1987). The male coach himself performs a particular kind of (controlled, rational/intellectual) masculinity — always showing composure rather than screaming at the athletes which would imply powerlessness and lack of control in situations where instruction and direction is expected (Messner et al., 1993).

According to a study by Steinfeldt and his colleagues (2011) the characteristics of accountability and responsibility feature strongly in the perception of what coaches associated with being a man. Accountability and responsibility are foregrounded as ideals along with developing a good work ethic and integrity. For athletes it is essential that the form of masculinity that the coach performs fits in with the overall identity that their particular sport represents for them. In this way the coach becomes an emblem of an aspired-to, approved of, masculinity and all the traits that are associated with it. It also becomes the responsibility of the coach, as a leader in the club, to inculcate in, and expect from, the athletes, that they should embody and demonstrate these desired traits.

And there's where we have like Mr Haines coming in because he just throws away the politics straight away. He always has a reason...these people are at university so they are not idiots, they always going to ask why, why am I in this boat and not that boat and he always has a reason and he is point blank. He will say you will row in this boat because you are not the best and he will tell you, and you can't deny, you can't argue with logic (Interview, Cameron).

It has been identified that one of the important strategies in coaching is preserving a high level of expectation on your athletes and their standards of performance in order to hold them accountable to those standards (Gould et al., 2006). Establishing a professional approach to this working relationship is posited on the understanding that the main aim is improving the performance of the athlete and making them the best (Philippe & Seiler, 2006). Providing athletes a sense of responsibility allows them to not only make a distinction of their role but allows them to make decisions with a particular goal in mind and respecting reciprocal roles. Although the coach has the power and control in training schedules and assigns tasks it is however the athlete that plays the role of accomplishing performance expectations. Many of the participants understood their responsibility and commitment as symbiotic submission to the coach in order to fulfil their own duties while consequently helping the coach fulfil theirs (Philippe & Seiler, 2006).

Kimmel (1994) positions shame together with fear as reinforcing mechanisms for men conforming to the dictates of traditional masculine scripts. For him, these men reveal the fear that other men will unmask them, emasculate them, reveal to them and the world that they do not measure up and therefore are not real men (Kimmel, 1994: 131). Coaches often work with the devices of masculine shame and fear to achieve their goals (Eder & Parker, 1987). The participants understand that within the sporting context only a few will be deemed deserving to be selected as part of the team and moreover even fewer will be winners. This creates an expectation of, and legitimises, hierarchical and competitive relationships (Eder & Parker, 1987).

Being part of a team that competes at a high level influences coaches to focus on competitiveness, and the athlete's level of skill which is congruent with the athlete's desire to show mastery and demonstrate competence which leads to a sense of self-efficacy (Allen & Howe, 1998). Thus coaches and athletes collude in the development of a masculine identity

for boys that is usually predicated on competitiveness, competence, dominance and achievement (Gilligan 1982). Thus it has been argued that there is a relationship between cultural environments that are characterised as masculine and the production of individuals who overly value assertiveness, ambition and competitiveness (Vitell, Nwachukwu & Barnes, 1993). Sabo and Panepinto (1990) mention how within the social structure of sport, compliance with male authority is one of the factors prioritised in sustaining a hegemonic form of masculinity. As much as rowers like to see themselves as having self-control and being intrinsically motivated and intellectually independent, Cameron spoke of the coach as a dictator.

It basically boils down to rules, if everybody knows what the rules are, then everything goes fine but Mr Haines overrules all of it. He is in a sense a dictator so it's fine because he lays [down] the rules and you listen to him and if you listen to him things run smoothly and every decision he's made so far I can't deny (Interview, Cameron).

The expectation of athletes to relinquish their limited freedom to decisions made by the coach in order to enhance their performance or benefit as an athlete is a traditional feature of sport (Duquin 1994). It has been argued that historically, the social function of sport was to serve as a mechanism to teach boys docility to authority (Carter, 2006). Athletes are trained to submit to authority figures such as coaches without question. Functioning in this manner becomes naturalised and internalised even from their earliest involvement in sport (Roberts & Hemphill, 1988). Even as athletes progress to the level of elite sport where, it may be expected, they will be more self-reliant, there is an expectation of dependence on, and unquestioning obedience to, the coach (Roberts & Hemphill, 1988).

For coaches, winning is important because a good track record automatically leads to a certain level of credibility in the eyes of their athletes. As Brackenridge, (1994) points out, to be a coach is to be in a position of authority with access to several sources of power including material rewards, status and being able to command the obedience of other dominant men.

...so seemingly that's where you see when disagreeing comes in with ordering bigger boats but then Mr Haines will tell you what boat you're going to be in. Mr Haines wants to focus on smaller boats now because it's better for your rowing. It's nice because he settles the disputes sometimes because we go to him with an issue so it always comes down to when you want to use the same equipment at the same time and who should get preference on it (Interview, Cameron).

Coaches are often viewed as having an authoritarian style of leadership due to their upholding of rigid rules and their great emphasis on instillation of discipline in their athletes (Massengale, 1974). Coaches further establish rules as a way of creating a structure that facilitates a cohesive environment for the team (Becker, 2009). It has been observed that sometimes the expectation is that coaches should carry out functions of a paternal nature (Beisser, 1966) — being expected to fulfil the role of archetypal father and to embody the traditional hegemonic characteristics of being strong, macho and tough. But, as Tim's story showed, the coach can also embody a different type of fathering trait, caring for a son during difficult times.

I'd say there's lots of care for each other in the club. I mean I lost my dad in September of this year and I had my coach pick me up from the airport when I returned (Interview, Tim).

The role of the coach is therefore not purely technical (Rosenfeld, Richman & Hardy, 1989). It also extends to giving social and emotional support to athletes, guiding them to fulfil their goals in much the way that a father might (Rosenfeld et al., 1989). Coaches can use the desire on the part of athletes for the coach's approval as a resource in order to produce the desired athlete or a winning team (Massengale, 1974). The role that a coach has in an athlete's life mirrors many parental functions such as regulation of diet and moral habits. Many of the participants displayed a level of trust in their relationship with the coach as a necessary component of being successful in rowing. Often when athletes grow older and enter college their parents' influence becomes indirect and coaches are placed in a position where they play an increasingly significant role (Morgan & Giacobbi, 2006). For many boys, the coach begins to resemble the parent/ older sibling figure away from home.

Conclusion

Individually, men are not the same and do not all behave the same (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). However, the scenarios and interactions discussed above document the impact that men have on each other in making sense of their selfhood through the relationships they have with other men. Men have power over each other; a man's worth can only be validated by other men (Stoltenberg, 1974; Pleck, 1977). Therefore, as governed by patriarchal norms to be a man's man requires endorsement from other men. There are different stages and arenas that are a

testament of how this takes place. From boyhood where older male figures- like brothers and fathers- take centre-stage in their conception of appropriate manhood to further stages where their male peers and coaches have an impact. Males measure as well as adjust their own manliness in relation to the tenets and demonstrations of masculinity that they come into contact within the three arenas discussed. To capture this succinctly- men make other men.

The manner in which male athletes incorporate competitive motivation in sport is a way of establishing their identity (Curry & Weiss, 1989). This sense of self is founded on striving for excellence in the athlete's world which narrows down ways of self-gratification (Adler & Adler, 1991). This character-building in the sporting context provides the athlete with high self-esteem and also establishes a male bond that cuts across social class and racial categories (Curry, 1991). Male athletes gain a sense of confidence and high self-esteem from being a part of these male bonds that infer status. This also further provides them with experiences and memories that may further their sociability and dominance bonding (Farr, 1988). However, college and university institutions may possess conventional rules and norms that are conformed to that can under some circumstances legitimate gender, race or class inequality (Godenzi et al., 2001). The concern comes forth in institutional organisations such as sport clubs that value male bonding and accepted ties to male peers as this may reinforce problematised norms and values.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Boy children are institutionally supported and encouraged from a young age to develop their sense of strength and physical skill whereas conventionally, girls are motivated to construct themselves through prettiness and vulnerability (Whitson, 1994). This allows boys to experience their bodies through the act of using it, instead of being looked at or acted upon as in the case of female bodies. Females often have to adhere to hegemonic conceptions of masculinity in order to gain any sort of equality to men or to participate in a male-dominated sport (Nicholson, 1996; Renold, 1997). Whereas, boys are taught how inherently skillful and forceful their bodies can be (Connell, 1983). They are taught through sporting practices how they can use their bodies with detailed knowledge and understanding of their physical capacities as well as limits. Connell (1983) for example shows how sporting practices in English boys' schools teach boys to live their bodies through athleticism. Sporting practices afford boys the opportunity to develop their sense of self and to learn to transmit this power through the mastering and full use of their bodies in physical movement (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

MacKinnon (1987) proposes that men look at sport as combative as it provides them with a socially acceptable context in which to confront their opponents, to be competitive and to embody their power. Traditionally power is embodied in the sporting world through the enactment of athletes' toughness, force and domination to achieve success in the face of opposition. The structure of sport is one of the few arenas where men may still pursue physical competence and accrue powerful, active male bodies that in turn has the potential to be translated into social power (MacKinnon, 1987). Sport is thus potentially an arena that is significantly empowering for those athletes who, through sport, are able to self-discover and become self-aware of ways in which they can develop themselves through skilled practice (Shotter, 1973). In rowing, these capacities include the skilled practice of mastering how to use equipment such as oars as an extension of the athlete's limbs and learning to move in a coordinated, skillful fashion with other members of a boat.

Kimmel (2001) and Connell (1995) have professed that violence is the biggest indicator of one's manhood. This violence is a highly gendered construct where men use it as an apparatus of authority and power. It depicts the control that men can exercise over women

and other men. This performance of a dominant notion of masculinity that is violent could be physical, verbal or implied. Its nature is evident in this study conducted at Rhodes University. In the Rhodes University Rowing Club, as in other sport practices there is a promotion of maleness to be synonymous with competitiveness, toughness, virility, confrontation and never backing down. The risk of injury or pain is an accepted feature of the sport. The rowing club is a micro culture within the wider institutional culture in which men perform and validate their masculinities. The masculinity that is performed involves sacrificing for the team and suppressing individual pain for the gain of the collective. These performances of masculinity are mostly for other men. Male participation in sport is a highly disciplined practice in the way that their bodies are regulated, policed and compliant.

The rowing club provides a context in which men can have relationships with other men and perform their masculinity for other men. Rowing differs from other sports in its extreme requirement of subsuming all aspects of the self in order to integrate into the group and therefore achieve coordinated practices (Collins, 2004). Rowing at the highest level requires solidarity, synchronisation, cohesion and unity. The members of the club end up spending copious amounts of time together and they develop unusually strong bonds as a result. Rowing moreover was shown to be a site for the construction of a particular version of dominant masculinity which might be termed intellectual/physical. Rowers depict their sport as requiring mental as much as physical prowess and this fits in well with the crafting of a form of dominant masculinity that is suited to the milieu of the university in which academic ability is prized.

The sporting arena has defined itself as something that is of high value to male selfhood. Male athletes separate themselves from others and view themselves as distinct due to belonging to the rowing club. Rowing as a collective practice creates the context in which the participants are able to perform a culturally exalted form of masculinity (Connell, 1990b). Those who partake in engraining this structure and social order in boys' lives are older male figures (fathers, brothers, peers, and coaches). As they were introduced to the exclusivity of male sport through these male figures they usually wish to emulate them and live up to their expectations of physical prowess and success. Sport can present itself as a way to create a meaningful relationship with an otherwise absent father. Coaches also institutionally teach male athletes how to use their bodies in a skillful and forceful manner. Coaches (mostly male) have a great impact on how athletes come to view their abilities, physical competence,

motivation and self-esteem. Coaches often play the role of authority as well as supportive father figure for male athletes who create a world of expectations for them to which he holds them accountable. Essentially, the pressure for male athletes to adhere to dominant male scripts reveals the fear that other men will unmask them, emasculate them, and reveal to them and the world that they do not measure up and therefore are not real men (Kimmel, 1994: 131).

Many of the males in the crew do not prioritise romantic heterosexual relationships or emotional attachment but those who were involved in intimate relationships with women interrupted harmful masculine scripts in the manner that they negotiated their intimate partner relations. They transcended the boundaries of dominant hegemonic masculine performance through displaying loving and caring traits towards their girlfriends. Nevertheless, patriarchal subcultures which often precipitated negative attitudes towards homosexuality and women did manifest. The use of homophobic speech and anti-female techniques established their dominant heterosexual masculine forms amongst one another. In talk about women in exclusively male settings there was reference to females as objects or as sexual conquests (Curry, 1991). Sexist talk amongst male athletes has the effect of supporting and normalising male supremacy in the way that it reinforces notions of masculine privilege and hegemony. Even those in relationships partook in this talk, not being able to resist the denigration of women and its role in cementing male bonding. Being able to attain a woman (whether sexually or as an intimate partner) presented itself as a marker of one's masculinity. The denigration of anything feminine also reveals itself when male athletes revert to behaviour and talk that is insulting, derogatory and antisocial towards homosexuality on occasions where they are together (Fine, 1987; Lyman, 1987). Such hyper-masculine environments may not necessarily be physically abusive or demonstrate physical violence but are definitely hostile towards homosexuality or any behaviour that may seem to exhibit effeminate traits or a refusal of the role of male mastery over women and independence from women. Homosocial settings often pressure males to have the propensity to engage in compulsive behaviour that is considered a ritual such as excessive drinking to solidify belonging to this crew and also belonging to a masculine identity.

Membership of the club tends towards an assimilation to the dominant identity and culture that is prioritised. There is a high level of uniformity, cohesion and homogeneity that operates in the club. RURC has prompted transformation by enforcing the regulation to have

POCs (persons of colour) in one of their categories as a mandatory requirement otherwise those crews are prohibited from rowing. Nevertheless, there were many negative responses and perceptions to this regulation as the rowing club still assumes an elite, white male identity. The issue with an identity concomitant to whiteness is that it carries unnamed cultural practices that breed structural privilege that mostly goes unchallenged (Dyer, 1997). Historically whiteness and its culture has been normalised, privileged and treated as raceless as it commands the centre of most institutions including within such an elite male sport as rowing (Frankenburg, 1993). It reflects a culture that was once structurally reserved and dominated by white, middle-class, males (Majors, 1990). Even to date, as a majority white male club within the confines of a privileged higher education institution there is a failure to understand the experiences of black students who may come from less privileged, working-class backgrounds and who, though not formally denied access to such privileged social circles, are effectively precluded from being able to participate as equals. Ultimately, when measured against the standard of whiteness and patriarchal subcultures they fall short. The intersectionality of race, class and gender inequalities faced by marginalised students make it difficult for them to negotiate their place in the institution- let alone the privileged space of the rowing club.

When the claim is made that a university like Rhodes University is still largely white, heteronormative and patriarchal in its cultural practices, assumptions and expectations, it is difficult to 'get at' what might be meant by such a claim. In this thesis I have examined in some detail the practices and culture of one particular site within the overall milieu of the university to try to show how an exclusionary, orthodox masculinity that denigrates women and gay people and casually assumes white middle-classness to be the norm is perpetuated in ways that are often hidden or masked because they play themselves out in small arenas, in day to day interactions and private conversations. It is this culture at Rhodes University that continues to be experienced as alienating and marginalising on racialised, classed and gendered terms. This proves it a difficult task to transform the institutional culture of Rhodes University at the micro level where everyday practices may persist and may perpetuate the dominant culture. As stated by MacClancy (1996), sport is a reflection of a particular society and can play a part in defining the moral and political ethos of a community. Similarly, the Rhodes University Rowing Club (RURC) is a reflection of the greater Rhodes University milieu. While the institution has sought to implement inclusive and transformatory policies in all its sectors, it serves difficult for marginalised students to negotiate their place in an

institution they still experience as white, male and elite. Those who belong or assimilate to such dominant patriarchal cultures and orthodox masculine repertoires stand to benefit and be adorned with privileges at the expense of women, gay men and those men who fall short of the requirements of exalted masculinity. Moreover, the lack of recognition of the exclusionary nature of such dominant patriarchal cultures in the club and the greater Rhodes University milieu, results in white, middle-class male members who fit the norm lacking the ability to locate themselves as privileged within the social system.

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Appendix 1: Consent Form

I _____ agree to participate in the research project of Thobile Dlamini on how masculinities are negotiated in the Rhodes University Rowing Club.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a/an (M.Soc.Sci) degree at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on 0769541702 (cell phone) or dlaminitd@yahoo.com (email). The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committee, and is under the supervision of Prof. Louise Vincent in the Political & International Studies Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on 046 603 8353 (office) or l.vincent@ru.ac.za (email).
2. The researcher is interested in the experiences of male students who form part of the Rhodes University Rowing Club.
3. My participation will involve being observed as part of an ethnographic study and/or interviewed at my convenience for the duration of about one hour per interview.
4. In connection with the interviews I may be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience as a result of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction.
6. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time should concerns about my participation emerge which I did not originally anticipate.
7. The report/publications resulting from the research may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but these will be reported in such a way that my identity is not disclosed – the principle of anonymity and privacy will be respected by the researcher both in the reporting of the data and in the storage thereof.

Signed on (Date):

Participant: _____

Researcher: Thobile Dlamini _____

Appendix 2: Training program 1

 Mens A VIII Training Program Muscular Endurance & Strength 1								
Warm UP:								
Bike: 10 min High RPM, Break a sweat feel heart rate rise								
Pull ups: Wide Grip, Max. ensure ROM								
Push Ups: Max. Hold Core								
Squat Jumps: Explosive, And Deep								
	Exercise	Sets	Reps	Load Week 1	Progression	Load Week 2	Load Week 3	Load week 4
1	Power Clean	4	12		10%			
2	Deep Squat	4	15		10%			
3	Dead Lift	4	12		10%			
4	1 leg Squat	3	20		10%			
5	Horizontal Row	3	20					
6	Aronold Press	3	15		5-10%			
7	Half Kneeling Vertical Pallofpress	4	5					
8	Swiss ball Jackknife	3	12					
9	Plank Hold	2	60"					
Cool Down:								
10 min Bike								
Stretching								

Appendix 3: Training program 2



Mens A VIII Training Program

Muscular Endurance & Strength 2

Warm UP:

Bike: 10 minHigh RPM, Break a swaet feel hart rate rase

Pull ups: Wide Grip, Max. ensure ROM

Push Ups: Max. Hold Core

Squat Jumps: Explosive, And Deep

	Exercise	Sets	Reps	Load Week 1	Progression	Load Week 2	Load Week 3	Load Week 4
1	Power Clean	4	12					
2	Lundge	4	15					
3	Dead Lift	3	12					
4	1 Arm Row	3	20					
5	Step up and lift	3	15					
6	Bench Row	3	20					
7	Kettlebell Pull-over	4	5					
8	Swiss ball Jackknife	3	12					
9	Dorsal Raise	3	25					

Cool Down:

10 min Bike

Stretching

Appendix 4: Interview schedule

(for heterosexual male participants from RURC aged between 19 and 23 years)

1. Protocol

1.1 Introductions

1.2 Scope of the project:

Young male athletes, identity construction, talk on organised sport, traditional notions of masculinity.

1.3 Ethics protocol:

Anonymity , confidentiality, informed consent, voluntary participation.

2. Research methodology:

Explanation about the interview, estimated time/length of interview, no right or wrong answers, modelled on conversation, the need to record the interview, transcription process.

3. Opportunity for participant to raise concerns about any aspect of the interview or research aim.

4. Interview Guide Questions (general)

Okay, could you maybe start of by introducing yourself and telling me a little about yourself.

Tell me a little bit about your background, like maybe how you grew up or what was it like growing up.

Tell me more about your relationship with your dad.

How did you get into rowing?

Tell me more about your relationship with your brother.

What are some of the ways in which your brother influenced you?

How would you describe the rowing experience that you've had throughout the years from when you started up until now?

How would you describe your experience in the rowing club?

Tell me more about how you feel about being in a leadership position.

How do you think your background (your sports background) helped you and prepared you for your rowing experience?

Tell me more about the team dynamic in rowing and its importance.

I want to go back to the close relationships, or the family dynamic of the relationship. How would you say your brother or your father has prepared you or influenced you in a way for the rowing experience?

Who would you say in the team has been very influential for you, has inspired you or you've looked up to?

How would you describe what makes a good rower?

Tell me about the boat race experience.

Can you think of any particular incidences or experiences that stand out for you when you think about when you're at that point when you're just ready to just give up and you have to keep going?

How would you describe some of the different personalities in the team?

Tell me more about the competitive aspect of boat races.

Tell me about the training aspect in the process of rowing.

How would you say you overcome the physical challenges of training?

What are some of the difficulties that you'd say you've personally experienced?

How would you describe that feeling of winning a race?

Tell me about that feeling of being in the boat versus when you're outside and you're just training.

What are some of the injuries that people have experienced or had?

What is it about rowing that makes it so different from other sport that people play?

Tell me a little bit about those bonds you've formed in the club.

Are there any personal experiences you can think of? Like in terms of those bonds and relationships that you've created with people.

How would you describe the way some of the guys behave in a social setting in relation to when they are in a professional, competitive setting?

Tell me a little bit more about some of the relationships that you have (or friendships) for example with people that are outside of the rowing club.

How would you describe the relationship that the male rowers have with the female rowers?

Tell me about your romantic relationships or dating experience that you've had at varsity.

How would you say rowing has affected the other aspects of your university life?

How would you say that being a rower has made your university experience different from the experience of any other male university student?

Tell me about the social events pertaining to the club. What is the experience like?

Are there any last words, any last thing you'd like to say?